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Social Capital in the Indigenous Communities of the Peruvian Central Jungle: Two case studies with the Ashaninka and the Nomatsigenga Peoples

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Student's signature

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AIDESEP	Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Jungle (*Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana*)
ARPI	Regional Association of Indigenous Peoples of the Central Jungle (*Asociación Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de la Selva Central*)
C169	Convention 169
CAD	Self-defence Committee (*Comité de autodefensa*)
CARE	Central Ashaninka del Río Ene
CART	Central Ashaninka del Río Tambo
COICA	Coordinadora de la Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazónica
CONAP	Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú*)
CORAH	CORAH (*Control and Reduction of Illegal Crops in Alto Huallaga*)
DEVIDA	National Commission for the Development and the Life without Drugs
ENACO	The National Company of the Coca (*Empresa Nacional de la Coca*)
FARE	Federación Ashaninka del Río Ene
FID	Fortalecimiento Institutional de DEVIDA
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática
IP	Indigenous Peoples
KANUJA	Association Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga of the Valley of Pangoa(Asociación Unión Asháninka y Nomatsiguenga del Valle de Pangoa)
OCAM	Organisation of the Ashaninka Communities of Mazamari (*Organización de Comunidades Ashaninka de Mazamari)*
OCAREP	Organización de Comunidades Ashaninkas de Río Ene Pangoa
SERFOR	National Forest and Wildlife Service (*Servicio Nacional Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre*)
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

VRAEM   Valley of the Rivers Apurímac, Ene y Mantaro

Summary

The present Master thesis aims at studying the formation, dynamics and components of social capital in the Indigenous Peoples (IP) present in the Valley or the Rivers Apurímac, Ene and Mantaro (VRAEM), the territory with the largest illegal coca bush cultivation and production of cocaine in Peru. The objective of the research is to contrast the theoretical developments of social capital with the particularities of the context, characterising it for the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the Mazamari and Pangoa districts (Junin, Peru).

In addition, the thesis seeks to give inputs to the National Commission for the Development and the Life without Drugs (DEVIDA) —*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo y la Vida sin Drogas*— and the Project FID —*Fortalecimiento Institucional de DEVIDA*— to propose policies related to social capital in the frame of the alternative development strategy, policy centred in the promotion of licit economic activities and the replacement of the illegal coca crops.

The methodology consists in an exploratory multiple case study (Yin, 2018), composed of two individual "cases" —one for the Nomatsigenga peoples and one for the Ashaninka peoples—. Five beneficiary communities of DEVIDA were examined, where semi-structured interviews were applied to 3 key informants in each one of them (15 in total) and to a representative of the local indigenous organisations[1]. The other main sources of information were the ethnographic notes collected during the fieldwork and "gray" literature provided by the involved stakeholders.

The starting point for the inquiry were the theories developed by the classic social capital scholars —Bordieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama and Burt—, which were contrasted and adapted to the local reality, following an intercultural approach. Results give a first approximation to the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples settled in the north area of the VRAEM, detailing its constitutive elements and giving policy recommendations to the Project FID and DEVIDA, based on the identified challenges and opportunities.

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[1] Second-level organisations with political representation in the territory.

Italian version

La presente tesi magistrale in Local Development si focalizza sullo studio della formazione, le dinamiche e le componenti del capitale sociale dei popoli indigeni stabiliti nel Valle dei Fiumi Apurímac, Ene e Mantaro (VRAEM), territorio con la maggior coltivazione illegale di foglia di coca e produzione di cocaina in Perù. L'obiettivo di ricerca è mettere a confronto gli sviluppi teorici sul capitale sociale con le specificità del contesto, in particolare per quanto riguarda i popoli Ashaninka e Nomatsigenga dei comuni di Mazamari e Pangoa (Junin, Perù).

La tesi intende, inoltre, contribuire al Progetto FID e alla Commissione Nazionale per lo Sviluppo e la Vita senza Droghe (DEVIDA) proponendo indicazioni in merito alle politiche relative al capitale sociale nel quadro della strategia di sviluppo alternativo che è incentrata sulla promozione di attività economiche lecite e la sostituzione della coltivazione illegale di coca.

La metodologia adottata è quella dei multipli casi studio (Yin, 2018), analizzando due "casi" singoli - uno relativo al popolo Nomatsigenga e l'altro al popolo Ashaninka -. Cinque comunità beneficiarie di DEVIDA sono state coinvolte mediante interviste semi-strutturate a 3 soggetti chiave in ciascuna di esse (15 in totale) e a un rappresentante delle organizzazioni indigene locali. Ulteriori informazioni ed analisi sono state tratte dalle note etnografiche raccolte durante il lavoro sul campo e la letteratura "grigia" fornita dagli stakeholder coinvolti.

Il punto di partenza dell'indagine sono state le teorie sviluppate dagli studiosi classici del capitale sociale - Bordieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama e Burt - che sono state messe a confronto e adattate alla realtà locale, seguendo un approccio transculturale. I risultati offrono una prima approssimazione al capitale sociale dei popoli Ashaninka e Nomatsigenga che vivono nell'area nord del VRAEM, mettendo in evidenza gli elementi costitutivi e fornendo raccomandazioni per gli sviluppi del Progetto FID e delle attività di DEVIDA, in base alle sfide e alle opportunità individuate durante la ricerca.

1. Introduction

The coca leaf has had a great relevance in the Peruvian culture since ancient times. It had both an economic and social value, commonly used as an exchange currency and as an offer in religious ceremonies. The traditional consumption —chewing the leaves— is still a diffused practice in the Andes by farmers, because it allows releasing the coca alkaloid in small quantities, which helps adapting to the extreme environmental conditions and with the symptoms of altitude sickness.

Currently, traditional coca leaf consumption is respected, allowed and protected by the Peruvian State. Also, its production and commercialisation are legal activities, controlled and monitored through a public monopolistic company in charge of buying all the legal coca cultivated. Despite this, in reality, around 90% of the production is destined to the illegal market, mainly for the production of cocaine (Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020).

Fighting against the illegal coca production, drug trafficking and consumption is a priority of the Peruvian State, established in the Article 8 of the Constitution (1993). This is operationalised in the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030, which defines a series of guidelines and interventions in the three levels of government. The public institution with the stewardship role in the fight against drugs and in charge of leading the implementation of this policy is DEVIDA.

There are eight geographical zones prioritised by this policy, which concentrate the broadest areas of illegal coca leaf production in Peru. Of them, the VRAEM possess the highest amounts of illegal coca bush cultivated: it concentrates more than 50% of the national production (UNODC, 2021).

The VRAEM is one of the most complex territories in Peru due to its levels of poverty and social conflicts: while, on average, 25.9% of Peruvians faces poverty, in VRAEM this percentage rises until 40.5%[2]. Furthermore, the poorest district of the country —Uchuraccay in

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[2] The given percentages of poverty correspond to different years: the national one belongs to 2021, while the other to 2017. Unfortunately, there is not a periodic update of the statistical information about the VRAEM. The last documents published by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics – *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática* (INEI), have been a sociodemographic profile based on the information of the last Census of 2017 and the Poverty Map of 2018, which presents only information aggregated by district. It is worth noting that poverty in Peru has risen between 2017 and 2021. In particular, 21.7% of the population was affected by poverty nationwide in 2017 (INEI, 2017). Therefore, even though there are not more recent measures of poverty in VRAEM, it could also be expected an increase in it.

Ayacucho— is located in VRAEM, where 81.3% of the population is in a situation of poverty (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2022). The VRAEM also faces major gaps in the access to public services and the violence of the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso[3], currently an ally of the drug trafficking organisations.

In VRAEM, 76,9% of the population self-identifies as belonging to an indigenous people (IP), percentage considerably higher than in the rest of the country (20%) (INEI , 2017). The existing gaps in VRAEM particularly affect this population group. For instance, the percentage of illiterate population was eight times higher in people with an Amazon Indigenous language as their mother tongue (24.7%) in comparison to Spanish mother-tongue speakers (2.9%) (INEI, 2017).

To face the critical situation in VRAEM, the Peruvian government has implemented several interventions throughout the years. In 2012, the socioeconomic development and the pacification of this geographical area was declared of national interest, through the Supreme Decree N° 074-2012-PCM. Later, in 2018, the "Strategy VRAEM 2021" was approved, establishing a series of interventions to implement the alternative socioeconomic development, which promotes licit economic activities alternatives to the coca cultivation.

DEVIDA was commissioned to lead and conduct the implementation of this Strategy. Thus, this institution has the double and complementary role in VRAEM of promoting alternative development and the fight against drug trafficking. Due to its relevance, DEVIDA has been targeted by several international cooperation projects throughout the years, among which the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has had a predominant role.

After approximately 6 decades of implementing different initiatives mostly centred in giving immediate assistance to the citizens after the illegal coca eradication, in 2019, USAID launched the Project FID. Unlike all the previous initiatives, it was centred in giving technical assistance to develop the institutional capacities of DEVIDA, reinforcing and not competing with its stewardship role in the fight against drug trafficking and in the promotion of the development of the VRAEM.

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[3] Sendero Luminoso was a terrorist organisation based on Maoist ideology that was active in Peru between the 1980s and 2000s which started an internal war; the conflict caused an estimated 69,280 deaths (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003). Currently, the Sendero Luminoso group that is still active in the VRAEM has given up its ideological aim, to unite with the narcotraffic organisations that are operating in the area.

The Project FID has three main objectives, each translated into a component of the project: (i) strengthen the DEVIDA's institutional capacity, (ii) organise and empower the beneficiary communities of DEVIDA and (iii) strengthen the national and subnational governments to respond to citizen demands and promote the local economic development.

One of the main elements of the second component of the project is to promote social capital in the targeted communities by DEVIDA. Accordingly, the Project FID developed a baseline study in 2019 jointly with Videnza Consultores[4], in which the author of the thesis participated. The study consisted in building a composite index to measure the social capital of the social and economic organisations —associations of producers— targeted by DEVIDA. The hypothesis behind it was that the higher the social capital of the organisations, the higher the probability of success of the alternative development strategy.

The index had four components: three measuring different types of social capital —bonding, bridging and linking— and a fourth cross-cutting component, reflecting the inclusion of the gender and intercultural dimensions in the organisations. The Project FID had already developed a tool for the bonding social capital and gave the assignment to Videnza Consultores to build new tools for the other three components.

An essential precision, is that some of the beneficiary organisations of DEVIDA belong to an IP. In these cases, data collecting tools needed to be adapted following an intercultural approach to assure their cultural pertinency. Thus, the new developed tools by Videnza Consultores were designed to be applied both with indigenous and non-indigenous communities. This was not the case of the already existing bonding social capital instrument, which had originally been conceived to be applied only for non-indigenous contexts. Despite the fact that its adaptation had been programmed in 2019, the activity has remained pending until now. Therefore, it is currently not possible to calculate the social capital index for the organisations located in indigenous communities.

The present thesis is conceived as a way to contribute to the closure of this gap. Specifically, it undertakes a prior step to the adaptation of the bonding social capital instrument, deepening in the study of social capital in the indigenous communities targeted by DEVIDA. In this process, an intercultural approach is followed, which is based on participation, dialogue and a horizontal and respectful relationship between the State and IP. According the Peruvian legislation, this

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[4] Videnza Consultores is a Peruvian think tank in which the author of the thesis worked between 2016 and 2020. The organisational webpage is: https://videnza.org/

approach is required to be implemented in all public interventions destined to work with IP, with the aim to assure a bottom-up process and, ultimately, their cultural pertinence.

Therefore, the thesis consists in an exploratory research study of the social capital in the IP that are beneficiaries of DEVIDA. In particular, the work was conducted in the area of intervention with the headquarters with the highest population belonging to an IP, which is the Mazamari Coordination Office —dependent of the San Francisco Zonal Office - Pichari—, located in the Mazamari district (Junin region, in the VRAEM). This office is in charge of the DEVIDA intervention in the North VRAEM, targeting some indigenous communities settled in the districts of Mazamari, Pangoa and Río Tambo.

The thesis investigates, then, about the formation, dynamics and components of the social capital in two of the IP present in the North VRAEM: the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples. The cultural pertinence of the theoretical developments of the classical authors — Bordieu, Putnam, Coleman, among others— is analysed, adapting them to the particularities of the communities located in the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa.

To pursue the objectives of the thesis, the methodology implemented is the Case Studies by Yin (2018) —see Chapter 5 for a detailed explanation of the methods—. This author proposes the use of case studies as a research methodology, differentiating the term from other common uses in social sciences, which refer to "case study" as the exploratory stage previous to the implementation of other methodologies, or as the fieldwork in the participant observation.

Following Yin (2018), a multiple holistic case study is implemented, composed of two individual "cases" —one for the Nomatsigenga peoples and one for the Ashaninka peoples—. Both were divided into sub-units of analysis, referred to the five indigenous communities — three Ashaninka and two Nomatsigenga— that were visited. To ensure the geographical representativeness present in the area and to inquire about the influence of the geographical location in the social capital, for each IP, at least one of the selected communities was located in a rural context and one closer to an urban area[5].

The fieldwork took place in the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa and lasted a week. In each of the five visited communities, three semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants —fifteen in total—. In addition, one interview with a representative of the

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[5] A community is considered to be close to an urban area if the distance to the closest city is less than one hour by car. Meanwhile, it is considered to be in a rural area if the distance to the closest city is greater than hours.

indigenous local organisations[6] was conducted. The other main sources of information used for the analysis were the ethnographic notes taken during the fieldwork and the "gray" literature provided by the involved actors.

The present document is divided into nine parts. After the introduction, a brief section with the research question and objectives is included. Then, Chapter 3 is dedicated to the background information, presenting a detailed diagnosis of the ulterior problem behind this study and the territory of analysis —the illegal coca cultivation and the market of cocaine in Peru—, as well as the related public interventions to face it. It is fundamental to understand this contextual information, because it is one of the main determinants in the VRAEM territory which sustains the Project FID and the study of social capital in the area. This chapter also deepens in a socioeconomic diagnosis of the VRAEM and the Project FID's intervention.

Chapter 4 includes the theoretical framework and is divided in three parts. It first focuses in the analysis of the classical theories of social capital to then explore the intercultural approach, as this is the framework to work with IP. Finally, in the third part of the chapter both aspects are put together, giving an overview of the existing research about social capital in IP.

The detailed methodology of the thesis is presented in Chapter 5, explaining, first, Yin's theory of Case Studies as a research methodology and, then, the research design of the thesis, including the fieldwork plan and the data collecting tools. Chapter 6 presents the discussion and the results of the fieldwork, while Chapter 7 is dedicated to the discussion and conclusions. Finally, Chapters 8 and 9 include, respectively, the references and annexes.

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[6] Indigenous local second-level organisations group the grassroots organisations which are located in the community level and constitute their political representation with the other public and private stakeholders present in the territory. Local organisations are ass

2. Research question and objectives

The research main research question of the present thesis is:

How is the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the North VRAEM formed and constituted?

This open question intends to guide the exploratory Case Study, allowing the flexibility to inquire about the formation, constitution and reproduction of social capital in the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga communities of the North VRAEM. Other sub-questions are proposed to conduct the investigation and deepen in the study of social capital:

- ¿Are classical theories of social capital applicable to IP located in North VRAEM?
- ¿How is the formation of social networks influenced by the self-identification of belonging to an IP?
- Are strong bonds (related to bonding social capital) or weak bonds (reflecting bridging and linking social capital) more important in the social network's dynamics of the indigenous communities of the North VRAEM?
- What activities are generating sources of social networks? In this process, which type of activity has greater relevance (economic, religious/spiritual or social)?
- What are the most important spaces of socialisation in the communities that strengthen social relationships and generate exchanges between members of the community?
- Are there spaces of socialisation and exchange with other communities of the same IP? And with communities of other indigenous peoples?
- Considering the reported trust about other stakeholders present in the territory, what are the most relevant type of social capital for the communities?
- Considering linking social capital, do communities trust in public institutions that are present in the territory? Why?
- Is the definition of norms that govern the communities following participatory and horizontal processes?
- To what extent the stakeholders of the territory that operate outside the community level influence the decision-making processes and the definition of norms of the communities?
- Are gender roles generating differences in the perceived social capital by men and women of the indigenous communities present in the North VRAEM?
- To what extent is tradition influencing the main components of social capital?

- Does proximity to cities and the level of rurality produce differences in the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsignega peoples of the North VRAEM?
- Does social capital of the indigenous communities of the North VRAEM possess a political dimension related to the defence of their territory?

These questions are guiding the inquiry and are operationalised in the data collecting tools presented in Chapter 5.

The questions listed above aims to fulfil the main objectives of the thesis:

- Deepen in the study of social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the North VRAEM, identifying its main components and elements, as well as its formation and replication dynamics inside the social structure.
- Analyse the cultural pertinence of the theoretical developments of the social capital classic scholars —such as Coleman, Bordieu and Putnam—, adapting them to the particularities of the zone of intervention of the Mazamari Coordination Office, (specifically in the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa).
- Identify the main challenges and opportunities related to the social capital of the indigenous communities targeted by DEVIDA which could influence the alternative development strategy.
- Give inputs to DEVIDA and the Project FID which could be relevant to consolidate the alternative development strategy, through the development of policies related to social capital.

3. Background information

The coca leaf has had a traditional value and a historical use among the Andean Indigenous population since pre-colonial times[7], when crops were located in the Amazon jungle and Andean valleys. A high value was assigned to this crop due to religious, social and economic reasons: it was commonly used as an offer in ceremonies and as exchange currency. In addition, the practice of chewing the leaves, which releases small quantities of the coca alkaloid, was extended because it helps fighting altitude sickness and adapting to the extreme conditions of the Andes. As a consequence of the high value of coca in the precolonial society, it was both a factor of integration and conflict between different ethnic groups (Cotler, 1999).

Currently, traditional coca consumption is respected, allowed and protected by the Peruvian State. For its regulation, the National Company of the Coca (ENACO, *Empresa Nacional de la Coca*) is the public company in charge of exclusively managing all the acquisition and distribution of legal coca leaf production.

Despite this, the real management capacity of ENACO is still limited: in 2019, it only acquired 2% of the coca leaf's national production. Part of the rest is commercialised in the informal market destined to legal traditional and industrial uses. However, it is estimated that 90% of the coca leaf production is destined to the illegal production of drugs, mainly cocaine (Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020).

The present chapter first characterises the problem of the illegal coca leaf cultivation and the market of cocaine. Following, it gives an overview of the current legislation and the interventions implemented to face this problem. Zooming in them, it describes the Project FID, in which is centred the case study of the thesis. Finally, a more detailed diagnosis of the VRAEM, one of the zones of intervention of the project is developed.

3.1. The illegal coca cultivation and the market of cocaine in Peru

Peru is one of the largest producers of cocaine worldwide. Indeed, it is the second main producer after Colombia of illegal coca bush —main input of cocaine—: in 2019, there were 54,700 hectares cultivated in Peru, 23% of global cultivation (234,200 hectares) (UNODC, 2021).

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[7] The fall of the Inca Empire took place in 1532 with the capture of Atahualpa.

The main driver of the cocaine market, promoting the cultivation of the illegal coca bush, is the external demand: of the 384 metric tons traded in 2019[8], 1.7 was consumed in the Peruvian market, while 382.3 was exported. In fact, Peruvian internal consumption of cocaine is among the lowest in Latin America (Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020).

To analyse this problem in its complexity, the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030 — main norm in this matter, which is furtherly explained in the next section— disaggregates the illegal coca production and cocaine consumption in three dimensions to analyse it and define strategic policies. The first two are supply-side dimensions, while the last one is a demand-side one.

Thus, at first there is the initial trigger of the supply chain: the cultivation of illegal coca crops in the strategic zones and the underlying causes generating the incentives in the farmers to prioritise this crop. Then, there are the factors determining the production itself, i.e., the deviation of the coca bush and chemical products of controlled access[9] for the production of cocaine, as well as the influence of national and international criminal organisations. Finally, on the demand side there is the drug consumption, affected by factors such as the early access to drugs and the limitations of the health system to treat addiction.

The present research study is centred in the first of the aforementioned dimensions: the factors determining the start of the cultivation of illegal coca bushes. This is influenced by the lower profitability of legal economic activities, specifically in the access to markets of legal crops whose prices are considerably lower. The competitive advantage of illegal coca production is reflected in its considerably higher prices: the average price calculated in USD/kg of coffee and cacao was of 2.5 and 2.3 during 2017, considerably lower than the 4.3 of the coca leaf (Mendoza & Leyva, 2017).

Another factor promoting the cultivation of the illegal coca crops is the existing gap in infrastructure and access to quality public services. Indeed, the production is higher in zones with more population affected by poverty. In Peru, 8 strategic zones of production have been identified (Map 1).

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[8] The total production was estimated in 411 metric tons in 2019.
[9] Products used in the production of cocaine, such as sulfuric and hydrochloric acids, acetone and calcium hydroxide are controlled by the Peruvian Legislation. Recently an increased in the confiscations of these inputs by the National Police.

Map 1: Main zones affected by the illegal drug trafficking

Among all the prioritised zones, the VRAEM —in light green in the graph— is the one with the highest level of poverty and with more social conflicts. This is reflected in the amount of illegal coca bush cultivated, which is the highest in all the Peruvian territory —concentrating more than 50% of the total production (UNODC, 2021)— as it is presented in Map 2. Indeed, VRAEM is the only territory with areas highlighted in colour red, indicating the highest cultivated density —more than 4 hectares per square kilometre—.

Map 2: Density of coca bush cultivation, 2019

This market is producing seriously harmful economic, social and environmental effects. Table 1 summarises the ones prioritised by the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030.

Table 1: Consequences of the cocaine supple chain

Activities	Associated effects				
	Safety	Economic	Health	Environment	Governance
Illicit coca bush crops	Death threats and violence in indigenous communities because of the land invasion	Economic dependence for the high profitability of illegal coca crops	Soil degradation and contamination Contamination of water resources Deforestation		Regional and local social conflicts
Illegal production of cocaine		Workforce involved in the production and trade of illegal drugs	—	—	Financing of the Shining Path actions in production areas
Internal trade of cocaine	Violence of criminal networks for territorial control Related homicides	Money laundering that harms the economic and financial systems	—	—	
Illegal exports of cocaine			—	—	Corruption of civil servants to avoid criminal prosecution
Drug consumption	Interpersonal violence	Social and economic development of the drug addict and their family affected	Morbidity and mortality associated to drug consumption	—	—

Source: Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, (2020).

The environmental and social damages are particularly important: in 2017, illegal coca cultivation was present in 228 hectares of the natural protected areas and in 6,468 hectares of the "buffer zones" ("*zonas de amortiguamiento*")[10]. Indigenous Peoples (IP) are among the population groups most affected by the cultivation illegal of coca crops: Between 2016 and 2017, there were 3,368 hectares cultivated in the territories of 132 native communities — official term referred to the Amazon IP—. The situation is particularly critical in VRAEM, specially with the Ashaninka People (Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020). It is worth highlighting that, even though Andean IP traditionally cultivate and consume coca leaf, this is not the case among most Amazon IP, which are commonly coerced to do it in the areas of illegal plantation.

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[10] Natural Protected Areas, regulated by the Lay N° 26834, are protected due to its biodiversity and cultural, scientific and landscape value. On the other side "buffer zones" are defined as the adjacent zones to these areas that, due to its location, have to be protected, in order to guarantee the conservation of the Natural Protected Area.

To tackle the coca bush cultivation, there are several initiatives of Alternative Sustainable Development, centred in working with the communities that cultivate the coca to increase the comparative advantages of legal economic alternatives, as well as implementing initiatives of social community development.

To complement the supply-sided dimensions, the Peruvian State also implements the eradication of the illegal crops by the Special Project CORAH (*Control and Reduction of Illegal Crops in Alto Huallaga*) under the Ministry of the Interior. Thus, in 2019, 25,526 hectares of illegal coca bush were eradicated, considering both the voluntary eradication with the alternative development projects and forced by the CORAH (UNODC, 2021). The State intervention focused in the demand-side dimension of the problem —the drug consumption— consists mainly in the prevention and treatment for addiction in the health system.

The case study which is the central part of the present research study, is reflecting one of the multiple initiatives of the Alternative Sustainable Development axis of the State strategy, specifically implemented in the most critical of the prioritised strategic areas, the VRAEM.

3.2. Public Interventions related to the coca leaf and cocaine

3.2.1. Brief historical overview of the debate and policies before the current legislation

3.2.1.1. Sixteenth century: The early colonial period

Throughout the Peruvian history, the position towards the coca leaf cultivation and consumption has been full of controversy with a constant debate between detractors and supporters. Since the beginning of the colonial period, during the sixteenth century the Catholic Church showed a negative position towards the coca cultivation. Most scholars state that Spanish cleric tried to prohibit it as a way to extirpate indigenous cultural elements that obstructed the evangelisation progress, considering that it was used in religious rituals.

Castro de la Mata (2000) establishes that this is a simplification of the official position of the Catholic Church during the start of the Colony due to a mistaken quotation[11] about the content

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[11] The quotation was established by the sixteenth century Spanish jurist Solózano y Pereira in his *Política Indiana*, which has been broadly quoted throuought Peruvian history.

of the Second Lima Council[12] of 1567, mentioning: "that it is desirable that governors take away from the Indians the work of benefiting from coca". However, the original text of the Council establishes:

> "To face the new costumes, it is opportune to develop new remedies. There exists a great damage not only for the corporal health, but also for the soul. In some provinces, there are some trees, whose leaves are called coca by the indians, which are of no use or benefit, but stimulate vanity and superstition and are used in sacrifices to demons […] The Holy Synod of governors and magistrates moved by such evils, by the viscera of Jesus, prays and exhorts men to provide so that these similar evils do not progress, but end with a good result and that our Hispanic Indians worry about something better that the leaves of the trees, which, hopefully, thrown by the wind, fall far away" (Castro de la Mata, 2000, pp. 26-27).

Thus, the Second Council of Lima was centred on alerting about the dangers of the coca leaf and on preventing the expansion in its cultivation and consumption, instead of in its total prohibition. According to Castro de la Mata (2000), the decision of the Council was influenced by the ideas of the "Indian Procurator" (*Procurador de Indios*) —in charge of defending the IP— Francisco Falcón. According to him, it was counterproductive to prohibit a deeply rooted cultural practice, while the most effective to diminish the consumption was to eliminate it in the population under 14 years old to progressively eradicate the cultivation.

Contrary to the position of the Catholic Church, actors related to the economic activities during the Colony openly supported the presence of coca leaf because of their stimulant properties that increased the productivity of the IP working in the mining industry: the coca alkaloid helped reducing hunger, tiredness and coldness, making it easier to work under the exploitation conditions that IP were suffering. As a result of the high importance of the mining industry during the Colony, coca was officially tolerated in the Peruvian State, which lasted approximately for 400 years, until the twentieth century (Painter, 1996).

Despite this, controversies never stopped and the highest prevalence of a supportive or detractive position towards the cultivation and consumption of the coca leaf —and even cocaine before it was prohibited— changed throughout the years, closely influenced by the international trends.

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[12] There were six provincial councils organised by the Archdiocese of Lima during the Colony: 1551-1552, 1567, 1582, 1591, 1601 and 1772. In them, the theological approaches to expand Catholicism, evangelizing IP and preventing the expansion of Lutheranism between catholic population, were given (Saranyana, 2018).

3.2.1.2. From the seventeenth century to the decade of 1920s

During the Peruvian Viceroyalty, the coca leaf consumption was extended beyond the IP, commonly used as a remedy for altitude sickness and to cure diverse diseases. Despite this, its consumption did not expand to Europe, unlike other American plants, due to the extended critics related to the addiction in the IP. Despite this, during the eighteenth century the demand for the coca leaf started increasing because of the new studies that European naturalists conducted in America, in which the longevity of IP was analysed and coca was identified as a stimulating and curative plant (Cotler, 1999).

The demand rose exponentially during the last decades of the nineteenth century when the coca's anaesthetic properties were discovered and cocaine was synthesised for the first time. Thus, this started being used worldwide in the pharmaceutical industry and many European countries started planting it in some of their colonies like Java, Ceylon and Formosa. Coca was used in many "curative products" such as creams, wines, cigarettes, as well as in soft drinks (mainly Coca Cola).

In Peru, the production slightly increased, affected by the Pacific War —*La Guerra del Pacífico*, war with Chile which lasted from 1879 to 1883—. At the same time, the debate about coca continued with two clear positions, according to Cotler (1999). On the one side, there was the indigenist movement, characterised by a group of artists and intellectuals which defended the indigenous values and culture, stating that the coca was a "sacred plant" and one of the pillars of tradition and national identity that needed to be respected. In addition, they proposed that coca's healing and stimulating properties allowed IP to withstand with the exploitation situation that they were suffering.

On the other side, the critical position towards coca, promoted by the elite of the country —mainly of the Coast and, particularly, of Lima— and some of the most prestigious doctors, used racist arguments, associating it as an element of racial degeneration and moral degradation. This trend continued until the first decades of the twentieth century: the coca leaf and cocaine were substances officially allowed in Peru, but subject to some type of control.

In this context, the Law N° 4428 (1921) was promulgated according to which all the imports and exports of psychoactive substances —cocaine, opium, morphine, heroine and derivatives— had to be concentrated in the Callao Port. Among its different articles, it mentioned that the commercialisation of these substances needed the authorisation of the Health Department, drugstores and pharmacies needed to follow a strict registration about the quantity and use of

the substances and were the only allowed to sell them to the public —with a doctor's prescription—. Severe penalties, including prison were established for people not respecting the restrictions imposed by the law.

3.2.1.3. From the decade of 1930s to 1960s

From the 1930s, the trend of the previous decades drastically changed with the progress in the studies about the harmful effects of cocaine, as well as a predominance in the Peruvian public opinion of the negative discourses about the coca leaf, which led to a shift towards a prohibitionist approach backed by a set of approved legal measures. A determinant factor in this shift was the politics of the United States, which had previously tried limiting the cultivation of coca and the production of cocaine, but gained force after the hegemonic power acquired by this country from Second World War.

To showed its collaboration with the American interests, the Peruvian government asked the United Nations Economic and Social Council to send a commission to study the effects of coca consumption of coca in the indigenous population. The results were given in 1949, mentioning that coca was completely harmful for the health and that it was the main reason of "racial degeneration" among IP (Cotler, 1999).

Following this line, new legal devices were approved during the military government of Manuel Odría. The Decree-Law N° 11005 was approved in 1949, establishing the crime of illicit drug trafficking as the: (i) manufacture, preparation, transformation or use of all kinds of narcotic substances —all the ones controlled but allowed in the former Law N° 4428—, (ii) any type of commercialisation, exchange or use of these substances and (iii) the cultivation and production of poppy, coca and cannabis (Decree-Law N° 11005 , 1949). In addition, this norm established a set of sentences including fines, imprisonment, expulsion of the country —mainly for foreigners—, among others. To judge this crime, the National Executive Council against Narcotics Trafficking (*Consejo Nacional Ejecutivo contra el Tráfico de Estupefacientes*) was created.

Specifically about coca, one of the key institutions that Odría implemented was the *Estanco de la Coca* —later ENACO— as the entity in charge of controlling its cultivation, consume and exportation, in order to "[…] contemplate the problem constituted by the chewing of coca leaves in Peru, with a tendency to limit, for now, and to eradicate, in the future, such a widespread custom, in defence of the indigenous population" (Decree - Law N° 11046, 1949, p. 1).

The clearly negative vision to all type of coca consumption —even the traditional uses—and the repressive orientation promoting the complete prohibition of the coca cultivation that started with the former legal devices, was later strengthen due to the international pressure. In particular, the Narcotics' United Nations (UN) Conventions of 1961, 1971, 1988 were particularly relevant in recognising the detrimental effects of narcotics, promoting preventive and punitive measures against them, as well as establishing the importance of international cooperation in this duty.

Regarding the coca leaf, the UN Convention of 1961 wanted the complete eradication of the bushes and the ban of the traditional coca chewing in the following 25 years of the entry into force of the agreement (UNODC, 1961). As a result, new restrictive measures in which is based the current active legal framework were approved in Peru, furtherly explained in the next subsection[13].

3.2.2. Current national legal and institutional framework

The current official position of the Peruvian State is stated in the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030: it supports and allows the traditional uses of the coca leaf, while it penalises its illegal cultivation, as well as the production and consumption of cocaine. Indeed, drug trafficking is penalised in the Peruvian legislation and fighting against it has been defined as a major pillar of the State, as it described in the Article N°8 of the Peruvian Constitution (1993). Drug trafficking has been defined as a crime against public health and safety in the Penal Code (1991), approved by the Legislative Decree N° 635.

Likewise, among the policies of the National Agreement[14] —agreed guidelines to lead the national policy— Policy N° 27 is centred in "Eradication of the illegal production, traffic and consumption of drugs". The promotion of alternative development, developing legal economic alternatives, the care and conservation of the environment, as well as fighting corruption of the involved civil servants is emphasised (Acuerdo Nacional, 2002).

Following, several laws are detailed, which were approved since the decade of 1970s and constitute the basis of the current legislation.

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[13] It is important to mention that more recently new UN Conventions against narcotics (1998, 2009 and 2016) were subscribed by the Peruvian Government, currently influencing the national policy. In the last two, the alternative development is established, which is one of the central elements of the interventions that are being implemented.
[14] The National Agreement is a forum of exchange between the three levels of government, the political parties and the national organisations of the civil society. It is in charge of seeking consensus between these stakeholders and defining the orienting —no biding— National Policies for the Executive and Legislative powers.

Decree - Law N° 22095 (1978): Law for the Repression of Illicit Drug Trafficking

The basis of the current legislation to fight against narcotics, in general, and the illegal uses of the coca leaf can be tracked until the Decree - Law N° 22095 "Law for the Repression of Illicit Drug Traffic" of 1978, established during the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (*Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas*).

Following the ideological guidelines of this regime and to achieve "[…] the permanent moralizing action of the State", as established in the decree, it follows a highly restrictive approach. This, as the basis of the later measures and interventions defined by the Peruvian State in the policy against drugs, has determined a dominantly repressive approach, reflected in the increase of its severity throughout the years.

The main objectives of the Decree - Law N° 22095 are to "supress drug trafficking of substances that cause dependency, prevention of its misuse; the bio-psychosocial rehabilitation of the drug addict and the reduction of the cultivation of the coca plant […]" (Decree - Law N° 22095, 1978, p. 2). In general terms, it includes a strong sanitary approach centred in the recovery of the addict with measures such as the creation of State Drug Dependent Rehabilitation Centres. Decree - Law N° 22095 also establishes a series of penalties for drug trafficking.

Regarding the coca leaf, it follows a completely prohibitionist approach, following the international trend established with the UN Convention of 1961. Indeed, to limit coca to scientific and industrial purposes, it established the almost complete eradication of coca cultivation, forbidding all types of cultivation by private parties. To gradually operationalise this, ENACO is defined as the only entity that can conduct the cultivation, industrialisation, exportation, sanitary and research use. The private producers were asked to register in ENACO, meanwhile replacing and eradicating the crops. In addition, the land with coca cultivated which owners did not start the reconversion process were established to be expropriated under the Agrarian Reform Regime (Decree - Law N° 22095, 1978).

After this initial disposition, other norms were approved to strengthen the fight against drugs. The most relevant ones are presented below.

Legislative Decree N° 824 (1996): Law Against Illicit Drug Trafficking

This decree states that fighting against drugs is a national priority in all the Peruvian territory, as well as the recovery of the addicts. The position towards the coca cultivation is softened, proposing as one of the governmental objectives the "substitution" and not the complete

"eradication" of the coca cultivation. In addition, this norm also established a series of exceptional penitentiary benefits to reduce the previously defined penalties.

This law established the Commission to Fight Against the Drug Consumption - Contradrogas (*Comisión de lucha contra el consume de drogas*), as the first institution created to articulate and coordinate the national interventions to fight against drugs. Contradrogas was assigned the stewardship role in the matter and it was originally under the Ministry of Health; however, it was later passed to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers[15].

In 2002, Contradrogas was renamed as the National Commission for the Development and the Life without Drugs – DEVIDA, which is currently the institution in charge of conducting the policy in the matter.

Legislative Decree N° 1241 (2015): Legislative Decree to strengthen the fight against illicit drug trafficking

This law establishes defines the stakeholders in charge of fighting illicit drug trafficking and their roles:

- DEVIDA as the entity with the stewardship role is in charge of proposing the policies and strategies against drug trafficking, as well as articulate the involved sectors and institutions.
- Ministry of the Interior: conducts the sectorial policies about drug trafficking, seizes the chemical and controlled products, conducts the eradication of illegal crops and the destruction of illegal drugs.
- Police Forces: execute interdiction operations.
- All natural and legal persons, as well as public and private institutions are mandated to contribute the authorities with the surveillance and the fight against drugs.

Regarding the coca leaf, it is established that the Peruvian State must supervise all the legal cultivation, which has to be performed in registered land and ENACO is the entity in charge of acquiring all the production for its commercialisation. On the other side, reconversion programmes are implemented and the illegal production will be eradicated by the Ministry of the Interior through the CORAH.

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[15] The Presidency of the Council of Ministers coordinates all the multisectoral policies and programmes of the Executive Power with the other powers of the State.

In this legislative decree, the role and specific functions of DEVIDA are defined as the institution in charge of conducting the policies and strategies to fight against drug trafficking, articulating actions with all the involved institutions and sectors. Among its specified functions, there are: coordinate multisectoral spaces to assure their implementation, perform preventive actions against drug consumption, promote the substitution of coca cultivation and other crops used in drug production through alternative development programmes, among others.

After approving several national strategies to fight against drugs —the last one valid between 2017 and 2021—, in 2020, the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030 was published.

Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020: National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030

This Policy is the most relevant disposition setting the guidelines about drug trafficking in Peru. The prioritised problem in it is phrased as: "The damage caused to strategic areas and vulnerable populations in the country due to illicit crops, drug trafficking and use" (Supreme Decree N° 192-2020-PCM, 2020, p. 4). To tackle it, three objectives are defined:

(i) Improve the socioeconomic and institutional situation of the strategic zones of intervention, improving the value chain of legal economic activities and the State presence in the zones of intervention.

(ii) Decrease illicit drug production and trade in the strategic zones of intervention.

(iii) Decrease drug consumption in vulnerable population.

Related to each one of the objectives, specific lines of intervention with associated services —16 in total— are defined. In the development of valuable licit economic activities, the involved institutions —under the guidance of DEVIDA— give technical assistance and accompaniment to the organisations of producers, provide of goods and supplies and trains about the access to financial products. It also defines as a service in the frame of the policy, the training of the authorities to improve the public investment management, as well as to the civil society in the monitoring of it. Related to the production of drugs, the policy establishes the surveillance and control of the crops and chemical inputs used in is production, as well as the seizure and interdiction of them. Finally, related to the consumption component of the problem, the policy defines preventive services centred in the school population and the rehabilitation, especially for vulnerable population.

To correctly address the complexity of the problem and implement these services, a multisectoral intervention is defined with several stakeholders —DEVIDA, Ministry of Economy and Finances, Ministry of Production, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agrarian

Development and Irrigation, Ministry of Health, ENACO, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Defence, among others—. DEVIDA is in charge of implementing and articulating the policy through the definition of specific zones of intervention, the design of multisectoral specific plans and the conformation of strategic groups for its implementation.

The 8 strategic zones of intervention —detailed in Map 1—, subdivided in sub strategic zones, were later defined with the Supreme Decree N° 086-2021-PCM: The Amazon Corridor, North-Amazon Corridor, the coastal line, Huallaga, La Convención (Kosñipata), South Amazon, the Triple Border with Colombia and Brazil and the VRAEM. The present research study is centred in the last one of these strategic zones of intervention. In the next subsection a more detailed diagnosis of this zone is developed.

A recently strategy developed by DEVIDA to strengthen the implementation of the National Policy is the "Citizen Social Pact" (*Pacto Social Ciudadano*), which aims to increase the participation of the civil society in this process. The Pact is a voluntary instrument and defines commitments for all the actors involved in the process:

- DEVIDA: Giving budget resources; articulating the intervention with other sectors and throughout the three levels of government; analysing the proposals of the indigenous community and producer organisations; provide technical assistance, among others.

- Central government: Contribute in the implementation of the process, incorporate the developed initiatives for the implementation of the Policy in its plans, programmes and projects; and allocate economic resources.

- Regional and local governments: Promote the inclusion of programmes and projects to fight against drugs in their strategic plans; promote diffusion spaces of the DEVIDA intervention; conduct communication programmes (e.g., in the radio and television) about the drugs problems and effects, establish strategic alliances with the producers' and social organisations and the indigenous communities in their territories; and allocate economic resources.

- Civil society: Promote activities and entrepreneurial activities related to the alternative development; support the public initiatives to fight against drugs; inform about the legal consequences of the illegal coca cultivation; contribute in the generation of scientific information; and promote programmes and projects related to the prevention of drugs consumption.

- Coca leaf producers: Gradually and voluntarily diminish the cultivation areas; diffuse the legal consequences of the cultivation in forbidden areas; communicate the illegal

activities; participate in the initiatives of legal economic activities that promote local development; among others.

- Indigenous communities (*comunidades campesinas y nativas*): Support DEVIDA in the gradual and voluntary reduction of the coca leaf cultivated in their territory; refuse the land transfer for cultivation of coca leaf; inform the authorities about the development of activities related to illegal drug trafficking in the zones of intervention; participate in the legal economic activities that promote sustainable development; support DEVIDA and the authorities involved in the implementation of the policy; participate in the communication campaigns and collaborate in the generation of information about the drug's adverse effects and the damages in the intervention zones.

3.3. Diagnosis of the zone of intervention: VRAEM

The VRAEM is located in the north-eastern flank of the southern Andes Mountain Range constituted by 69 districts, belonging to 5 of the 25 Peruvian Regions —Apurímac, Ayacucho, Cusco, Huancavelica, Junín—. Due to the high levels of poverty and social conflict the area has been prioritised by the Peruvian government to conduct a series of special interventions. In particular, in 2012, the socioeconomic development and the pacification of the VRAEM was declared of national interest by the Supreme Decree Nº 074-2012-PCM, 2012. As a result, a political classification to prioritise the territory was established, dividing it in districts of direct intervention (31) and district of influence (38), as it presented in Map 3.

Map 3: VRAEM's districts

In the last Census of 2017, there were 467,010 people registered living in the VRAEM of the 29.381.884 Peruvians (INEI, 2017). Unlike the rest of the country in which only 20,66% live in rural areas, in VRAEM this is the reality for the majority of the population: 59,7% and 51,9%, of the population in the zones of direct intervention and influence, respectively.

Population living in the VRAEM faces major gaps in terms of public services and the highest levels of poverty of the country. While, on average, 25.9% of the Peruvians faced poverty in 2021 (INEI, 2022)[16], the poor population in VRAEM was already 40.5% in 2017 and 7.2% were the extreme poor (Supreme Decree Nº 102-2018-PCM, 2018). Furthermore, some of the districts of the zone are among the poorest in all the country, such as Uchuraccay —the poorest

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[16] The COVID pandemics rose considerably poverty in the country: In 2021, 20.2% of the Peruvian population faced poverty, which increased 9.9 percentage points (30.1%) in 2020 (INEI, 2021).

nationwide— with 81.3% of the population in a situation of poverty (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2022).

In addition to the high levels of poverty, inequality and the gaps in the access to public services, the VRAEM is a territory of considerable social conflicts and violence due to the remnants of Sendero Luminoso and criminal organisations linked to the "[…] illicit drug trafficking and its related crimes: hit men, money laundering, human trafficking, etc" (Supreme Decrete Nº 102-2018-PCM, 2018, p. 1).

Following more characteristics are given related to three dimensions: (i) social, (ii) economic, and (iii) gender and interculturality.

Social

VRAEM population face major gaps in the access to public services, such as water and sewage. The access to the water public network has considerably increased between 2007 and 2017, going from 27,7% in the former year to 69,9% (INEI , 2017). However, many families still access water from natural sources —water bodies— or water trucks, facing higher prices and affecting their family economy. The situation worsens in relation to sewage: only 4 of 10 households has access to the public network and 1 in 10 still practices open defecation (INEI , 2017).

There are also important gaps in the access to education and health services. The following figure shows the trend in the level of instruction in VRAEM between 2007 and 2017, as well as the national average for the latter year. In that period, the level of education increased considerably, especially in the secondary and superior levels —7 and 4 percentage points, respectively—. However, it is considerably limited in comparison to the rest of the country, which is particularly reflected in the superior level of education (26%), doubling the VRAEM proportion (13%).

Gaps in the educational services are huge. For instance, in 2018, 39% of the schools were in a precarious situation, needing the total substitution of the infrastructure. Furthermore, in some districts of Ayacucho and Apurímac, such as "Uchuraccay" and "Los Chankas", 9 of each 10 schools were declared as needing total reconstruction by the Ministry of Education (Supreme Decree Nº 102-2018-PCM, 2018). The Information and Communication Technology (ICT) infrastructure is also limited in the zone: one third of the households did not access to any ICT —such as internet, television and phones— in 2017 (INEI, 2017).

Figure 1: Percentage distribution of the last approved educational level 2017-2017(*)
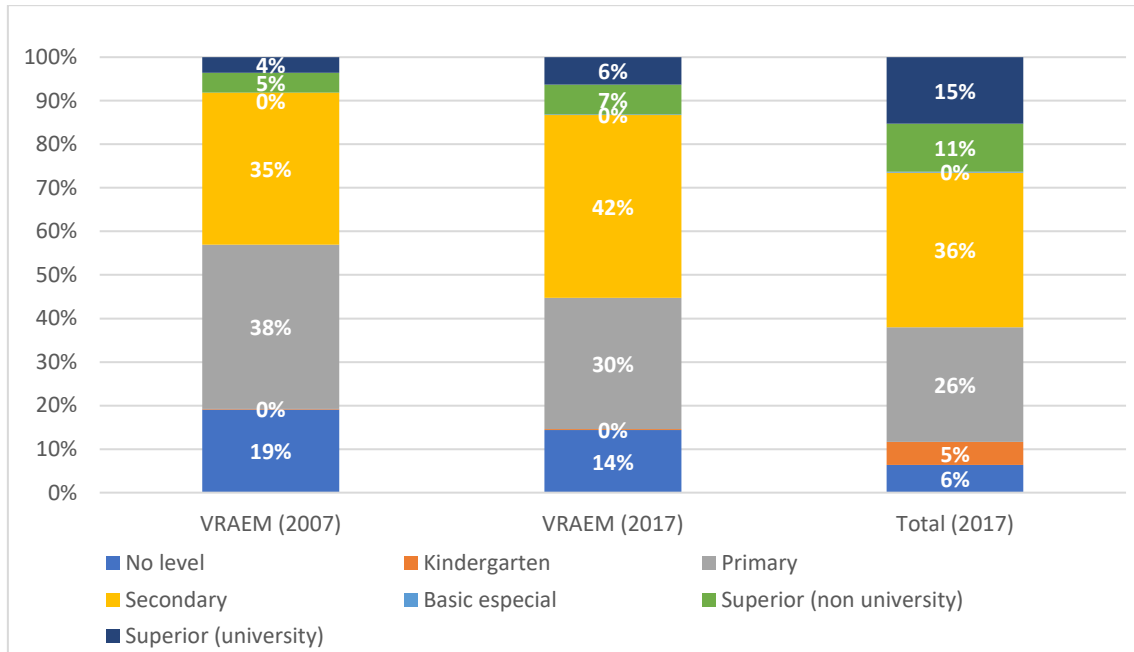
(*) The basic special education is a regimen dedicated for people with disabilities. The superior (non university) is mainly referred to the professional formation in technical institutes, people follow after finishing the secondary school. The superior university includes master and PHD.

Source: INEI (2017).

The gaps in the health sector are also important: there are some districts in VRAEM where more than half of the population do not have access to health services, such as Vizcatán del Ene, where 55,8% of its population did not have access to a health centre (Supreme Decree Nº 102-2018-PCM, 2018). This situation is affecting the health situation of the population: on average, 34% of the children between 0 and 3 years old in VRAEM suffer from anaemia and 25,8% of chronic malnutrition. Some extreme cases can be found, such as "Parihuanca" (Junin), with 66,4% of their children suffering from malnutrition (Supreme Decree Nº 102-2018-PCM, 2018).

Economy

The most important economic activities in VRAEM are: agriculture and cattle raising (34%), hydrocarbons and mining (27%) and electricity, gas and water (19%). Zooming in agriculture, the most extended crops are coca, coffee and cacao: they respectively represent 55%, 16% and 12% of the total production of the valley (Mendoza & Leyva, 2017). Coca production and its related activities are indeed the most important economic activity of the valley: according to

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the Ministry of Agriculture, 90% of the actual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the VRAEM depends on coca related activities (Mendoza & Leyva, 2017).

Coca in the illegal market can reach prices five times higher than the ones of the legal market (Zapata & Alfaro, 2021); therefore, considering the levels of inequality, poverty and labour informality —more than 90% of the workforce (Peñaranda Castañeda, 2019)—, it constitutes a major incentive to destine almost all of the production to the illegal market of cocaine.

This market works under a narco-terrorist scheme, in which narcotraffic groups have allied with the remnants of the Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) —leaded by Víctor Quispe Palomino–, terrorist group which gives them protection. Indigenous Peoples (IP) are particularly affected by them, whose lands are being used by the narcotraffic-related actors and, if they oppose, they are threatened or attacked.

Quoting Ana Barbazo, chief of OARA —*Organización Ashaninka del Río Apurímac*—: "This endangers the lives of our brothers. The "settlers" deceive our brothers and appropriate of their land to plant coca leaves. We want the ministries to act". On its side, in words of Fabián Antúnez, chief of CART —*Central Ashaninka del Río Tambo*, an indigenous local organisation—: "The presence of this outsiders only causes violence, terror and distress in our communities" (Zapata & Alfaro, 2021).

It is worth mentioning that with "colonizers" —*colonos*— are called all the non-indigenous people that arrive to work in VRAEM. This is the result of an internal migration process mainly from the Andean regions of Huancavelica and Ayacucho to the valley.

Gender and interculturality

Peru is a multicultural country which has 55 indigenous peoples —51 in the Amazon and 4 in the Andes Highlands— with 48 native languages (Ministry of Culture, 2020). According the information of the last census, 20% of the Peruvians self- identified as indigenous[17] (INEI, 2017). VRAEM is one of the Peruvian geographical areas with more IP —76,9% self-identify as belonging to one in the last census (INEI , 2017)—.

Historically, IP have faced the greatest socioeconomic gaps: 32.9% of the population whose mother tongue is an indigenous language is in a situation of poverty, of which —26.1% poverty

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[17] The answers considered are: "quechua", "aymara", "native or indigenous from the Amazon", "other native or indigenous peoples".

and 6.8% extreme poverty— (Ministry of Culture, 2017). The greatest gap is in Amazonic IP —present in several regions, among which the VRAEM—: 59,8% of them are in a situation of poverty —35.6% poverty and 24.2% of extreme poverty— (Ministry of Culture, 2017). Parallelly, women have also historically faced inequalities with respect to men, usually presenting larger gaps in the access to opportunities and having considerably more limitations in the access to public services.

The already existing gaps in VRAEM are even larger in IP. For instance, the illiteracy rate is of only of 2.9% in Spanish mother-tongue speakers, while 24.7% in the population who had Amazon Indigenous language as their mother tongue (Ashaninka, Awajun, Shipibo-Konibo, etc.) (INEI , 2017).

Zooming in this population group and following an intersectional perspective, people under the cross of these two dimensions, i.e. indigenous women, face the highest level of vulnerability in VRAEM. As an example of this situation, the following figure presents the percentage distribution of reached education level by gender and mother tongue.

Figure 2: VRAEM's level of education by gender and mother tongue
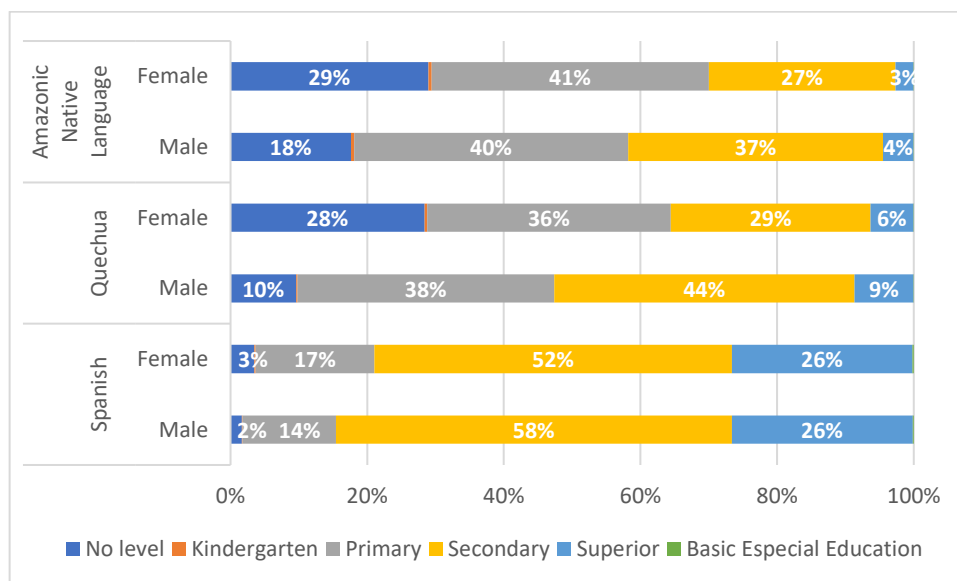
As it is possible to observe, the Spanish speaking people of both genders have a considerable higher level of education, followed by the Quechua mother-tongue speakers. In addition, by language, it is possible to verify that women always have a lower level of education. However, the cross of gender and intercultural factors shows the greatest gaps. In fact: Indigenous women

—both Quechua and from an Amazonic IP— possess the lowest education level of all the population in the VRAEM.

3.3.1. Interventions in VRAEM

To face the complex situation in the VRAEM, the Peruvian government has conducted a series of initiatives throughout the years, creating institutions and specific programmes. Three initial plans were implemented in 2006, 2009 and 2012 followed by different multiannual plans (Mendoza & Leyva, 2017).

The year 2012 was a breaking point in the policy initiatives implemented in the VRAEM, because it was declared of national interest the socioeconomic development and the pacification of this geographical area through the Supreme Decree N° 074-2012-PCM. Recognizing the complexity of the problems present in the area, a Multisectoral Commission – CODEVRAEM (*Comisión Multisectorial para la Pacificación y Desarrollo Económico Social en el VRAEM*) was created to involve all the sectors of the State in developing and implementing integral interventions.

After unsuccessful attempts to tackle the social gaps, the narcotraffic and the terrorist violence in the valley, in 2018, CODEVRAEM was merged with DEVIDA with the Supreme Decree N° 102-2018-PCM which also approved the "Strategy VRAEM 2021", entity currently in charge of its implementation.

Table 2 details the main objectives and guidelines of the Strategy VRAEM 2021, as well as the involved stakeholders in each of them.

Table 2: Objectives and guidelines of the Strategy VRAEM 2021

Objectives (components)	Guidelines (strategies)	Institutions and programmes involved
1.Sustainable VRAEM Promote the sustainable use of economic, environmental and social potentialities	1.1 Value chains: increase the value of productive chains	• Ministry of Agriculture • Ministry of Production • DEVIDA
	1.2 Health: Promote the access to quality health services	• Ministry of Health • Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion
	1.3 Education. Improve the access to quality education services	• Ministry of Education
	1.4 Protection of the environment: Reduce the environmental impact of legal and illegal economic activities	• Ministry of Environment • Ministry of Agriculture
2. VRAEM with opportunities Overcome the poverty and exclusion barriers that limit the social and economic development	2.1 Connectivity and infrastructure: Expand the coverage of roads, telecommunications and basic public services	• Ministry of Transport and Communications • Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation • Ministry of Energy and Mining • Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion • Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Population
	2.2 Formal employment: Promote the employment in licit and formal productive activities	• Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion • Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion
	2.3 Social protection: Increase the coverage of social programmes for the vulnerable population	
	2.4 Social capital: Strengthen the social and organisational relationships to promote the collective action towards the development of the community	• DEVIDA
3. Governable VRAEM Generate institutional conditions for the effective provision of public services	3.1 Integrity: Reduce the risk of corruption in the provision of public services	• General Comptroller of the Republic • Decentralisation Secretariat • Ombudsman's Office
	3.2 Territorial articulation: Articulate the sectorial plans with regional and local development plans	• Entities of the National, Regional and Local Governments

Own elaboration.

Source: Supreme Decree Nº 102-2018-PCM (2018).

3.3.1.1. USAID and the Project FID

The VRAEM has been the target of many international cooperation development projects, among which USAID has had a predominant role. This organisation has worked for approximately 6 decades in Peru implementing different initiatives which are centred in the following three objectives (USAID, 2022):

1. Promote licit means of life in the coca cultivation regions: USAID collaborates with the Peruvian Government in the implementation of the National Policy and Strategies after the eradication of illegal coca crops. It works closely with DEVIDA in the alternative development, developing legal economic activities, such as alternative crops —mainly coffee and cacao— and improving the value chain of its derived products.
2. Improve the sustainable management of resources in the Amazon jungle, focusing in deforestation, resolution of conflicts in the communities, sustainable economic development, water safety and climate change.
3. Strengthen governance practices to diminish corruption: USAID works in order to develop capacities with the three levels of the Peruvian Government, as well as with the civil society to develop citizen surveillance mechanisms.

The Project FID —*Proyecto de Fortalecimiento Institucional de DEVIDA (FID)*— is one of the USAID interventions promoting alternative development in several Peruvian regions, including VRAEM. It started in 2019, on year after a signed agreement between USAID and the Peruvian government.

Unlike all the previous USAID's interventions that were almost completely focused in giving immediate assistance to the citizens after the illegal coca eradication, besides this, the Project FID is centred in giving technical assistant to develop the institutional capacities of DEVIDA, reinforcing it and not competing with the stewardship role. Thus, the project strengthens DEVIDA's administrative and operational processes —procurement, monitoring, evaluation, gender inclusion, etc.—, develops capacities in the DEVIDA team, contributes to the monitoring and evaluation of the results, as well as trains the subnational governments to improve the implementation of DEVIDA's intervention (Chemonics International Inc., 2019).

In particular, the Project FID possess three central objectives:

(i) "Strengthen DEVIDA's capacity in providing most effective post-eradication assistance".

(ii) "Organise and empower the communities of the post-eradication areas to define and implement socioeconomic development priorities".

(iii) "Improve the ability of national and subnational governments to respond to citizen demands for public services and to facilitate conditions for local economic development in specific areas"

Each one of the central objectives is operationalised a component, including dedicated activities and interventions (Chemonics International Inc., 2019):

- Component 1: DEVIDA provides assistance in the post-eradication areas more effectively and sustainably: Includes the technical assistance for the institutional improvement and reform of DEVIDA.

- Component 2: Communities in post-eradication zones organise to define, advocate and implement priorities to achieve socioeconomic development: Activities to promote the social capital of the beneficiary communities of DEVIDA, empowering and giving assistance to their social and productive organisations.

- Component 3: National and subnational governments respond better to citizen demands for public services and facilitate the conditions for local economic development.

In addition to these three components, other two main lines of the project are gender and communication, having dedicated plans to, respectively promote, the gender equality as a cross-cutting approach in all the activities of the project and the communication with all the involved stakeholders through traditional tools —such as campaigns— and strategic planning (Chemonics International Inc., 2019).

Project FID is organised with a central office in Lima and three regional headquarters: (i) Mazamari —Province of Satipo, Junín region in VRAEM—, Tingo María —Huánuco region— and Aguaytía —Ucayali region—. Each regional headquarters possesses a regional coordinator and a technical team composed by: a community development specialist —responsible of implementing the activities of components 2 and 3 of the project—, a rural public investment specialist, specific facilitators according to the needs of each local area —for instance, communication and gender specialists—, administrative personnel and data analysts (Chemonics International Inc., 2019).

Each of these FID project headquarters works directly with the zonal and coordination offices of DEVIDA, which are the decentralised bodies of the institution, distributed in the national

territory and depending of the Territorial Articulation Directorate (*Dirección de Articulación Territorial - DATE*).

The Social Capital Baseline Study of 2019: Background of the case study of the thesis

One of the main lines of intervention of Component 2 of the project, is the promotion of social capital in the targeted communities by DEVIDA, with the aim to strengthen the alternative development strategy, which has seen a limited progress in the last years. In addition, the promotion of social capital is expected to improve the coordination with the communities in the definition of their development plans.

In particular, the project seeks to strengthen three types of social capital: (i) bonding —inside the community—, (ii) bridging —with other communities— and (iii) linking —with local governments and other public and private stakeholders— (Chemonics International Inc., 2019). To operationalise this, in 2019, the Project FID developed a baseline study with Videnza Consultores which consisted in building a composite index to measure the social capital of the economic —associations of producers— and social organisations targeted by DEVIDA.

The index was built considering four components:

  (i) Bonding social capital
  (ii) Bridging social capital
  (iii) Linking social capital
  (iv) Gender and interculturality: as a cross-cutting components, measured through specific questions included in the measurement tools of the other types of social capital.

Thus, for each component, specific measurement tools were developed (Table 3). It is important to establish that some of the organisations that are beneficiaries of DEVIDA belong to indigenous communities. In this case, the tools needed to be adapted following an intercultural approach[18] to assure their culturally pertinency.

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[18] In Chapter 4 of the thesis, the intercultural approach and its implications are furtherly explained.

Table 3: Components and Measurement Tools of the Social Capital Baseline Study (2019

Components	Objectives	Data collecting tools
Component 1	Bonding social capital	Value of the Organisational State - *Valor del Estado Organizacional* (VEO)
Component 2	Bridging social capital	Questionnaire 1- *Cuestionario 1*
Component 3	Linking social capital	Questionnaire 2 - *Cuestionario 2*
Component 4	Gender and interculturality	(i) VEO, (ii) Questionnaire 1 and (iii) Questionnaire 2 (specific questions in each tool).

Source: Videnza Consultores (2019).

The VEO is a tool that had previously been developed by USAID in Colombia, later adapted to the Peruvian reality in order to be used in the baseline study of 2019. On the other side, questionnaires 1 and 2 were elaborated by Videnza Consultores, for the economic and social organisations both for indigenous a non-indigenous communities.

Following, two figures included in the 2019 baseline study are presented. Local social and economic organisations in which social capital was measure were always in the community territory; thus, Figure 3 presents the interactions present in a regular community "A" targeted by DEVIDA. In the community territory, there are different local organisations "X" and "Y". Bonding social capital in the baseline study was measuring the internal relations of the organisations, while bridging social capital, the relationships among pair organisations —either social or economic— in the local sphere, which could be located in the same or in other communities. Finally, linking social capital of an "organisation X" considered the relationships it has with other stakeholders outside the community sphere, such as DEVIDA, in which hierarchies and power structures were present.

Figure 3: Conceptualisation of the social capital of an "Organisation X"

The relationships previously explained were then translated in the social capital index throughout the data collecting tools that were measuring the four components of the index. Figure 4 presents the subdimensions included in each of the components, later calculated with the indicated formula.

Figure 4: Building of the social capital index: Data collecting tools for each component and subcomponents

Calculation formula

$$ICS_{organisation_i} = \frac{1}{4} \times (VEO_i + CE_i + CV_i + CG_i)$$

Where:

- VEO_i is the value of the bonding social capital (Component 1).
- CE_i is the value of the bridging social capital (Component 2).
- CV_i is the value of the linking social capital (Component 3).
- CG_i is the component of gender and interculturality for organisation i (Component 4).

Each component is normalised to assign the index a value between 0 and 100.

A pending activity in 2019 was the adaptation and validation of the VEO for IP; therefore, currently is not possible to calculate the social capital index for the organisations in communities where IP live. With the motivation to contribute to the closure of this gap, the present thesis centres in the study of the social capital of the IP that are beneficiaries of the DEVIDA intervention (thus, also of the Project FID).

The presence of IP in the area of intervention of the Project FID is particularly relevant in the Mazamari headquarter, therefore, the case study and all the empirical work that has been conducted as part of this thesis has been with this office (see chapters 5 and 6). This is located inside the San Francisco Zonal Office – Pichari Headquarters of DEVIDA, which has two regional zones of intervention (Plataforma Nacional Única del Estado Peruano, 2022):

- Ayacucho:
    - La Mar province: Ayna, Anco, Chungui and Samugari districs.
    - Huanta province: Silvia district.
- Junin: Pangoa, Río Tambo and Mazamari in the Satipo Province.

It is worth mentioning that the main two IP present in the area of intervention of the Mazamari Coordination Office are the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples, who coordinate directly with these actors through their indigenous local organisations, broadly described in Chapter 4.

4. Theoretical framework

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework of the present research study, which is based on a literature review. It first gives an overview of the theoretical approaches developed about social capital by some of the classic scholars in the matter. Then, it centres in the other main theoretical area of the thesis: the intercultural approach both in the international legislation and in the Peruvian State, detailing the guidelines established by DEVIDA. Finally, both areas are connected, reviewing how social capital has been previously studied in indigenous peoples giving some highlights about aspects to be considered for adapting this concept developed in Occident to the use with IP.

4.1. Theories of social capital

Since the first developments of the social capital theory by the sociologists Pierre Bordieu and James Francis Coleman in the decade of 1980s, this concept gained a considerable importance in the next two decades. As a result, many different approaches have been developed, as well as empirical applications in a broad variety of fields, including economic development, democracy, problems of collective action, governance and public policy applications in the health and education sectors, among others.

At the same time, social capital theory has been criticised due to its broadness and lack of consensus between the scholars, preventing the development of an agreed conceptual framework. To address these issues, Adler and Kwon (2000) analyse the conceptual foundations of social capital and propose a framework to systematise the existing research in the topic. Based on these authors, the first subsection of the chapter describes the approaches of some of the most relevant classical theorists of social capital —Bordieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama and Burt—. Later, it presents the common elements and dimensions of social capital, to finally give some insights about the most important critiques and its possible negative effects.

Adler and Kwon's framework (2000) proposes that there are two identifiable trends in most of the approaches developed about social capital. On the one side, the predominant vision among sociologists is the one of an external resource: "[…] focuses primarily on social capital as a resource facilitating action by a focal actor, a resource that inheres in the social network tying that focal actor to other actors" (Adler & Kwon, 2000, p. 90). Thus, social capital is seen as a resource acquired by an individual thanks to the social relationships and networks he develops.

On the other side, among developmental economists and political scientists, the unit of analysis migrates towards a collective actor —such as organisations or communities— and social capital is intended as an internal feature of the social structure conforming this actor, which, as a consequence, gives cohesiveness and benefits (Adler & Kwon, 2000).

Despite this, these authors state that both visions are not mutually exclusive; thus, they propose an integrated view, defining social capital as:

> "[…] a resource for individual and collective actors by the configuration and content of the network of their more or less durable social relations" (Adler & Kwon, 2000, p. 93).

Table 4 presents this typology applied to some of the classic theorists of social capital. Below, each of the included authors is furtherly detailed to then return to the conceptual framework of Adler and Kwon, who balance these theories and present an integrated vision.

Table 4: Definitions of social capital

Author	Typology according to Adler and Kwon's framework
Pierre Bordieu	External
James Samuel Coleman	External
Robert Putnam	Internal
Ronald Stuart Burt	External
Francis Fukuyama	Internal

Source: Adler & Kwon, (2000).

4.1.1. Classical theorists of social capital

4.1.1.1. Pierre Bordieu

Pierre Bordieu's conception of social capital is developed in a broader integrated theory of capital, as the configuration of the social world and the power structures existing in it. He defines capital as accumulated labour in a material or "incorporated", embodied form —part of the person— which tends to reproduce itself and that can be appropriated by people, being transformed into a construct of power (Bordieu, 1986).

This author criticises the classic economic vision, only considering economic capital and monetary exchanges that follow an egoistic logic. Going beyond this vision, Bordieu states that the social structure, their existing imbalances and constraints, as well as the chances of the success for practices, are the result of the social distribution of three types of capital: economic, cultural and social.

Regarding the cultural capital, it can be present in three forms: (i) the embodied state, referred to the personal characteristics of an individual acquired through formal education and the family formation —referred to being a "cultivated" person—; (ii) the objectified state, including cultural goods; and the iii) institutionalised state, in form of educational qualifications socially accepted as a guarantee.

The social capital is defined by Bordieu as:

> "[…] the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition […] which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (Bordieu, 1986, p. 21).

A series of benefits is associated with the belonging of the network, because the individual is able to access a larger pool of resources, constituted by aggregating the capital —economic, social and cultural— of the members of the network. These profits can be either material, in terms of resources, or symbolic, associated with being a member of a particular or prestigious group. Thus, social capital produces a multiplier effect in the personal capital of the individual members of the network.

According to Bordieu, the conformation of the network implies investment strategies —conscious or unconscious— aimed at transforming contingent, into long-lasting stable relationships. Interactions between the members are reproduced over time through exchanges that allow the development of feelings of trust and solidarity. These exchanges are transformed into rites and signs of mutual recognition; thus, defining the limits —of belonging or not— to the group.

4.1.1.2. James Samuel Coleman

Coleman develops the concept of social capital in an attempt to integrate the economic and sociological approaches in the explanation of social action. He criticises the individual approximation of both of them: the economic one proposes an individualistic motive force based on the maximizing utility principle, while the sociological one only considers the effect of the social environment on the person, without taking into account the internal incentives of the individuals. Unlike this, Coleman's aim is to introduce the economic principle of rational action to analyse social systems, applying it with a wider perspective than just in economic systems. Following this logic, this author defines social capital as it follows:

"Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors —whether person or corporate actors— within the structure" (Coleman, 1988, p. 98).

Coleman identifies three forms of social capital (Coleman, 1988):

(i) Obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures: When a person performs an action for the benefit of another one, an expectation is created about it being retributed in the future; thus, creating an obligation that could be conceived as a credit slip. This intertemporal exchange of actions is possible because of the existing trust associated with the belonging of the social structure, i.e., people trust that the obligations will be repaid in the future. The more credit slips, the higher is the level of social capital.

(ii) Norms and effective sanctions: They set the social structure, promoting and constraining certain actions. They could be internalised or promoted through external rewards or the disapproval by the other members of the group.

(iii) Information channels: Social structures lower the cost of sharing information among the members, which enables action.

The closure of a network is a driver for the two first forms of social capital. In the case of obligations, it promotes the development of trust between the members, assuring the future repayment of the debt slips. The closure of the network also contributes to the development of effective sanctions when the norms are not respected; therefore, it improves their compliance.

Finally, an important element pointed out by Coleman is that social capital has the characteristics of a public good, generating greater effects in society beyond the ones perceived by the individual actors. Therefore, the internalised decisions by the actors usually lead to a social suboptimal level of social capital (Coleman, 1988).

4.1.1.3. Robert Putnam

Putnam bases his theory of social capital in Coleman's previous developments (Häuberer, 2010) and in his studies of social action and democracy in Italy and the United States of America (USA). He identified social capital as a key element for good government and democracy, which is closely related to associativity.

In particular, he proposes that horizontally-structured societies promote the development of mutual trust and solidarity between the citizens, with a subsequent engagement in social and cultural organisations. This structure generates a virtuous circle, in which trust and solidarity

are propagated to other areas of the social structure, strengthening the relationships among the members of the society and the involvement with their reality. Thus, "[…] a dense network of civic associations and an active culture of civic engagement" (Putnam, 1993, p. 103) is created, making possible an integrated development.

Unlike this, "uncivic" and non-democratic societies —with a low degree of social capital— are characterised for a vertical-hierarchical organisation with a poor involvement in social and cultural organisations and a low interest in public affairs. Therefore, "public affairs is [sic] someone else's business, not mine. Laws are made to be broken, and people live in fear" (Putnam, 1993, p. 103). Similarly to Coleman, for Putnam strong ties prevail in the formation of social capital.

According to Putnam, collective action is the key for a prosperous society and this is only possible with a high level of social capital: "Communities don't have choral societies because they are wealthy; they are wealthy because they have choral societies— or more precisely, the traditions of engagement, trust and reciprocity that choral societies symbolize" (Putnam, 1993, p. 106).

Putnam, then, defines social capital as the:

> "[…] features of social organisation such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013, p. 1225).

According to Häuberer (2010), even if not explicitly established by Putnam, it is possible to identify a causal relationship between the three elements of social capital that he identified — trust, norms and networks—, which is illustrated in Figure 5. Established formal or informal social networks promote the development of trust among the members of the organisation, as well as the establishment of norms that regulate their social interactions. In addition, the latter also encourages the rising of trust among the members of the society because they regulate social interaction and guarantee the compliance of the agreed aspects between the members of the community, through the positive or negative social reinforcement.

Figure 5: Causal relationships in Putnam's social capital elements
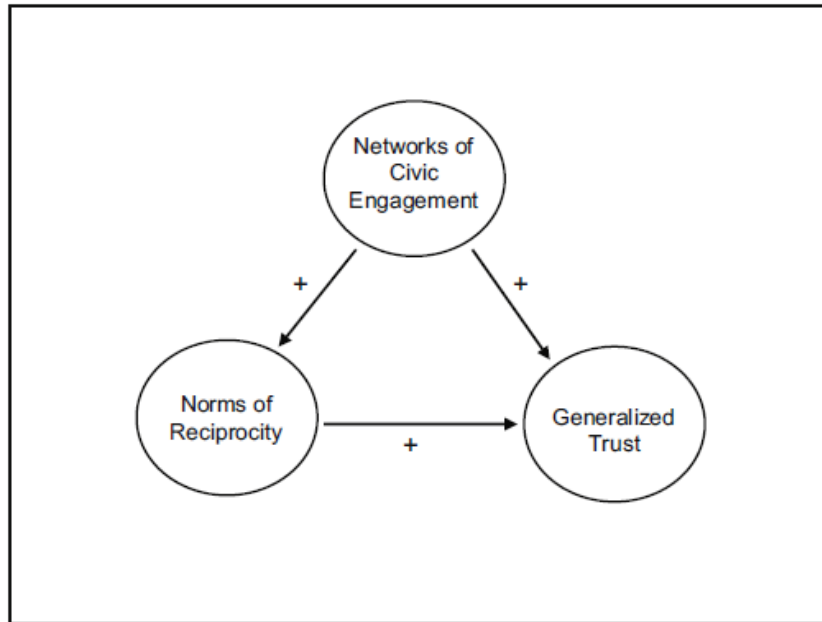
According to Putnam (2001), social capital has, simultaneously, elements of a private and public good because it is valued by people —privately— and produces externalities in the society which could be positive or negative. The latter could occur, for instance, in groups with tight relationships —a strong bonding— and an extremist vision; therefore, the resources acquired through their social interaction —the increased capacity of action— could be used for destructive ends.

4.1.1.4. Ronald Stuart Burt

Burt develops his theory of social capital inside the field of network analysis and conceptualises it as a private good, leaving aside the public character identified by authors like Putnam and Coleman. In particular, he defines it as:

> "[…] friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital" (Adler & Kwon, 2000, p. 91).

Under Burt's approach, social capital follows a network structure, because it directly depends of the position that the individual or collective actor possesses in the social structure, potentially impacting in them:

> "[…] social capital is a quality created between people, whereas human capital is a quality of individuals […] Social capital predicts that returns to intelligence, education and seniority depend in some part on a person's location in the social structure of a market or hierarchy. While

human capital refers to individual ability, social capital refers to opportunity" (Burt, 1997, p. 339).

Unlike Putnam and Coleman, who emphasise the value of the strong ties for the strengthening and multiplication of social capital, weak ties are prioritised by Burt to explain the creation and reproduction of social capital. He establishes that the lower is the cohesion in a social group, the greater can be the social capital, generating value in terms of information and control (Burt, 1997). In particular, social networks are constituted by strong and weak ties and, when there is more cohesion inside a network —with many strong ties—, the repetition of information is higher in it. Therefore, networks with weaker ties have a lower redundancy of information and people belonging to them are able to access a broader pool of resources thanks to their acquaintances. In this sense, social capital is related to information benefits.

This relationship of nonredundancy between two contacts is called "structural hole" by Burt and is the basis to produce additive —non-overlapping— network benefits (Häuberer, 2010). The management of the structural holes by the people belonging to the social network, i.e., the individuals establishing weak ties, contact and relationships with other social clusters; allows these individuals to also obtain control benefits —the second element of value associated with social capital—. In particular, they act as brokers of the social relationships developing an entrepreneurial behaviour and new opportunities for the different clusters belonging to the social network (Burt, 1997). To better explain the role of the broker, this author exemplifies it with the manager of a firm.

This dependency between the value of social capital and structural holes determines its contingent value, i.e., the value of social capital could decrease when the social network's structure changes. For instance, this could happen if the number of peers of a manager —acting as broker— increases, because there would be more people managing the same type of information. Therefore, there is a loss in the individual benefits related to the exclusivity in information and the control of the social relationships associated with the social capital of the manager (Burt, 1997).

4.1.1.5. Francis Fukuyama

Fukuyama defines social capital as:

> "[…] shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships. Social capital in this view is a utilitarian way of looking at culture. Culture tends to be seen as an end in itself (which it is) or as a form of creative expression. However, it also

plays a very important functional role in any society, being the means by which groups of individuals communicate and cooperate in a wide variety of activities" (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 27).

"[…] any instance in which people cooperate for common ends on the basis of shared informal norms and values" (Fukuyama, 2002, p. 23).

Fukuyama criticises the public good character of social capital established by Coleman, arguing that cooperation is needed for every individual to achieve its selfish ends; thus, it behaves rather as a private good. Likewise, regarding the social capital sources, he criticises the simplistic economic vision that cooperation is the result of a Prisoner's Dilemma game in which individuals interact over time, developing a reputation of honesty and reliability that helps them in their cooperation and agreements (Fukuyama, 2001).

According to this author, the creation of social capital is more complex and involves many factors: "[…] it is frequently a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experience, and other factors […]" (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 7). In addition, globalisation can also be a source of social capital, because it allows new spaces and ways of socializing, generating innovative ideas that can be put into practice. Finally, to increase social capital, it is possible to develop public policies in the education sector, as many norms and rules are transmitted there; and adequately provide public goods such as property rights and public safety (Fukuyama, 2001).

4.1.2. Common elements of social capital theories

Although social capital is not a univocal concept and there is not consensus among the authors, it is possible to identify some common elements present in its different theoretical approaches:

1. Social capital is identified to be valuable for the social actors because it enlarges the pool of resources —tangible or intangible— they would access individually and facilitates coordinated actions and cooperation.

2. The social network or social structure is the basic structural element of social capital for most of the scholars, because it is the conformed entity in which social interactions take place. Therefore, it allows the formation of value and acquisition of benefits by the social actors —individual or collective— associated with the social capital. About the social structure's formation and reproduction:

   a. The social network can be formally or informally constituted.

b. Elements of mutual recognition —rituals, signs or habits— are developed in the social network, establishing the boundaries between the members and the external individuals.

c. Both strong and weak ties are important in the formation of social capital. The former produces a high level of cohesion, increasing trust and simplifying cooperation inside the group. On the other hand, weak ties connect heterogenous social groups, allowing cooperation and the exchange of information between them.

3. Trust is the second structural element commonly identified by scholars. It is developed by the constant interactions between the members of the social network that create commitment and reputation —through the compliance of what was agreed—. Thus, solidarity is created among the members of the group that leads to mutual support and cooperation.

4. Norms that set and regulate social behaviour are the third structural element of social capital. They establish what is socially considered as appropriate and related sanctions when it is not followed. Thus, certain actions and behaviours are reinforced through social norms.

5. A commonly identified valuable aspect of social capital is that it allows the exchange of information among the actors of the social structure, decreasing the transactions costs and enabling action. Some authors like Burt emphasise the importance of the non-redundancy of the information to maximise these benefits.

6. Social capital can present both characteristics of a private or public good. Regarding the former, it produces utility and advantages to the persons belonging to the social network in achieving their individual goals. Regarding the latter, social capital benefits society as a whole and produces externalities —positive or negative—. As it has been described in the previous subsection, most scholars identify social capital exclusively with just one of these types of goods —either private or public— in their theories.

4.1.3. Types of social capital

The typology of social capital presented below is based on Putnam's ideas that has been later deepened by other scholars. Originally, this author proposed two main types of social capital —bonding and bridging— which has been later expanded to include a third category —linking—; however, it is worth noting that they are not mutually exclusive.

Differentiating the types of social capital resolves, in an integrated framework, the opposite visions of the previously described scholars, some of which attributed social capital mainly to strong social ties, while others only to weak ties.

Bonding social capital

Bonding social capital is related to the interactions between people with a high degree of similarity in "demographic characteristics, attitudes and available information and resources" (Claridge, 2018, p. 2). It is the type of social capital that takes places in horizontal social structures and within groups characterised by strong ties, high level of trust and solidarity among its members (Häuberer, 2010). Thus, it promotes the development of high levels of cohesion and thick trust within the group, while, at the same time, it could lead to the closeness of the group with outsiders and promote exclusionary behaviours. Putnam established that bonding social capital is good for "getting by", promoting collaboration and reciprocity (Claridge, 2018).

Bridging social capital

Bridging social capital results from interactions of people with differences in categories established by the social structure, such as religion or race (Claridge, 2018); thus, it is associated with weak ties and the "bridge" between different social groups. Unlike bonding social capital, bridging promotes the expansion of the social boundaries and the interaction and cooperation between diverse social groups. Putnam established that bridging social capital is good for "getting ahead", expanding the access to more resources that are, otherwise, unavailable (Claridge, 2018).

Linking social capital

In the original classification by Putnam, bridging social capital could include both horizontal and vertical relationships between heterogeneous social groups. However, when this differentiation is made, the linking social capital is established as a third derived type that states for the vertical relationships in heterogeneous groups.

In particular, linking social capital "[…] describes norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalised power or authority gradients in society" (Claridge, 2018, p. 4). An example of this type of interaction could be between the State and its citizens.

Unlike bridging social capital, in which the relationship between social groups with differences is horizontal, in linking social capital the hierarchy is present and a conscious part of the relationship, such as in patron-client and mentor-mentee (Claridge, 2018).

4.1.4. Critiques to the concept of social capital

Social capital has been deeply criticised because of the lack of consensus in its definition that leads to name, under the same term, different phenomena and to include different elements to explain it. Bjørnskov and Sønderskov (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013) perform an analysis about the "goodness" of the concept in the academic field of social sciences based on a set of criteria established by Gerring, presented in the following table.

Table 5: Gerring's criteria to evaluate the "goodness" of concepts

Criteria	Definition	Fulfilment of the criteria
1. Familiarity	Name and definition are intuitively and easily understood	Yes
2. Resonance	The concept is easy to remember	Yes
3. Parsimony	Length of the definition: short and more precise definitions without including too many attributes	Yes
4. Coherence	"Degree of internal coherence between the different attributes as well as the actual, observable components of the concept"	No
5. Differentiation	"Degree of boundedness from other, neighbouring concepts. A highly differentiated concept is easily recognizable and easy to separate from other concepts"	No
6. Field utility	The concept is different from the already existing ones in the field and does not damage the conceptual quality in the field.	No
7. Depth	"A deep concept has several attributes that need not be part of the definition, but are attributes that are associated with the concept"	Yes
8. Theoretical utility	The concept helps create new knowledge into an existing field, creating new theories and refining the existing ones.	Yes

Source: Bjørnskov and Sønderskov (2013, pp. 1229-1232)

In their analysis, Bjørnskov and Sønderskov (2013) apply these criteria to different social capital definitions and they conclude that the concept correctly performs in several of them. This is the case of the first three criteria —familiarity, parsimony and resonance—, which is the reason why it became popular considerably fast. In addition, it has a high theoretical utility, trying to conceptualise for the first time a set of social and economic phenomena that previously had not been identified.

Despite this, according to the authors, social capital does not fulfil the most important criterion: coherence. Most of the scholars, such as Putnam, Fukuyama and Coleman, include two attributes: being present in social relations and promoting cooperation. This is problematic, because every aspect of the social organisation that enhances cooperation should be social capital; therefore, "the concept is not differentiated from other concepts and completely unsuitable in empirical analyses of the causes and effects of social capital. Any potential social cause of social capital will be social capital itself if it affects cooperation, and any finding of positive effects on cooperation or phenomena in any way related to cooperation is tautological" (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013, p. 1230).

Following the aforementioned logic, social capital also does not fulfil the fifth criterion — differentiation— nor the sixth —field utility—, because its lack of specificity could lead to confusions and imprecisions when considering the social effects of norms, trust and networks. Finally, regarding the depth of the concept, it indeed considers a broad number of phenomena; however, this could be the consequence of the undifferentiated nature of the concept. As a conclusion, these authors state that "even if social capital has been a remarkably productive idea, it is not a good concept as most popular conceptualisations define social capital as several distinct phenomena or as phenomena that already have been conceptualised under other labels" (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013, p. 1225).

Related to this, Häuberer (2010, p. 60) criticises Putnam's definition because it mixes causes and effects, indicators and outcomes: "After naming the effects he starts to analyze them retroactively using different indicators and ascribing all of them to social capital". In addition, he does not explicitly define social capital and uses terms like "community" or "fraternity" as a synonym; thus, possibly showing low field utility and differentiation of the concept.

Another set of critics of the social capital concept is related to its measurement. In particular, the lack of consensus in the definitions difficult the operationalisation of the concept in a quantitative model. Thus, there is not clarity on what elements to be considered as dependent or independent variables in the quantitative models (Häuberer, 2010).

4.2. IP and the Intercultural Approach

The second subsection of Chapter 4 focuses in the IP and the intercultural approach, as a framework to be applied in the thesis. This part of the framework is important as a preface of the last and third section of Chapter 4, centred in how to adapt the social capital traditional —

occidental— concept, to the Peruvian IP, in particular to the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples who live in the VRAEM.

Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention" identifies three criteria —two objective and one subjective—to consider someone as belonging to an IP. On the one side, the objective criteria are (ILO, 1989):

(i) To be a descendant "[…] from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries" (Article 1).

(ii) Peoples who "[…] irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions" (Article 1).

On the other side, the subjective criterion to be considered as belonging to an IP is the self-identification.

The treatment of IP throughout history has changed, starting from a racist and colonialist perspective before the twentieth century, to develop standards of international legislation and protection with the establishment of specific rights.

4.2.1. International standards to protect the rights of indigenous peoples

The development of international standards of IP started in 1957 with the Convention 107 of ILO —ratified by 27 countries—, which aims to establish standards to protect them and improve their living and working conditions. However, this legal instrument follows an integrationist approach, considering these peoples were transitory and not developed societies that needed to be assimilated and integrated into the national mainstream tendencies in order to survive (ILO, 2003).

In particular, in the preamble of the convention it is established that IP "[…] are not yet integrated into the national community and whose social, economic or cultural situation hinders them from benefiting fully from the rights and advantages enjoyed by other elements of the population […]" (ILO, 1957). Therefore, the convention intends to integrate indigenous and tribal populations into the national community, in order to share with them the general progress of the society.

The second ILO's convention in the matter, C169 which was approved in 1989, radically changed the previous approach, stating the need to set new standards that remove the assimilationist orientation of the previous ones. This convention recognises "[…] the

aspirations of these peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain and develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live" (ILO, 1989).

C169 sets interculturality as the currently valid approach to be implemented in the treatment of IP. This is based on the coordinated action, permanent dialogue and cooperation between the State and IP in the safeguard of their rights and the establishment of public policies. The two basic postulates of C169 are: (i) the right of IP to keep and strengthen their cultures, ways of life and institutions and (ii) to participate in the decisions that affect them. In addition, it establishes the right of IP to participate in the definition of their development priorities (ILO, 2014).

C169 was ratified by 23 countries[19], implying that they commit to adapt their national legislation to implement the intercultural approach, modifying their internal processes and organisational structures in the three levels of government (ILO, 2014). ILO periodically follows up the implementation of the convention.

Later, on 13 September 2007, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was approved with 143 states in favour, 4 against —Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States— and 11 abstentions.

In the UN system there is also a series of specific institutions to promote the respect of the rights of IP to perform the monitoring of the intercultural approach implementation. The stewardship role relies on the Secretary – Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

- Secretary – Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Organ with the stewardship of the indigenous issues in the UN system. It has participated in the development and implementation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Contribute in the Inter – Agency support Group on Indigenous Peoples Issues, conduct training in indigenous affairs, build capacity amongst indigenous peoples and

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[19] The Convention 107 is not open for ratification, because it has been replaced by the Convention 169; however, it is still valid in the countries which ratified it and has not signed the Convention 169. The countries which ratified the latter are: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Ecuador, Spain, Fiji, Guatemala, Honduras, Luxemburg, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Norway, Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Central African Republic and Venezuela (ILO, 2020). The Convention 107 is still valid in Angola, Bangladesh, Belgium, Egypt, El Salvador, Ghana, Guinea – Bissau Haiti, India, Iraq, Malawi, Pakistan, Panama, Syria, Dominican Republic and Tunisia. (ILO, 2020).

assists the other UN mechanisms for indigenous peoples (United Nations Human Rights - Office of the High Commissioner, 2020).

- Human Rights Council:
  - The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: created in 2007 with 7 experts of indigenous origin who conduct studies to advance in the protection and promotion of indigenous rights.
  - Special rapporteur: mechanism created in 2001 with the aim to promote good practices, implement international protection standards and make recommendations to take measures for the protection of rights of indigenous peoples. It also addresses specific cases of alleged violations of rights and reports of human rights situations (United Nations Human Rights - Office of the High Commissioner, 2020).
- Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues of the Economic and Social Council: since 2000, examine topics related to the economic development, social, culture, education, health, environment and human rights.

The Inter-American System of Human Rights has also developed specific instruments to promote and protect the rights of IP. In particular, they have pronounced the American Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which they execute through the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The latter is composed by seven judges of countries members of the Organisation of American States which analyse particular cases, giving sentences and consulting opinions.

4.2.2. The Intercultural Approach in the Peruvian State

In Peru, international agreements possess constitutional status in the legal system, i.e., they are in the highest level of the hierarchy of norms of the State. Therefore, since the ratification of ILO's C169 in 1993, which entered into force in 1995, Peru committed to implement their dispositions; thus, the intercultural approach, adapting the policies and the structure of the State in all its sectors and tiers of government.

Article 2 of the Peruvian Constitution recognises the right to the ethnic and cultural identity, as well as the right to use their own language with an interpreter before any authority. The Constitution also recognises the legal existence of indigenous communities, of the communal land and the use of customary law —based in cultural costumes— in the indigenous jurisdiction (Political Constitution of Peru, 1993).

Native communities were recognised legally and juridically in the Decree Law N° 22175 "Law of Native Communities and Agrarian Development of the Selva and Ceja de Selva" of 1978 intended to contribute to the integral development of the jungle (*selva y ceja de selva*). There, native communities are defined as constituted by the "[…] groups of families linked by the following elements: language or dialect, cultural and social characteristics, possession and common and permanent usufruct of the same territory, with nucleated or dispersed settlement" (Article 8). Thus, since the approval of this law, the Amazon IP are officially called in the Peruvian State "native communities" (Decree Law N° 22175, 1979).

Over time, different legal devices have been approved to strengthen the rights to protect IP. One of the most relevant laws in the matter, promulgated in 2011, has been the Law on the Right to Prior Consultation of Indigenous or Original Peoples (Law N° 29785), establishing this mechanism in all the legislative and administrative measures that affects directly IP in all the sectors of the State.

Later, in 2015, with the Supreme Decree Nº 003-2015-MC, the National Policy for Mainstreaming the Intercultural Approach was approved, which main objective is to establish and articulate the State mechanisms to guarantee the exercise of the rights of the culturally diverse population of the country, mainly IP and the Afro-Peruvian population, promoting the cultural diversity in the State, operating with cultural pertinency and; thus, contributing to social inclusion, national integration and the end of discrimination. The policy is organised in four axes to manage interculturality (Table 6), giving specific guidelines in each of them.

Table 6: National Policy for Mainstreaming the Intercultural Approach's Axes

Axis	Guidelines
1. Strengthen the intercultural management capacity of the Peruvian State.	1. Develop the institutions, public policies and State mechanisms to mainstream the intercultural approach. 2. Guarantee quality standards in the delivery of public services respecting the cultural and linguistic particularities.
2. Positive acknowledgement of cultural and linguistic diversity	1. Production of information and knowledge about the cultural diversity in Peru. 2. Promote the protection of knowledge of the different cultures of the country, valuing the collective memories of peoples.
3. Eliminate ethnic-racial discrimination	1. Guarantee the right to equality, no discrimination and prevention of racism 2. Promote the formation of "intercultural citizens"
4. Social inclusion of IP and Afro Peruvian population	1. Promote the attention of IP and Afro-Peruvian population under an intercultural approach 2. Guarantee the exercise of collective rights of IP throughout the consolidation of a legal framework and the strengthening of institutions.

Source: Supreme Decree Nº 003-2015-MC (2015).

The Peruvian institution with the stewardship role to conduct the execution, monitoring and evaluation of the intercultural policy is the Ministry of Culture, through the Vice Ministry of Interculturality. This institution coordinates with the directorates of the other 18 ministries specialised in indigenous affairs to implement the intercultural approach in the sectoral policies. In addition, there is also coordination with the regional and local governments, which should develop specific intercultural policies and establish directorates or areas specialised in indigenous affairs, even though this level of implementation is still limited.

4.2.2.1. The Intercultural Approach in DEVIDA

Following the aforementioned guidelines, DEVIDA has also developed specific instruments to implement the intercultural approach. The most important one is the "Guide for the Formulation and Management of the Community Life Plans" (*Guía para la Formulación y Gestión de Planes de Vida Comunal*). Two legal devices related to the intercultural approach influencing this guide has been:

- The Ministerial Resolution N° 103-2016-MC, "Life Plan. Guide for Collective Planning" (*Plan de Vida. Guía para la Planificación Colectiva*) of the Ministry of Culture, which develops a methodological proposal for native and IP to develop their own community planning tools.

- Resolution of the National Superintendent of Public Registries No. 122-2013-SUNARP/SN, which approves the Directive No. 05-2013-SUNARP/SN "Directive that regulates the registration of acts and rights of Native Communities". People in a condition of vulnerability are able to register to impulse their own development. This directive affects the modification of the native communities[20] statutes.

Based on these norms, the Life Plans are the main instrument that DEVIDA uses to promote the intercultural approach. Life Plans are defined by the Ministry of Culture, using the framework developed by Kuiri (2014) and Espinosa (2014), as a collective, differential and integral strategic planning instrument of IP or indigenous organisations that, starting from a reflection about their cosmovision and history, defines their expected future vision, as well as strategies and actions to achieve it (Unidad de Coordinación Mazamari, 2021).

Life Plans are developed collaboratively by DEVIDA —the community management team of the Mazamari Coordination Office - San Francisco Zonal Office—, the indigenous organisations, and the native communities[21]. Indeed, the participation of all the members of the communities is promoted to collect their perceptions, knowledge and needs.

Four processes are involved in the elaboration of the Life Plans:

(i) Political-institutional process: Involvement and coordinated work with the native community's authorities throughout the whole process of elaboration of the Life Plan.

(ii) Participative process: Involvement of all the members of the community, including men, women, youngsters, elders and children.

(iii) Technical-professional process: Guidance by DEVIDA's team, in coordination with the community authorities, who teaches tools and methodologies to be implemented in the process.

(iv) Communication process: information, communication and presentation to the members of the community of the Life Plan's programming, execution and results.

The formulation and management of the Life Plan starts with an agreement between DEVIDA and the indigenous organisations and native communities and with the formation of the Community Committee. Later, a participative diagnosis is conducted to, then, formulate and

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[20] The term "native communities" (*comunidades nativas*) is used in the Peruvian State to refer to the Amazon IP communities. To refer to the Andean IP the term is "peasant communities" (*comunidades campesinas*).

[21] The differences between native communities and indigenous organisations are better detailed in the next subsection 4.2.2.2 IP and organisations in the VRAEM.

diffuse the plan in the community and inter-institutional level. Finally, it is implemented and monitored jointly by the Community Committee and the DEVIDA technical team.

4.2.2.2. IP and organisations in the VRAEM

Two of the main IP present in the districts of intervention of the Mazamari Coordination Office in the North VRAEM, are the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka peoples, who live either in cities or in rural areas. In the latter case, they are commonly organised in communities —named "native communities" in the Peruvian State (*comunidades nativas*)—, distributed alongside the territory. These communities can be registered in the local municipalities, responsible for the jurisdiction in which they live.

In addition, the political official representation of the IP that dialogues with the Peruvian State is constituted by the seven national indigenous representative organisations[22] which are subdivided in regional and local organisations. In the case of the North VRAEM, working with the Mazamari Coordination Office of DEVIDA and the Project FID, there are six local indigenous organisations:

- Asociación Unión Ashaninka y Nomatsigenga del Valle de Pangoa (KANUJA): in the district of Pangoa.
- Central Ashaninka del Río Ene (CARE): in the districts of Pangoa and Río Tambo.
- Central Ashaninka del Río Tambo (CART): in the district of Río Tambo.
- Federación Ashaninka del Río Ene (FARE): in the district of Río Tambo.
- Organización de Comunidades Ashaninkas de Mazamari (OCAM): in the district of Mazamari.
- Organización de Comunidades Ashaninkas de Río Ene Pangoa (OCAREP): in the district of Pangoa.

These local indigenous organisations are affiliated to other regional and national organisations. For instance, CARE, FARE and KANUJA are part of the regional ARPI (Asociación Regional de Pueblos Indígenas de la Selva Central) and of the national AIDESEP, which belongs to the international organisation COICA (Coordinadora de la Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca

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[22] The eight national indigenous organisations are: (i) Central Única Nacional de Rondas Campesinas del Perú - CUNARC-P, (ii) Confederación Campesina del Perú CCP, (iii) Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana – AIDESEP, (iv) Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú CONAP, (v) Organización Nacional de Mujeres Indígenas Andinas y Amazónicas del Perú ONAMIAP, (vi) Unión Nacional de Comunidades Aymaras UNCA, (vii) Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas, Artesanas, Indígenas, Nativas y Asalariadas del Perú and (viii) Confederación Nacional Agraria CNA (Ministry of Culture, 2020).

Amazónica) (ARPI SC, 2022). Similarly, CART, OCAM and OCAREP are affiliated to the national CONAP (Kené Amazon, 2022).

Following some of the main characteristics of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples, mainly about their identities and social practices.

Ashaninka

Ashaninka peoples are the Amazon IP with more population in Peru: According to the last Peruvian Census, 55,493 people self-identified as Ashaninka[23] and 73,567 declared having this language as their mother tongue (INEI, 2017). The 675 Ashaninka localities identified by the Ministry of Culture are present in the regions of Ayacucho, Cusco, Huánuco, Junín, Loreto, Madre de Dios, Pasco and Ucayali and, approximately, 118,277 people is living in them (BDPI, 2022).

The word "Ashaninka" can be translated as "people", "*paisano*" —people of the same origin— or "relative/family" and it has been adopted by this IP instead of other previously diffused terms that had pejorative connotations, such as "campa" (BDPI, 2022). The series of publications "*Nuestros pueblos indígenas"* of the Ministry of Culture illustrates valuable information about IP, including testimonies of members of the peoples. There, about the "Ashaninka identity" it is mentioned that it is related to the territory and its defence throughout history, in close contact with the nature: "[…] keep the territory untouched, know how to be in relation to their way of life without undergoing changes within their territory, since this way of life implies reciprocity between human beings and nature"[24] [Pablo Jacinto, Ashaninka, in (Ministry of Culture, 2014, p. 13)].

In addition, there are elements of cultural identification such as the language, the traditional way of dressing —with elements such as the *cushma*, a one-piece dress— and the food. Also, common activities such as fishing, hunting and cultivating are identification elements, as well as the relationship with the environment: "[…] because we live of the tree, because the plant

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[23] The total number of Peruvians who self-identified as belonging to an Amazon IP were 210,612 (INEI, 2017).

[24] The original quote in Spanish is: "[…] mantener su territorio intacto, saber estar en relación a su modo de vida sin sufrir cambios dentro de su territorio, pues este modo de vida implica la reciprocidad entre el ser humano y la naturaleza".

gives me life when I'm sick or when the air is polluted"[25] [Pablo Jacinto, Ashaninka, in (Ministry of Culture, 2014, p. 14)].

Traditionally, Ashaninka communities were dispersed in the territory, organised among small groups with a family leader in locations of 30-50 inhabitants, to larger communities with a population of 200-300 individuals (BDPI, 2022). They have historical relationships with other IP, such as the Yanesha and Nomatsigenga. The Mountain of Salt (*Cerro de la Sal*) —main place of salt supply of the central jungle— was one of the most common places of meeting and exchange with other IP (Aguirre Baique, et al., 2019).

The main economic activities are agriculture, hunting and fishing. The most common crop is *yuca* (tapioca), used to elaborate *masato* —a traditional and ritual alcoholic beverage, exclusively prepared by the women of the community—, followed by corn, banana, beans, among others such as coffee, cacao, recently introduced.

Hunting is established as a ceremonial value beyond finding food, related to the value assigned to nature. Therefore, there are some rules established, such as not hunting excessively the same type of animal, not making them suffer, not feeding with the hunted animals in the case of the beginner hunters, etc (Aguirre Baique, et al., 2019).

Citing the testimony of Enrique Casanto (Ashaninka): "If the Ashaninka kills a deer for his consumption, he does not see it in the business system […] Ashaninkas have never been criminals that exterminate animals for business, they do not see it in the economic system but for consumption. Unlike this, foreigners do see it in the business system, they say 'this people do not know how to make business, I better do it' and they grab everything. The Ashaninka has always considered it an ecological system inside its own nature"[26] (Ministry of Culture, 2014, p. 73).

There gender roles are differentiated: hunting and fishing are male activities, while agriculture, the elaboration of ceramics, as well as weaving baskets, mats and dresses are female

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[25] The original quote in Spanish is: "[…] el título del libro de Enrique Rojas Zolezzi 'Los Ashaninka: un pueblo tras el bosque' es un título que ejemplifica lo que es ser Ashaninka, porque vivimos del árbol, porque la planta me da vida cuando estoy enfermo o cuando el aire está contaminado".

[26] The original quotation in Spanish is: "El Ashaninka si mata un venado mata para un consumo, no lo ve en el sistema de negocio. Lo que pasa es que entra la carretera, entra el turismo y mucha gente utiliza el restaurante y mucha gente pide guiso de venado, un asado de venado, un chicharrón de venado, y el pobre animal ya no existe. Pero el Ashaninka nunca ha sido un criminal de exterminar los animales para el negocio, no lo ven en el sistema económico, sino para el consumo. En cambio la gente foránea ya lo ve como un sistema negociado y dice 'esta gente no sabe hacer negocio, mejor lo hago yo', agarra la red y barre con todo. El Ashaninka siempre lo ha considerado un sistema ecológico de su propia naturaleza".

responsibilities (Aguirre Baique, et al., 2019). Men are usually considered the community chiefs or leaders, while women have roles related to cleaning, making handicrafts, taking care of the children, preparing the food, etc (BDPI, 2022). Despite this, the public and political role of women has been broadened since the Armed Conflict of the 1980, when many Ashaninka women promoted resistance activities and the protection of their territories.

Nomatsigenga

There are 5,271 Peruvian people that, in the last Census, self-identified as belonging to the Nomatsigenga peoples, while 3,895 declared having this language as their mother tongue (INEI, 2017). This IP is mainly located in the region of Junín and counts with 36 localities identified by the Ministry of Culture and 11,246 people approximately living in them (BDPI, 2022).

Nomatsigenga people used to be called with other terms such as "nomachiguenga", "atiri", and, similarly to the Ashaninka people, with the pejorative connotation "campa", used by foreigners to nominate these two IP, as well as the Yanesha people (BDPI, 2022). Nomatsigenga is a self-denomination, derived of "matsiguenga", which means "person" and can be translated as "*mi paisano*", "my family", "my people" (BDPI, 2022).

The etymology of the word "Nomatsigenga", denoting a high sense of community is reflecting some of the most relevant elements of their cultural identity. Indeed, sharing with their families and sharing in community, are some of the most relevant elements of their identity and sense of belonging to the Nomatsignega people. The language and the relationship with the nature and the territory are other strong elements of cultural identity: "We also relate to the forest, we have our own market there, where we find our food, our traditional medicines that our ancestors left for our future generations" [Herlinda Rodríguez, Nomatsigenga, in (Ministry of Culture, 2014)].

Other important cultural elements are the language, their dances and their traditional way of dressing. Nomatisgenga people consider fundamental to transfer the traditional knowledge — such as the language and costumes—, to the new generations: "sharing with your friends to prevent them from being naughty comes first, so that they can be respectful with their other

brothers[27]. There is also the responsibility of being hardworking" [Silvia Escobar, Nomatsigenga, in (Ministry of Culture, 2014, p. 22)].

Nomatsigenga peoples are closely related to the Ashaninka peoples because of their language —both belonging to the Arawak family—, their common history, their shared cultural practices and because they live in contiguous territories (Ministry of Culture, 2014). Historically, both IP used to exchange products and mixed marriages are still common. Currently, hospitality practices are common between the two IP, with activities such as inviting *masato*, giving them temporary accommodation in trips or celebrating together festivals (BDPI, 2022).

In addition, there are some activities associated with gender roles. Hunting, fishing, agriculture and building houses are activities typically associated with men, while women usually take care of the house and the family, and practice some activities like sewing and the preparation of *masato* (BDPI, 2022). In terms of values, being hardworking and responsible is emphasised in both genders and men are also supposed to collaborate their wives (Ministry of Culture, 2014).

4.3. IP and social capital

As it has been explained in the previous section of Chapter 4, when developing public policy interventions, it is necessary to apply the intercultural approach, in order to assure the cultural pertinence of an intervention and the respect of the rights of IP. Social capital, since its original definition and further theoretical and empirical developments, is a framework developed under an occidental perspective; therefore, when working with IP, it is necessary to adapt it.

Despite the broad developments of the social capital framework, its implementation with IP is still limited. Yeung et al. (2021), conducting research with IP in Canada, establish that the only specific conceptual framework developed to be applied in this context is the one of Javier Mignone (2004, 2011). Thus, three components are considered to be part of the social capital, each of them later analysed in their bonding, bridging and linking dimensions:

- Socially invested resources: considering the physical, financial, human and natural resources.
- Community ethos: including trust, norms of reciprocity, collective action and participation.

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[27] "Brothers" is a word commonly used among members of an IP to name each other. The original quotation in Spanish is: "[…] primero es el compartir con sus amigos para que no sean traviesos, que sean respetuosos a sus demás hermanos. También la responsabilidad, también de ser trabajador".

- Social networks: including their inclusiveness, flexibility and diversity.

Mignone identifies other particularly relevant elements present in the social capital of IP: governance, sustainable development and the community welfare. Therefore, indigenous communities prioritise the improvement of their society and the protection of their territory with elements such as: justice administration, the management of common resources, environmental protection, the provision of public services and the implementation of public programmes. In addition, other elements present in social capital are related to their economic reality: alternative financing schemes, productive reconversion and the commercialisation of their products (López Guevara, 2014).

In Latin America, there have been several interventions conducted by organisations such as the World Bank, implementing the social capital framework in the projects related to IP. Scholars developing these frameworks, mainly followed the approach of community social capital — *capital social comunitario*—, proposed by authors such as Durston (Villa Sánchez, 2020). This type of social capital is typical of rural communities; therefore, of societies characterised by the performance of activities intended to pursue a common objective, keeping cultural values that preserve their identity and benefit of the group, as well as having their own authorities and organisations. Bonding is the strongest component in the community social capital and there are specific benefits in institutions associated to it (Villa Sánchez, 2020).

- Guarantee effective sanctions to the individuals that try to take advantage of the social capital benefits without contributing to the community.
- Some goods and services are collectively produced by the social capital, such as irrigation systems, the prevention of crimes, saving systems, conflict resolution, entrepreneurial associativity, water and sanitation programmes, etc.

The World Bank interest in implementing the social capital approach related to IP, according to Urquillas y Van Nieuwkoop (2003), started in 1991 with the approval of the Operational Directive 4.20, which states: (i) the participation of IP in the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects affecting them and (ii) the implementation of actions to strengthen the bonds with indigenous organisations, non-governmental organisations, local authorities and official institutions (López Guevara, 2014)

Since then, different projects have been implemented in Latin America, such as the Afro-Ecuadoran Peoples Development Project —*Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Negros del Ecuador (PRODEPINE)*—. This project proposes a framework in which the

development of capital has four components: social, human, environmental and financial and physical (Uquillas & Nieuwkoop, 2003). Thus, one of its main objectives was to strengthen social capital in indigenous organisations, in order to maximise the advantage of the actions developed in the other three dimensions of capital by the project (Uquillas & Nieuwkoop, 2003).

This approach has been widely criticised because, even though it changed the previous rhetoric about the development institutions, mainly following a top-down approach, there is still a huge gap between the rhetoric and the reality: there have not been serious and deep reforms to assure the success of social capital as a development factor (Mota Díaz & Sandoval Forero, 2006).

The critics of this approach also state that it has not been successful due to frictions between the indigenous communities and the institutional actors. In particular, Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2002) refers that there is evidence that communities trust more in their grassroots organisations and solidarity groups to better attend to their priorities; therefore, without taking into consideration this need, social capital by itself will not be successful in eliminating poverty.

According to Bretón Solo de Zaldívar (2002), during the implementation of these projects, development organisations in charge have involved the local elites and indigenous intellectuals inside a developmentalist logic, where the market economy is still the main goal. Thus, the indigenous social capital discourse is a different way of presenting the same old top-down development approaches. Furthermore, according to this author, in this strategy it is possible to recognise some elements of the institutional power already present in the colonial period, specifically, the involvement of the indigenous intellectuals into an already defined development programme, with the aim to increase the acceptance of it among the local population (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2002). When this happens, social capital is affected because the traditional norms and costumes are affected with the external priorities, underhanded in the local organisations (López Guevara, 2014).

There are tensions in the indigenous territories related to the implicit power of the institutional actors and to the use and management of natural resources. According to Nahmad (2001), this tension promotes that the accumulated social capital by IP —due to the strong bonding component— is used as a strategy to survive in economic and cultural terms, as well as a political mechanism of resistance and adjustment with respect to the national society that has historically weakened traditional organisations. Therefore, unlike the classical approaches, such as the ones proposed by Coleman and Putnam, social capital in indigenous contexts is not a neutral entity (López Guevara, 2014).

According to Mota Díaz and Sandoval Forero (2006), when working about social capital with indigenous communities, it is necessary to take into consideration the political character of social capital in indigenous contexts. Likewise, it is necessary to contemplate the main characteristics of IP —also visible in the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka peoples, as it has been described in the previous section of the chapter—: the importance of the relationship with the territory and the environment, the predominance of collective dynamics in the social organisation, the reciprocity and exchange economic principles instead of the market and the cultural resistance towards to maintain their traditions over time. Therefore, these authors propose three fundamental factors to be included in the social capital framework when considering IP:

- The capacity to survive economically and culturally.
- The capacity to start mechanisms of fights, resistance and adjustment to a national project society in a context of high vulnerability and subordination relationships.
- The effects of hegemonic structures that weakens indigenous social capital, their transformation into new expressions of social capital or even their lost and absence.

Another fundamental factor to take into consideration is the importance to develop real trust among the actors of the indigenous context and the institutional actors; i.e., to develop a joint development programme it is necessary to strengthen the bridging social capital (López Guevara, 2014). In addition, it is necessary to be context specific in the design of instruments to collect community social capital, complementing them with ethnography and historical revision (López Guevara, 2014).

5. Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology that was applied to study the research questions of the thesis —detailed in Chapter 2—, which is based on Yin's case studies (2018). It is structured in three parts: the first one presents the theoretical proposal by Yin; the second part addresses the specific methodological design and fieldwork plan of the thesis; finally, the third part includes the data collecting and analytical tools that were implemented.

5.1. Yin's Case Study Methodology

Case studies are usually identified with a variety of practices implemented in social sciences, such as the exploratory stage of other methodologies, or with the fieldwork carried out through participant observation. Furthermore, many researchers have not considered them as a formal method. As a consequence, it has been common to relegate this technique to an exploratory role, prioritising other methodologies and misunderstanding the possibilities of case studies to analyse complex realities and reach generalisable conclusions.

Critical of these approaches, Yin (2018) proposes the use of case studies as a systematic research methodology which can be used for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory purposes. Specifically, Yin suggests a typology to guide the selection of research methodologies (Table 7) based on three criteria: (i) the form of the research question, (ii) the control over behavioural events and (iii) whether the research is focused on historical or contemporary events (Yin, 2018).

Table 7: Typology of research methodologies

Research method	Form of research question	Control over behavioural events	Focus in contemporary events
Experiment	How, why?	Yes	Yes
Survey	Who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes
Archival analysis (e.g., statistical analysis)	Who, what, where, how many, how much?	No	Yes/No
History	How, why?	No	No
Case study	How, why?	No	Yes

Source: Yin (2018).

Studies with "who", "what", "where", "how many" or "how much" research questions favour quantitative analysis and the systematisation of the answer through statistical analysis and the use of surveys. On the other hand, to approach "how" and "why" research questions and when the behavioural events of the analysed reality are able to be controlled, experimental methods

are recommended. When this is not possible and the focus is on a contemporary event, case studies are preferred because they are a flexible methodology that allows one to approach a complex reality through several sources of information and techniques of analysis. Finally, history methods such as the life-history are recommended when the control over behavioural events is not possible and the focus is on past events. Techniques to collect information are similar between case studies and history methods; however, interviews and direct observation are usually only possible in the former.

Within this framework, Yin (2018) establishes a twofold definition of case studies as a research methodology:

(i) Based on the scope of a case study: it implies deeply researching a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in a real-world context, specifically when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear, i.e., when there is a high influence of contextual conditions.

(ii) Based on the characteristics of case studies: they have more variables of interest than data points, i.e., there is one unit of observation (the case study) with several variables to be analysed. Case studies are complex realities because there are many sources of information and evidence involved in them. Therefore, it is necessary to approach them with different qualitative and quantitative methodologies of and with theoretical propositions that will guide their design, data collection and analysis (Yin, 2018).

Case studies differ according to their particularities, which will have a direct impact in their design. Yin proposes a four-type classification expressed in the following double-entry matrix.

Table 8: Types of designs for case studies
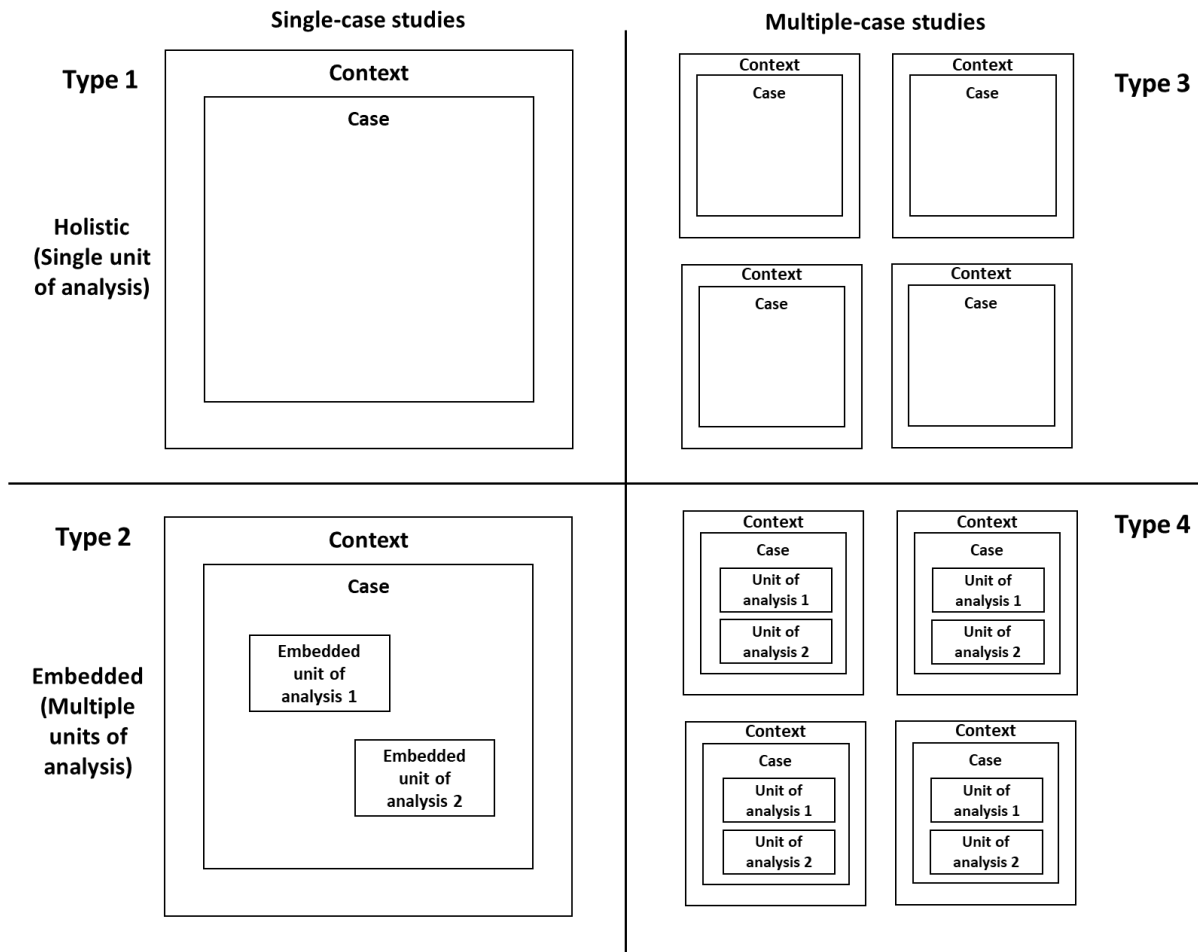
A case study will be simple —types 1 and 2— if it analyses a single "case", while it will be multiple —types 3 and 4—, when more than one reality is analysed (several "cases"). For instance, in a research study regarding the impact of public policy measures in higher-educational institutions, a single-case study would involve one particular institution —e.g., a university—, while a multiple-case study would do so with a pool of them. In the latter, each institution would constitute one of the individual "cases" to be analysed in the case study.

Parallelly, both single and multiple case studies can be sub-classified in holistic and embedded, which depends on the number of units of analysis inside each single "case". When one of them constitutes an integrated unit of analysis, the design will be holistic. Meanwhile, when each "case" is subdivided in two or more units of analysis, the design will be embedded.

Continuing with the same example, when each higher-educational institution is analysed as a whole —as an integrated unit of analysis—, the design of the case study will be holistic (types 1 and 3). On the other hand, when the internal analysis in each educational institution is

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subdivided —for example, by academic department—, the design will be embedded (types 2 and 4).

The design of the case study is key to guarantee the consistency of the research and to avoid it from being discretional. Specifically, the research design is referred to the "[…] logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions" (Yin, 2018, p. 60). Thus, it includes:

- The definition of the research questions of the case study.
- Identifying a set of theoretical propositions that support the case study and which will be tested —approved, rejected and discussed—in it. Due to its nature, when an exploratory case study is implemented, theoretical propositions could be avoided; however, it is recommended to propose sub research questions to orient the research towards the relevant areas of study.
- Identifying the "case" (in a holistic design) or "cases" (in an embedded design) for analysis. Some examples are: organisations, individuals, small groups and projects (Yin, 2018).
- Linking the data to the theoretical propositions through techniques of analysis.
- Criteria for interpreting and assessing the findings. Unlike quantitative studies where statistical significance has this role, a good option in case studies is to test rival explanations: The more are rejected, the more robust are the findings of the case study. These rival explanations should also be sustained in theoretical propositions and addressed since the initial design of the study, in order to include data for their analysis.

Case studies are complex realities that gather a series of diverse sources of information. The most common six are: (i) documents, (ii) archival records, (iii) interviews, (iv) direct observations, (v) participant-observations and (vi) physical artifacts. In order to address this variety of sources, the analysis mixes different techniques, such as pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis (Yin, 2018). Additionally, fieldwork is almost always involved in the research because of the close relationship between the case and its context.

One of the aims of the case studies methodology is to generalise the findings of the research; however, this is not intended in the statistical sense, i.e., the use of inference and probabilities to generalise from a sample to the population. Unlike this, case studies allow to conduct analytic generalisations of theoretical propositions or lessons learnt, considering the case study

integrally and the implemented methodologies; thus, going beyond the particularities of the case. As a result, the theoretical propositions behind the case—defined in the initial steps of the design— can be corroborated, modified or rejected. In addition, the conclusion of the case could lead to the proposal of new theoretical concepts (Yin, 2018). This process involves an argumentative claim, discussing and not just stating the analytic generalisations.

There are four tests proposed by Yin (2018) to ensure the quality of the research design:

- Construct validity: related to establishing adequate operational measures for the studied concepts. It is achieved using multiple sources of evidence and involving the key informants in the review of the case study's conclusions.
- Internal validity: finding a causal, not spurious relationship. It is valid only for explanatory or causal studies (not for descriptive or exploratory case studies). This is carried out in the analysis of the data throughout the use of different methodologies such as pattern matching, explanation building, using logic models and addressing rival explanations.
- External validity: related to the capacity to generalise the findings of the case study.
- Reliability: implying that the operations conducted in the case study can be repeated with the same results.

Some of the most complex tests are the external validity and the reliability. The former is carried out in single-case studies using theories and establishing propositions since the initial design, in order to test them later during the data analysis. In the case of multiple-case studies, the external validity is achieved using a replication design, which implies the selection of the individual cases in order to conduct: (i) a literal replication —predict similar results— or (ii) a theoretical replication —"predict contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons"— (Yin, 2018, p. 91). If the individual cases perform as expected, aggregately, this provides evidence to support the initial theoretical propositions.

An analysis report should be written for each individual case, summarizing which of the theoretical propositions were approved and which rejected. In addition, the replication logic should be implemented sequentially —individual case by individual case—, in order to allow the redesign of the complete case study if there is a discovery that leads to the adjustment of the original propositions.

Regarding the reliability test, it is related to the implementation of some procedures in the data collection stage. One of them is the implementation of a case study protocol, which is

recommended in single-case studies and should be mandatory in multiple-case studies. The case study protocol gives indications for the data collection, including orienting questions for the researcher and rules for the use of data. It is composed of four sections: (i) an overview of the case, (ii) the data collection procedures, (iii) the protocol questions and (iv) an outline of the report (format for the data presentation and bibliographic information) (Yin, 2018).

The procedures for the replicability of the results include the development of a case study database, in order to document all the process, allowing its future consultation. Finally, it is also important to maintain a chain of evidence, intended to allow anyone following the complete research process, which should be able to be reconstructed in two directions: starting from the questions to the conclusions, and from the findings to the initial research questions. All the methodological stages implemented in the case study should be cross-referenced, as it is illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 6: Chain of evidence in the case studies

Case study findings

↕

Case study database

↕

Citations to Specific Evidentiary Sources in the Case Study Database

↕

Case study protocol (linking questions to protocol topics)

↕

Case study questions
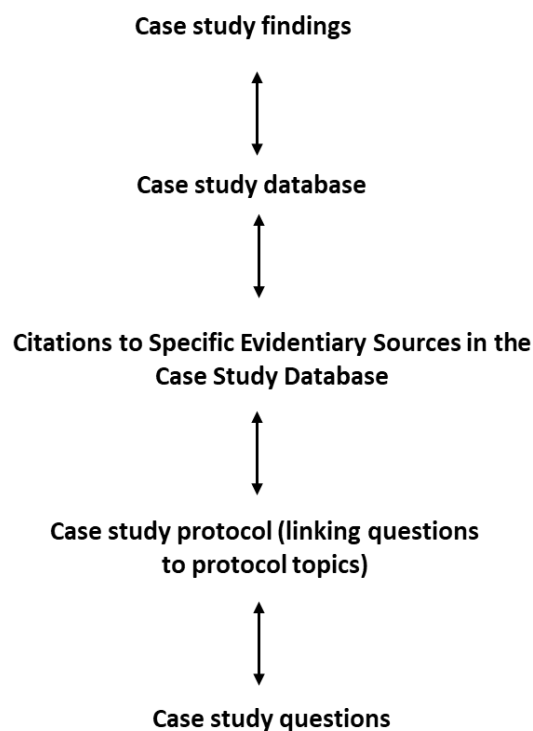
Source: Yin (2018).

5.2. Identifying the thesis' case studies

To address the thesis' main research question — *How is the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the North VRAEM formed and constituted?* — the methodology, inspired by Yin (2018), consists in an exploratory multiple-case study, composed of two

individual "cases" —one for the Nomatsigenga peoples and one for the Ashaninka peoples—. Both were subdivided into smaller units of analysis: specific native communities located in the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa in the North VRAEM (Junin region of Peru).

To have representativity of the demographic and geographical characteristics of the territory, the selected communities will follow the criteria detailed below:

- At least two belonging to the Ashaninka peoples.
- At least two belonging to the Notmasigenga peoples.
- In each IP, there are two levels of rurality considered according to the distance between the community and the closest city by car: low (less than 1 hour) and high (2 hours or more).

To work with the native communities in Peru, it is necessary to request authorisation to the local indigenous organisation to which they are affiliated. The aforementioned criteria to select the communities of analysis were given to the work teams of the Project FID and DEVIDA, who prioritised two of the six local indigenous organisations —OCAM and KANUJA— located in the North VRAEM, currently working with the Mazamari Coordination Office[28]. The former has 16 registered Ashaninka communities settled in the district of Mazamari, while the latter, 57 communities belonging to the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples, located in the district of Pangoa.

After coordinating with the presidents of OCAM and KANUJA, five communities were selected as individual units of analysis, one more with respect to the original planning. In the case of OCAM, two Ashaninka communities located in Mazamari were selected following the rurality criterion. Similarly, in the case of KANUJA, two Notmasigenga communities living in Pangoa were chosen following the same criteria. However, the Directive Board of the Organisation, present during the meeting with the organisation's president, requested to include an additional Ashaninka community to be analysed in the study, in order to collect the geographical particularities of this IP settled in Pangoa, contrasting them to the ones of the selected communities of Mazamari.

It is worth mentioning that the Directive Board of KANUJA suggested to include in the study more Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga communities, with the aim to collect the territorial

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[28] The other four local indigenous organisations working with the Mazamari Coordination Office are CARE, FARE, CART and OCAREP.

particularities. After negotiating and punctuating the time and budget restraints related to the thesis study, they agreed to include at least one additional Ashaninka community. In particular, they selected one with a high level of rurality —located at a distance of 3 hours from the nearest city—, in order to reflect the traditional structure and idiosyncrasy, minimizing the external influence of the contact with cities and foreigners.

Thus, the five selected communities were:

Table 9: Selected communities for the analysis

Community	Indigenous People	Level of rurality	Distance from the closest city	Closest city	Local indigenous organisation
Santa Teresita	Nomatsigenga	High	2 hours	Pangoa	KANUJA
Boca del Kiatari	Nomatsigenga	Low	35 minutes	Pangoa	KANUJA
Alto Chichireni	Ashaninka	High	3 hours	Pangoa	KANUJA
Yorini	Ashaninka	High	2 hours	Mazamari	OCAM
Cañete	Ashaninka	Low	20 minutes	Mazamari	OCAM

Own elaboration.

The unit of analysis of the multiple case study is the IP, i.e., there are two individual "cases": one for the Ashaninka and one for the Nomatsigenga peoples. At the same time, each case is subdivided in smaller units of analysis, corresponding to the individual native communities detailed in Table 9. Thus, the Ashaninka and the Nomatsigenga cases are subdivided into three and two communities of analysis, respectively. It is worth precising that the design of the case study is holistic because each community is analysed as an integrated unit.

A particularity that it is necessary to consider is that Santa Teresita and Alto Chichireni, are both territorial sectors —denominated "*anexos*", "*sectores*" in Spanish— of the Tres Unidos de Matereni native community, which is in possession of the property title of the territory. Even though these sectors depend on Matereni, each of them participates in the decision processes taking place the complete territory —including the sectors—. In addition, they possess its own directive board with a chief —officially called "coordinator"— and exercise a certain level of independency in their jurisdiction, being able to partially adapt the dispositions decided in Matereni. Therefore, in practice, they partially function as individual territorial units and can be comparable to the other communities. The implications of this organisational structure for social capital are going to be analysed in Chapter 6.

The most important source of information of the case study were semi-structured interviews conducted during a fieldwork trip. In order to select the key informants, six population groups were identified in each community:

- The chief of the Communal Directive Board (*Junta Directiva Comunal*). In the case of Santa Teresita and Alto Chichireni, the chief of the sector is officially denominated "coordinator" of the directive board. However, to simplify, it will be also be called chief in the following sections of the thesis.
- Women
- Members of the organisations of agricultural producers (economic organisations targeted by DEVIDA)
- The wise men (usually elders) who have a religious and spiritual role.
- Members responsible of the care of the environment and the defence of the territory
- Youth

The first three population groups have been prioritised because of their particular relevance for this research study. The chief is the official representative of the community and it is registered in the municipality together with the other members of the Communal Directive Board. Thus, it is the main representative of the political power in the community.

The members of the organisations of agricultural producers have also been prioritised because they are the direct beneficiaries of the alternative development strategy conducted by DEVIDA; therefore, they can give useful insights about their relationship with this entity and the project FID. Women —which could be or not organised in specific organisations— have also been prioritised as a relevant population group in order to grasp the gender representativity in the collected information. These two other informants were selected by the chief or coordinator of the Communal Directive Board in each community and, in some cases, they had an authority position in the community.

Considering the three key informants in each of the five communities, it was planned to conduct fifteen interviews in total at the community level —three key informants in each of the five communities—. Despite this, in the community of Boca del Kiatari, only the chief and the beneficiary producer of DEVIDA could be interviewed. This happened because they day the community was visited none of the women were present: they had left the community to was clothes in the river. Unfortunately, this visit was scheduled during the last day of the field trip; therefore, it was not possible to return later to the community. In is worth mentioning that, in

the interviews there were interpreters for the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga languages. Thus, fourteen interviews were conducted in the community level.

In addition, Mr. Fredy Jerónimo Chumpate, president of the local indigenous organisation KANUJA was interviewed. It is worth mentioning that it was also planned to interview the president of OCAM, Mr. Clever Carhuancho Espinoza; however, this was not possible, because the day the interview was scheduled —October 13th 2022—, due to the rains, he could not arrive to Mazamari from Mapitamani, the native community where he lives. It was not possible either to reschedule the interview to another day before the end of the fieldtrip. The second interview conducted was to Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari, Ashaninka leader that has conducted several initiatives for the defence of women's rights and to promote university education among indigenous youngsters.

All these sixteen interviews were conducted in a fieldwork trip that took place between the 10th and 16th October 2022. The other main sources of information used in the case study were the ethnographic notes made during the fieldwork and the "gray" literature recommended by the involved stakeholders in the process (the interviewees, the DEVIDA team, the Project FID team, among others). It is worth mentioning that some of the conversations that took place during the fieldwork trip —considered in the ethnographic notes— were key to understand the context and to obtain contrasting points of view. These actors were not included among the selected interviewees and the most relevant were:

- Arlynder Gaspar: Ashaninka translator in the interviews, who was born in Río Pichis (Pasco region) with a deep knowledge of the Ashaninka territory, due to his experience in the field, working with several private and public organisations.
- Doris Shumpate: Nomatsigenga leader and member of the *Asociación de Productores Agropecuarios Nomatsigenga San Antonio de Sonomoro Vraem* – APANOSAN. She participated in the interviews as the Nomatsigenga translator.
- One former member of the Directive Board of KANUJA[29].
- Technicians of DEVIDA that were present during the visits to the five communities.

It is worth establishing some precisions regarding the case study design and Yin's methodology. Because of the exploratory character of the case study, no theoretical statements are included in the design of the case study. In particular, considering that social capital is a concept that has

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[29] The name is not given due to privacy reasons as this person was not officially interviewed for the study.

been developed in a Western context and with the aim to apply the intercultural approach, the main research question of the thesis keeps an open character. It is, indeed, intended to openly explore the dimensions of social capital in the Mazamari territory, avoiding a possible bias caused by the influence of the existing theory.

As a result, no theoretical propositions to be accepted or rejected are being proposed as part of the design. Despite this, a set of more detailed sub questions have been proposed emphasizing the relevant aspects for the study. These questions are presented in Chapter 2 and are the theoretical basis of the case study; thus, they have been the starting point to design the questionnaires and are reflecting the relevant aspects that are guiding all the research process and data analysis of the case study.

Finally, regarding the quality of the design, only three of the four tests are applicable: the internal validity is not valid for exploratory case studies. About the other three tests:

- Construct validity: the individual cases have been selected to be demographically and geographically representative, considering the two IP present in Mazamari and the differences in their geographical location —levels of rurality—. A possible limitation of the study is that only three of the identified six population groups are being approached in each community. Unfortunately, there were resource constraints in the number of interviewers (only the author of the thesis) and budget constraints to extend the time of the fieldwork.

- External validity: As it has been previously described, the case study has a theoretical basis, included in the research sub questions (detailed in Chapter 2), which are guiding the data collection and the analysis of information. As a result, the conclusions of the study should be able to be generalised —in the sense of Yin's analytical generalisation—.

- Reliability: The case study's methodological design has kept a chain of evidence, being careful of cross-referencing all the steps of the collection and analysis of information. This should assure the replicability of the case study. Despite this, it is worth mentioning that the proposed case study protocol by Yin was not developed because, considering that there was only one interviewer involved in the study (the author of the thesis), it was not considered necessary to define a guide intended to uniform the data collection process.

5.2.1. Fieldwork plan

The fieldwork trip lasted 7 days and took place between the 10th and 16th of October 2022. Table 10 details the main activities that were conducted.

Table 10: Fieldwork plan

Day	Date	Location	Interviewees
1	October 10th	Mazamari – DEVIDA Coordination Office	Meeting to review the data collecting instrument with the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga translators.
2	October 11th	Mazamari	Meeting with the president of OCAM to coordinate the fieldtrip
		Pangoa	Meeting with the president of KANUJA to coordinate the fieldtrip
3	October 12th	Native community of Cubantía	Interview with the president of KANUJA
4	October 13th	Community of Yorini (Mazamari)	Interviews in the community: ● Chief of the Communal Directive Board ● Women's representative ● Economic organisations of producers' representative
5	October 14th	Community of Cañete (Mazamari)	Interviews in the community: ● Chief of the Communal Directive Board ● Women's representative ● Economic organisations of producers' representative
		Mazamari	Interview to Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari
6	October 15th	Community of Alto Chichireni (Pangoa)	Interviews in the community: ● Coordinator of the Communal Directive Board ● Women's representative ● Economic organisations of producers' representative
7	October 15th	Community of Santa Teresita	Interviews in the community: ● Coordinator of the Communal Directive Board ● Women's representative ● Economic organisations of producers' representative
		Community of Boca Kiatari	Interviews in the community: ● Chief of the Communal Directive Board ● Economic organisations of producers' representative

As the written report of the thesis is a public document which will be shared with DEVIDA, the Project FID, KANUJA and OCAM, for privacy reasons, the name of the interviewees of the community level is not being included.

5.3. Data collecting tools

To conduct the semi-structured interviews, two guides were prepared. The first one was designed to interview the presidents of the indigenous local organisations, while the second one, the communities' key informants.

The first version of the interview guide 2 for native communities was reviewed with the two interpreters of the Nomatsigenga and the Ashaninka languages during the first day of the fieldwork trip —October 10th 2022— in a meeting that took place in the Mazamari Coordination Office. All the questions of the instrument were reviewed in order to explain the interpreters the original intention of each question and ensure that it was maintained during translation.

The formulation of some questions was changed according to the suggestions of the interpreters, with the aim to make them culturally pertinent and understandable for the communities. The biggest change was in questions 11 to 14 of the questionnaire of the section dedicated to collect the "norms" dimension of the social capital.

The original formulation of question 11 was an open question similar to the one included in the interview guide 1 for regional organisations: "What are the most important norms that exist in the communities?". Then, the following questions were: "12) How are these norms defined"; "13) How does the community participate in the definition of these norms?" and "14) What have changed in the last 10 years?".

According to the translators, the term "norm" is usually associated in the communities with the official laws of the Peruvian State and international agreements and conventions of indigenous matters. In particular, they mentioned that it could be common to mention: The Peruvian Constitution, ILO's C169, the Law of Prior Consultation and several other norms related to interculturality. In addition, "norm" is also associated with the communal statute, which defines the official rules that govern the communities.

Therefore, in order to grasp both the norms formally "officially" defined and the norms informally defined, the question was reformulated reaching to the final version presented below. Thus, questions 11 and 12 inquire about the formal norms, starting from the communal statute

and leaving an open question, in order to verify whether it only prompts answers related to the official legislation. The following two questions 13 and 14, asks about the social regulation regarding the "good" and "bad" behaviour"[30].

Following, the English version of the interview guides is presented, while the original version in Spanish is included in Annex N° 1. All the interviews were conducted by the author of the thesis in Spanish, who does not speak Nomatsigenga nor Ashaninka. Therefore, the interpreters participated in the fifteen interviews carried out in the five visited communities[31].

5.3.1. Interview guide 1 for the local indigenous organisations' presidents

1. What does being Ashaninka/Nomatsigenga mean to you?
2. Which are the most important Ashaninka/Nomatsigenga cultural values?
3. What are the main activities carried out by your organisation [*KANUJA/OCAM*]?

Questions regarding the communities

About the social network dimension of social capital

4. How are the communities organised?
5. What are the most important economic, cultural/spiritual and social activities in the communities?
    a. How is the division of roles in these activities? Are there any differences by gender or age group?
    b. Are there differences between the communities according to their proximity to cities?
    c. Have there been changes in the last 10 years?
6. Considering the economic dimension:
    a. What are the future perspectives of the families in these activities?
    b. What are the most relevant strengths and challenges in the development of these activities in the communities?
7. How are the relationships between communities belonging to the same IP? In what activities does this relationship take place?

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[30] "Good" and "bad" are nor defined, leaving the option open to allow the interviewees to express their personal moral conception.

[31] Translators were not necessary in the interview with the president of KANUJA, because he fluently speaks Spanish.

8. How is the relationship between communities belonging to different IPs? In what activities does this relationship take place?

9. What spaces and activities facilitate the meeting between the communities and other actors that do not belong to the community sphere?

About the trust dimension of social capital

10. Who are the key stakeholders of the territory?

11. How is the relationship between them and the communities?

    a. And with [*OCAM / KANUJA*]?

    b. How many times a year does your organisation meet with these stakeholders?

    c. What are the key factors in the relationship with these actors?

About the norms dimension of the social capital

12. What are the most important norms that exist in the communities?

    a. How are these norms defined?

    b. How does the community participate in the definition of these norms? How do women participate? And youngsters?

    c. Have there been changes in the last 10 years?

Political dimension

13. What are the most important characteristics of the territory where the communities are located?

    a. What factors help its preservation?

    b. What factors negatively affect it?

    c. In the last 10 years, how have these factors changed? *(Make reference both to the positive and negative factors)*

    d. [*If detrimental factors are mentioned*], ¿Have you implemented actions to help solving these problems? ¿What else could be done?

5.3.2. Interview guide 2 for the communities' interviewees

1. What does being Ashaninka/Nomatsigenga mean to you?
2. Which are the most important Ashaninka/Nomatsigenga cultural values?
3. Do you consider that your parents used to think the same way as your grandparents?
   a. Do you consider yourself to think the same way as your parents?
   b. Which are the differences?

About the social network dimension of social capital

4. Please could you tell me, how is your community organised?
5. Please could you tell me, how does your community work? What are the main activities carried out?
   a. Economic activities
      i. What economic activities, for subsistence or to generate resources and money are carried out in the community? Which ones are carried out by men? Which ones by women? Which ones are performed jointly? Has this changed in the last 10 years?
   b. Social activities
      i. How do you relate and share as a community? In what moments? Which of the described activities are carried out by men? Which by women? Has this changed in the last 10 years?
   c. Cultural/spiritual activities
      i. In what moments and how do you practice your traditions? Which of the described activities are carried out by men? Which by women? Has this changed in the last 10 years?
   d. What are the activities performed by youngsters? Do some of them transfer to cities or is it more common to remain in the community? Has this changed in the last 10 years?
   e. What are the activities performed by elderlies?
6. What organisations exist in the community?
7. Do you have relationships with other Ashaninka/Nomatsigenga communities? In what type of activities?
   a. And with other indigenous peoples? What activities do you perform together?

About the trust dimension of social capital

Questions 8,9 and 10 are conducted throughout a participatory exercise. The name of the 10 most relevant stakeholder identified by the interviewee will be written in sticky notes. Then, these notes are going to be pasted in a flipchart with a draw of concentric circles (similar to target, see Figure 7) ――. The centre of the circles represents the community; therefore, the notes are going to be pasted closer or further to the centre according to their level of closeness.

8. Please, could you list me the most important people or organisations for the community?

9. Please, if the community is in the centre of the circles of the flipcharts, put the identified institutions closer or further to the centre according to how much they help your community.

10. *[Asking about the stakeholders closer to the centre]*

    a. Why is [*name of the stakeholder*] closer to the community?

    b. How many times a year do you meet with [*name of the stakeholder*]?

About the norms dimension of the social capital

Regarding the norms formally defined

11. How is the communal statute defined?

    a. Who participate in this process?

    b. Have this changed in the last 10 years?

12. What other rules govern the community?

About the informally defined norms

13. How are bad actions punished in the community?

14. How would you reward good actions? Have this been taken into practice?

Political dimension

15. Please, could you describe your territory to me?

16. What factors could improve the life conditions of the community?

    a. What factors negatively affect the life conditions of the community?

    b. During the last ten years, how have these factors changed?

17. In the case of the detrimental factors, what could be done to solve them?

Graphic scheme used for the activity conducted in questions 8 to 10

To conduct the activity included in questions 8 to 10 of interview guide 2 for native communities, a graphic scheme such as the one presented below was draw in a flipchart with the black circle in the middle representing the community. The listed stakeholders by the interviewee were collocated in the graph according to their perceived closeness with the community.

Figure 7: Graphic scheme used in the interviews with native communities
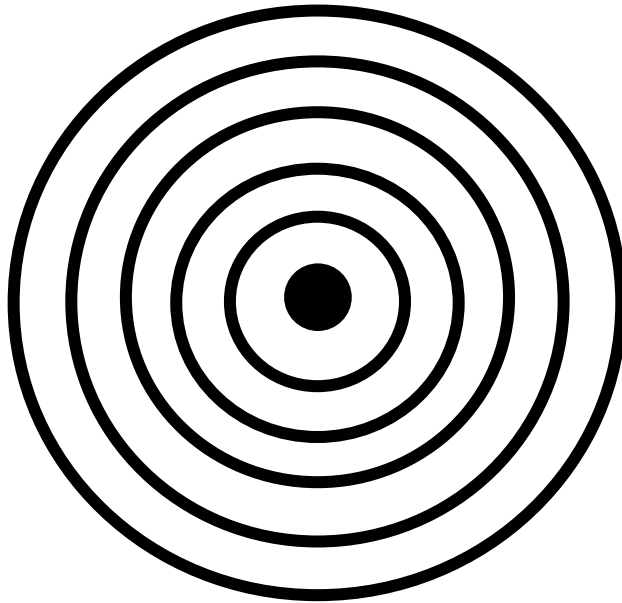
Own elaboration.

6. Results of the Fieldwork

The present chapter is centred on presenting the results of the fieldwork conducted as part of this thesis. As it was mentioned in the methodology, described in Chapter 5, the multiple case study is divided in two individual cases: the Nomatsigenga and the Ashaninka peoples. Each one is, at the same time, subdivided in the individual analysis of the communities that were visited.

The chapter is structured examining each IP in a dedicated section, where the studied communities are presented individually, analysing the answers of the interviewees and the information collected in the field. In addition, the interview with the president of KANUJA is reported at the beginning of the Nomatsigenga case. At the end of each section, following the research questions of the thesis, the most important characteristics of social capital for each IP are identified. The information collected in the interview with the leader Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari is included in the integrated analysis of the Ashaninka case.

After confronting and discussing the results of both cases, the final chapter of the thesis presents the conclusions, approximating to the answer of the research questions, i.e., characterizing the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the North VRAEM. It is worth precising, as it was described in Chapter 5, that the case studies methodology allows an analytical generalisation of theoretical postulates or lessons learnt. Indeed, case studies, as a qualitative methodology that do not allow a statistical generalisation for the complete population of study. This implies that the identified characteristics of social capital in IP are not generalisable to all the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka population settled in the North VRAEM.

Despite this, the research gives a first approximation on how to consistently apply the social capital theory in the studied context, identifying necessary elements to be taken into consideration for future policy measures with these peoples. This information will be shared with the Project FID and DEVIDA and could be useful, for instance, to complete the adaptation process of the social capital index for IP.

Considering the smaller unit in which the two cases of analysis are divided —the community—, the multiple case study of the thesis belongs to the holistic typology. Indeed, as it is described later in this chapter, there were not significant differences among the results by interviewed

population group inside each community[32], i.e., the answers of the interviewees belonging to one community showed similarities and identifiable common opinions and beliefs. Therefore, each community is analysed as an integrated reality as it is typical of holistic case studies. It is noticeable though that there were noticeable differences between the communities belonging to the same IP according to the level of rurality.

As a result of the holistic character of the cases, the analysis in each community has been carried out in an integrated way, jointly considering the responses of the interviewees. Despite this, when there were relevant differences in the answers among the interviewees, they are highlighted, identifying the respondents. The analysis in each community is structured in the following parts:

1. Self-identification of belonging to the IP: including questions 1 to 3 of interview guide 2 for native communities.
2. Organisation of the community: systematising the answers to questions 4 and 6 of interview guide 2.
3. Social relationships inside the community: including answers to question 5.
4. Social relationships with peer communities: including answers to question 7.
5. Relationship and trust with public institutions: systematising the answers to questions 8 to 10.
6. Norms: analysing questions 11 to 14.
7. The conception about the territory: analysing questions 15 to 17.

It is worth noting, as it was described in Chapter 5, that in all the communities three representatives of the population groups of interest were interviewed: the chief of the Communal Directive Board, a woman and a producer of cacao or coffee, beneficiary of the DEVIDA intervention. The only exception to this was the community of Boca del Kiatari, where there was not possible to interview the women, because all of them had left the community to do laundry in the river. In all the communities, the chief selected and convoked the other two interviewees; therefore, in some of the cases they held authority positions in the community. The particularities of each community are described in their dedicated sections.

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[32] If there had been relevant differences in the responses of the interviewees according to the population group they belonged to, the case study would belong to the embedded category.

6.1. The case of the Ashaninka People

6.1.1. A community with a low degree of rurality: The native community of Cañete

Cañete is an Ashaninka native community of 360 hectares (Comunidad Nativa de Cañete, 2022), located in the district of Mazamari, Province of Satipo (Region of Junin, Peru). The distance between the city of Mazamari —capital of the district— and Cañete is, approximately, 20 minutes by car; therefore, it has been the community with the lowest degree of rurality included in the study. The community is affiliated to the local organisation OCAM and the chief of the Communal Directive Board ("*Junta Directiva Comunal")* is Mr. Manuel Óscar Alegría Potsoteni. DEVIDA is currently conducting an intervention with the cacao producers of the community. The other two interviewees of Cañete also had authority charges in the community: the cacao producer who is also the lieutenant (*teniente*) and the woman was the treasurer of the Communal Directive Board and the delegate of the Juntos social programme[33], managed by the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion.

Unlike all the other visited communities, in Cañete, the chief gave the researcher a physical copy of the community's Statute ("*Estatuto comunal"*) —the formal normative document describing the rights and duties of the members of the community— and of the Internal Regulation of Justice Administration ("*Reglamento Interno y de Administración de Justicia*")*. Therefore, part of the content of both documents is included in the following analysis.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

All the interviewees mentioned that belonging to the Ashaninka people meant being proud of their own culture, their community and cultivating their traditions, passing them from generation to generation. It was also mentioned the importance of descending from an Ashaninka family: "having the Ashaninka blood". All of the interviewees affirmed feeling proud of being Ashaninka and, in words of one of them, the importance of never being ashamed of "what we are"; however, it was also mentioned that, currently, there are not practicing their culture because they feel discriminated.

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[33] Juntos is a Peruvian social programme that give cash transfers to families in a situation of poverty conditioned to some education and health commitments, such as assure the school attendance and period health control of the children.

Managing the Ashaninka language was the main identity element emphasised by the interviewed women and the cacao producer, which is a common element with the other Ashaninka communities (see dedicated sections). Unlike this, the chief listed other identity elements such as: the native community, their costumes, beverages and sharing: "[…] an Ashaninka always live and coexist with all the family, sharing his goods, his aliments, his work, going hunting, fishing and in the agriculture. It is always sharing: 'If you don't have, I have, take it'". It is important to mention that the chief of Cañete does not speak the Ashaninka language, which could be a possible reason explaining why he did not mention this element as an identity one.

When asked about the most important Ashaninka values, the interviewees mentioned the respect to each person in the community, specially to the elderlies, caring for each other, as well as to avoid fighting. In addition, the respect to their culture was mentioned, which is an element of union for the community: "if we don't bring the culture, each one would be going their own way", as it was mentioned by the cacao producer. The interviewed woman emphasised again the importance of the Ashaninka language, which should not be lost; therefore, she is teaching it to her children.

Regarding the changes in the ways of thinking between the generations, both positive and negatives aspects were mentioned. The chief of Cañete mentioned an increase in the assigned social value to education. In particular, he mentioned that, for older generations, the more important legacy to the children was leaving them a land inheritance; however, now the development of the individual through education is being prioritised. Similarly, the cacao producer mentioned that, currently, all the members of the community are receiving trainings —mainly from public institutions—, which is improving their technical knowledge, for instance, in the management of crops thanks to DEVIDA.

On the other hand, the interviewed women mentioned negative changes in the mindset of Ashaninka generations over time. There has been a Westernisation process, originated in the increasing contact with the city, mostly between young people: Many of them lose the language or stop identifying as Ashaninka when they go to the city. Against this, now they are teaching the new generations how important it is to maintain their culture.

Organisation of the community

When asked about their organisation, the only interviewee that referred to the history of the community was the chief. He mentioned that Cañete started when their grandparents, that used to have a nomad behaviour in some periods of the year, gathered for the defence of the territory.

Currently, Cañete has a property title on their territory and belongs to OCAM, which is recognised by the interviewees as one of the central parts of the communal organisation. Indeed, as it is defined in article 39 of the community's Statute, all the public institutions and private stakeholders conducting interventions in Cañete must coordinate in advance with them, in order to be authorised to work with the community. The cacao producer mentioned that OCAM always supports and helps them to face any type of problem.

In article 36 of the community's Statute, it is established that, exercising its right to autonomy and self-determination, Cañete exercises an autonomous government in their jurisdiction. According to the Statute, the internal organisation of the community is constituted by three government bodies (Comunidad Nativa de Cañete, 2022):

1. The Communal Assembly (*Asamblea General*): it is the maximum authority of the community and it is composed by all the men and women who are qualified or integrated *comuneros* —community members— registered in the communal register (*padrón communal*) [34]. The assembly has autonomous decision-making power in its jurisdiction and can be ordinary or extraordinary, depending on the reason why the members get together to make decisions. The ordinary assembly is held at least three times a year to consider issues related to the election of authorities, projects that will be carried out in the community, the expulsion of qualified *comuneros*, the updating of the Statute, among others. On the other hand, the extraordinary assembly is convoked by the Communal Directive Board to organise social activities of the community, to solve internal problems or emergencies.

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[34] The *comuneros* are all the men and women of 18 years old or the minors —of at least 16 years old who has formed a family— that has funded or are born in the community or has been integrated by marriage or coming from another indigenous community. There are two types of *comuneros*: (i) qualified, who has voice and vote in the Communal Assembly and (ii) integrated, who only has the right to voice. To be integrated in the community, a formal request needs to be presented to the Communal Assembly and who will evaluate the request. If a majority of at least 75% of the members of the Assembly votes in favour of the person, then, it is possible to become an integrated commoner. They can turn into qualified commoners after at least two years of fixed residence in the community (Comunidad Nativa de Cañete, 2022).

2. Communal Directive Board (*Junta Directiva Comunal*): is the body in charge of the legal government and management of the community. It is constituted by the (i) chief, (ii) deputy chief (*subjefe*), (iii) secretary, (iv) treasurer, and (v) two *vocales* —in charge of convoking the community members and transmitting the messages of the Communal Directive Board—.

3. Ashaninka Indigenous Security-SIA (*Seguridad Indígena Asháninka*) also denominated Self-Defence Committee-CAD (*Comité de autodefensa*): it is in charge of providing security, keeping the order, discipline and the peaceful convivial, executing the sanctions decided by the Communal Assembly and the Communal Directive Board. It is chaired by the community chief and by the SIA's technical secretary, as well as more than ten members of the community —women and men who has already turned 18 years old—.

As it is established in articles 51 and 53 of the Communal Statute, the Communal Directive Board has a mandate of two years with only one possible re-election. An equal participation of men and women is promoted in the board: it is established 50% to each gender and two positions for youngsters. The requisites to be selected are (article 59): be a qualified *comunero*, be a leader and an example of the community, dominate perfectly the rights of native communities and both the Ashaninka language and Spanish, to have abilities to manage and speak in public, as well as not having problems or debts with the community. Members of the board are mandated (article 53 of the Statute) to use the traditional costumes in the assembly, meetings, workshops and other spaces inside and outside the community: the cushma —a one-piece dress similar to a tunic—, the tsarato —similar to a bag— and the boss wears a distinctive sash made of seeds to show his range.

As it has been previously mentioned, two of the interviewees belonged to the Communal Directive Board —the chief and the treasurer—; however, when the interviews were conducted none of them was dressed in the cushma or the tsarato. Nor was the cocoa producer wearing the traditional costumes: They were dressed in "civilian clothes" —trousers and t-shirts— as it is called in the communities to the clothes used by the outsiders or *colonos*[35]. The reason for this could be that, at the same time when the interviews were taking place, DEVIDA was giving a training to the cacao producers in the farm fields — all the three interviewees are beneficiaries

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[35] Outsiders from the communities are usually called "civilians" or "colonisers" —*colonos*—, referring mostly to internal migrants coming from the Peruvian Andean regions to settle in the originally exclusive Amazon indigenous territories.

of the intervention—. In other communities, interviewees mentioned that, even though they usually dress in the cushma, they prefer to use civilian clothes when they are working in the field because they are more comfortable to work with them.

The aforementioned characteristics of the internal organisational structure of Cañete have been detailed as they are stipulated in the Statute. When asked about the organisation of their community, the interviewees mentioned most of them, showing a good knowledge of the Statute's content. The chief was the stakeholder who gave the most detailed answers.

Besides the communal bodies of government, there are other positions of authority in the community that all the qualified *comuneros* can assume. There are the delegates of the social programmes who coordinate with the public institutions and the local government. For instance, some of the social programmes are the "Glass of Milk" (Vaso de Leche), Qaliwarma —both programmes centred in food security in the schools— and Pensión 65 —which gives a cash transfer to elderlies in a situation of poverty—. In addition, other mentioned authorities were the neighborhood delegate, the lieutenant —in charge of collecting the denounces of neighbours when an event occurs in the community—, and the APAFA, which is the school's association of parents. All the *comuneros* who hold an authority position has been chosen democratically with a majority of votes in the Communal Assembly.

When asked about gender parity in the distribution of positions, the chief stated that all of them are equal and authority is shared, mentioning that, in the Communal Directive Board, there are three men and three women. In addition, if the chief is a man, the deputy needs to be a woman and viceversa. The same logic applies for all the other authority positions; however, this has changed over time: "We share everything […] We divide man, woman, man, woman. Formerly, it was everything for men. They said: 'I am in charge', but not anymore, we are all equal".

The chief emphasised that gender parity in authority positions is key for the social structure of the community: "Also for the community socially, so that she, as a woman is able to come and tell her. Because between women, they share, they confess to each other, they share their sensibility. Between men and women, it is different, they don't want to share".

Social relationships and activities inside the community

The inquire of the social relationships and the activities practiced in the community was divided in three axes: (i) economic, (ii) social and (iii) traditional. However, when asked about the social spaces and activities where the *comuneros* of Cañete usually share as a community not considering the economic dimension —e.g. cultivating together in the communal land—,

almost all the answers were related to the exercise of their traditions. Therefore, the last two axes are going to be described together.

<u>Economic activities</u>

Agriculture is the most diffused economic activity in the community, which is practiced in the communal land and in the individual plots distributed among the *comuneros,* for the use of the families. The most traditional crops in Cañete are: cacao, yucca, coffee and banana. The agricultural production is destined both to self-consumption and to generate monetary income through the sale of the products.

The chief mentioned that before the DEVIDA intervention "each person cultivated what was possible among their possibilities". This changed in 2019, when this institution implemented an intervention for the technical cultivation of cacao, teaching new technologies such as the pruning, fertilisation and grafting of plants. Interviewees referred that this has increased the production and the income of families.

The DEVIDA intervention has two main components. On the one side, there is associativity, which works in the technical management of crops, mainly coffee and cacao or economic activities, such as the pisciculture. On the other side, there is communal management, centred in giving trainings to improve the beneficiaries' soft skills, through the organisation of activities in different topics such as leadership, public speech, among others. In addition, DEVIDA has also implemented a pisciculture intervention with species like the paco —an Amazon fish—. Project FID works jointly with DEVIDA in the enhancement of these interventions.

The cacao producer mentioned that most of the *comuneros* are willing to participate in the DEVIDA intervention; however, there are some people in the community that initially were reluctant to participate. He mentioned that this could has happened because of distrust caused in previous experiences where they had been cheated.

Regarding the gender distribution in the practice of agriculture, the interviewees mentioned that both men and women participated equally. The only part of the process in which the women do not participate is in the cutting down the trees, because it involves more physical effort, according to the cacao producer. A common practice in married couples is that, while men are cutting down the trees, women prepare masato —a traditional yucca fermented drink — and bring it to the husband.

A particular case in the gender distribution stated by the interviewed woman, based in her personal experience, is the case of single mothers. She mentioned that women in this situation do the same work as men, which are able to bring prosperity to their children thanks to their hard work and the help of their families in raising the children. She mentioned that a common activity performed by single mothers to bring extra money to their families is to work as labourers (*jornaleros*) in the fields of other neighbouring communities. This is also a common activity between young people. Other common subsistence activity that families do in small scale is the sale of chickens.

Another traditional subsistence activity practiced since ancient times, mainly by men and destined to self-consumption, is the hunting of animals in the forest; however, this has considerably decrease because, due to the closeness with the city, in Cañete there is not primary forest anymore. This is the term to refer to the virgin forest that has never been cut down. They instead have *purma* which is the forest already affected by the human activity and the part of the land have been converted to agricultural use. These affects considerably the population of animals with a consequent negative effect also in the hunting activities of the community.

An increasing activity between young people is to go the city to continue studying after the secondary education, thanks to public programmes such as Beca 18, a scholarship for superior technical or university education.

Sometimes all the community contributes to the collective financing of activities organised by the Communal Directive Board. In these cases, activities to collect funds are carried out such as selling bushmeat, organising sport activities, selling traditional dishes, among others. This is also common when someone in the community is in need: the other *comuneros* organise for the collective fund-raising.

Article 101 of the community's Statute establishes three forms of work:

1. Communal work: Also called "*faena comunal"* and is intended to the integral development of the community joining efforts of the members of Cañete. There is not a payment associated to this type of work.
2. Family work: Individual work conducted in the assigned family plots or helping other *comuneros* in solidarity and reciprocity. It is not related to any form of labour dependency.
3. Entrepreneurial work: Performed in production process activities in a communal or individual enterprise, where there is an associated economic compensation. In article 97

of the Statute, it is established that part of the generated resources will be destined to the Communal Directive Board to conduct activities in the community.

Social and traditional activities

The other spaces of socialisation reported by the interviewees are closely related either to the communal work or to the exercise of their traditions. The interviewed woman mentioned that when there is an activity for the community, they all participate because "it is for all of us". The most common performed activity together is the *faena* —the previously described communal work—, in which all the *comuneros* participate since they are 16 years old, in case they are not studying.

Other common spaces for the communal activities are the celebrations and festivities of Cañete, such as the anniversary of foundation of the community and the anniversary of the school. There, is usual to practice "ancient games" —*juegos ancestrales*[36]— practiced for generations, such as the chotanka and the Ashaninka dance. These celebrations are prepared in advanced, gathering in the assembly to organise the activities.

In these anniversaries the elderlies teach the younger generations some of their traditions, such as the *maninkerensi*, the traditional practice of singing, practiced by women. Similarly, men practice the *sonkareo*, which consists in playing the *sonkari*, a wind instrument. In addition, most of the population wears the cushma in these activities; however, as it has been described by the interviewed woman, this is changing: Some young people now do not want to use it, especially when they go to the city.

Among the practiced traditional activities, there are some activities divided by gender. Men usually practice hunting in some months of the year, such as in November, practicing some ancient traditions, such as the Maspute, which consists in building a hut to wait for the prey. On the other hand, typically female activities are weaving the cushma and the tsarato, doing handicrafts and preparing masato. Fishing is considered a genderless activity where all the community members participate, including children.

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[36] There are many ancient games mentioned by the communities:
- Chotanka: a game played by four players, similar to volleyball with a ball made of feathers.
- Slippery stick (*palo resbaloso*): putting a prize on top of a stick covered with oil or other slippery material. People have to climb in the stick to get the prize.
- Machine gun (*metralleta*): sticks of bamboo put together that are quickly put down, imitating the sound of a machine gun.
- Skull (*Calaverita*): the person tries to insert a bird cranium in a stick.

In the private sphere, there are also spaces of socialisation reported by the interviewees, such as meeting to celebrate the birthday of a family member or Christmas. When inquiring about the gender roles in the private sphere, the chief and the interviewed woman reported the equal division of activities; however, the cacao producer mentioned that there are some activities mainly done by women, such as cooking, cleaning and doing laundry.

Finally, regarding the differences by age, interviewees mentioned that elderlies are usually supported by the community when they face difficulties and a lack of resources. When asked about their role in the transmission of the Ashaninka culture and traditions, the cacao producer mentioned that if someone is interested, they go to talk to the elderlies. The chief mentioned that the elderlies share their wisdom helping the families, for instance, when someone is sick, they apply practices of traditional medicine.

Interviewees mentioned that younger generations are losing interest in learning the Ashaninka traditions; therefore, most of them do not look for the elderlies. The cacao producer mentioned that many youngsters "are going the wrong way" and do not obey the parents or the communal authority. Some of the common activities practiced by youngsters are: playing sports, going to bathe in the river, taking photos of themselves, etc.

Social relationships with peer communities

Relationships with other IP

Most of the neighbouring communities of Cañete also belong to the Ashaninka people: there are not Nomatsigenga communities in Mazamari. However, they reported having good relationships with this IP: "We are all equal […] they are all my brothers, we just have a different language", quoting the chief. He mentioned that they share their costumes, and they teach each other their languages. The interviewed women and the cacao producer mentioned that, for them, the Nomatsigenga language is difficult.

The relationship with the other Ashaninka communities settled close to Cañete is good. The authorities of each of the 16 communities belonging to OCAM usually meet in Mazamari, where they discuss matters of common interest, such as the implementation of shared projects. In addition, the communities usually gather for the anniversaries and communal festivities. In these cases, a formal invitation is sent to the other Communal Directive Boards in advance.

Family unions are also common and allowed between members of other communities, either Ashaninka or belonging to another IP. When a member of another indigenous community wants

to move to Cañete, they have to present a good behaviour certificate elaborated by the authorities of their community of origin and needs to be accepted by at least the 75% of the communal assembly (Comunidad Nativa de Cañete, 2022). To become an integrated *comunero* they need to have stable residence for a minimum period of two years in Cañete.

<u>Relationship with the "colonisers" (*colonos*)</u>

The community of Cañete has borders with "coloniser" communities, which are settled in towns called *centros poblados*. The interviewees reported having a good and respectful relationship with their neighbours. There is an authority in Cañete —the neighbour delegate— in charge of managing the relationship with the *colonos*. Thus, they coordinate common work activities, for instance, for the cleaning and maintenance of their adjoining roads.

Collaborations between Cañete and the coloniser towns are also common when there are emergencies, such as robberies: "The relationship is good between neighbours. We help each other […] You help me, I help you", quoting the chief. He also mentioned that the *colonos* sometimes hire young labourers (*jornaleros*) of Cañete to work in their fields and that the neighbours are commonly invited to the anniversaries and festivities of the community.

The situation is less flexible regarding the family unions between a *colono* and an Ashaninka. According to article 11 of the Statute, when the Ashaninka is a woman, her partner is not allowed to move into Cañete. In case the Cañete member is a man, the *colono* partner needs to live in Cañete for at least 3 years before being accepted as an integrated *comunera*. The interviewed woman mentioned that there is currently one *colono* living in Cañete; however, this person has not been accepted yet by the community.

Relationship and trust with public institutions

This section presents the results of the exercise about the institutional trust exercise, included in questions 8 to 10 of the interview guide for native communities. The photos of the results are presented in Annex N° 2.

The three interviewees, when ranking the level of closeness of the institutions with Cañete, agreed that the closest three are OCAM, DEVIDA and the municipality. The cacao producer included the education centres —initial, primary and secondary— as a fourth actor among the closest to the community. In the intermediate level of closeness, they located mainly the social programmes present in the community —Vaso de Leche, Qaliwarma, Juntos and Pensión 65 — and other public institutions present in the community, such as the health centre of

Mazamari. Finally, among the actors located the furthest from Cañete, there was a coincide between the interviewed woman and the chief when mentioning FONCODES, the Cooperation Fund for the Social Development (*Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social*), part of the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion.

OCAM is perceived as one of the closest institutions because they are permanently supporting the community, seeking for projects that could benefit them. Thus, there is a permanent coordination with them. The interviewees mentioned that OCAM allows the arrival of many services to the community and that, thanks to them, Cañete have valuable alliances with institutions, such as the one with DEVIDA. In addition, OCAM gives them information and helps them in issues such as the community titling process, which is related to their property rights. The chief mentioned that an aspect to improve in them would be to inquire more in the needs of the community.

For similar reasons, the municipality was located as one of the closest institutions to Cañete. The interviewees mentioned that they are always supporting the community —for instance with the roads— and that they visit them frequently. The interviewed woman mentioned that the municipality helps and has allowed the arrival of many public services in the community (health, education, water and sanitation and the social programmes); however, she established that, in this relationship, is key how the authorities of the community manage the relationship with them and transmit their needs.

DEVIDA was identified by the interviewees as one of the closest and most trustful institutions for the community because their intervention is valuable, and they are in permanent contact with them through the visits of the DEVIDA team —the cacao and communal management specialists—. Quoting the interviewed woman: "Thanks to them, in 2019, before, we knew nothing about fertilising. And, thanks to communal management [*gestion comunal*] we, myself, years before I did not know how to speak in public, I was afraid, and now […] they have taught us many things, we have learnt and, in any training, we are able to answer and make questions. I am very grateful. […] Thanks to them some beneficiaries have their *paco* [the pisciculture intervention] and they give us tools, fertilisers […] they are practically giving us everything".

Regarding the social programmes and institutions located in the intermediate level of trust, they mentioned that it would be necessary for them to visit more frequently the community and communicate more with them. More coordination was also identified as something to be enhanced, especially in the dialogue between the institutions with OCAM and with the authorities of Cañete.

In the case of FONCODES, the furthest stakeholder from the community, they also worked the improvement of cacao; however, there were some fundamental differences in the intervention mentioned by the interviewees. They gave 180 plants already grafted; however, unlike DEVIDA, they did not give trainings in the technical procedures, which, will allow the community to perform them independently in the long term. Therefore, they mentioned that, once the intervention of FONCODES finished they have never been in contact with them again. In addition, the intervention of DEVIDA is larger in scale. Another actor identified as non-trustful by the cacao producer was the Police. He mentioned that they do not do the right thing and they do not fulfil their mandate.

Summarizing, some of the trust identifiable elements of trust in Cañete are:

- Presence of the institution in the community: regular visits or communication.
- Intervention that has been developed with the previous coordination and authorisation of OCAM.
- Permanent coordination of the institution with the authorities of the community.
- The intervention of the institution is helping to solve the needs of the community and, mainly, is developing capacities in the *comuneros*.

Norms

The internal rules of the community are decided in a participatory way in the Communal Assembly and are written in the Communal Statute, where all the *comuneros* discuss and decide about the content of each article. It is periodically updated and the current version was approved in October 2021. It was elaborated with the support of OCAM, the Office of Development of Indigenous Communities of the Municipality of Mazamari and Caritas Central Jungle – Office of Homan Rights and Environment of the Apostolic Vicariate of San Ramon.

In addition, when the interviews were conducted, the Internal Regulation of Justice Administration ("*Reglamento Interno y de Administración de Justicia*"), a norm establishing the communal justice procedures and sanctions in case of bad behaviour had been elaborated by the Communal Directive Board and was going to be presented in the Communal Assembly to the other *comuneros*, following the same participatory procedure than in the case of the Statute, i.e., the revision, discussion and possible modification of each article. The interviewees mentioned that there are no other active norms in the community and that, any situation not contemplated in the Statute is jointly decided in the Assembly.

Article 64 establishes the written documents valid in the community, each of which is legalised: (i) Minutes Book of the General Assembly, (ii) Act of sanctions and occurrences, (iii) Register of the community members (Padrón de comuneros), (iv) Register of communal and individual plots, (v) Inventory Book and (vi) Cash Book.

According to the Peruvian legislation, following article 8 of C169, the indigenous communities exercise the administration of justice in their jurisdiction. When there is an event that break the rules of the community, any community member can denounce it with the lieutenant (*teniente*), who then communicates with the Communal Directive Board. There are three stages in the administration of justice:

(i) The Communal Directive Board meet with the people involved and, jointly with the SIA, they apply the sanction.

(ii) With more severe cases, the problem is brought into the Communal Assembly.

(iii) OCAM is contacted in case it is not possible to solve the problem in the community level.

When there is a severe situation — family violence, rape, femicides and proven witchcraft—, the ordinary system of justice of the Peruvian State is involved. The sanctions are stipulated in the Internal Regulation and include warnings, remaining isolated, temporary and permanent expulsion from the community. In addition, there are some ancient punishments applied, such as the *chalanqueo*, which consists in putting the sanctioned person in contact with a type of nettle that produces skin irritation.

When the interviewees were asked whether the good behaviour was rewarded, they did not mention any particular practice. The chief stated that helping each other and performing joint activities —for instance, helping to build a neighbour's house— is common and expected in the community.

Despite this, article 24 of the Statute defines a series of stimulus: "The *comuneros* that are distinguished by acts of defence and dedication to the community or solidarity will be an object of encouragement and recognition of merit, in material or moral form. The recognition of merit will take place in a public act on each anniversary of the community or on some special day of the indigenous populations".

The conception about the territory

When asked to describe their territory, the interviewees mentioned that, unlike other communities located further from the cities, they do not have primary forest anymore, i.e., most of the land have been converted for agriculture —called *purma*—. They mentioned not having problems of invasions in their territory since the titling process concluded, which recognises the property of the community land in the Real Estate Registry of the Peruvian State. In addition, they mention not presenting problems of pollution or illegal logging; however, reforestation was considered as something that would improve their territory.

Law N° 22175 created the native community's regime and that their territorial property is inalienable —not allowed to sale or donate—, imprescriptible —not possible to offer the land as a guarantee for a loan or any other form that could compromise the property— and unattachable. This is also ratified in the Statute (article 77), which also establishes that the land is indivisible.

The chief of Cañete emphasised this, mentioning that all the community is the owner of the community's land —there is not individual property—. For the practice of agriculture, they distribute the land in individual plots between the families; however, this land is given in use, the property title remains communal. Therefore, it is not possible to sell the land and, to do it, the decision would have to be made in the Communal Assembly.

6.1.2. A community with a high degree of rurality: The native community of Yorini

Yorini is a native Ashaninka community located in the district of Mazamari and affiliated to the OCAM local indigenous organisation. It is a community with a high degree of rurality, located at an approximate distance of two hours from the city of Mazamari. Therefore, there is still primary forest in the territory of the Yorini.

The first settlers of the community arrived in the decade of 1970s. Later, in 1986 it was recognised by the Ministry of Agriculture and, in 1989, the community went through the titling process with a territory of 941 hectares recognised (Proyecto FID, 2021).

During the period of the internal terrorist conflict —decades of 1980s and 1990s— the community was exterminated: "[…] they killed everyone and it was turned into a ghost community, no one knows what happened before, nor who the funders or the first settled

families were" (Proyecto FID, 2021, p. 2). Later, in 1996, the community was repopulated by the population who managed to escape from terrorism.

Currently, the president of the Communal Directive Board is Mr. Emiliano Celso Navarro and DEVIDA is conducting an intervention with the cacao producers of the community. Three people were interviewed in the community: the chief, a cacao producer and one woman from the community. Apart from the chief, the other two interviewees do not hold an authority position.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

One of the central elements of cultural identity identified by the interviewees was the Ashaninka language, the awareness of belonging to their culture and the fact of being born in their community.

When asked about the most important Ashaninka values, they mentioned responsibility, order, respect, punctuality, confidence and kindness. Additionally, the interviewed woman and the cacao producer mentioned the importance of maintaining and respecting their culture and traditions, as well as the respect of environment.

The interviewees identified changes between their ways of thinking and the one of previous generations. In particular, the interviewed woman mentioned that "[…] now we think on how to progress [*en cómo salir adelante*]". The cacao producers mentioned that before "[…] things were a disaster […]" and that now the community is more ordered, houses are better and the agricultural management is more advanced.

Both of them also agreed in that their traditions are being lost: people do not want to wear the cushma as much as before, they feel ashamed of walking barefoot, they are eating more food from the city and the Ashaninka language is being less spoken. Quoting the chief: "Now, the shame is on us […]".

The interviewees mentioned this trend started in the generation of their parents, who forgot and did not teach them their traditions because of shame. The chief of the community mentioned that, sometimes, they face discrimination in public institutions and in the city: "Sometimes they make fun of us, sometimes we cannot talk correctly. Between us we make fun. That's why things from here are being lost". Despite this, all of them emphasised the importance of not losing and preserving their culture against this trend.

Organisation of the community

Similarly like in the case of Cañete, OCAM was mentioned as one of the central parts in the communal organisation, because this organisation supports them. In addition, the other authorities present in the community are the members of the Communal Directive Board, the social programmes' delegates, the lieutenant, the CAD and the teacher of the school. Unlike Cañete, in Yorini the delegate of the community speaker was mentioned among the authorities, which is in charge of managing the communication.

Regarding the periodicity of meetings, the interviewees mentioned that sometimes the authorities hold meetings only among themselves; however, the community is convoked by the Communal Directive Board approximately once a month to discuss issues about the community and their territory. There are also meetings in case of emergencies.

When asked about the dynamics of the meetings, the interviewed coffee producer mentioned that the *vocal* is in charge of informing the *comuneros*. Then, at the meeting, the chief is the first one that presents the topic and, later, the attendees that have comments or doubts raise their hands to participate.

Social relationships and activities inside the community

Economic activities

The most diffused economic activity in the community is agriculture, mainly of coffee, in which is centred the DEVIDA intervention, as well as other crops such as bananas, yucca, maize and mango. Some members of the community go to the city to continue their studies and others work there in activities such as construction and mechanics.

Regarding the gender distribution in the economic activities, the three interviewees mentioned that men and women do similar activities: both contribute to the economy of the household and the domestic activities. The chief stated that before they were divided and that discrimination towards women was common.

Despite this, they mention that still in some family units the women are in charge of the domestic activities while the men work in the field. In these cases, while men are working, women do laundry, raise the children clean the house and prepare masato, which is one of the main traditions still alive in the community.

The interviewed woman and the chief of Yorini mentioned that traditions are not practiced as strongly as in the past because many of the young people, especially the ones that transfer to the city do not want to wear the cushma or talk the Ashaninka language.

To fight against the loss of their traditions, they are practicing their language and teaching it to the younger members of the community. In addition, they are working in transmitting the importance of respecting their culture, as well as to avoid discrimination. In words of the interviewed women: "We are teaching children not to believe that they are from the city. If they go, they return, but they shouldn't think they are from the city".

Regarding the spaces and activities in which they practice their traditions, they mention that it is common to wear the cushma, especially when there are meetings. About this topic, the coffee producer mentioned that he regularly wears it; however, when he goes to work in the fields, he prefers more comfortable clothes. Other space when traditional activities are practiced are the anniversaries, where ancient games are practiced. Also, people share with the community the preys they hunt or the snails they collect, which are traditionally eaten.

Probably, the most common activity in which the community members gather to share as a community is the drinking of masato: it is consumed in groups before and after the work, as well as during the breaks of the labour day. It is also common to offer masato when people invite families and friends to their houses. It is seen as a way of sharing because the masato is placed in a big *pajo* —a recipient similar as a bowl made of a natural autochthonous plant (the *pajo*)— where people drink directly from it. It is also common to distribute the masato in smaller individual *pajos*.

When asked about the role of the elderlies in the transmission of their wisdom and knowledge, the interviewed women mentioned that there are almost no elderlies in the community, apart from one person.

Social relationships with peer communities

Relationships with other IP

Most of the neighbouring communities of Yorini are either from the Ashaninka people or *coloniser* communities. According to all the interviewees, the relationship with the other Ashaninka communities is good. Even though they do not perform agricultural activities

together —each community cultivate the land in their own territory—, they usually gather to work and clean in the adjoining roads together and they share fuel costs when it is necessary.

Yorini usually share spaces of socialisation with the neighbouring Ashaninka communities during the community's anniversaries. They invite them sending an official invitation to the Communal Directive Board. In the festivities, they do sport activities or ancient games together; however, other common activities practiced by other communities such as the *sonkareo* are not practiced in Yorini anymore.

It is also common to help each other with the neighbouring communities when they do activities to collect funds, such as *polladas*, which consists in cooking chicken and selling individual portions. The chief of Yorini mentioned that, before, it was common to do the same practice with the *enchipado* instead of the *pollada* which a is a traditional Ashaninka way of cooking the fish.

With the Nomatsigenga people, the interviewees mentioned that there are not native communities close to where they are located and that it is difficult to understand them because of their language. However, they have a good relationship with them: sometimes they teach their languages and there are marriages between the two IPs which are freely chosen by the couple. In the previous generations, it was common for the boss to decide who married whom.

Relationship with the "colonisers" (*colonos*)

The relationship with the *colonos* depends on the particularities of the individual cases. The interviewed woman mentioned that "[…] some of them are mean and invade their territory" to develop agricultural activities in their land. When this situation has happened in the past, they tried talking with them; however, in the cases when they ignored the request, they have applied ancient sanctions decided in the Communal Assembly, such as the *chalanqueo*. If the problem still cannot be solved, they ask OCAM to intervene.

The chief mentioned that despite Yorini do not welcome the coloniser neighbours, in case someone is in couple with a *colono*, this person could move into the community, only if the Communal Assembly accepts him or her. When asked about this relationship, the cacao producer mentioned that he does not believe that there are things to be improved in the relationship with them.

Relationship and trust with public institutions

Annex 2 presents the photos of the exercise conducted with the three interviewees in questions 8 to 10 of interview 2 for native communities. All of them positioned OCAM as the closest institutions to Yorini, because they are always present when the community has any problem or negative situation. They also orient the members of the community and they in permanent contact —in presence or via telephone—, informing them in detail about the issues of relevance.

DEVIDA is another institution placed close to Yorini by the interviewees because they regularly go to the community to supervise how the intervention is going —at least once a month—. It is worth noting that the interviewed woman placed DEVIDA further than the chief and the coffee producer, who put it immediately after OCAM.

They interviewees also mentioned the importance of the communal management team of DEVIDA, because they orient them in how to approach to institutions such as the municipality and how to manage and express in different spaces. The interviewed woman emphasised the importance of their trainings for the young people, mainly the ones related to leadership as a way to prevent drug consumption and other risk behaviours.

In the intermediate levels of closeness to the community other institutions such as the social programmes, the health sector and the initial education institution —the PRONOEI (*Programa no Escolarizado de Educación Inicial*)—. The interviewed woman mentioned that the teacher of this institution is good, is always present and treat the children well.

Regarding the health sector, Yorini does not have a centre in the community; however, it is located in a closer community and the personnel comes once a month. She mentioned that they need to improve, because they concentrate their attention in the pregnant women and babies and, when they need other type of attention, like treatment for accidents, they never come[37]. The chief of the community also said that they usually do not have medicines and that the attention is very limited.

The municipality was located by the coffee producer and the chief in an intermediate level of closeness to Yorini. The chief mentioned that the municipality does not visit Yorini, nor ask what are their needs: "They asked for our vote, now we want them to help us".

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[37] This could be explained because health centres of the lowest level of complexity, usually located in rural areas, such as the one where Yorini is located, are centred in maternal and perinatal health, for which they have goals and more economic resources associated.

The furthest institution from Yorini was different among the interviewees:

- The interviewed woman located the primary school the furthest from Yorini, mentioning that the teacher is not good because is frequently absent when it rains, saying that he is not able to find transport from Mazamari, where he lives.
- The coffee producer located the president of rural electrification as the furthest, because he mentioned that he eventually goes to the community to, then disappear for two or three months. In addition, they have not started with the electrification process yet.
- Even though the chief of the community did not include these actors in the graphic scheme of the exercise, he expressly mentioned that he does not trust in the National Forest and Wildlife Service – SERFOR (*Servicio Nacional Forestal y de Fauna Silvestre*) because "[…] when you firm a contract with them, they appropriate of the forest, and we will not be able to manage it". It is important to mention that SERFOR is in charge of the forest preservation, establishing both intangible and exploitable zones.

A key aspect that the chief mentioned as necessary to improve in public interventions, is to physically go more to Yorini to conduct in-person trainings there. He said that some institutions just communicate with the authorities of the community without going in-presence and that people in the community do not believe what the authorities say about the interventions. Thus, according to him it would be fundamental that the institutions go to Yorini and implement the trainings there so that young people, elderlies and children can see them.

Summarising, the identifiable reasons of institutional trust in Yorini are:

- Give trainings and orientation to the community.
- Constant presence and periodic visits to the community.
- Conduct in-presence trainings.
- Transparent communication with the community.
- Complete and fulfil what has been offered in word to the community.
- Ask directly to the community what their needs are, in order to conduct the intervention.
- Quality in the delivery of the public service they offer.

Norms

Similarly, as in all the native communities, the central normative instrument in Yorini is the Statute, where the norms of conviviality are written. Although the Statute had not been updated

when the fieldwork trip was conducted, the interviewees mentioned that this process in done following the same procedures previously described in the native community of Cañete, i.e., under participatory process in the Communal Assembly. OCAM sometimes participates in the assembly. The chief mentioned that, before, families used to fight a lot in the assembly.

In addition, when there are unexpected situations or problems in the territory such as the invasion by the colonisers, they meet in the assembly to reach consensual decisions. The interviewed woman stated that, in these cases, the agreements need to be written and signed because oral agreements are not enough.

The sanctions for the wrong behaviour are established in the Communal Statute and they include actions such as clean the communal fields alone, the chalanqueo, make the person take a bath in hot water, etc. These sanctions are applicated indifferently to women and men. The chief mentioned that physical punishment used to be common before because there were many robberies. However, as people are afraid of the punishment, the situation has improved. Confirming this, the coffee producer said that there are almost never people punished.

The chief mentioned that, at the moment the interviews were being conducted, problems are mostly caused when people get drunk drinking masato and some fights start, or because of jealousy. In the case of misbehaved children or teenagers, the parents tried to solve the problem at home; however, if they do not manage, the problem is brought to the Communal Assembly in order to decide a collective correction mechanism.

When asking about the rewarding of good actions, the interviewed woman and the coffee producer mentioned that saying congratulations should be enough because acting correctly implies following the mandate of their authorities, which is what they are supposed to do. In addition, she pointed out that congratulating too much could be negative because some people take advantage of the situation. She exemplified this situation with the case of a *colono* neighbour which has had problems with the community trying to charge them money for the water connection that passes through his land.

The conception about the territory

When discussing about the territory, the interviewed woman was the one that gave more details. She mentioned that it is still well preserved: "It is not that big, but it's beautiful. It has green forests, trees have not been so felled yet […] it is just natural, without chemicals to fertilise the yucca, there are no yet. Currently, just DEVIDA is fertilising the coffee".

Despite this, she mentioned that there are less animals than before, especially the snails that people traditionally used to eat —currently, the consumption has decreased—. About the aspects that are harming the territory, some *comuneros* cut down the trees and burn the forest to destine more land to agriculture[38]. She mentioned that they should not increment the amount of agricultural land because the trees allow them to breathe pure air; therefore, the land with this use should be concentrated just in some parts of their territory and the burning stage of the harvesting process should be avoided.

She mentioned that people in the community do not want public institutions to tell them not to cut down the trees, because the community wants just to use the *purma* and leave the primary forest untouched.

The other two interviewed stakeholders highlighted that other aspect that affects their territory are the constant invasions by the *colonos*. They said that, in spite of putting fences on their boundaries yearly, sometimes is not enough.

Other things that they mentioned that would be necessary for the improvement of Yorini are:

- Improve the infrastructure of the community hall.
- Expand the interventions of DEVIDA and OCAM, as well as to improve the attention of the health centre.
- More trainings about oratory, public speech and how to be master of ceremonies.

6.1.3. A community with a high degree of rurality: The territorial sector of Alto Chichireni (native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni)

Alto Chichireni is a community funded by Ashaninka people displaced by terrorism. It is the the native community with the highest level of rurality considered in this thesis: it is located at an approximate distance of 3 hours of Pangoa, the closest city to the community. Unlike the other previously described communities, it is affiliated to the KANUJA local indigenous organisation, which directive board was constituted only by members belonging to the Nomatsigenga people.

Another particularity of this community, as well as for the Nomatsigenga community of Santa Teresita, is that both are territorial sectors of the native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni,

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[38] The traditional Ashaninka way of harvesting consists in different stages: (i) "*roza*", cutting down the small plants present in the land with a machete, (ii) cutting down the trees, (iii) burning the cut land so that the new planted seeds grow up faster, (iv) let rest some days the land and (v) planting the agricultural products.

called also the central Matereni. Therefore, they directly depend on the authorities and decisions made in this community and the active Statute in both sectors is the one of Matereni. It is worth mentioning that all the six sectors belonging to this community, possess their own authorities that participate in their decisions processes, being allowed to partially adapt the dispositions in their sectors.

The chiefs of the sectors are officially called "coordinators". Mr. Manancés Chiricente Antonio held this title in Alto Chichireni. The other two interviewees selected by him were a woman who does not possess an authority position and the president of the cacao producers, who is also a beneficiary of the DEVIDA intervention.

It is worth remarking that, in Alto Chichireni, took place the only interview completely held in an indigenous language, which was the one with the woman.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

The elements of self-identification of belonging to the Ashaninka people mentioned by the interviewees were the fact of being born in an Ashaninka community, talking the language and maintaining their traditions, such as playing ancient games, wearing the cushma, painting their faces with achiote, walking barefoot, drinking masato and eating yucca.

The most important identified values were the respect of the people that honour their traditions, not criticising the members of the community that still paint their faces, keep the tradition of eating insects or wears the cushma of a different colour. Other mentioned the following values: being welcoming, talkative and being open to dialogue with external stakeholders.

Regarding the generational change, the interviewees mentioned that they have not changed their values or traditions because they are also born Ashaninka. However, there are some generational changes. In particular, the community is better organised because people before used to live dispersed in the territory. In addition, it was referred that the houses are of a better building material and that they assign more importance to education because they want to see their children more prepared and progressing in life.

Organisation of the community

The main difference in the internal organisation of Alto Chichireni in comparison to the other two previously described communities is that they are a territorial sector of the Tres Unidos de Matereni. Therefore, they depend on the Communal Directive Board of this community. They

are leaded by the coordinator of the community, who, in practice, acts like the chief, looking after for their needs and managing them with the central Matereni.

When an institution is interested in implementing an intervention in Alto Chichireni, the first step is to coordinate with KANUJA. Then, the Central Matareni coordinates directly with the public institution together with the participation of the territorial sector's authorities. Therefore, the central Matereni needs to agree with the interventions that are being conducted in their sectors.

Despite its direct dependence on Matereni, Alto Chichireni has its own authorities, who are organised similarly to the ones of the other communities previously described. Thus, their directive board is constituted by the chief —the coordinator—, a treasurer, secretary, etc. In addition, they also have delegates for the social programmes. The election of authorities also follows a participatory process with the involvement of all the members of Alto Chichireni in the Communal Assembly.

The Communal Assembly is organised every six months and every time there is an emergency. They also meet regularly with the other authorities of the community to be informed about the needs of the community. The interviewed woman mentioned that she is satisfied with the current authorities because they are organising well the community and there are fulfilling their word.

Social relationships and activities inside the community

Economic activities

The main economic activity of the community is agriculture with crops such as cacao, in which is centred the DEVIDA intervention with 26 beneficiaries. Other crops that are being cultivated by the community to diversify the economy are: maize, coffee, bananas, beans, and achiote. Because of the considerable distance between Alto Chichireni and the city, they sell their production to an actor that collects it —called "*grillo*" according to the interviewed producer— who, then sells it in the city. They mentioned that there is not an association yet in the community, hence, each family sells their production individually. However, they are interested in being part of an association that KANUJA is creating.

Regarding the gender distribution in the agricultural work, according to the coffee producer, women usually contribute since men have finished preparing the land. Thus, men are in charge of the *"roza"* —cutting small plants—, cutting down the trees and burning the land. Meanwhile,

women take care of the children and prepare masato and food that bring to the place where men are working. Once the preparation of the land is finished, women participate in the planting and harvesting processes.

There are other subsistence activities in the community such as fishing or hunting in the mount. The interviewed women mentioned that her husband hunts some animals that she cooks and sell. To contribute to the family economy, she collects snails to sell them.

When the community or the coordinator needs funding, the community organise activities to raise funds, such as a *pollada* or the sale of *enchipado* and masato. They sell these products in the community and invite the neighbouring communities to the events.

<u>Social and traditional activities</u>

According to the coffee producer, the *comuneros* from Alto Chichireni are practicing their traditions "all day long". Sharing is a basic characteristic of their social structure: "here it does not exist 'you are from there, so I won't give you this'. Here we are all brothers, we are family. Wherever we go, people give you things", in his words.

Drinking masato is one of the most important practices in where the members of Alto Chichireni share their culture as a community. The interviewed woman mentioned that it is common to invite other members of the community to drink masato in their houses. In these meetings, people dialogue about their different ideas and they tell jokes to avoid people from being sad. While people are drinking masato, it is very common to start telling stories and myths, which is commonly done by the elderlies.

Related to this point, in Alto Chichireni the elderlies are the wisemen in charge of transmitting their traditions. For instance, the interviewed woman mentioned that, since she was a child, her grandmother taught her the *maninkerensi*. During the interview she sang a piece of a song. Her grandmother also taught her to participate in the events of the community to learn how not to be ashamed.

Other spaces where the culture and traditions are shared and transferred to the younger generations are:

- In the anniversaries and celebrations of the community, where they play ancient games. They also meet for the previous organisation of these events.
- The school, where children are asked to research, inquire, and share their traditions. For instance, sometimes the teacher asks them to share a traditional story in class. The

school is an important space of learning their culture thanks to the intercultural bilingual education by the Ministry of Education.

- In some moments of the daily life when people spontaneously tell stories, such as when they are having lunch, or when are doing the communal labour —a *faena*—.
- When there is fool moon, they drink masato and they practice the *sonkareo* and the *maninkerensi*.

Regarding the domestic work, when asked about the gender division in it, the coffee producer mentioned that: "the woman prepares masato, does laundry, the cleaning of the house […] that is the function of the ladies. The man goes to work, hunting animals, they feed their children". He mentioned that the children are usually helping their parents, doing the activities by gender. On the one side, girls help their mothers preparing masato, bringing firewood or cooking the yucca, while, on the other side, boys are helping their fathers with their work in the fields or going hunting.

Despite the previous opinion about the gender division of housework, the interviewed woman mentioned that she and her husband divide equitably the work in their household: They raise they children together, when one of them goes out the other one stays with the children and when she is preparing masato, he usually cooks. She stated that this has changed in comparison to the previous generations: in her house, for instance, her father did not use to help at home. However, she and her husband have learnt that working together helps doing everything faster.

Social relationships with peer communities

Relationship with other IP

They are in close relationship both with the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka peoples, mainly with the native community Tres Unidos de Matereni and their other territorial sectors, belonging to both IP. The coffee producer mentioned that both peoples have the same culture and that the only difference is the language, being Ashaninka easier than Nomatsigenga because of the pronunciation and writing. He estimated that around the 10% of the community members talk the Nomatsigenga language.

The most common is to meet with the other communities in the central Matereni to coordinate about their needs and interventions conducted in their territory. In addition, it is also usual to invite other communities to the festivities of Alto Chichireni. Despite the fact that the most common is to meet with the other sectors belonging to the central Matareni, they also invite other communities such as the central Somabeni, located at three hours from them.

When asked about the differences with other Ashaninka communities located closer to the cities, a series of differences were identified centred in the loss of their tradition and their culture. The coffee producer mentioned that people who go to the city do not want to use the cushma, stop drinking masato, eating worms, and forget the language.

There are some people from Alto Chichireni that ask permission to the authorities to go to the city to work as labourers —*jornaleros*—. Some young people have also gone to the city to study with the support of the Beca 18 programme. In words of the cacao producer: "one has the freedom to work whenever he wants; however, there is the obligation of not forgetting their culture". In fact, he highlighted that people who go to the cities are not forgetting and respecting their culture.

Relationship with the "colonisers" (*colonos*)

There are not adjacent coloniser communities, the closest one is located at a distance of four hours; therefore, they do not usually go to Alto Chichireni and there have not been problems of land invasion. The interviewees mentioned that they relate to the *colonos* when they go to the city or work together in common projects, for instance, in the building of the bridge to arrive to the community.

The coordinator mentioned that they invite the *colonos* to their activities, communicating with them in Spanish. When asked whether they trusted the *colonisers*, the cacao producer answered affirmatively, being aware of their rights and that they are protected by law because the belong to the Ashaninka people.

According to the Statute of the central Matereni, mixed couples are not allowed to settle in their territory. When an indigenous member of Matereni or its sectors is in couple with a *colono*, they are called by the authorities of the community and, in an assembly, they are asked whether they want to be together. In the answers is yes, they need to transfer to the community of the *colono.*

Relationship and trust with public institutions

Alto Chichireni is a territorial sector in which, because of its distance with the city, less public institutions have arrived. This was reflected in the of institutional trust —see Annex N° 2—. The cacao producer stated that they are forgotten and, before Mr. Manancés, the current coordinator, there was no interest in developing public interventions.

All the public institutions that were located close to the community by all the interviewees were the ones that "[…] have already helped the community", in words of the cacao producer. These institutions were: the health centre, the education sector —initial, primary and secondary levels—, the social programmes —Vaso de Leche, Qaliwarma—, the "popular dining room" (*comedor popular*) —a programme which is partially financed by public funds coming from the Province of Satipo to give food to the inhabitants of a territorial unit— and DEVIDA.

The institution that was placed the closest to Alto Chichireni by the coordinator was Semillas, a private non-governmental organisation that is conducting a project to build the secondary school.

Unlike all the other communities that were analysed in the thesis, the local indigenous organisation to which they are affiliated, was positioned the furthest from the community by two of the interviewees (the woman and the cacao producer). When they were asked for the reasons of this, they mentioned that KANUJA, as all their directive board belongs to the Nomatsigenga people, is concentrating all their support only in the communities and territorial sectors belonging to this IP and that they are remaining isolated. Furthermore, the cacao producer mentioned that they would need to be represented by an organisation with Ashaninka members and that they would like to form a new local indigenous organisation. Despite this, it is worth mentioning that the coordinator of Alto Chichireni differed from this classification and located KANUJA among the institutions closest to their community, because they "have sent good professionals".

The municipality was also placed among the furthest institutions from Alto Chichireni, because "[…] they are not receiving any support from them", quoting the cacao producer. Some of the lacking services are: improving the road that arrive to the community, install water and sanitation in all the community.

The opinions towards DEVIDA differed among the interviewees. Both the woman and the cacao producer mentioned the benefits they have received due to their intervention. Besides the training in the cacao management, the producer mentioned that they have helped giving important leadership trainings to the young members of the community and they have helped in the analysis of documents that they needed for the building of their school.

However, when talking about trust, they mentioned a lower level of trust because they are not sure whether the intervention will continue in the long term. Indeed, the interviewed woman, first located DEVIDA close to Alto Chichireni during the exercise; however, it was then placed

the furthest, mentioning that when they will leave and finish their budget she is not sure whether they will continue working with them. When they were mentioning this, they gave the example of FONCODES that some years ago implemented an intervention and, when it finished, they never returned to the community. Unlike these opinions, the coordinator of Alto Chichireni mentioned that, even when DEVIDA will have finished its intervention in the community, he will continue trusting in them because "[…] we have seen their work, we have seen results".

Thus, the reasons for institutional trust identified by the community identified by the community are:

- Have already been helped by the institution: implementing an effective intervention to close the existing gaps in public services.

- Consider the long-term components of the interventions developed in the community so that they can continue even when the projects finish.

- Coordinate more with all the members of the community. The interviewed woman mentioned that more budget would be necessary.

- Giving trainings to the community members, so that they are able to develop new capacities and act by themselves independently also when the institution is not present.

- Being present in the community: physically going to talk to them and see the real needs. The coordinator mentioned that it would be necessary to at least physically go four times a year to the community.

- Develop an integrated work with the community. The coordinator mentioned the importance to unite with the institution to develop a common agenda that reflect their needs. He mentioned that DEVIDA and KANUJA have worked in this form.

Norms

Even though Alto Chichireni is a territorial sector of the central Matereni, they function similarly to an independent community inside their territory. The main active norm is the Statute of Matereni; however, when they have some internal conflict, they solve it independently. Similarly, as in the communities previously described, the *comuneros* can made the denounce with the lieutenant. Then, the involved people in the conflict are called by the authorities and the sanctions are defined in an assembly. Among the most common sanctions, there are the cleaning and working of the communal land. The coordinator mentioned that they do not use the *chalanqueo* anymore.

When the problem cannot be solved internally, they involve the central Matereni and KANUJA or the ordinary system of justice when it is a serious matter. The latter occurs for instance in case of murder, rape or physical violence towards a woman.

Regarding the rewarding actions in case of good actions, they do not have a formal process. The cacao producer mentioned that they help each other: when you help a member of the community, in the future that person is going to help you because that gives them confidence.

One difference compared to other communities is that the central Matereni needs to agree with the intervention that public institutions are going to implement there because they also firm the agreements.

Another important matter pointed out by the cacao producer was the importance to mention in the Book of Acts the agreements that they reach in the assemblies, especially with the public institutions. He mentioned that it was common before to just do oral agreements; however, if it is not stipulated in the Act, then they do not have proofs in case of not fulfilment of the agreements: "To make a complaint, without the act we are forgotten".

The conception about the territory

The interviewees mentioned the great richness of their territory. The interviewed woman stated that it is beautiful, huge, there are many animals, birds, plants and fruits that allows the subsistence of their family.

Despite this, the coordinator mentioned that the territory has changed. Her mother usually tells how it used to be: "[…] there were many trees, many fish, many animals and we are not seeing anything now. We are short of resources. There are not many trees anymore, there are not many birds, nor animals, nor fish. And my mother tells how it used to be here: the jungle was full".

According to the interviewees the situation of the forest has changed because of the timber companies that cut down the trees. The coordinator mentioned that, because the trees are being cut down, the population of birds has been affected and it is increasingly difficult to find animals close to the community: they have to walk at least 5 hours when they go hunting. Indeed, when the big trees are cut down, the animals move to further places in the forest and many species of flora disappear.

The origin of the timber companies is in the legal contracts stipulated many years ago by the central Matereni, which is in possession of the title of property of all the territory —including the sectors—. The coordinator mentioned that Alto Chichireni has tried to negotiate with them

to change the contract for 20 years without any success. Therefore, he mentioned that their priority is to become independent; however, Matereni does not want this.

In case of illegal logging, the CAD is in charge of the defence of the territory. They make a warning and, if it is not followed, SERFOR is called. In the opinion of the interviewees, they are efficient and acts fast.

Some other aspects to be improved in their territory mentioned by the interviewees were to improve the quantity of projects in their community, because there are needs, such to implement water and sanitation. Also, trainings in leadership and self-steam to the teenage members were identified as necessary.

6.1.4. Highlights of the Ashaninka case

The most relevant differences between the visited Ashaninka communities for the analysis of this thesis seem to be originated by the level of rurality. The most relevant highlights of the Ashaninka people case are followingly described. It is important to consider that it is not possible to generalise these finding to the whole population of Ashaninka communities settled in the province of Satipo, hence, these reflections are based in the studied cases.

The closer an Ashaninka community is to a city, the more interaction it has with the *colonos*, which is reflected in better relationships and more trust towards them. However, this also seems to generate a negative effect in the maintenance of their traditions, relegating them to special occasions and not as a constant exercise in their daily lives. Closer communities to cities also mentioned receiving more public services delivered by institutions.

On the contrary, in Ashaninka communities located further from cities, there is a higher closeness with the exterior because they are more isolated. This generated an exercise of their traditions in every aspect of their daily lives and a bigger trust towards people belonging to an IP —not exclusively Ashaninka—. The arrival of public services is more restricted which is reflected in a lower level of confidence towards the public institutions. The territory of these communities is much better preserved and they still recognise the environment as one of the main ways of subsistence for the community.

Despite these differences, there are also many similarities between all the Ashaninka communities that were visited. The main economic activity is agriculture in all of them and they recognise the DEVIDA intervention as very valuable. They all mention changes in their social organisation in comparison to previous generations: they are assigning a more important

role to education and there are young people continuing their studies and there has been a major increase in gender parity in the division of labour.

The relationships of all the interviewed Ashaninka *comuneros* is better with other communities belonging to an IP than with the *colonos*. The relationship with the Nomatsigenga people is close; however, they all mentioned that their language is difficult for them, mainly the writing. Drinking masato is one of the most important spaces to share in all the communities and they all practice their traditions in the festivities of the community, where they invite other neighbouring communities.

All of them are also ruled by the internal Statute, which they approve and update in a participatory way, applying similar sanctions. Below, each of these aspects is described with more detail.

About the maintenance of the traditions and the culture

The interviewees of both Cañete and Yorini identified the partial loss of their traditions mainly by the younger generations of their communities who go to study or work to the cities. In addition, both communities practiced the traditions mainly in the anniversary and other communal festivities. Thus, in Yorini, for instance, they mentioned that they do not practice the *sonkareo* anymore.

Meanwhile, in Alto Chichireni, the furthest Ashaninka community from a city that was visited, they mentioned that the tradition is being kept and that they exercise their culture in every moment of their daily lives. In addition, even though there are some people going to the cities to work or study, the interviewees stated that they are not forgetting their traditions and are being respectful to their culture.

Some remarks derived by the observation made during the interviews evidence that, in fact, in the communities located closer to cities, the tradition seems to be losing or, at least, the social and personal expressions of the *comuneros* seems to be mixing with the "civilian" ones:

- About the use of the cushma
  - In spite of the mandatory use of the cushma established in the Cañete's Statute for the members of the Communal Directive Board, none of the interviewees was using it while the interviews were being conducted. A possible reason for this could be that, contemporaneously to the interviews, a training from

DEVIDA was taking place and interviewees in other communities mentioned being more comfortable with civilian clothes to work in the field.

- o In Yorini, which is a community with a higher level of rurality than Cañete but a lower than Alto Chichireni, two of the three interviewees were using the cushma. The exception was the chief; however, this could have been because he was working in the building of his house's roof.
- o In Alto Chichireni, the community with the highest level of rurality, all of the interviewees and people from the community were using the cushma.

- About the use of the use of Ashaninka language
  - o It has been identified as the most diffused element of self-identification of belonging to the Ashaninka people: it was the most common answer by the interviews to the first question of interview guide 2 for native communities.
  - o In Cañete, during the start of the interviews, it was mentioned that in the research team there was a translator and one of the interviewees mentioned: "we all speak Spanish, we are civilised". In addition, as it has been previously mentioned, the chief of the Communal Directive Board, due to his family history, he does not speak Ashaninka.
  - o In Yorini, all the interviews were mainly conducted in Spanish; however, the interviewees made questions to the translator about the meaning of some of the questions, who explained it in Ashaninka.
  - o In Alto Chichireni, the interview with the woman was completely held in Ashaninka following her preference.

Unlike Cañete and Yorini, in which the reported generational changes were related to the risk of losing their traditions in the younger generation, in Alto Chichireni, they mentioned completely different aspects: the better order in the community and the higher assigned value to education. The latter was also identified in the other two communities.

Despite these changes, as it has been stated before, there are some cultural aspects that remain being a key for the sociality in all the visited communities. The most extended one is the social gathering related to the consumption of masato: people meet after the work and during their free time for its consumption. This is a space of social sharing as a community, where people share their ideas, interests and, in the case of Alto Chichireni, their myths and costumes.

Some other aspects besides the closeness to cities could be causing the change in the way of how the communities "live" their culture in their daily lives. The first one is the internal

discrimination that some members of the community exercise to the others, which was mentioned in Yorini. Unlike this, in Alto Chichireni, the interviewees mentioned that they teach the members of the community not to discriminate among themselves.

The second point could be the presence of the elderlies in the community. In Cañete and Alto Chichireni, were the interviewees mentioned that elderlies are currently living there, they have an active role in transmitting their wisdom and traditional knowledge. Unlike this, in Yorini, a community with a high degree of rurality and almost no presence of elderlies, they interviewees reported the risk of losing their traditions.

Another important aspect identified in the interviews as a space to transfer the traditions is the school. Many of the interviewees mentioned that, thanks to the intercultural bilingual education programme of the Ministry of Education, their children are asked to inquire about their traditions and myths and share them with their classmates.

Finally, another aspect to be considered is that Yorini and Cañete are located in Mazamari, while Alto Chichireni in Pangoa. Therefore, it would be interesting to consider for further research other Ashaninka communities located in the district of Pangoa, in order to inquire the geographical effect in the level of rurality, i.e., to analyse how communities with a lower degree of rurality in this district are experiencing the change of their traditions.

About their social relationships inside the community

In all the visited Ashaninka communities, the most diffused economic activity is agriculture. In addition, all of them, independently of their level of rurality reported assigning an increasing value to education and to continue the training of the members of the community. This is evidenced in the importance all of them assigned to the trainings that the institutions give them.

Regarding the other subsistence activities, fishing implemented with their traditional practices —doing it as a communal activity and "closing" a river branch with clay — is common. However, in some communities such as Cañete, DEVIDA is also implementing pisciculture techniques. In the case of hunting, this is mainly practiced in the communities where the territory is better preserved, i.e., in the communities with the highest degree of rurality.

The social dimension in all the communities is still closely related to the tradition, which was evidenced in the way of interpreting the asked questions. All of the answers were related to the exercise of their culture and traditions. As stated before, sharing the consumption of Masato and organising the anniversaries seem to be the most common and extended social activities.

A relevant aspect in their social structure in which all the visited communities report changes is the gender parity in the division of work. Most of the interviewees mentioned that, in the new generations there has been an increase in gender parity and that they share equally between women and men both the agricultural and domestic work. Despite this, some of the male interviewees mentioned that the women, in general, do more of the housework.

When asked about this topic, the interviewed Ashaninka leader Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari stated that, in fact, there has been an improvement in gender equality because the living expenses have increased significantly; therefore, both of the parents contribute to the family economy. In addition, this has also been influenced by the increase in the role of education. Despite this, most of the authority positions that women held are usually below the chief or as representants of the social programmes. Quoting her: "These are positions that, in the Ahaninka mindset, belong to women. I think I witnessed in the community of Santa Rosita de Shirinkiari 7 years ago was that a man was the first president of the Vaso de Leche and Juntos programmes. For all the women he was a joke because in their minds there is always the belief that women must be the president of the Juntos programme".

Despite this, she mentioned that the increase in gender equality is present in the North VRAEM; however, the situation in the South is different —mainly in the river Ene basin—. According to her, in this zone, more affected by terrorism and narcotraffic, sexism is much more widespread and even if women are willing to participate and have more leadership, they are still afraid. She mentioned that this zone is much more traditional, applying the ancient Ashaninka cultural elements; therefore, many men still think that women are not made for authority positions.

She also talked about violence, mentioning that, unfortunately it is still diffused because of fear and ignorance on how to denounce. In addition, even though than according to the community's Statute is defined to involve the ordinary system of justice in these cases, many authorities still prefer to manage this situation as internal matters of the communities. Despite this, there have been important progress thanks to the interventions conducted by the Ministry of Woman and Vulnerable Population, such as with the Aurora programme.

Another relevant aspect raised by her and not mentioned in any of the other interviews was the case of witchcraft. She mentioned that in many communities, people are expulsed arguing this cause, as it was stablished in the Cañete Statute. However, the causes of this sometimes are the envy —for instance, when someone of the community is doing well at an enterprise— or personal disputes. In some cases, also orphan children are accused of witchcraft, causing punishments, discrimination and even tortures. The people who are expulsed of their

communities, without a good behaviour certificate from their community of origin are seriously affected, following into poverty and constantly moving from one place to another.

About the social relationships with peer communities

The closer to the cities and the more in contact the community is with *colonos*, the better are the relations with them. In Cañete, the community is in good terms with their neighbours and they usually collaborate with them. In Yorini, the community with the intermediate distance to a city, they reported having some problems with their *colono* neighbours, mainly related to the invasion of their territory. In Alto Chichireni, they do not have close relationships to their neighbours and they reported a feeling less trust towards them.

This seems to have an effect in the tolerance towards the unions with *colonos*, being Cañete and Yorini more open towards them. In Alto Chichireni it is explicitly forbidden in the Statute for mixed couples to live in the territory of the community. Despite this, there is a general preference revealed by all the interviews, even in the communities with a lower level of rurality, to accept only indigenous couples to settle in their territory. This is reflected with in the Statute, which includes less requisites to accept in the community someone coming from an indigenous native community than someone from of *coloniser* community. This preference was indifference between two Ashaninka people or joining with a person belonging to other IP such as the Nomatsigenga.

Related to the previous aspect, the trust is higher towards any person belonging to an IP, commonly referring to them as family. In fact, many of the interviewees mentioned that Nomatsigenga people are their "brothers" and have the same culture, with the most importance difference being the language.

One last aspect to be noted in the openness of the communities to foreigners was that Cañete, the community with the lowest degree of rurality, was the only one that gave the interviewers a hard copy of the community's Statute and the preliminary version Internal Regulation of Justice Administration that was going to be approved in the Communal Assembly the following week.

About the institutional trust

The identified reasons for institutional trust in all the communities were similar:

- Being present in the community, i.e., physically going present to visit them and to follow up their implemented intervention.

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- Work closely with the community to identify their real needs.
- Having a permanent communication with the community, even by phone, and do not "disappear".
- Working in training and developing knowledge and capacities in the community members so that they in the long term will be able to continue with this implementation.
- Fulfil their word and actually implement what they have offered to the communities.

The most important difference among the communities was the institutions in which they trust. DEVIDA is a common institution in which all reported having a high level of trust, because they are performing a valuable intervention that is improving the life of the community members.

On the contrary, the municipality is an actor with high variations in the level of trust among the communities. The lower the level of rurality, the more trust in the municipality, which is reflecting the still existing gaps in the access to public services in the further communities. Therefore, in the case of the communities with the highest level of rurality, the highest institutional trust was towards the institutions that "remain in the community", i.e., the education and health sector as well as the social programmes.

When asked whether the arrival of public services could have a negative effect in the maintenance of the Ashaninka traditions, the interviewed leader Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari mentioned that not necessarily. To avoid this, it is fundamental that the State assures the arrival of public services; however, they need to arrive respecting the intercultural approach. She mentioned that many norms have been approved related to this topic; however, in practice it has not been implemented yet correctly. The first step according to her would be to synergically work from the institutions, giving specific ordinances in the local context to assign dedicated budget. Currently, there are not specific budget assigned to the intercultural policies, which impede the long-term continuity of this policies, which are contingent to the political will of the municipal authorities.

In almost all the communities, as it is also going to be described later in the Nomatsigenga case, they trust in their local indigenous organisation and they consider it as one of the central parts of their organisation because they help in the respect of their rights and in the development of needed interventions. Despite this, in Alto Chichireni, two of the three interviewees mentioned that they do not trust in KANUJA because all the members of the directive belong to the Nomatsigenga people and they are not helping their community.

An Ashaninka *comunero* who used to be part of the KANUJA directive with whom it was possible to talk in Matereni gave a valuable testimony regarding this last point. He mentioned that there have been internal tensions in this organisation that are generating the discomfort in some communities, mainly between the Ashaninka people. In particular, it was mentioned that Mr. Mario Flores, a former president of KANUJA had been chosen as the official political representant of KANUJA for the municipal elections; however, the current president of KANUJA parallelly ran for elections with a different political party, starting the tensions as a consequence. This latter party won the elections of Pangoa and, since January 2023, Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate will be the lieutenant major.

An Ashaninka informant mentioned that some of the local organisations —talking in general, not referring specifically about OCAM or KANUJA— sometimes are acting on behalf of the personal interest of their leader. Therefore, they are leaving aside their original purpose —the defence of the rights of IP— and following into acts of corruption.

Norms

All the visited Ashaninka communities have a very similar way of developing their internal normative system. The rules of conduct and the organisation of the community are defined in the Statute and they are directed by the Communal Directive Board. In addition, all the relevant matters for the communities are defined in a participatory way involving all the *comuneros* in the Communal Assembly, which is the highest authority of the community. The only exception to this is Alto Chichireni which is formally a sector; however, their dynamics of internal community affairs are empirically managed equally as in the other communities.

An important change in the norms structure that has been raised in the interviewees is the importance of writing the agreements and dispositions. For instance, in Alto Chichireni this was highlighted, mentioning that without the memory books and acts of the community, they would not have evidence about the institutional agreements. This shows an important change in the Ashaninka tradition, because in ancient times, the oral agreements were considered a rule.

Sanctions are decided in the Communal Assembly, depending on the severity of the committed action, they differ, mainly being communal work or some type of ancient sanction as the *chalanqueo*. When the committed action is grave, communities derive the case to their local indigenous organisation or to the ordinary system of Justice. One particular actor in charge of implementing the sanctions and protecting the territory is the CAD, which origin can be tracked to the 1980s while the armed internal conflict was taking place.

Regarding the positive social reinforcement, there are not identifiable methods of rewards with exception of the ones established in the Cañete's Statute, which were not mentioned in the interviews though. In general, the discourse that interviewees had when this was asked was that they need to act correctly because it is what they are supposed to do. In addition, they mentioned that the help between the community members is expected and common in the way of "I help you, you help me", therefore, there is not the need for a positive reinforcement of this behaviour.

<u>Territory</u>

The interviewees value their territory independently of their level of rurality; however, there are important differences between the level of preservation of it influenced by how close they are from the cities. Thus, the closest communities possess a narrower territory in terms of hectares which is mainly constituted by *purma*. Therefore, most of the land has been converted to agriculture and in the replanted parts of the forest there are considerably less species of flora and fauna. In Cañete, the interviewees mentioned that reforestation would be important for their territory.

On the contrary, Alto Chichireni had the widest and best preserved territory. However, as they are a territorial sector depending on the central Matereni, they do not have the property title of it. As a consequence, they mentioned being affected by old contracts that this community has established with timber companies. This allows to identify that the possession of the property title is a key element for the preservation of the territory.

Despite this, the preservation of the territory is, ultimately subject to the interests of the community. Some of the interviewees mentioned that some communities agree with the timber exploitation. For instance, in Yorini they mentioned not trusting in SERFOR —in charge of the forest preservation— because they appropriate their resources and do not allow their exploitation.

The interviewed Ashaninka leader Abelina Ampiti Shiñungari established that there are many communities who have been affected by the reduction of their land, mainly the closer ones to the cities. It is common to rent the lands or to suffer the invasion of the *colonos*; therefore, many families choose to migrate and settle in further territories where there is still primary forest with more species and richer soil to cultivate.

6.2. The case of the Nomatsigenga Peoples

6.2.1. Interview with the President of the KANUJA organisation

In October 12th 2022, an interview with Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate, president of KANUJA, took place in the native community of Cubantía, where he lives. The interview was centred in the role and the relationship between KANUJA and the native communities, as well as of the internal functioning and social relations taking place in the latter.

The local indigenous organisation KANUJA

KANUJA is a non-profit organisation in charge of the defence of the rights of the 57 indigenous communities affiliated to them. They are in charge of signing agreements with institutions intended to benefit the communities, such as the municipality, the regional government and DEVIDA, which is currently implementing the cacao or coffee intervention in 33 of their affiliated communities.

According to Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate, the strongest ally they currently have is DEVIDA: "If DEVIDA wasn't here, I'm honest, the district of Pangoa would have been forgotten for many more years by our local, provincial, regional and national governments". In fact, arriving to an agreement like this has been difficult: He mentioned that, in the past, many organisations have just used them for marketing reasons: to take photos and publish them with no benefit to the communities.

KANUJA define their internal norms in their Statute, where there are the rights, duties and commitments of their members. The meet in congresses: (i) ordinary, organised twice a year in which the institutions working with KANUJA are invited and (ii) extraordinary, three times a year to define internal affairs of the organisation.

Each native community define its norms of conviviality in their Statute and, usually, solves its problems internally. However, when the community is not able to do this, KANUJA is asked to intervene. For instance, at the moment of the interview they were processing several cases of inappropriate touching.

Authorities organise a general meeting and invite the involved people in the denounced situation. They define the respective ancient sanctions (*castigos ancestrales*), such as the *chalanqueo*. In case the situation is a homicide, a rape or related to narcotraffic, they derive the case to the ordinary system of justice of the Peruvian State.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

According to Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate, being Nomatsigenga means feeling proud of belonging to this IP, as well as not forgetting his traditions and culture. He mentioned being a "net Nomatsigenga", descending from generations of Nomatsigega people.

According to him, the most important Nomatsigenga values are related to the respect of their traditions, giving some examples:

- Preparing and drinking masato.
- "Good fishing": traditional way of fishing in which the community closes with clay a branch of the river and, then, puts into the water a grinded poisonous plant for the fish[39]. According to him, fish well it is to be a good fish it is necessary: "[…] not to look the direction the water is going. If you look where the water is going, the fish is never going to die. You have to look up, where the water is coming from. Thus, even if you put little *huacas,* it is going to work".
- *Sonkareo*: playing the *sonkari*, a wind musical instrument.
- During the menarche: isolate the teenager in a place where an older woman is going to teach her some traditions such as knitting, preparing and drinking masato. In addition, a medicine is given to the girl to avoid her teeth from fallen.
- Before going hunting entrust themselves to the nature in a ritual with tobacco.

Changes in the native communities

According to Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate, there are important differences between the communities according to their level of distance with the cities. In particular, when roads are built, public institutions arrive and communities stop being forgotten. According to him, there is much more need in further communities in terms of public services, such as water and sanitation, school infrastructure, etc.

The communities which are further from cities, "keep the essence of their originality". Meanwhile, some of the closer communities do not want to wear the traditional dresses, they do not want to obey their leaders or listen to the elderlies.

The closer communities, due to the technological change and in the increase of education are changing and, sometimes, unfortunately losing their values and traditions. He mentioned that

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[39] The used plants are "*huacas*" for small fish and "*cube*" or mullein for bigger fish.

they, KANUJA, as leaders in the communities, need to involve the youth in the maintenance of their culture. In addition, as he has been elected lieutenant major since 2023, he stated that from the municipality they are trying to impulse the intercultural policy.

Social relationships in the native communities

Before the internal armed conflict of the 1980s, the economic system was based in the exchange, with many unfair agreements for the communities. The current most important source of income is the agriculture of coffee, cacao, yucca and other crops. DEVIDA is currently implementing interventions with cacao, coffee and pisciculture.

He mentioned that DEVIDA has taught technical knowledge and develop many capacities. People in the beginning was reluctant to change because they were not used to some of the techniques, such as the use of fertilisers. However, once the people saw the results, many agreed to participate in the programme. In addition, KANUJA and DEVIDA have created a cooperative to generate aggregate value and create a coffee shop.

Regarding the gender division in the economic activities, he mentioned that usually men work in agriculture, while women are dedicated to handicrafts. Fishing is an activity conducted by both genders.

There are also considerably much more Nomatsigenga continuing their educational path and studying a university or technical career. He mentioned that currently there are more women working in public institutions; however, the students at the moment of the interview in the university are more male than female.

Native communities have other spaces of social relationships besides the economic aspects. The president of KANUJA mentioned that there are festivities that rememorate their traditions. For instance, Cubantía has a day dedicated to the traditional medicine, San Antonio de Sonomoro to the ancient games and San Ramón de Pangoa organises a gastronomic day at the beginning of summer. They invite people from other communities, even *colonisers* and tourists to these events. In these events everyone interested is authorised to talk to the elderlies to share their wisdom.

<u>Relationships with other communities</u>

Mr. Fredy Gerónimo Chumpate mentioned that, in the relationship between people belonging to different IP, there are not borders and that they invite them to regular visits and congresses —also if they are part of different local indigenous organisations—. He stated: "We are all

family to us: we call ourselves cousin, brother-in-law, father-in-law. These are very important aspects to us".

The relationship with the *colonos* is different. Most of the communities allow mixed marriages; however, in order to be accepted in the community, the *colono* needs to pass a testing time in order to be accepted. There are some communities, such as Tres Unidos de Matereni in which this is not allowed though.

Relationship and trust with public institutions

The president of KANUJA mentioned that their organisation is going to be present forever in the communities, so they trust in them. Unlike this, public institutions depend on the projects they are conducting and on the assigned budget; therefore, when they projects finish they leave the communities, many times with investments that were in vain.

To exemplify the previous situation, he mentioned FONCODES that implemented a programme of improved kitchens and birds breading modules without the previous coordination with KANUJA. The result was that, when the intervention finished, these things are not used any more in the communities, because they do not follow their idiosyncrasy.

He also mentioned the case of SERFOR and the Ministry of Culture who needs to improve in giving trainings and explaining the zones present in the indigenous territory, because many people is confused between the intangible forest and the areas where agriculture is allowed. He mentioned trusting in SERFOR because they are in permanent communication: they meet with KANUJA and they give them immediate solutions. Unlike this, he mentioned not trusting in the environmental prosecutors because of some problems that has happened in the past in which they did not performed their duty.

Regarding the trust of native communities in public institutions, the president of KANUJA mentioned that they trust their organisation and respect the hierarchy, because they are the nexus with all the other external institutions. He also mentioned that they help the native communities, because it is common to have a lower degree of education in the communities; therefore, KANUJA has an important role in the negotiation with the institutions.

Political dimension in the communities

He mentioned that "autonomy" is one of the most currently controversial topics. There is a general lack of clarity among the communities related to this concept; therefore, some communities are implementing detrimental decisions —such as selling their land— arguing that

they are autonomous. As a result, KANUJA is evaluating what to do in these situations and they are planning to approve a norm clarifying the terminology and implementing workshops to clarify it.

6.2.2. A community with a low degree of rurality: The native community of Boca del Kiatari

The community of Boca del Kiatari is a community with a low degree of rurality, located at an approximate distance of 35 minutes from the city of Pangoa and it is located in the district with the same name.

During the 1950s, the first communities belonging to the community settled in this geographical area and, in 1975, they were officially registered as a native community, getting the property title of 1053 hectares of territory. Currently, Boca del Kiatari is composed by 130 families and 417 individuals (Proyecto FID, 2020).

The chief of the Communal Directive Board is Mr. Armando Chiricente Mahuanca, who was interviewed. In addition, one of the beneficiaries of the DEVIDA intervention centred in cacao was interviewed. Unlike the case of the other communities, in Boca del Kiatari, none of the women from the community was interviewed because they were not present during the day of the visit to the community: they had gone to the river to wash clothes.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

The interviewees self-identified as belonging to the Nomatsigenga people because their ancestors belonged to this people and the cultivate their traditions through generations, passing to their children their costumes. In addition, the language was one of the most relevant elements of self-identification mentioned by them.

Regarding the most important Nomatsigenga values, the cacao producer mentioned their beliefs and the culture of their ancestors, with elements such as the language and the traditional activities they do —hunting and fishing—.

Organisation of the community

The main authority of the community is the Communal Directive Board, which is composed of seven members, which are changed every two years. They conduct 4 ordinary meetings during the year and they also convoke through the *vocal* the assembly every time there is an emergency. Women participate in the board and, currently, the deputy chief is female. The cacao producer

mentioned that they are a united community and that they are permanently coordinating with the authorities to avoid the overlapping of activities.

Such as in the previously described Ashaninka communities, they have other authorities in the community who are selected by all the *comuneros* in the assembly. These authorities are: the CAD, in charge of self-defence, the delegate of electrification, the president in charge of the building of the bridge, the water and sanitation board, the APAFA and the delegates of the social programmes.

They mentioned having two internal organisations that were not mentioned in any other of the visited communities:

- The Youth Committee: They work with the communal management specialists of DEVIDA and are giving leadership trainings.
- The Intercultural Committee: They teach some of the traditions as the *sonkareo* and *tamboreo* —playing traditional percussion instruments—. They work with the initial and primary levels of education and, sometimes, when there is a festivity in the community they do a presentation.

Social relationships and activities inside the community

<u>Economic activities</u>

As in all the other communities interviewed, the most diffused economic activity is agriculture. DEVIDA is currently working in two interventions: (i) the technification of cacao, with approximately 60 beneficiaries and (ii) a pisciculture intervention with *pacos*.

The cacao producer mentioned that DEVIDA is giving monthly trainings to them and that, thanks to them, they have developed new technical skills such as pruning, grafting and fertilising.

Other crops present in the community are yucca and bananas. They mentioned that the community is not planting coffee anymore because the soil has impoverished —they only have *purma*—; therefore, there were many diseases affecting the plants.

Another project that was mentioned by the cacao producer was "Bambusonía", organised by the Pangoa municipality which is centred in doing handicrafts with bamboo. At the time of the interviews, they were growing the plants that were going to be used in the future in the project.

Regarding the gender division in the economic activities, they mentioned that they work together in the fields; however, the majority of the *comuneros* benefited by the DEVIDA intervention are men. The cacao producer mentioned that women are also doing handicrafts and making the *cushmas*. In addition, he mentioned that housewives are mainly in their houses doing the domestic work but that some of them also go to work in the fields.

<u>Social and traditional activities</u>

When they were asked about the main social activities conducted in Boca del Kiatari, similarly, like in other communities —both Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga—, they answered referring to their traditional and cultural activities.

They mentioned practicing their traditions like the *sonkareo* and the *tamboreo* when there is full moon, as well as in the festivities of the community, such as the anniversary. Other social activities are playing sports and ancient games like the *chotanka* and eating the traditional Nomatsigenga dishes.

When asked about the generational changes, they mentioned that young people are not losing the Nomatsigenga traditions and they still value their culture, even if they go to study or work in the cities. They identified two main sources in which the traditions are transferred:

(i) The family, who starts teaching and transmitting the traditions.
(ii) Since the school: teachers promote inquiring about their traditions and go to the elderlies to ask about their wisdom, for instance, on how hunting should be performed, how the arrows should be made, etc.

A highlighted change is that more young people is going to cities to continue their educational path. However, it is common for this people to later return to the community to work, for instance, in the programme of intercultural bilingual education of the Ministry of Education.

Social relationships with peer communities

Most of the neighbouring communities to Boca del Kiatari either belong to the Nomatsigenga people or are *colonos*. They mentioned having good relationships with all of them and that they usually meet when there are festivities in the community. The interviewees mentioned trusting their *colono* neighbours because they are in good terms and there have been no problems like land invasion.

Regarding the Ashaninka people, the interviewees mentioned that they do not usually meet with them because there are not communities settled close to Boca del Kiatari. Thus, a common

place of exchange with this people is in Pangoa, when there are congresses organised by KANUJA.

Regarding the family unions, they mentioned that the Statute of the community allows mixed marriages with people coming from other communities belonging to an IP. In these cases, the integrated person is accepted and registered in the community, having the right of voice and vote.

Regarding the *colonos*, they mentioned that, according to the Statute, they could settle in the community; however, they are not going to be accepted, i.e., not having the right to being registered and participating in the decisions of the community.

Relationship and trust with public institutions

The results of the exercise about institutional trust are presented in Annex N° 2. The institutions placed the closest to Boca del Kiatari are the ones physically located in the community: the social programmes —Juntos and Vaso de Leche—, as well as the education and health sector —referring to the centres—. The interviewees mentioned that these institutions are the most functional to the community and that are coordinating directly and permanently with them. The chief mentioned that they organise periodic monthly meetings and that it is possible to jointly work with them.

In an intermediate level of closeness, both of the interviewees located KANUJA and DEVIDA because they guide and orientate them as a community. The cacao producer highlighted the benefits DEVIDA has brought to the community in terms of technical knowledge and in the development of soft skills through their trainings of leadership.

The municipality was only mentioned by the chief in highly critical terms, which was reflected in the exercise, locating it as the furthest institution from Boca del Kiatari. He stated that the community have many gaps in the access to public services, such as education, health and the building of the bridge that connects the community with the main road. Related to this, it is important to mention that when the interviews were conducted, the community was not reachable by car: it was necessary to park before the bridge and arrive walking. Furthermore, the chief said "we are forgotten" because there are many projects that the municipality is not executing and considerable gaps that the government is not solving.

The identifiable reasons for institutional trust are:

- Implementing interventions that help to close the gaps in the access to public services that exist in the community.
- Being physically present in the community.
- Permanently coordinate with the authorities of the community.
- Give trainings that develop new skills of the *comuneros*.

Norms

The norms of conviviality are defined in the Statute, which is approved and updated in the Communal Assembly with the participation of all the members of the community. When there is a conflict and someone wants to put a denounce, they go to the lieutenant. Then, the implicated people are called by the authorities, who impart the sanction according to the background information included in the community minutes.

If the action has happened for the first time, the authorities give a warning. In a recurrence case, they convoke the Communal Assembly to decide a punishment. Among the sanctions, there is the *chalanqueo,* isolation in the prison of the community or even expulsion in the worst cases. When it is not possible to solve the problem internally, they derive it to KANUJA; however, the interviewees mentioned that this has not happened yet.

In case of the rewarding related to good actions, they mentioned that sometimes they congratulate the involved people in the assembly. They think that older people need to give a good example to young people: "they need to be hard-working, being good at managing, be a participative leader […] the most important is the behaviour", as the cacao producer mentioned.

The conception about the territory

In the reflection that the interviewees of Boca del Kiatari were doing about their territory, they mentioned that the most diffused factor affecting it is the pollution of the river: It is usual to find trash like plastic bottles and dead animals. They think the pollution is originated in the *colono* communities located in the upper part of the basin.

With the intention to find a solution, the community sent the municipality a communication two months prior to the visit and the situation started to improve because they are collecting garbage once a month. Other detrimental factor that they are avoiding is burning the agricultural land in order to avoid fires. In addition, they mentioned that reforestation could be positive for their territory to help the recovery of the forest.

6.2.3. A community with a high degree of rurality: The territorial sector of Santa Teresita (native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni)

Santa Teresita was funded in 1993 with displaced people from the native community of Alto Anapati by the terrorist violence. It has a high degree of rurality and it is located in the district of Pangoa, at an approximate distance of two hours from the city with the same name. It is affiliated to the KANUJA local indigenous organisation and, like Alto Chichireni, it is a territorial sector of the native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni; therefore, their internal structure and organisation is very similar to the former. The coordinator of Santa Teresita is Mr. Alberto Shuente Gerónimo. In addition, a woman from the community and a coffee producer beneficiary from DEVIDA were interviewed.

Self-identification of belonging to the IP

One of the most important elements of self-identification of belonging to the IP is the fact of speaking the language, which they remark it has been transmitted since ancient times. The coordinator of the community mentioned that they are Nomatsigenga; therefore "[…] cannot change from the night to the morning, they are going to preserve their language".

All of the interviewees reported a big feeling of pride of being Nomatsigenga and that it constitutes a central part of their identity. The interviewed woman mentioned that it part of who she is and where she is going, a daughter of the central jungle. In addition, belonging to this IP was interpreting as being part of a family. Quoting her: "Nomatsigenga is a big word to us, it is the family Nomatisgenga".

The most relevant values identified by the interviewees were: the respect, responsibility, the union of the community when working together and the respect of the identity of native communities. They also mention that the community is improving: for instance, now they have roads and better infrastructure in the school and in the *comuneros'* houses.

Regarding the generational changes, all the interviewees mentioned that education now is much more important in the community. The coordinator mentioned that before it was common that the parents preferred children to work with them in the fields after finishing the primary school. Meanwhile, he mentioned that now, the families are promoting to continue the educational path even after the secondary education and that, as a consequence, the Nomatsigenga professionals are increasing.

Another stated change, related to the increase in the level of education, is that previously women used to marry very young, after the first menarche: "The ancestors, in ancient times, as soon as the first menstruation arrived at 12-14 years old, gave woman to their husband. Now it is very different, we study, we think, we join in couple at 25, sometimes at 29 years old, it is not like before. Parents are changing, they tell us to study for our own benefit, to be do something in like […] There are still some that think that studying is not worth it, but we value it to defend ourselves in life and in the family".

Organisation of the community

As it has been previously mentioned, the organisation of Santa Teresita, being a territorial sector of the native community Tres Unidos de Matereni is very similar to the one of Alto Chichireni. Thus, they depend in their Statute and their authorities; however, in their jurisdiction the have their own authorities that act with partial independence. Indeed, the official position of Santa Teresita's chief is the coordinator. They also have a lieutenant governor, the CAD in charge of their self-defence and delegates for the social programmes, such Juntos and Vaso de Leche.

Regarding the organisation in the private sphere, the coffee producer mentioned that in their households they freely decide how to organise with their family and how to live. It was also stated that all the community help the authorities when they ask for their support and that the community works all together.

Social relationships and activities inside the community

<u>Economic activities</u>

The most diffused economic activity in the community, is agriculture. DEVIDA is currently conducting an intervention with the coffee producers and other crops present in the community are cacao, yucca, maize, beans and bananas.

The interviewees stated that the DEVIDA intervention has considerably improved the technical management of the crops and the selling of coffee. For instance, before they were commonly scammed in the sale of coffee weighting the quantity; however, DEVIDA is giving trainings to avoid these practices.

The help between the community members is common in the agricultural work. Quoting the coffee producer: "Sometimes we talk to our families: we are going to help you one day and, then, that week you are going to help me".

Regarding the gender division in the agricultural activities, both participate and contribute in the maintenance of their families: "Here there are not differences if you are a woman or a man. Everyone works equally. Sexism has been left aside". Men and women participate in preparation of the field with the *roza* or *chocleo* and in the planting of the seeds and other harvesting activities. The only mainly exclusively male activity is the cutting down of the trees and the burning of the fields. Meanwhile women prepare and bring masato to the fields. The interviewees mentioned that working together between men and women is important and common in the community, in order to perform faster the activities.

Other subsistence activity present in Santa Teresita is fishing, with a similar technique to the Ashaninka one: both men and women deviate a branch of the river which is then closed with wood and clay.

The also mentioned that it is common to collectively organise to finance the activities of the coordinator, when there is an emergency or when someone from the community is in need. In the latter cases, the coordinator and the *vocal* asks for donations to the families and they also organise *polladas* or *truchadas* —sale of trout—.

<u>Social and traditional activities</u>

Similarly like in all the visited communities, drinking masato is a common activity when the community shares. They distribute it from a big to smaller *pajos* and the *comuneros* sit together and share. In Santa Teresita, the interviewees mentioned that they usually drink it twice a day: at 6 in the morning before the agricultural work and after finishing the work when they eat. It was mentioned that is not common to eat dinner; however, some families mainly with small children are including a third meal in their diet.

Other common activities are to do sport together and meet in for the community festivities, where the traditions are practiced. There, they plan ancient games, such as the *chotanka,* target shooting, *candirito* —similar as basketball—. They also practice the *sonkareo* and *maninkerensi* there. Also, there are communal *faenas* organised, where the community members work together in the communal land.

The interviewees mentioned that the elderlies have an important role in transmitting their traditions. For instance, they teach women the *maninkerensi*, to knit the cushma and the tsarato, among others. There are also traditions taught to men: when a boy goes hunting for the first time, he is not allowed to eat the animals he hunts during the first two times he does it. Women are not allowed to go fishing when they are pregnant because they say that the closing of the

river is not going to work well, negatively affecting the activity. Despite this, the interviewees mentioned the dynamic of passing the tradition is voluntary and ultimately depends on the interest of young people.

They mentioned that young people that goes to the city in some cases are losing their traditions, mainly the ones whose parents have a lower level of education and that do not know how to put limits to them. However, this is not the regular trend, in general, the tradition is respected and their culture is not being lost, even in the closer communities to the cities, such as San Antonio de Sonomoro, where there are many *colonos* living. The coordinator of Santa Teresita mentioned that all Nomatsigenga communities keep their traditions —for instance, wearing the cushma—, independently from the distance to cities.

According to the coordinator, they keep of their traditions is promoted from the families, who incentive their children to be interested in them and, additionally, from the authorities who orient young people from the community.

Sexism has considerably diminished in Santa Teresita. The interviewed woman mentioned that, according to the elderlies, before the activities used to be divided by gender and women were discriminated, not being able to hold authority positions. Currently both genders have voice and vote and women are assuming authority positions in the Communal Directive Board and as social programmes' delegates. In the domestic word, there has also been an increase in gender distribution.

Despite the improvement in gender parity, the interviewed woman mentioned that some of them are still ashamed of participating: "Inside the Communal Directive Board [there are not women] yet because, as I was telling you, they are still ashamed: […] if I do this, they are going to look me like this […] I always tell them that we, women, can do it and we can be better than men. I always joke with my uncle [the coordinator] saying 'when you finish, I will enter in the presidency'". She mentioned that, in Santa Teresita there has not been yet a female chief; however, in the closer communities to cities this is already a reality, because the level of education and self-aware of their rights is higher.

When asked what has been the trigger to this change, the interviewees referred mainly to the trainings related to the relations between women and men and about sexual, psychologic and family and domestic violence, which have been organised by some institutions like KANUJA and DEVIDA.

Social relationships with peer communities

The interviewees mentioned accepting visits from everyone in their community, indistinctly on whether they belong or not to an IP because they do not discriminate. Thus, they invite the neighbouring communities, sending a direct communication to their authorities.

Regarding the relationship with the Ashaninka people, it is good and the mention that their language is not difficult. Indeed, some people of the community talk Ashaninka. In addition, mixed couples are allowed in the community.

Unlike this, following the Statute of Tres Unidos de Matereni, mixed couples with *colonos* are not allowed to settle in the community. The interviewed woman mentioned that, many years ago they were allowed; however, "[…] the *colonos* misbehaved, saying that native people do not know, so they discriminated us. So much that, for this reason, we do not want to receive them".

Relationship and trust with public institutions

The graphics of the institutional trust exercise are presented in Annex 2. All the interviewees identified that the closest organisations to Santa Teresita are:

- DEVIDA: The interviewees recognise the important progress that their intervention has brought to them, teaching them new technical skills and also giving them material goods, such as fertilisers. The coffee producer mentioned that the 67 beneficiaries are improving with their support and that they are also giving trainings on leadership and on how to incentive young people. In addition, he stated that he trusts DEVIDA because he has seen the real improvement and the results in the coffee cultivation.

- KANUJA: Is valued because it coordinates with the institutions and allows Santa Teresita to have allies. For instance, the interviewees mentioned they have supported the community in the relationships with the municipality. However, according to the coffee producer, the communication with them is not constant, taking mainly exclusively when something happens. This was also recognised by the interviewed woman: she stated that they only intervene when there is some institution interested in implementing some intervention in the community and that, otherwise, KANUJA do not support them nor inquire about the needs of the community.

DEVIDA and KANUJA were both recognised as examples of good coordination because they are in permanent communication with the chief, and then, he transmits these messages to the

community. KANUJA also organises annual congresses —at least twice a year—, where the communal authorities participate. There, the interventions and support to the communities of Pangoa are discussed.

The social programmes were located by the coordinator and the coffee producer in an intermediate level of closeness from Santa Teresita, arguing that the coordination with them could be improved. Meanwhile, the interviewed woman placed them in the closest position to Santa Teresita together with the education sector. In particular, she mentioned that the latter is the institution in which she trusts the most, because it is from the State; therefore, it is not going to finish or leave the community in the long-term, i.e., they will remain there.

FONCODES has been located considerably further from the community, because, since their intervention finished, they mentioned not having received any news from the institution again. However, the furthest stakeholder positioned by all the interviewees was the municipality. The interviewed woman mentioned that there is not support: "I don't know if they help other communities, but not us". Similarly, according to the coffee producer, the promises they made during the elections have not been fulfilled. They also argued a general lack of communication and coordination of them with the institutions that should implement the interventions. Furthermore, the interviewees stated that there are projects ready for ten years, like the school investment profile and the water connection network; however, they have not been implemented.

A final comment made during the interviewees during the performance of this exercise was that most of the interventions should be expanded in order to arrive to more *comuneros* and that some additional trainings would be necessary, in particular in:

- For the teenagers and parents on how to handle this stage, training about self-esteem, participation and vision of future.
- Give psychological support for children and teenagers.
- Trainings from the health sector on the management of children's health.

Summarising, the identified reasons of institutional trust are:

- Inquire in the real needs of the community and develop interventions according to them.
- Have tangible results from the intervention that close the existing gaps of the community.
- "Fulfil their word" and implement what has been offered to the community members.

- Give trainings and develop skills in the community

- Permanent communication and good coordination with the community

- Have a long-term planning, not "disappearing" and having a tangible future impact for the community

Norms

As a territorial sector of the native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni, the normative system of Santa Teresita is considerably similar to the one of Alto Chichireni. Thus, the active Statute is the one of the central Matereni and they depend in the authorities of this community, through the coordinator of the sector. In addition, as it was previously explained in the organisation of the community, they have their own authorities who are elected by all the members of the sector in the Communal Directive Board. The coordinator mentioned during the interview that approximately once a month he and the authorities of other sectors meet in the central Matereni. When the Statute is modified or updated in Matereni, Santa Teresita's authorities, communicate the changes with the *comuneros.*

Santa Teresita solves internally the conflicts taking place there, implementing sanctions such as the *chanlanqueo* which are defined collectively in an assembly. Depending on the level of gravity of the action, before applying the sanction, sometimes the authorities decide to do give the person a recommendation and firm an act of commitment. If this is violated, then, the sanction is applied. Similarly like in other communities, the denounces are made with the lieutenant.

When the conflict cannot be solved internally, the case is derived to KANUJA, with the previous coordination with the authorities of Matereni. In case of good actions, the interviewees mentioned that sometimes the members of the community are congratulated in the assembly; however, there are not specific actions defined in these cases.

It is worth mentioning that, according to one of the interviewees, there is some discomfort in Santa Teresita about some of the dispositions defined in the Statue, specifically regarding the norm of the family unions that cannot be settled in the community when they are with a non-indigenous person. The interviewees also mentioned that the coordinator should be called chief like in the officially recognised native communities.

The conception about the territory

When the interviewees were asked about their territory, they mentioned that they are one of the eight sectors that are parts of the central Matereni. In this territory, each sector is divided and have a geographical portion of the land assigned, where can develop their agricultural activities. Despite this, if a *comunero* wants to cultivate in the land of another sector, they are allowed to request an authorisation to Matereni in order to perform their agricultural activities there.

The most detrimental identified factor to the territory by the interviewees is the timber extraction which has been authorised by the authorities of Matereni. They mentioned that have asked to reconsider these agreements; however, the authorities of the central community tell them that it is a relevant source of income to them.

Related to the mandatory coordination with Matereni by their condition of sector, the chief mentioned that they need to approve all the projects that are going to be implemented in Santa Teresita, which could lead to conflicts of interests. The chief mentioned that they have not had problems with the current authorities of Matereni; however, in the past sometimes they refused projects that would have been beneficial to Santa Teresita.

Other detrimental factor that was identified by the interviewed woman is the agricultural practice of burning the fields before planting the seeds, because it pollutes the environment. She mentioned that some community members implement the *picacheo*, which is the practice of agriculture without the burning of the field.

In this context, the identified aspects to be improved were the reforestation of the territory and to receive trainings about forest management, which should be promoted by KANUJA or the municipality. In addition, the coordinator mentioned that it would be necessary to also improve waste management, which should be managed in agreement with the municipality.

6.2.4. Highlights of the Nomatsigenga case

Unlike the Ashaninka case, less differences were found between the visited Nomatsigenga communities due to the level of rurality. For the analysis of this case, it is important to consider that there was less information available. Indeed, one less community was considered and in Boca del Kiatari, it was not possible to cover all the spectrum of the interviewees, because a representative woman of the community could not be interviewed.

In addition, another relevant aspect to take into consideration, is that in the sample of the five analysed communities, two —Santa Teresita and Alto Chichireni— were territorial sectors of

Tres Unidos de Matareni. As is has been previously mentioned, even though they belonged to two different IP, the interviewees in both of this communities reported similar answers. This is understandable because both of them have the same internal organisation —depending on central Matereni— and are located in the same territory; thus, facing the same challenges and opportunities.

This could lead to a possible bias in the generalisation of the answers which could be highly affected by the geographical context and not by the belonging to a particular IP. Thus, it would be valuable for further research to expand the communities of analysis located in the district of Pangoa that are not territorial sectors, but are registered as independent native communities.

Having into account the previous considerations, following the most relevant highlights for the Nomatsigenga case are presented.

About the maintenance of the traditions and the culture

The most relevant particularity of the Nomatsigenga case is how the two visited communities, independently in their level of rurality, stated that they are keeping their traditions and that, even the younger generations are respecting and maintaining them. Indeed, when they were asked about the generational changes, they mentioned the general improvement in the living conditions and the organisation of the community, as well as the increase in the value of education, reaching to more people continuing their educational path.

Despite this, they reported exercising their traditions in many central aspects of their sociality and their everyday activities, not limiting them to the festivities and anniversaries of the community. Despite this, an observation that could be valuable and showing some differences is that, in Santa Teresita, all the interviewees —an, in general, all the people from the community— were wearing the cushma while the interviews were conducted. Meanwhile, in Boca del Kiatari, none of the interviewees was wearing it, nor the other people that was present during the meeting. However, it is worth noting that all of them were conducting a communal work activity which could be the reason for the use of civilian clothes.

In the two Nomatsigenga communities, the interviewees also mentioned the consumption of masato as one of the central parts of their social relationships. Furthermore, during the interviews they offered and shared masato with the research team, which is a sign of hospitality and welcoming.

The most relevant highlighted aspects as enablers in the maintenance of the traditions were the teaching that families give to their children since they are born and the role of the education sector, which promotes the inquire in their traditions with activities such as asking the elderlies about them.

A particularity of Boca del Kiatari which may be also reinforcing the respect and the maintenance of their traditions is the Intercultural Committee they have, centred in practicing and transmitting the *soncareo* and *tamboreo.*

<u>About their social relationships inside the community</u>

Similarly to the Ashaninka case, the most diffused economic activity in the two visited Nomatsigenga communities is still agriculture. All the interviewees reported valuing the coffee and cacao DEVIDA interventions because of the increase in their technical knowledge that have improved the production process and the creation of value when selling the products. There are other subsistence activities related to the traditional knowledge of the community, such as fishing and hunting.

A relevant highlight made by the interviewees in Boca del Kiatari is that the quality of the forest has diminished because it is now constituted mainly constituted by *purma*, i.e, forest that have been intervened by the human activity and part of the land have been converted to agricultural purposes.

Regarding the other aspects of the social life, both communities reported a high sense of union between the *comuneros*, many of them reporting that they are as a family. Therefore, helping each other in their daily activities is an instituted form of relationship: they help their neighbours because they have the certainty that they are also going to correspond in the future, helping them when they will be in need. Likewise, when there is a member of the community in need, all the community organises to collectively help that person.

Sociality is highly close to the exercise of tradition and their culture, with activities such as drinking masato. Unlike in the Ashaninka case, both communities, independently of their level of rurality seem to be exercising their traditions in their everyday lives, not only in the anniversaries and festivities of the community.

Regarding the gender parity, according the interviewees it has increased. However, some of the interviewees in the two communities mentioned that most men are working in agriculture and women are centred in the work of the house and doing handicrafts. Despite this, it is important

to have into account that all the Nomatsigenga interviewees were men, with the exception of the woman in Santa Teresita. Thus, this should be verified in further research expanding the research population and interviewing more women.

<u>About the social relationships with peer communities</u>

The communities mainly interact with the neighbouring communities that are closer to their territory. Thus, Boca del Kiatari mainly socialises with other Nomatsigenga and *colono* communities, while Santa Teresita with other Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga communities.

In general, the interviewees of both communities mentioned having good relationships with their neighbours and not having faced problems of land invasion or other type of conflicts. Despite this, it is noticeable the trust in other IP is considerably higher than with the *colonos.* In Santa Teresita this was directly mentioned by the interviewees; however, in Boca del Kiatari, even if they mentioned trusting their *colono* neighbours and they can settle in their community, they "are not going to accept them as *comuneros*". This implies that the person does not completely participate in the decision processes of the community's assembly, because does not have voice or vote rights.

An important difference of the Nomatsigenga case with respect to the Ashaninka one, is that the closer touch with the *colonos* does not seem to have an effect in the decrease in the exercise of their traditions. This was mentioned by the president of KANUJA: Even in the communities that are more integrated with the *colonos,* such San Antonio de Sonomoro where there is a high proportion of *colonos* living there, they are still maintaining their traditions. This was also confirmed by the Mr. Doris Shumpate, the Nomatisigenga translator that participated in the interviews and that lives in San Antonio de Sonomoro.

<u>About the institutional trust</u>

Boca del Kiatari and Santa Teresita presented some differences in the placed institutions closer to their communities during the institutional trust exercise. The former placed the social programmes, the health and the education sectors as the closest, because they are physically there and in permanent coordination with them. Meanwhile, the latter located DEVIDA and KANUJA as the closest because they are implementing valuable interventions —in the case of DEVIDA— and it opens the door for new alliances —in the case of KANUJA—. Despite this, both communities mentioned trusting in them.

On the other hand, both of the communities located the municipality the furthest from the communities arguing the gaps in the access to public services. About this, the president of KANUJA mentioned that the DEVIDA intervention has made a change and that, without them, the district of Pangoa would have remained many more years in oblivion. Likewise, several interviewees in both of the communities mentioned that "they have been forgotten".

It is interesting to note that the same perception was reported by the members of the community of Alto Chichireni. Thus, this seems to be a geographical difference between the communities located in Mazamari and in Alto Chichireni: the former municipality is not effectively solving the gaps in their territory, while the latter is better at managing them, at least in the communities with a lower degree of rurality. An important comment that was made by the DEVIDA and Project FID teams that were present during the research is that the city of Mazamari has considerably improved throughout the years, while Pangoa "has fallen behind". This comment was done when discussing about the lack of asphalt in the main roads in Pangoa, which are still of earth floor.

<u>Norms</u>

The internal structure of the Nomatsigenga communities is very similar as the one of the Ashaninka people. The main authority is the Communal Assembly, with the Communal Directive Board as the formal authority and the Statute as the norm where the rules of conviviality are defined. Participatory methods of making decisions in the Communal Assembly are the rule.

They internally solve their conflicts, collectively defining the respective sanctions and, when the problem cannot be solved by them, the derive it to KANUJA or to the ordinary system of justice. In addition, there are not institutionalised systems of rewarding in case of good actions of the community, because being well behaved is expected by all the members of the community and their sociality is based on trust and mutual help. In some cases, they mentioned that they congratulate some people in the Communal Assembly.

A relevant aspect in Santa Teresita is that they reported preferring being an independent community and not a territorial sector of Tres Unidos de Matereni, because this limits their independence in decision-making processes.

<u>Territory</u>

The territory of the Nomatsigenga visited communities is very different between them. Boca del Kiatari, being close to the city is Pangoa is mainly constituted by *purma*, while Santa Teresita still has more primary forest. Thus, the detrimental factors for the territory also differ.

Santa Teresita is mainly affected by the legal timber extraction, due to contracts defined by Tresn Unidos de Matereni, while Boca del Kiatari by the water pollution of the river. Both of the communities mentioned that reforestation would be a key component for their territory though.

Other important aspect identified by the interviewees of both communities was having more trainings oriented to develop soft skills like leadership and work in the self-esteem of their teenagers.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

The present thesis aimed at studying how the social capital of the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga peoples of the North VRAEM is formed and constituted. This has been conducted through bibliographic research about the main theoretical developments of social capital and the characteristics of the geographical area of study. In addition, an empirical analysis was performed based in the results of a multiple case study centred in the analysis of five native communities located in the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa.

This final chapter discuss the empirical finding with the theoretical developments of social capital in IP (Chapter 4) and presents the conclusions of the thesis, intended to answer the research questions proposed in Chapter 2. It is worth realising that these are analytic generalisations —lessons learnt—; thus, not describing the characteristics of the whole indigenous population settled in the districts of Pangoa and Mazamari. However, they could give relevant inputs for future interventions centred in social capital with these peoples.

Regarding the theoretical developments and the main components of social capital

The exercise of the traditions and culture are a central part of the identity and the sociality of the Nomatsigenga and the Ashaninka peoples; thus, the individual thinking and seeking for benefit is closely related to the communal good. At least this is valid for the *comuneros* that decide to continue living inside a community, following the communal modes and rules[40], such as in the case of all the interviewees. Therefore, theories of social capital that conceive it exclusively as a private good, such as Fukuyama's or Burt's are not valid for the analysed context.

For Bordieu, the social capital are the resources obtained in a durable network of institutionalised relationships which "[…] is not a natural given, or even a social given. It is the product of an endless effort at institutions […]" (Bordieu, 1986, p. 22). Thus, according to this theory, the social network is in need of a permanent inversion that all individuals must exercise to keep their connections.

Despite this, in the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga communities, the establishment of the network it is indeed a natural given —or, better, a social given— which is associated to the fact

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[40] The situation could be different by a person that decides to renounce to their community and move to the city in the long term, i.e., not asking temporal permission to move for work or study reasons. This would imply giving up the status of *comunero* to leave under the city scheme.

of being part of an indigenous people. The interviews revealed this when they mentioned that they trust and they even consider as families other people belonging to an IP —"they are my brothers", as some of them mentioned—, regardless of whether the person is from the same or another IP. Another example of the strength of this social network without the need of a personal permanent investment referred by Bordieu is the acceptance of a new community member only with a certificate of good behaviour, only if this person comes from an indigenous community.

Despite this, the "social given" causing the "pre-existence of the social network", i.e. the immediate sense of self recognition and, sometimes trust, between people who belong to an IP and prior to the personal social investments, have indeed behind a huge social investment. This social construction has been the result of belonging to an ancient people who have survived centuries in an unfavourable social context, very much alike to the one of Bordieu, overcoming a history of economic imbalance, structural discrimination, and violence, which reached to its peak during the internal armed conflict of the 1980s.

In Bordieu's theory, this type of intrinsic capital associated to tradition is closer to the embodied form of cultural capital, amplifying the concept of culture not just to the occidental knowledge —expressed in the "being a cult person"—, but understanding culture as all the valuable heritage and traditional knowledge of ancient peoples.

Coleman's theory is very helpful to understand the formation of such a strong social network associated to the belonging to an IP. The interviewees of the communities reported that their social structure is based in the unity of the community and in the system of mutual help they have, which generates trust. Among the three types of social capital identified by Coleman, this mechanism is perfectly explained by the "obligations, expectations and trustworthiness". Indeed, living in a closed community in which they are in permanent contact with their peers assures the repayment of the obligations.

Other of the main elements in Coleman's theory is the norms and effective sanctions, considering also the rewards in case of good actions. It is true that all the visited communities defined its basic norms of conviviality in the Statute; however, unlike Coleman, community members interpret them in a much more constitutive way —"moral" or "ethic"— and not just as a way of regulating social behaviour. This was expressed by the interviewees when they were asked whether there was some type of rewarding for good actions. In most cases they mentioned that not, because it is what they are supposed —*expected*— to do, i.e., acting well for the communal good and giving the example to the other members of the community. Furthermore,

the normative system is less "fixed" than in Coleman's theory[41]: it reflects the communal will in each particular situation, because the way of making decisions is through participatory methods in the Communal Assembly.

Instead of the norms dimension of the classical theories of social capital, it would be more accurate to call this component referred to the functioning of the social network, "community ethos", as the theory of Mignone proposed in his study with IP from the United States of America (Yeung, et al., 2021). This component includes trust, norms of reciprocity, collective action and participation.

Putnam considers trust as the third constitutive element of social capital, besides social networks and norms, already mentioned in the previous reflections. According to this author strong ties prevail in the formation of social capital, which is applicable for the visited native communities, because the most valued social relationships which are the basis of their sociality are the strong bonds that exist in the community. However, the origin of this trust, as previously stated, is based in centuries of investment for the construction and preservation of their social structure in an unfavourable context.

When analysing the weak ties through the relationships with the peer communities —bridging social capital— the most important determinant of trust was the belonging to an IP, which follows the aforementioned logic. Meanwhile, the weak ties with institutions —linking social capital— the determinants of trust were: considering the actual needs of the community, developing interventions that close their existing gaps and the development of skills in the community members that allows them to solve their problems in the long term. In this latter case, trust could be interpreted better as a consequence of the way of acting, more than a cause or determinant of the social structure that enables actions, as in Putnam's theory. Under this interpretation, trust would not be one of the constitutive elements of social capital for the analysed context.

One relevant component of social capital that is applicable for this context, also proposed by Mignone, would be the "socially invested resources", referred to the physical, symbolic, financial, human, or natural resources which are shared and made available for the community. Indeed, when there is an emergency, a common need or some *comunero* is in danger, the community cooperate and put their personal resources at disposition for this need. The same

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[41] Understanding Coleman's social norms as the result of what is accepted or not in the society in a particular temporal moment.

happens when someone continues their educational path and increase their education level — developing their human resources—, it is common to return to the community and contribute to its improvement, as it was mentioned by many of the interviewees. When they work together with institutions, investing their resources —for instance, their time to attend to the trainings—, trust is developed is the intervention is valuable for the common needs of the community.

An element identified by one of the scholars that studied social capital in indigenous communities (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2002) was that IP trust more in their grassroots organisations to solve their priorities. This is not verified in the studied context because a central aspect of the community's priorities is the closure of the gaps in their access to public services and they claim the participation of the public institutions, developing a joint work with them that is respectful with their culture. Thus, they are also willing to cooperate and strengthen their weak ties with public institutions.

Finally, regarding the political dimension of social capital expressed in the "capacity to start mechanisms of fights, resistance and adjustment to a national project in a context of high vulnerability and subordination relationships" and the "effects of hegemonic structures that weakens indigenous social capital" by Mota Díaz and Sandoval Forero (2006) was not verified in the studied context. The best prove of the incompatibility of this vision with the conducted empirical work is the high value that all the interviewees assigned to the DEVIDA intervention, developed by a public institution and following a national project.

Furthermore, the interviewees took this intervention as an example to mention how the government should act in their territory. Instead of fighting and resisting to an external or national project, they want to conduct their own project of development in their territory, but cooperating with the public interventions and jointly working with them through the implementation of a real intercultural approach, which have mostly failed until now.

Summarising, the most relevant constitutive elements of social capital for the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka peoples of the North VRAEM are:

- The social network.
- The community ethos.
- The socially invested resources.
- Their maintenance and respect to their traditions and culture.

Characterising the social capital of the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka peoples

The previously identified components of social capital are present in the three types of social capital that exist in the Ashaninka and Nomatsigenga native communities of the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa. The most relevant highlights in each type of social capital are detailed below:

Bonding social capital

The social relationships inside the community and the building of the social network are highly influenced by the exercise and maintenance of the traditions and the culture, mainly in the case of the Nomatsigenga people. Indeed, independently on the level of rurality of the community, this people seem to preserve their traditions and exercise them in most of the aspects of their social daily lives.

On the other hand, in the Ashaninka people it seems to be a direct relationship between the level of rurality and the relevance in exercising their traditions in their daily lives. Thus, the closer the community is to a city, the more the interviewees reported the risk of losing their traditions and mostly practicing them in the anniversaries and festivities of the community. This would need to be verified in further research with a larger sample of communities.

Despite these differences, a common space of socialisation associated to a traditional activity in all the Nomatsigenga and Ashaninka communities was the consumption of masato, which is a common practice exercised every day, in which they share their opinions, stories and day-to-day experiences. Likewise, the anniversaries and festivities of the community are a generalised space of sharing where the community practice their traditions.

The transmission of the traditional knowledge from generation to generation has historically depended on the personal bonds established inside the community. However, currently there is not a formal mechanism of knowledge transmission, because, currently, young people approach the elderlies only following their personal interest, which many of them are losing. Thus, an increasingly relevant actor in the transmission of the culture is the education sector, since the implementation of the intercultural bilingual education programme, because they perform activities intended to inquire in their history and traditions.

The most important economic activity that generates social networks is the agriculture of coffee and cacao with the DEVIDA intervention and other traditional local crops. However, they also

exercise some other subsistence activities, mostly destined to self-consumption such as hunting and fishing.

The most reported generational change in the majority of the communities was the vision towards education, which is highly valued; thus, as a result the number of young people that continue their educational path has increased.

Gender parity seems to be increasing in the division of labour and in the household organisation. Despite this, some of the interviewees —mostly in the Nomatsigenga people— still identity the domestic work as a as a female role, with a mainly helping male role. However, this is not conclusive because in the Nomatsigenga people only one woman was interviewed, which could bias the results. Thus, it would be relevant for further research to expand the analysis for this people.

Regarding the community ethos component, the communities define and exercise their norms in a participatory way through the Communal Directive Board. A relevant change in the normative system that has considerably changed the functioning of the communities is the role of orality vs the validity of written documents. In ancient times, communities assigned more value to the orality and the oral agreements were considered a rule; however, this has changed due to the contact with the public system and, as stated in most of the communities, now they prioritise the written documents because it "gives them proves of what was decided". This is the reason why they keep a series of book and minutes of the occurrences of the community.

Bridging social capital

The most common space of socialisation between peer communities is in the festivities, where they officially invite other neighbouring communities. In general terms, the relationship with their peers is better with other native communities, independently of the IP to which they belong, because of the trust dynamics that are triggered because of a sense of common identity. In the case of the *colonos*, the communities with a lower degree of rurality reported having better relationships, coordinating well and developing collaborative actions.

Despite this, even in these cases, there is still a differentiated treatment when the *colonos* are willing to transfer into the communal territory, either asking much more requirements to them— such as in Cañete—, allowing them to move but not accepting them as *comuneros* with the right to participate in the assembly —as in Boca del Kiatari— or explicitly forbidding their settlement in the community, as in the case of the territorial sectors of the central Matereni —Alto Chichireni and Santa Teresita—.

There seems to be a space for strengthening the social relationships with the *colono* communities, which could be triggered by settling common objectives to improve their reality. This is exemplified by the case of Cañete, for instance, where they organise for the building and maintenance of roads and for the defence of their geographical area. This common objective has led to a good coordination, cooperation and the development of collective actions. Thus, the relationship is in good terms and goes beyond the joint actions for the common benefit. For example, the *colonos* hire *comuneros* from Cañete to help them working their fields.

In the case of the territorial sectors of Tres Unidos de Matereni, the interviewees of both Santa Teresita and Alto Chichireni reported a high preference towards their independency because, not having it, is negatively affecting them and not allowing to completely exercise the management of their territory. In particular, they referred to the timber extraction originated in the contracts stipulated by the central Matereni. In addition, in Santa Teresita, the coordinator mentioned that in the past, there have been projects not accepted by Matereni, which would have been positive to them. Therefore, they mentioned a high willing of being independent.

Linking social capital

The most trusted institutions in most of the communities, independently of the population group of the interviewee, were DEVIDA and the local organisation to which they are affiliated. In the case of the former, the interviewees recognise and value the results it has brought both in the technical management of the resources, as well as in the development of soft skill in the community members.

In the case of the local indigenous organisations, the communities trust in them, because it protects their rights, giving them support in the solution of their needs through seeking alliances with other institutions. In addition, the local organisations are a point of reference when they have doubts of their rights or when a communal conflict cannot be solved. An exception to this was the community of Alto Chichireni, where the perception of the interviewees is that the organisation is only centred in the Nomatsigenga people because, when the study was conducted all its directive members belonged to that people. It is worth emphasising that some of the experts mentioned that some of these institutions —not necessarily OCAM or KANUJA— have distorted from their mission, prioritising the personal interest of the representants.

A particularity in most of the interviewed women in the study was that they trusted more and assigned more value to the education and health institutions and the Juntos social programme

—promoting both results—, arguing the benefits they bring to their children. This could be reflecting the priority role of the mothers in the children's care.

The most relevant reasons of institutional trust were:

- To consider the actual needs of the community, identifying them jointly with the community.
- Conduct an intervention that have tangible results and helps closing the gap in the access to public services they have.
- Respect their tradition and culture in the development of the intervention.
- Permanent coordination and communication with the community, including period in-presence visits.
- To have a long-term horizon, including a follow-up when the intervention is finished.
- Give trainings and develop soft skills in the community that will prepare them to independently work in the future. The prioritised topics were: leadership, public speech, as well as self-esteem for the young people of the community.

In addition, a common claim in all the visited communities was the need to develop more interventions that help the communities. Related to this topic, the role of the municipalities was particularly criticised by most of the communities: In the case of Pangoa, by all the communities, independently in their level of rurality, while, in the case of Mazamari, only in the community with a high level of rurality. Thus, it seems that the latter is performing better, at least with the communities closer to the city.

<u>The territory</u>

All the communities value their territory and its natural resources, which are a recognised asset of their lives. The challenges and opportunities of the communities of both IP are similar according to their level of rurality. In particular, the territory of the communities settled closer to cities have been more affected by the human action —is mainly constituted by *purma* and the land extension is the land extension is lower—; therefore, there are less flora and fauna species to practice some of their traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and the collection of snails. In the case of the communities with a high degree of rurality, the identified problems were the land invasion, in the case of Yorini and the legal timber extraction in the case of Santa Teresita and Alto Chichireni. In this context, reforestation is a common identified factor by all the communities, which would improve their territorial conditions.

Recommendations for DEVIDA

In general terms, DEVIDA is performing well, all the interviewees valued their intervention and mentioned how their living conditions have considerably been improved by them. Despite this, some aspects should be taken into consideration by this institution or by the Project FID, one of the most important allies of them. They concern:

- Strengthening the communal management component of the intervention:
  - Develop more trainings, mainly with the teenagers in the identified relevant topics.
  - Expand the thematic areas of the intervention, not only considering the internal management of the community —aspects of bonding social capital—, but also elements of bridging social capital, in order to improve the relationships with the neighbours, mainly the *colonos*. This could have a huge potential for self-organisation and the development of common interventions destined to improve their territory —for instance, the waste management in the case of Boca del Kiatari—.
- Developing a long-term sustainability plan, foreseeing the future impact of their interventions and some mechanism of follow-up, in order to strengthen the established trust. This mechanism should consider in-presence follow-up meetings and a consultation mechanism where the communities are able to transmit their inquiries.
- Considering their stewardship role in conducting the development of the VRAEM — because they are in charge conduction both the National Policy Against Drugs towards 2030 and the Strategy VRAEM 2021—:
  - Develop institutional synergies with the municipalities to effectively coordinate the management of the access to public services.
  - Elaborate intervention plans with the involved municipalities to work in closing the access to public services, in order to seek for alliances with other institutions —public or private—.

Final considerations and suggestions for further research

For further research it would be valuable to expand the pool of the visited communities, including the representatives of the six identified population groups, as well as more communities from the districts of Mazamari and Pangoa. In addition, it would be interesting to expand the research in the VRAEM —the centre and south—, where the levels of poverty are higher, the

access to public services is more limited and the presence of narcotraffic and terrorism is much more diffused affecting the lives of the native communities.

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9. Annexes

9.1. Annex 1: Data collection tools – Spanish version

9.1.1. Interview guide for the local indigenous organisations

1. ¿Qué significa para usted ser Asháninka/Nomatsigenga?
2. ¿Cuáles son los valores culturales Asháninka/Nomatsigenga más importantes? [*En la entrevista se puede hacer referencia a identidad, costumbres, tradiciones*]
3. ¿Cuáles son las principales actividades que realiza la organización *[OCAM / KANUJA]*?

Preguntas sobre las comunidades nativas

<u>Redes sociales</u>

4. ¿Cómo están organizadas las comunidades?
5. ¿Cuáles son las principales actividades (i) económicas, (ii) culturales/espirituales y (iii) sociales, que se realizan en las comunidades?
   a. ¿Cómo están divididos los roles en estas actividades? ¿Se observan diferencias por género o rango etario?
   b. ¿Se observan diferencias en las comunidades según su cercanía con las ciudades?
   c. ¿Se han dado cambios en los últimos 10 años?
6. Considerando la dimensión económica:
   a. ¿Cuáles son las perspectivas futuras del rol de las familias en estas actividades?
   b. ¿Cuáles son las principales fortalezas y retos en el desarrollo de estas actividades en las comunidades?
7. ¿Cómo son las relaciones entre diversas comunidades pertenecientes al mismo pueblo originario? ¿En qué tipo de actividades se da comúnmente esta relación?
8. ¿Cómo son las relaciones entre comunidades pertenecientes a diversos pueblos originarios? ¿En qué tipo de actividades se da comúnmente esta relación?
9. ¿Qué espacios y actividades facilitan el encuentro entre las comunidades y otros actores fuera del ámbito comunitario?

<u>Confianza</u>

10. ¿Cuáles considera que son los actores clave del territorio?
11. ¿Cómo es la relación de estos actores con las comunidades?

a. ¿Y con *[OCAM / KANUJA]*?

b. ¿Cuántas veces al año aproximadamente *[OCAM / KANUJA]* encuentran con estos actores

c. ¿Cuáles considera que son los factores en la relación con estos actores?

Normas

12. ¿Cuáles son las principales normas sociales presentes en las comunidades?

a. ¿Cómo se definen estas normas?

b. ¿En qué medida la comunidad participa en la definición de estas normas? ¿Cómo participan las mujeres? ¿Cómo participan los jóvenes?

c. ¿Cree usted que estas normas han cambiado durante los últimos 10 años? ¿Cómo y por qué?

Dimensión política

9. ¿Cuáles son las principales características del territorio?

a. ¿Qué factores ayudan a su preservación?

b. ¿Qué factores lo perjudican?

c. En los últimos 10 años ¿Cómo han cambiado estos factores? (*Hacer referencia tanto a los positivos como negativos*)

d. *[En caso de la mención de aspectos problemáticos]*, ¿Han realizado acciones para enfrentar estos problemas? ¿Qué se podría realizar adicionalmente?

9.1.2. Interview guide for the communities' interviewees

1. ¿Qué significa para usted ser Asháninka/Nomatsigenga?

2. ¿Cuáles son los valores culturales Asháninka/Nomatsigenga más importantes? *[En la entrevista se puede hacer referencia a identidad, costumbres, tradiciones]*

3. ¿Considera que sus padres pensaban de la misma manera que sus abuelos?

a. ¿Considera que usted piensa de la misma manera de sus padres?

b. ¿Cuáles son las diferencias?

Redes sociales

4. ¿Me podría, por favor, contar cómo está organizada su comunidad?

5. ¿Me podría, por favor, contar cómo funciona su comunidad? ¿Cuáles son las principales actividades que se realizan?

    a. Actividades económicas

        i. ¿Qué actividades económicas, de subsistencia o para generar recursos y dinero se realizan en la comunidad? ¿Cuáles realizan los hombres? ¿Cuáles realizan las mujeres? ¿Cuáles se realizan conjuntamente? ¿Estas han cambiado en los últimos 10 años?

    b. Actividades sociales

        i. ¿Cómo ustedes se relacionan y comparten como comunidad? ¿En qué momento se da esto? ¿Cuáles de las cosas de las descritas realizan los hombres? ¿Cuáles las mujeres? ¿Cuáles se realizan conjuntamente? ¿Cómo ha cambiado esto en los últimos 10 años?

    c. Actividades culturales/espirituales

        i. ¿En qué momentos y cómo practican sus costumbres? ¿Qué cosas de las descritas realizan los hombres? ¿Qué las mujeres? ¿Qué conjuntamente? ¿Cómo ha cambiado esto en los últimos 10 años?

    d. ¿Qué actividades realizan los jóvenes? ¿Algunos van a las ciudades o es más común quedarse en la comunidad? ¿Esto ha cambiado durante los últimos 10 años?

    e. ¿Qué actividades realizan los ancianos y ancianas?

6. ¿Qué organizaciones existen en la comunidad?

7. ¿Tienen relación con otras comunidades Asháninka/Nomatsigenga? ¿En qué tipo de actividades? *[Hacer referencia al mismo pueblo originario de la comunidad]*

    a. ¿Y con otros pueblos originarios? ¿Qué tipo de actividades realizan juntos?

<u>Confianza</u>

Las preguntas 8, 9 y 10 consisten en la realización de una dinámica. Los 10 actores más relevantes para la comunidad identificados por el entrevistado se escribirán en pequeñas notas de papel. Luego estas se pegarán en un papelógrafo en el que se han dibujado círculos concéntricos. El centro de los círculos simboliza la comunidad, por lo que las notas con los actores se pegarán cerca o lejos del centro según su nivel de cercanía.

8. Por favor, ¿me podría hacer una lista de las 10 personas u organizaciones más importantes para la comunidad?

9. Por favor, si la comunidad se encuentra al centro de los círculos que está observando, coloque las instituciones cerca o lejos del centro según cuánto ayudan a la comunidad.

10. *[Preguntar sobre los que están posicionados más cerca]*

    a. ¿Qué hace que *[nombre del actor]* esté más cerca de la comunidad?

    b. ¿Cuántas veces al año ven a *[nombre del actor]*? *[Consultar para cada actor clave identificado]*

<u>Normas</u>

Sobre normas definidas formalmente

11. ¿Cómo se define el estatuto de la comunidad?

    a. ¿Quiénes participan en este proceso?

    b. ¿Esto ha cambiado en los últimos 10 años?

12. ¿Por qué otras normas se rige la comunidad?

Sobre normas definidas informalmente

13. ¿Cómo se sancionan las malas acciones en la comunidad?

14. ¿Cómo premiarían las buenas acciones? ¿Esto se ha realizado?

<u>Dimensión política</u>

15. ¿Me podría, por favor, describir su territorio? *[Para repreguntar: el sitio/la tierra donde vive y la comunidad realiza sus actividades]*

16. ¿Qué factores podrían mejorar las condiciones de vida de la comunidad?

    a. ¿Qué factores la perjudican?

    b. En los últimos 10 años ¿Cómo han cambiado estos factores? (*Hacer referencia tanto a los positivos como negativos*)

17. En el caso de los factores perjudiciales, ¿Qué se puede hacer para resolverlos?

9.2. Annex 2: Results of the confidence exercise of interview guide 2 for native communities

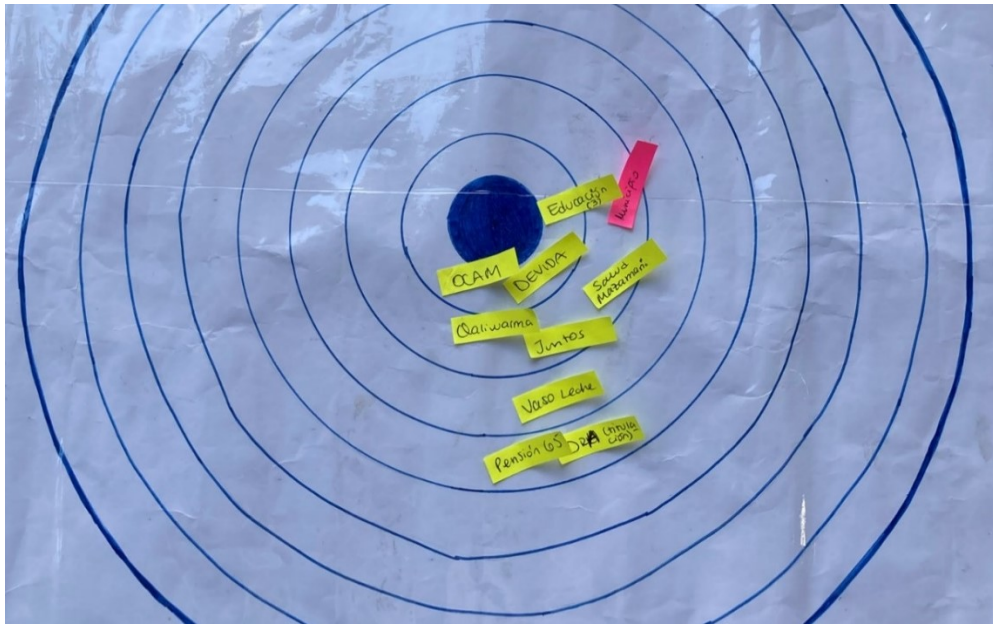### 9.2.1. The case of the Ashaninka People

9.2.1.1. The native community of Cañete

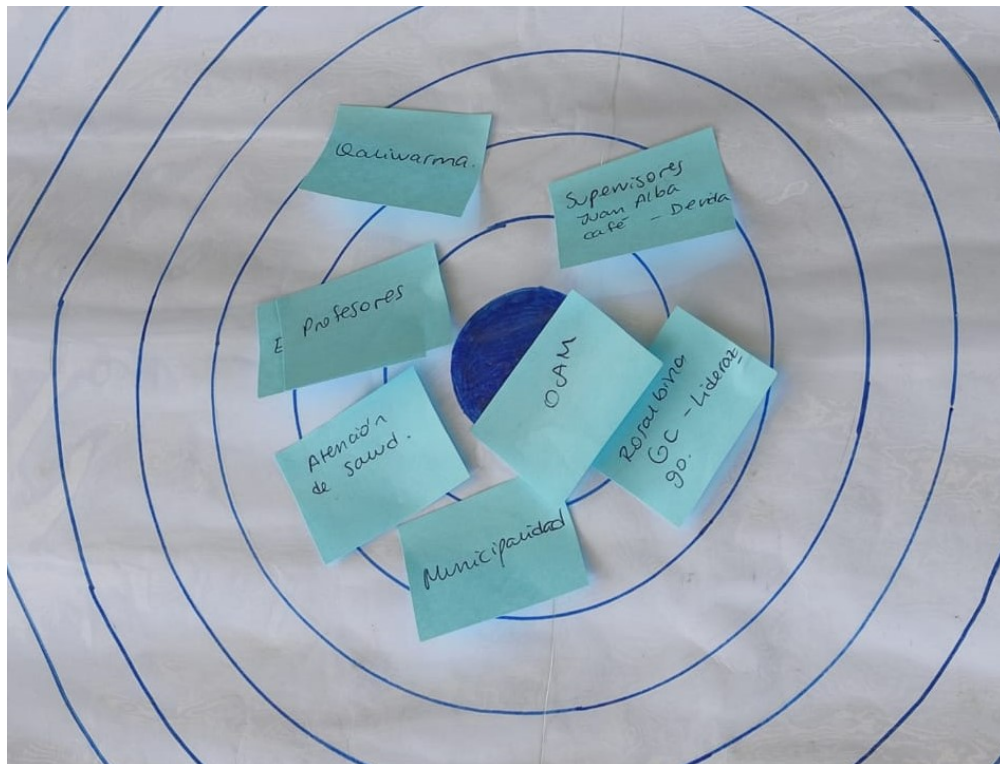Chief of the Communal Directive Board
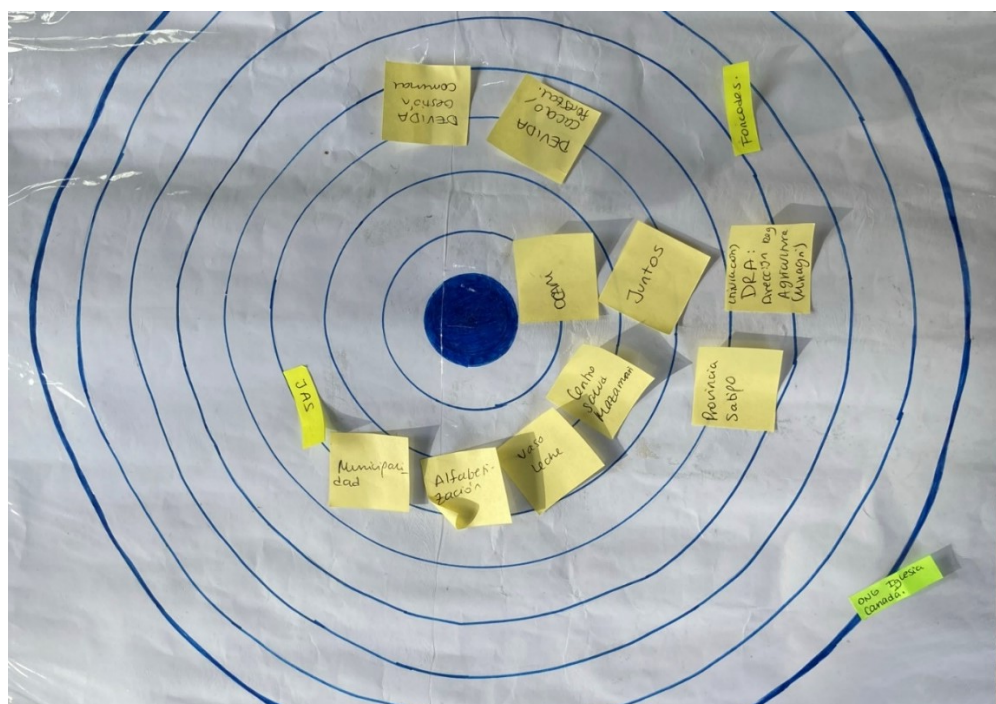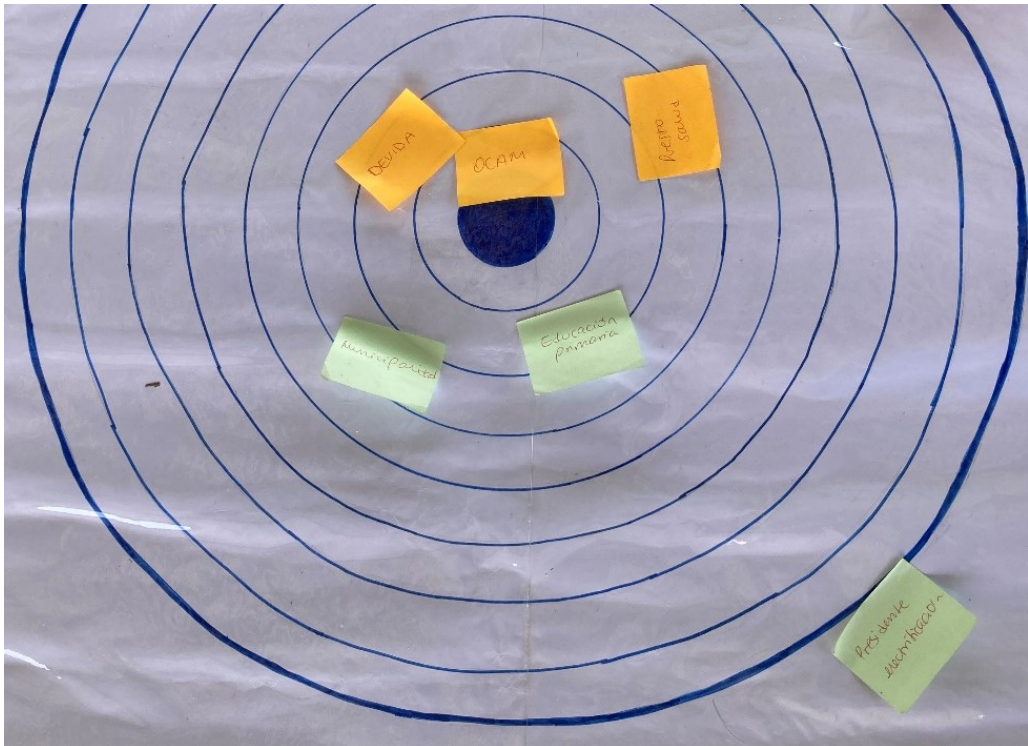

Woman

Cacao producer

9.2.1.2.The native community of Yorini
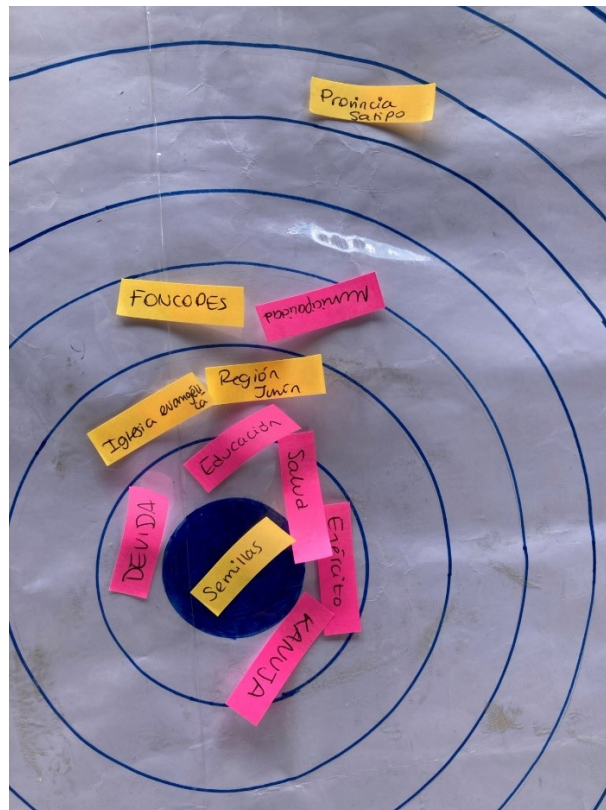

Chief of the Communal Directive Board

Woman

Coffee producer

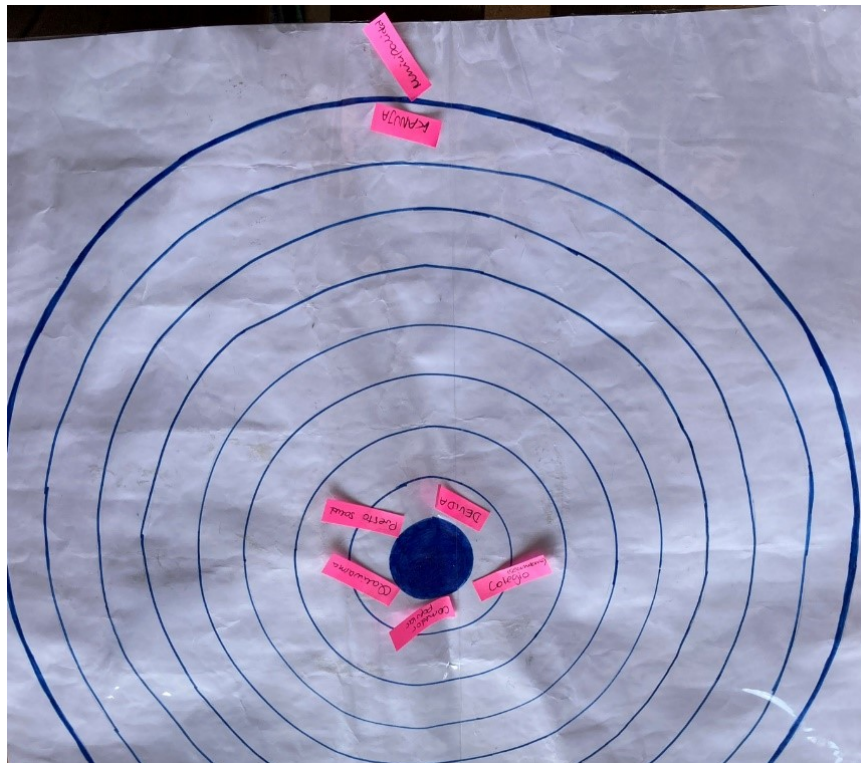### 9.2.1.3. The territorial sector of Alto Chichireni (native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni)

Coordinator of Alto Chichireni

Note: Outside of the circle he included the President and the Congressmen of the Central Government as the furthest institutions from their community. For graphical reasons, that section of the photo has not been included.

Woman

Cacao producer

9.2.2. The case of the Nomatsigenga people

9.2.2.1.The native community of Boca del Kiatari

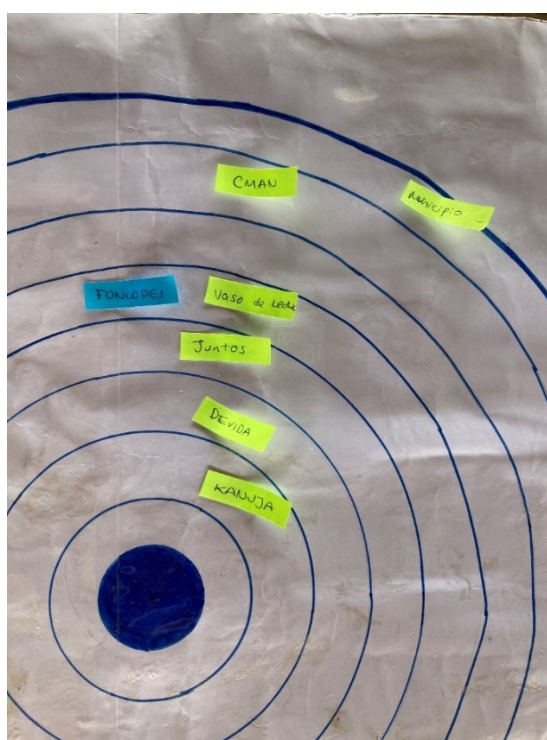*Chief of the Communal Directive Board*
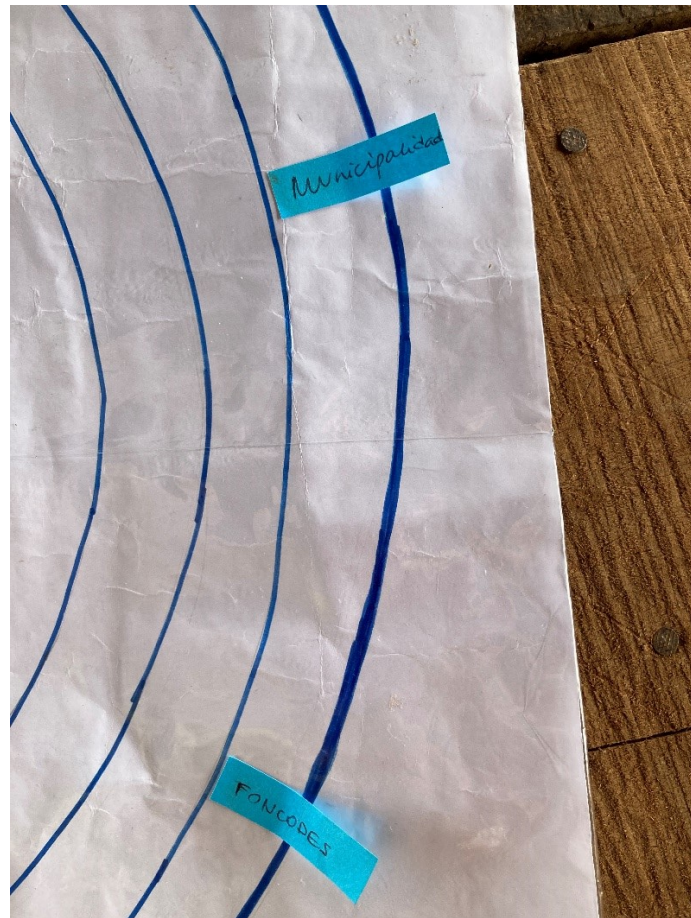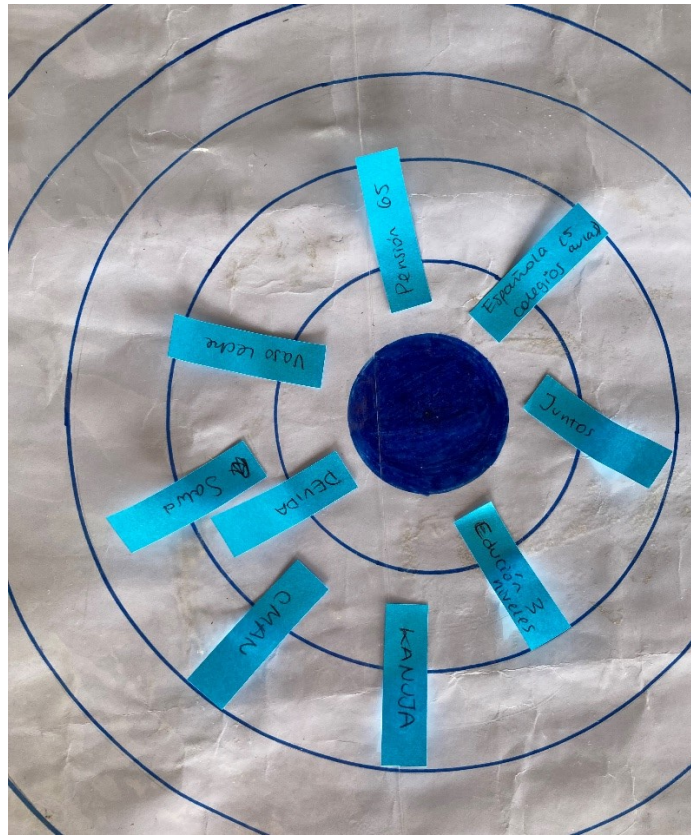

Cacao producer

9.2.2.2.The territorial sector of Santa Teresita (native community of Tres Unidos de Matereni)

Coordinator of Santa Teresita

Coffee producer

Woman