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THE GLOCAL CREATION OF SPACE: PARU PARU'S YOUTH CASTING THEIR OWN FUTURES

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**“THE GLOCAL CREATION OF SPACE: PARU PARU’S YOUTH CASTING THEIR
OWN FUTURES”**

by

Teresa Drenten

B.A., History & Spanish, Northern Arizona University, 2011

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts
Community + Regional Planning**

**Master of Arts
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DEDICATION

Kay qellqata Paru Paruq erqenkunapaq qellqarqani. Paru Paru llaqtapi, Paru Paru erqekunaqa askhata yachachiwarqanku. Paykunaq yanapayninkuwan, hatun ruwayta tukuyta atirqani.

Askhata rimarqayku, askhata llankarqaykupas. Añay erquekuna. Añay Paru Paruq runan. Añay Yachaywasi 50211 nisqapi llankaq yachachiqkunan. Chaymi, kaypi paykunapaq tukuy sunqaywan reqsikuyta qellqarqani.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis illustrates the active participation of Indigenous children in the creation of space intersecting across multiple scales. I engaged with critical decolonial theories to create a community based participatory process with eleven bilingual Quechua-Spanish children in Paru Paru, Peru. My methodology focuses on the desires of the community, concentrating on their lived experiences and honoring the community’s challenges and resiliency. This research and knowledge belong to the community. Through small group and observation methods, these young participants demonstrated two desires; First, they want to remain connected to their lands and cosmology; next, they wish to receive the benefits from an increasingly globalized world. They expressed great joy sharing their linguistic and cultural heritage connecting them to each other, and to the history of the Urubamba Valley. Children in Paru Paru participate in important labor processes, helping their families, strengthening communal bonds, and creating shifting spaces in their many places. Work in Andean communities shapes place and space, as communities act with and on the land. My participants conceptualize their home through the actions they perform. Spatial creation defines place, and place defines how children create space. Children also jump multiple scales, participating in global, regional, and local processes. The social and spatial practices of Paru Paru do not end when community members leave its political boundaries. Paru Paru’s spaces and cosmology appear in urban areas like Pisac, Cusco, and Arequipa. The intersections of place and space in Paru Paru demonstrate children’s desires and active engagement with their cosmovision.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

The students in Profe Jose Kilder Vargas' Grade Five class adore reciting poetry. I had the opportunity to experience this love firsthand when Profe Vargas introduced *Uqhi Michi* by Andrés Alencastre Gutiérrez. During their fifth year of school, children mostly speak and write in Spanish. Therefore, when Profe Vargas wrote the Quechua poem on the board, each student visibly changed their demeanor, growing more and more excited. First, in groups they recited the poem, competing to see who performed with the most emotion and presence. The students memorized *Uqhi Michi* rapidly, and—within an hour—many could recite it without any assistance. They continued reciting the poem long after class finished, further memorizing it and practicing so they could present for their community. Instances such as these demonstrate how much the children of Paru Paru value their culture, their language, and their place. *Uqhi Michi* did not disappear after its introduction. Various students performed the poem in front of their weekly assembly, and one student—John—even performed it for a group of visiting tourists. At this intersection (place-based culture and language with global tourists), Paru Paru begins to reveal the complexities of community

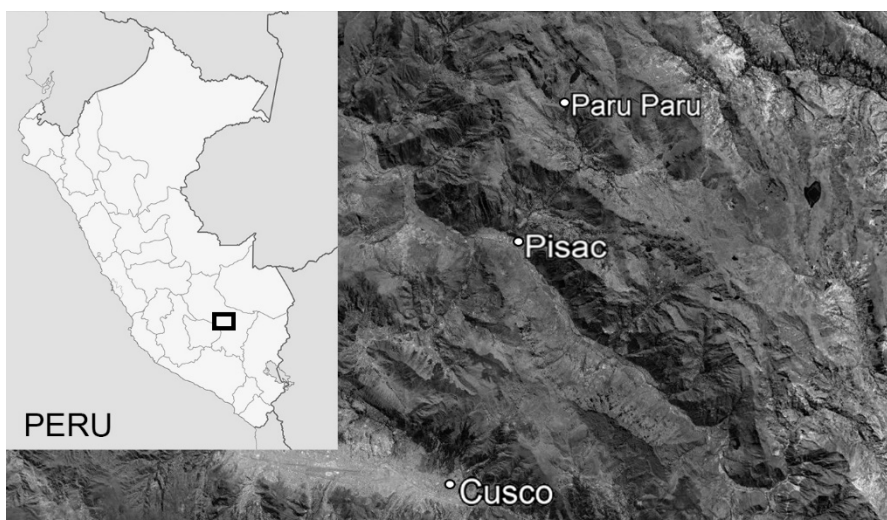


Figure 1: Map locating Paru Paru

desires. Paru Paru, a small Quechua-speaking *pueblo*¹ of approximately 300-500 people, has a unique geographical location directly next

¹ Small town

to a lake system and within the Valle Sagrado or Sacred Valley of Cusco. I spent two months during 2016 working with a group of eleven 10 to 13-year-old children in Paru Paru, Peru to ascertain how they conceptualize their community and their community's place in the broader regional and global systems converging on their lives. The children in Paru Paru engage in unique spatial practices, revealing profound Indigenous knowledge and specific desires for their future. Daily, the community and the children of Paru Paru strive to create a multitude of possibilities for their futures, while simultaneously recognizing their pasts and activating their presents.

Globalization is a mixed bag of opportunities. Dirlik (1999) explains that the uneven processes of globalization leave out large parts of the world, “but even in those parts of the world that are included in the process, the processes appear as pathways in networks of one kind or another” (p. 152). Globalization remains a complex set of processes that often link communities together via their social networks. Communities must access these networks to partake in the globalization processes. Many Indigenous Peruvian women, men, and children access these networks through their labor processes that intersect with tourism industries and consumption of goods. Their intentional entrance into global processes provides opportunities to improve their lives in small ways and access previously unobtainable opportunities. On the flip side of the coin, these processes often realize colonial and imperial ambitions. Settler colonialism, as described by Patrick Wolfe (2007; Dirlik 1999), represents a structure—or a series of structures—meant to destroy place connected cultures and replace them with “modernized,” “globalized” spaces. Settler colonial states and globalizing systems transform place-bound identities into “markers of backwardness [...] opening [places] to ‘civilization’—global and national (Dirlik 1999, p. 168). Global spaces, often reflecting

Western norms of “modernization,” use culture as a weapon to oppress and exclude certain populations:

The policing of tradition as an essence expressive of real indigeneity, initially used to shame Indigenous peoples into forcibly abandoning their “savage” practices, now serves the oppression of multiculturalism. Indictments of assimilation shame people for their acquiescence in relinquishing their true selves and obfuscates the structural logic of genocide by blaming individuals for their failure to transmit tradition successfully, creating widespread feelings of sadness and loss. (Amsterdam 2013, p. 55)

Multiculturalism—a product of neoliberal politics of recognition (Coulthard 2007)—often limits representations of culture, branding ingenuity and cultural change as a corruption of the “authentic.” Nation states in the Americas use the politics of recognition to (re)define the identities of colonized populations such as the highland communities in Peru, reproducing colonial power structures of oppression (ibid., p. 439).

Moreover, neoliberal economic policies in Peru—introduced around the 1990s—work to reshape urban settings such as Cusco (the former capital of the Incan Empire). Urban placed spaces remain highly contested battlegrounds (Mackie, Bromley & Brown 2014), where municipal agents often conceptualize and implement changes without consulting the communities that will feel the impact. Planning processes across the world operate within established and fluid power structures (Flyvbjerg & Richardson 2002). Enlightenment thinking remains present in most democratic governments, pushing “universal sameness” in the face of stratified power relationships (Gill 2002). The power structures in Cusco and the

Valle Sagrado attempt to position certain populations (women, Quechua-speaking communities, lower class workers) in positions of subordination. Municipal agents in Cusco want to make their city more global and attractive to European and Northern American tourists. To attract more tourists from Western countries and shape the city into a global reflection of modernity and prosperity, *Cusqueño*² officials actively targeted groups considered “undesirable” (Mackie, Bromley, & Brown 2014, p. 1888). In one case, “the municipality of Cusco perceived modernity as inconsistent with the continued presence of street vendors and thought it better to hide the ‘uncivilized’ side of Cusco from the eyes of potential foreign industrialists and investors” (Steel 2012, p. 1014). Many street vendors—due to historical processes of colonialism—hail from the countryside and often Quechua-speaking communities. These Indigenous vendors seek opportunities in urban centers to improve their individual lives and the lives of their families (Seligmann 2000). Even though street vending helped define cityscapes in the Andes for centuries, urban street vendors became threats to colonial conceptions of urban revitalization driven by global conceptions of neoliberalism (Swanson 2007). As city planners and community leaders push the colonial global city ideal, Indigenous peoples face increased opposition to their unassimilated presences. The legitimacy of space remains in constant contention between planners (local and national) and marginalized communities such as Indigenous Quechua speakers. As neoliberal policies contrive to transform urban and rural places in Peru, communities struggle make their spaces more visible and legitimate in a diversity of places.

To better understand the tensions between different scales of influence (global, regional, local, individual, etc.) and the tensions between colonial modernity and Indigenous

² People who live in Cusco

peoples, place and space provide a critical intersection for analysis. Paru Paru's physical location directly below three fresh-water lakes and within the Valle Sagrado contributes to the longevity and sustainability of the community and its many families. Henri Lefebvre (2015) wrote one of the most influence works bridging the connections between place and

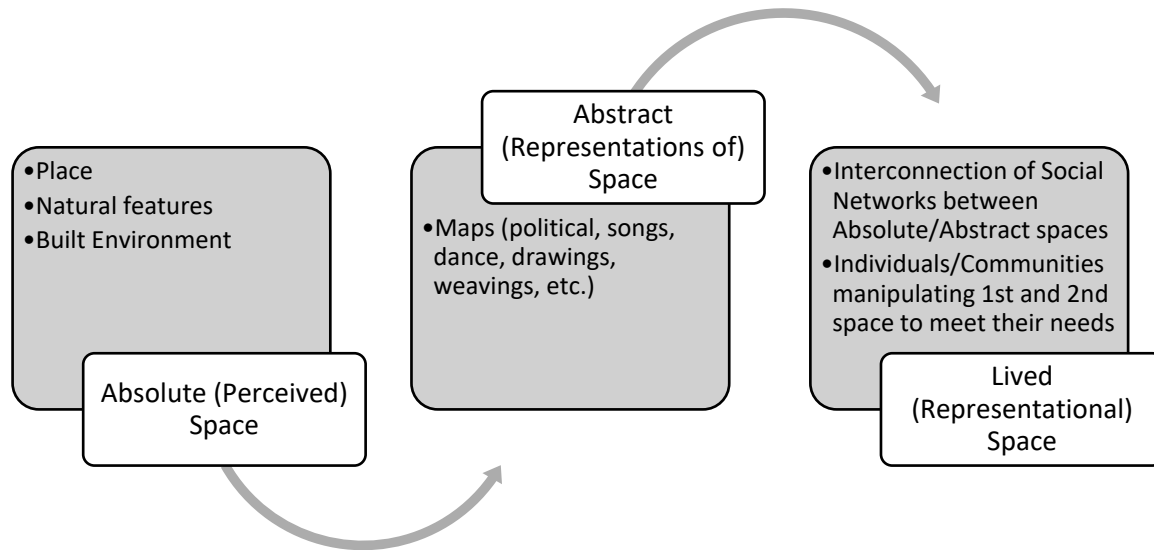


Figure 2: Lefebvre's (2015) Social Production of Space

space. He defines the production of space with three characteristics, or three parts: absolute space (place), abstract space (maps), and representational space (lived space, or how social networks interconnect between abstract and absolute space to create spaces that communities and individuals experience). The two most important spaces in regards to Paru Paru are absolute space and representational space. These two spaces interact with each other daily, and:

Indigenous geographies are especially valuable for pointing to the complex intersections between what might previously have been considered the

separate environmental, social, economic, political, cultural and legal geographies of an issue or place. (Panelli, 2008, p. 807)

Place—absolute space—has a profound impact on what kinds of social relations communities may create within it; place directly defines representational spaces. However, representational spaces also influence and change absolute space. The relationship between place and lived space is dialectical in nature. Together, they dance in a partnership, facilitating the co-creation of both absolute and representational space at the same time. Place-based social dynamics in Paru Paru define the creation of lived, representational space. Even globalized spaces feel the impact of place-based dynamics. Some globalization processes may attempt to eliminate place from an active role in spatial creation; yet, those attempts cannot succeed. Globalization and local spatial creation will adapt and adjust according to locally based places and social practices.

Moreover, studying the relationship between place and communities provides a way to view the multifaceted nature of globalization, opening analysis to witness and plan for the diversity of experiences present in a globalizing world. Globalization does not impact all communities and individuals in the same manner. Colonial and imperial forces can use globalization as a homogenizing force via the vehicles of "modernization," "progress," or "development." Global—in this sense—is attached to homogenous universalisms often found in European Social theory development (Escobar 2002). When powerful countries push globalization as a universalizing force, Globalization provides multitudes of new opportunities sometimes erasing old options; then, global goods and processes can chip away at the specificity of places (Dirlik 1999). Globalization, consequently, can completely flood a place so entirely, that place transforms more into an abstraction of space, full of dominant

global culture and capitalist goods. Escobar (2002) details how in conversations about globalization, the global is synonymous “with space, capital, history and agency and the local with place, labor, and tradition. Place has dropped out of sight in the “globalization craze” of recent years” (p. 141). Space in these contexts loses its place-based specificity, becoming abstract notions of labor, resources, and potential development. However, the global and the local intimately interconnect. The global is both local and global; while local places are both global and local as well. Just as globalization processes shape local places, people inhabiting specific places and the places themselves shape the globalization processes at local and global scales. This process creates distinct, place-based, localized globalization (Escobar 2002, Dirlik 1999).

Understanding that globalization brings changes, communities can create more resilient plans to reflect the desires of the entire community. Communities are their own best planners. They already have the connections needed to begin a participatory process focused on their distinct needs as a community. Also, a community planning approach sourced from the community challenges colonial planning processes that use top-down approaches without community input (Gill 2002, Flyvbjerg & Richardson 2002). Focusing on place provides a way to understand the interplay between a variety of scales within specific social networks and actions, enabling a place-based planning process and outcome (Dirlik 1999, p. 155).

Furthermore, place contributes to identity construction, especially in communities such as Paru Paru. Devon G. Peña (1998) details that place

is a primary repository for human constructions of meaning and identity.

Humans create meaning in part by inscribing feelings and memories onto particular sites or shapes of their natural and cultural landscapes. This is the

“interactivity” and “positionality” involved in the human experience of place and the crafting of self and identity (p. 11).

Communities forge close bonds with the places in which they live, including rural places such as Paru Paru. Rural lands, after all, are the coproduction of nature and human communities (Van der Ploeg 2008). Today few places remain untouched by human hands, and human communities have experienced the opportunities, suggestions, and limitations prescribed by their natural environments. Nature has its own rules, similar to the way societies and communities do. Then the encounter between Nature and human society cultivates rural space, places, and identities simultaneously (ibid., p. 54). Paru Paru demonstrates the profound relationship communities can cultivate the land and how the land influences cultural creation and adaptation. In Paru Paru, the community and the children intimately work with the land according to their unique cosmovision, and land-based ontologies and pedagogies. *Paru Paruq runan*—or People of Paru Paru—shape their natural environment, while their environment shapes their social, cultural, labor, and economic processes. Many children in Paru Paru feel closely tied to the lands they have worked with their families since birth and even more connected to the animals they shepherd. These connections produce theories centered on Paru Paru’s cosmovision via their interactions with the land, creating a distinct Indigenous knowledge base (Sefa Dei, Hall, & Rosenber 2000, Simpson 2014).

Paru Paruq runan share many cultural similarities with other rural, Quechua speaking communities throughout the Andean Mountains. In particular, the Quechua language shapes how *Paru Paruq runan* interact with the world around them. The word for both “time” and “space” is simply “pacha.” In this way, time/space are not easily

distinguishable in Quechua; which, is similar to how Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) describes the Maori language and other Indigenous languages in regards to time and space. Quechua, alongside other Indigenous languages, navigate between time and space differently than the English conceptualizations of the terms. English speakers can distance space and time from each other; whereas Indigenous cultures often connect the two concepts so profoundly that it is impossible to consider them outside of each other. Moreover, some questions are impossible to ask in Quechua when translated directly from English. “Place” as an abstract idea, as in “What is your favorite place?” does not make sense in Quechua (my participants shot me strange looks when I tried to ask them this in Quechua). Instead, in Quechua you ask “Imata ruwayta munanki?” or “What do you enjoy doing?” to arrive at a similar (not identical, but similar) answer. Actions drive understandings of place in Paru Paru. Children in Paru Paru define place, not as a fixed idea but through the actions they perform within that place, connecting Paru Paru’s conception of place intimately with spatial creation. Language—often intimately related to the places of its birth—defines the ways communities conceptualize space, place, and time. These conceptions then create the borders of understanding of place-based knowledge and other aspects of culture.

Childhood in Quechua speaking communities in Peru grant full personhood to even the youngest children. “Runa” loosely translates to person from Quechua. It includes adults and children equally in its definition; and—furthermore—it denotes a broad social network interconnecting human communities and non-human communities alike (Vásquez 2005). Childhood, after all, is fundamentally a cultural conception and not consistent across cultures or even across time in the same culture. The current definition of childhood in many Western states such as the United States of America separates young human beings from older ones

with a via structures of paternalism and conceptualizations of children as potential adults (i.e. citizens). Children's distinct needs do not often appear in U.S. political discourses, and few structures of government and community participation actively seek children participants (Cohen 2009). This then regulates children as "less than" people or at least as under-developed adults (Vásquez 2005). Children are isolated from participating in many community structures, banned from workplaces, and required to attend educational facilities (Lefebvre 2015). Where in the current political culture of the United States most families do not expect children to carry significant responsibilities, children in Paru Paru expect to be responsible for animals, fields, and education. Children in Quechua speaking communities have the same communal value as adults, playing active roles in community processes from their first breath. They still attend state-run schools; but they also participate extensively in agricultural, animal husbandry, and tourism labor processes. Children's roles in Paru Paru's labor processes have a significant impact on the family's well-being. Paru Paru's children are responsible for entire herds of animals that provide income and sustenance for the family. Therefore, children contribute significantly to Paru Paru's labor processes and the sociocultural creation of communities (Vásquez 2005).

Place, space, and community making interconnect with many processes including culture. Understanding these processes provides an opportunity for planners to approach the dynamic needs of their communities. For this investigation, I explore how my group of participants understand and explain their—and their community's—creation of space and place through the lenses of labor process and scale. This understanding contributes to a place/space based analysis to demonstrate the desires of Paru Paru. My second chapter explores the methodologies I used to create my project and how my methodology adapted

over the course of my project. Next, in Chapter 3 I go into depth concerning children's contributions to labor processes in Paru Paru. These labor processes form and are formed by the places of Paru Paru, thereby creating shifting spaces defined by action and social interconnectivity. The children of Paru Paru are highly integrated into the social-work dynamic of their community, necessitating their inclusion in the planning process and informing the planning process for the community. Family-based economics creates the need for family-based community planning.

The following chapter (Chapter 4) explores scale (local, regional, global) and the various junctions of scales. This chapter will explore how the places of Paru Paru encounter different scales simultaneously, and how Paru Paru itself shifts scales with fluid boundaries. Demonstrating the multiscaled lived realities in the community of Paru Paru demands place-based solutions for each community. The intersection of scales and social networks in Paru Paru are uniquely relevant to their community. Some overlap between communities in the Andes will occur, but planners from outside of the community cannot treat each community as a universalized space. Place-based dynamics demand interrogation for communities to thrive according to their terms. In my conclusion, I will recount what I discovered from my project. The participants of my brief study demonstrate the importance of action in spatial creation as they (re)create spaces daily via their labor processes. Moreover, the children—and entire community—of Paru Paru regularly interact in and create new social systems across multiple scales (local, regional, and global). My eleven participants remain proud of their culture, their labor process, and their community. Their primary desire is two-fold: remain connected to the place of their birth (the places of Paru Paru); while interacting, and gaining the advantages of regional and global social networks.

CHAPTER 2: Methodology

Foundation for Methodology

Before I started planning my thesis, I knew I wanted to work directly with children. Living in the United States during my childhood, I witnessed the exclusion of children from basic U.S. institutions and real citizenship in their communities. Cohen (2005) describes how many current Western European countries and the United States consider children as simultaneously citizens and incapable of citizenship. Children are barred from public spaces without a guardian and considered as less than an adult human. In response to these structures, bell hooks (1994) reflects on the importance of children creating theory. Her childhood exposes the oppressive forces against children—especially children of color—and the profound questions they offer their communities. hooks quotes Terry Eagleton:

Children make the best theorists, since they have not yet been educated into accepting our routine social practices as "natural," and so insist on posing to those practices the most embarrassingly general and fundamental questions, regarding them with a wondering estrangement which we adults have long forgotten. Since they do not yet grasp 'our social practices as inevitable, they do not see why we might not do things differently. (In hooks 1994, p. 59)

Children provide new introspective for understanding our world, revitalizing our communities and challenging adult assumptions. In the field of community planning, I firmly believe that children are essential to building a more inclusive and reflective community sourced process. Planning is rarely an immediate process, and its long-term impacts require a more intergenerational approach. Ted Jojola (2013) describes the importance of generational

planning (going beyond the generations present day to include both the past and present in a new planning process). Planners should account for the needs of growing community members and how they perceive the present even as children (infants, children, teens, young adults), and all stages in-between.

Indigenous communities often value the insight and gradual theory development of children. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2014)—a Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar— uses her own community’s oral traditions to demonstrate a decolonialized education process that values children’s discovery and interactions with the world. The story she uses relates Kwezens’—a young girl in Simpson’s telling—discovery of maple syrup. Kwezens learns from observation, experimentation, and respect. From this intersection of understanding, she shares her knowledge with her mother and her community who respect and value her contribution. Similarly, the community of Paru Paru reflects this approach to childhood and children. Children are valued members, firmly integrated into daily life, labor processes, and the culture of the community. To fully realize a research project with Paru Paru’s children and respect their place as knowledge creators, I used Linda Tuhiwai-Smith’s (2012) *Decolonizing Methodologies*. Tuhiwai-Smith’s (2012) call to decolonize research drives my core methodology. Traditional academic literature and research remain firmly entrenched in colonial processes (Miheuah & Wilson 2004). Researchers take from families and communities, never to return or share knowledge. During my project, I referred to Tuhiwai-Smith’s text and reflected daily on my own actions and interactions with my participants to ensure that I continued the process of decolonialization throughout my research.

Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) locates research within the socio-political, cultural, and economic realities of the world. Research does not occur in a vacuum. No methodology will avoid interaction with global and local processes entirely. At the individual level, every researcher brings biases to their project. Our lived experiences shape how we interact with people and the world around us (Brant Castellano 2000). It is crucial to acknowledge these biases and global processes while forming and conducting research. Fundamentally, research remains a process deeply entrenched in unbalanced power relationships, where too often researched communities never see the fruit of their participation. Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) emphasizes, “[the] old colonial adage that knowledge is power is taken seriously in Indigenous communities,” and she uses her book to highlight processes “in order to facilitate effective ways of sharing knowledge” (p. 16). Knowledge, wherever cultivated, is best used to support the communities that help to craft it. All community based academic research must circle back to the community in some form or another to ensure that academia actively works to decolonize the research process.

While conducting research, there is an inherently unbalanced power relationship between the researcher and her participants. Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) points to the Academy, explaining how

[most] of the ‘traditional disciplines are grounded in cultural worldviews which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems. Underpinning all of what is taught at universities is the belief in the concept of science as the all-embracing method for gaining an understanding of the world. (p. 65).

The academic literature and academic culture remain rooted in Western intellectual genealogies and paradigms, often finding the faults of less powerful communities to be the only topics of interest (Wilson 2004; Clark 2004; Tuck 2009). Researchers continue to frame communities as broken and lacking. Persistent focus on damage based research—according to Eve Tuck (2009)—is a continued act of aggression against the researched community. Damage based research denies the malleability and resiliency in communities because, “even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that” (ibid., p. 416). Moreover, Indigenous students within Academia face significant obstacles to their ways of being, their belief systems, and their understandings of the world. While studied populations lose their voices, their knowledges, and sometimes even their bodies to researchers eager to take knowledge regardless of any consequences. A moratorium on damage based research, and violent colonial research, as Eve Tuck (2009) purposes, is a step forward to address the unequal power structures within and against Indigenous populations.

Western Colonialist societies in every nation of the Americas structure power to reify Western patterns of thought and culture, “reflecting ‘higher order’ of thinking and being less prone to dogma, witchcraft, and immediacy of people and societies which were so ‘primitive’” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, p. 48). Peru demonstrates this imbalance of power throughout its diverse regions and peoples. Consistently, “the Peruvian public sphere is exclusionary: Quechua, for instance, is not a language used in formal politics but is recognized as valid in the sphere of cultural production.” (Milton 2014, p. 16). Spanish speaking elites dominating power structures in Peru exclude Quechua from the forums of power, placing it outside of accepted norms, despite its symbolic recognition as an “official” language. Quechua remains a widely-used language in Peruvian Andean regions that—due to

the continued coloniality—marks a “historically entrenched” racial, economic and social status (Stern 2014, p. 265). Colonial attitudes and power structures remain prevalent in the lives of Indigenous peoples including those who speak Quechua.

Tuhiwai-Smith (2012), Leanne Simpson (2014), Eve Tuck (2009) and many other researchers and academics seek to disrupt colonial structures crossing multiple scales from the global to the local through instituting research projects focused on community-led initiatives rather than knowledge extractions. Reciprocity is a fundamental tenant to begin decolonizing knowledge creation through research, with “[the] challenge [being always] to demystify, to decolonize” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, p. 16). Respect goes both ways, but it becomes the responsibility of the researcher to ensure their process adjusts to reflect the respect required for each community. It is also the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that “the first beneficiaries of Indigenous knowledge must be direct Indigenous decedents of that knowledge” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, p.119). Indigenous peoples, when involved in research, must remain the protectors of their own knowledge, ultimately, controlling how it is shared and distributed. Not all research will ensure this knowledge dissemination protocol, but this ultimate goal (producing knowledge by and for Indigenous communities) remains a strong driving force in my research methodology.

Ensuring proper recognition for the work of participants in the knowledge production of research begins with naming the participants (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012 p. 85). Too often researchers take full credit for the information shared by their informants. Informants lose their history, their lives, the full extent of their knowledge, everything disappears under the weight of the colonial researcher’s name. Next, research must adapt to reflect more participatory and action-based approaches. Research can make positive changes in any given

community, especially when community members have more control over the process and development of any given project. Desire-based research has particular power to facilitate positive change. Tuck (2009) describes: “Desire, yes, account for the loss and despair, but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities. Desire is involved with the not yet and, at times, the not anymore” (p. 417). Shifting research to reflect the desires of a community, recognizes the combined history of a community: the changes they face, along sides the solutions they already implemented, and how they wish to proceed in the future. This type of research respects communities’ sovereignty and supports their futures (ibid p. 423). Communities, after all, “know and can reflect on their own lives, have questions and priorities of their own, have skills and sensitivities which can enhance (or undermine) any community-based projects” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012, p. 127). Eventually, Indigenous communities will drive the research conducted within their boundaries. Researchers not of a community can employ certain methodologies to decenter themselves from the processes and questions interrogated. This allows communities more control over the entire research process and provides a space for communities to become the researchers themselves.

Methodology

I created a three-tier project to assess how my participants map their lives through space and place. The bulk of my project rested on an oral history exercise with mapping exercises, and a zine creation to build upon it. Much as Leonie Sandercock asserts in her introduction to *Making the invisible visible* (1998), I seek to tell (new) stories about Paru Paru’s past, contributing to the broader academic discussion on decolonizing research and reinforcing the importance of stories for the community. My project, with its focus on oral

history, aimed to consider the planning realities facing Paru Paru through its past. Moreover, I sought to create a potential to empower the community through retaking their personal histories (Beauregard 1998). Entering my fieldwork, I sought to include my participant's learning needs and passions by facilitating student-led interviews with a family or community member of their choice, covering the topic of their choice. I began with the intention to have the participants have full reign of questions, following a process co-created by the participants and myself. As I entered my participants' lives to conduct research, I also aspired to balance the needs of my own research with the interests of each participant.

Next, I planned a mapping exercise to assess multi-local relationships of each participant. Here, I planned a discussion with students concerning their familial and chosen kin relationships: who lives where and how these relationships figure into their lives. This is a visual exercise using a printed map of Peru and the Cusco region. I provided stickers for students to indicate visually where their kin live while discussing each relationship. I planned to use this map to stimulate discussion with the participants. Finally, a zine—collaboratively created and communally sourced document—crafted by the participants would conclude the process. I planned to have the students create a plan, work collaboratively to draft a final deliverable to showcase whatever the students chose.

Research Project

Beginning my research project, I collaborated closely with the Director of Escuela 50211—Dionicio Mozo Huaman—to adjust my project to better work within my participants' schedules and to choose participants. Professor Jose Kilder Vargas (Paru Paru's 6th-grade teacher) assisted both of us in choosing students with a higher proficiency in Spanish and good academic standing. We made a group of four girls and seven boys between

the ages of 10 and 13: Edison Quispe Pacco, Jorge Condori Pacco, Ramiro Chipa Ccapa, Marleni Condori Huaman, Luz Marina Condori Pacco, Erika Pacco Pacco, Ana Lucia Quispe Pacco, John Pacco Quispe, Rimber Huillca Maqqe, Jhoel Pacco Condori, and Adán Chipa Manoni. All the students are native Quechua speakers and have learned Spanish as a second language. After I had acquired consent from the parents, and assent from the students, I began my project.

I worked closely with my 11 participants across a two-month period, conducting a variety of discussion and drawing based workshops to assess how these children conceptualize their community. Over the course of my project, I opened the process to changes and additions necessary for the full participation of each of my participants. At the start of my research project, I soon discovered a need for an engaging exercise to encourage active participation. My group did not want to talk for long periods of time, but they were very interested in drawing. Early in the process, they enthusiastically suggested drawing as an activity. Not only did the addition of art reflect participant needs and interests, but it also provided additional, valuable visual data to assess the children's perceptions of their lives and interactions with their diverse scales of geographic interaction. Cynthia E. Milton (2014) describes how "[art] may express what formal language cannot. We should recognize the significant role art can play in making difficult pasts comprehensible, even if only in part" (p. 2). The addition of more drawing exercises during each workshop provides a distinct arena for my participants to explore the spatial realities of Paru Paru. The girls and boys took the time to create a diverse array of individually produced and collaborative maps and vignettes. These art pieces, though reflective of communal experiences, do not create a singular narrative of the lived spaces in Paru Paru and its surrounding areas. Each one relates a

distinct view of their similar experiences, providing a diversity of data while relating specific stories about their lives (Milton 2004, p. 18). Through this artwork, my participants relate their experiences: the drawings “are acts of witnessing and remembrance and as such are valid, indispensable sources of historical clarification” and evidence of current realities facing the community (ibid., p. 18-19).

One of the most significant adjustments I made arose from my desire to ensure that as many voices share our discussions as possible: I offered to create two groups divided by gender for each workshop, and my participants enthusiastically supported the idea. When the group is all together, female participants do not speak much, or they support whatever the male participants say even if they do not fully agree. These factors contributed to my decision to create two groups. After the first workshop, I decided to divide the participants into two groups. Smaller groups make discussions easier and allow more voices to contribute. The girls immediately wanted to have their own group, separate from their male classmates, and the boys had no issue having a separate group.

The oral history section of my project adjusted to reflect the academic level of my participants and the time restrictions of their interviewees: I condensed the interview process into a one-page questionnaire with five questions open-ended each. Nine participants interviewed their mothers, one interviewed his father, and one participant could not complete the interview with anyone. The participants each created two to three questions in Quechua or Spanish that they wanted to ask their parents and I included two to three more questions to complete five questions for the interview. Most of the children focused their questions on the relationship of their parents (where and how they met, and the process of getting married). Next, I condensed the time for conducting the interviews into a five to fifteen-minute

window. These shorter interviews fit the needs of the interviewees. All of the interviewees (and the whole community) have very little time to spend on projects outside of their daily routines moving between their homes, fields, other communities, and other obligations. The community is constantly working in some capacity or another; and, the interviewees simply did not have time to spend more than fifteen minutes on the project.

While I worked with the participants mapping out their family networks throughout Peru, the maps I brought did not reflect the reality of their kinship networks: the maps were not detailed enough. I could get a slight idea from the physical maps about their social networks, but the maps simply did not allow each child to detail their known familial network. To rectify this limitation, I briefly interviewed each student during one workshop to chart out their networks verbally. Finally, due to time restrictions at the end of the project, the zine could not be as unique of a process as I imagined. Instead, the participants decided to include all of their work into two documents (divided by gender) and organized chronologically.

At the end of the project, each participant received their original work, their own compiled zine—which included the work of everyone in their group—and their own copies of pictures I took throughout the project. During the summer of 2017, I am returning to Paru Paru with a translated version of my project to share with my participants, the school, and their community. Returning to the community, I will share my findings and listen to all critiques my participants and their families have to offer, applying changes to my analysis wherever necessary. This step will push my research towards a decolonialized process and provide my participants with the knowledge they helped me to produce.

CHAPTER 3: Labor Processes & The Co-production of Place and Space

Children in Paru Paru at the end of their primary school education define their lives by the tasks they must complete. By this age (between 10-13), children know and participate extensively in the labor processes of their community. Vásquez (2005) writes that children in the Andes gradually become experts in agricultural, pastoral, and domestic labor according to both their age and their interests (p. 27). In Paru Paru, my participants and their families participate extensively in the labor processes of sheep herding, agricultural work, and tourism. Each of these processes requires some form of movement to complete. These movements alter how space is constructed within the context of Paru Paru and allows Paru Paru—as a community, culture, language, and process—to infiltrate places “outside” the political boundaries of the community. The labor processes performed daily via movement interact with the land of the Andean mountains and create mobile meanings of space. Every day, the labor-oriented movements of individuals and groups within Paru reshape space and directly collaborate with place.

Understanding the production of place and space, and what they represent to various communities remains a fundamental aspect of planning. Frenster (1999) details that “Spatial planning is never a neutral process. It reflects and affects social and power relations within a society; and, to a large extent, spatial relations represent and sometimes also reproduce social relations” (p. 4). In Paru Paru, labor processes—actions—define the community’s use of place and creation of space. The participants of my study in Paru Paru actively construct and reconstruct space through their daily, lived experiences within their places. The community of Paru Paru remains closely integrated with the geography around it. Place/space are

intricately fused, making it impossible to speak to one without investigating the other.

Lefebvre (2015) defines place as absolute space, or the diverse forms of physical (anthropomorphic and geographic) structures. However:

“absolute space cannot be understood in terms of a collection of sites and signs; to view it thus is to misapprehend it in the most fundamental way. Rather, it is indeed a space, at once and indistinguishably mental and social, which comprehends the entire existence of the group concerned (i.e. for our present purposes, the city state), and it must be so understood. In a space of this kind there is no ‘environment,’ nor even, properly speaking, any ‘site’ distinct from the overall texture.” (Lefebvre 2015, p. 240)

Physical space—place—is firmly entrenched in the social fabric of the culture(s) directly interacting within and with it. Even though many Western conceptions of nature place it in opposition to society, the two (human society and nature) profoundly impact each other. Place, from a human-centric standpoint, will not exist in the same way if separated from social practices. Massey (1994) goes even further to define place “not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations,” where communities and individuals construct diverse identities according to their geopolitical and social relationships in the broader social, geographic framework (p. 121). In this sense, the interaction of space and place play directly into Bourdieu’s (2005) habitus³ and its diversity within limits. Place—absolute space created via the porous networks of social relations—defines the limitations of habitus while the diversity found within place are lived (representational) spatial creation.

³ “habitus [is] a system of dispositions; that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting, and thinking or a system of long lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action” (Bourdieu 2005, p. 43).

Social conditions and characteristics define a spectrum of acceptable behavior for different social groups, individuals, and communities (Bourdieu 2005). Individuals act within these boundaries to define themselves within the social space of their communities and geography. Yet, Hillier & Rooksby (2005a) argue that habitus does “‘leave room’ for individual agency within the structuring power of habitus and [social] fields, while at the same time avoiding the extremes of individualism” (p. 403). Habitus is a balance between individual agency and the structural boundaries present within any given geographic and social space. Agency and structure have a “dialectical relationship between culture, structure, and power” (2005b: p. 20). The limits of habitus help to define observed actions within a specific community while allowing for a diverse spectrum of individual reactions.

Paru Paru’s geographical features and historical context create the limitations on their habitus, their culture, and their social structure. Semi-remote, arriving in Paru Paru from the closest urban center (Pisac) requires about an hour of driving. Without reliable transportation, however, the trip to Paru Paru may include walking and increase the travel time to almost two hours. The lakes—Kinsa Qucha—above the small community provide water to sustain the people, animals, and plants that call Paru Paru home; while, also providing a tourist destination for income generation. Families live in a loose collection of homes and dispersed fields. As part of the Valle Sagrado, with proximity to Pisac—a small urban center with many tourism-based services and its own “Gringoville⁴”—and the ever-popular Inca Trail, Paru Paru actively contributes to the tourism-based wage economy. In this backdrop, the children and community of Paru Paru perform a variety of labor processes, contributing to

⁴ A concentrated pocket of houses and businesses owned, operated, and serving foreigners predominately from the Global North (Europe & North America).

the success of individuals and families and shaping the lived spaces daily. Through labor, the children of Paru Paru enact spatial creation.

Specific cultural practices and philosophies define labor particular to the Andean Region. Work is life, everything is work, and work is positive and fulfilling. To create a good life (*Allin Kawsay* or *Sumaq Kawsay*), families, communities, and individuals perform meaningful, productive work (Vásquez 2005). *Sumaq Kawsay*, as a cosmovision, represents “an ethical paradigm envisioning human beings with respect and in harmony with each other, nature, and the spiritual world” (Sieder & Barrera Vivero 2017, p. 13). Communities reach this balance by closely working with the land, Apus⁵, plants, and animals. Here, the land, rocks, mountains, animals, plants and human communities do not live in opposition or a hierarchy. Humans are equal to nature, the Enlightenment dichotomy between human communities and nature simply does not exist. This profound land based cosmovision continues and remixes established sociocultural norms. Living per Andean cosmovision in 2016-2017 brings ancient ontologies to mingle in the present and create forever shifting futurities (Recollet 2016, 2015).

According to Marx (1867), “labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature” (p. 127). Marx’s definition of labor helps to define work broadly and incorporate a wide breadth of actions as work. Paru Paru—like many other communities in the Andean mountains—do not distinguish between “housework” and field work, or even between leisure and work. In Western conceptions, housework is “implicitly defined in opposition to, or rather as what is left when occupational work is

⁵ Spirits of important mountains; ancestors

subtracted” (Delphy 1984, p. 86). *Paru Paruq runan* speak of all community-based work in the same breath. They distinguish between wage-based work and their subsistence-based work; but, the two types of work are in opposition. Instead, the multiple types of work are related on a continuum of struggle for creating *Sumaq Kawsay*. Edisón’s mother (Mamá Antonia) distinguishes between work (*llamkay*) and the tasks she completed as a child (herding sheep, alpaca, and llamas). Work, in this context, must mean something more along the lines of wage based or “heavy” work; whereas, herding animals is more a way of life (Delphy 1984, p. 48). Nevertheless, one type of work is not necessarily better or more valuable. Each one contributes to the family’s life in different ways, but both remain equally important. Delphy (1984)—writing about France during the 20th century—struggles to legitimize household work in the eyes of Western Capitalist society; while, the *Ayllu* (the Andean Family organization) fundamentally understands all action as work contributing to basic survival and a fruitful existence. Marleni writes about her interview with Mamá Silvia:

Mantayqa llaqtata riq chaymantaqa uyway michiqa, platuyta maqchicqa,
quwiypaq rutusqa wakaypaq qarasqa chaymantaqa awasqa. Llant’ata
pallasqa y pukllasqa chaymanta pachata taqsan panakun wallpapaq karan.
Quwipan rutun papata allan sarata ruto siwaratawan tulqen. Sarata muchan
quwita sipin runaman kukata hallpan asnuta michin wakata michin.⁶

Marleni lists all the tasks her mother performed as a child herself. In some sentences, she writes about household chores and subsistence labor in the same phrase, demonstrating their

⁶ My mother went to town, then she headed sheep, washed dishes, cut grass for her guinea pigs, fed her cows and then she would weave. While playing, she collected wood. Next, she washed clothing, and crushed food for her chickens. Her family stored grass for their guinea pigs, harvested corn and barley together in a special storage area. Then, she regularly shucked corn, killed her guinea pigs, shared coca leaves with people, and took her donkeys and cows to pasture.

equal value. However, the Peruvian state often places different types of labor in a hierarchical relationship, skewing Andean conceptions of life with a western gaze (Deer & Leon 1982). For Marleni, there is no hierarchy between what Western cultures would consider domestic labor (washing dishes and clothing) and “productive” labor (caring for animals, working in the fields, etc.). Infiltration of Western Capitalism and the wage based economy also places Andean work in a hierarchical relationship in regards to paid vs. unpaid work (Deere & León 1982). Nevertheless, Paru Paru experiences wage-based labor while continuing their pursuit of a joyful, work based life.

Sheep: Play & Process

All members of the community understand and participate in herding sheep, but children, in particular, take care of their sheep’s needs. Adán told me in a brief conversation that his morning begins early (often before sunrise) as he takes his family’s sheep out to pasture before heading to school. Espinosa (2014) writes that a community in Northern Peru treats goats in a similar way to how *Paru Paruq runan* appreciate sheep. Parents entrust children with herding the family flock, and “assign a couple of animals to each new male child and keep track of the animals belonging to different children. Once male children become adults and marry, they have a small herd of their own to support them” (ibid., p. 41). Because of the diversity inherent in the Andes, male children are not always singled out to care for animals over female children. The girls in my participant pool mentioned the joys of shepherding equally to their male counterparts. Also, the animals are not limited to sheep or goats but also include llamas, alpacas, cows, and horses. Caring for animals in the Andes ensures that children perceive how to nurture the life around them and to value long-term investments in human and nonhuman family members. Moreover, this practice solidifies

children's connection to the family's animals and thereby to the family itself. Children learn at an early age how to live well in their cosmovision: balancing the needs of their families, their animals, and Pacha Mama (mother nature). Sheep (and other animals) in Paru Paru provide a mobile method for children to interact with the larger social and geographic network in and surrounding Paru Paru.

Movement is inherent and essential for herding sheep in Paru Paru. Children portray sheep as central to their daily lives and their identity in the community of Paru Paru. Their homes house sheep; their fallow fields (known as *chakras*⁷) and the mountains feed sheep; and the boundaries of their community ebb and flow depending on where their sheep travel for their daily sustenance. The very nature of sheep in the Andean mountains is movement. Through this movement and constant interplay between land, children, and animals, children constantly learn and discover more about the world. The labor process of sheep, in this way, connects to Simpson's (2014) land as pedagogy:

The land, *aki*, is both context and process. The process of coming to know is learner-led and profoundly spiritual in nature. Coming to know is the pursuit of whole body intelligence practiced in the context of freedom, and when realized collectively it generates generations of loving, creative, innovative, self-determining, inter-dependent and self-regulating community minded individuals. It creates communities of individuals with the capacity to uphold and move forward our political traditions and systems of governance. (Simpson, 2014, p. 7)

⁷ *Chakras* include any agricultural plot (fallow, or in use).

Land based pedagogy is intrinsic in the freedom of shepherding through Paru Paru's shifting boundaries. Children often walk far from strict adult supervision while they herd their sheep. They must make their own decisions based on knowledge they have produced via past experiences herding, and based upon what Pachamama tells them. As Bolin (2006) explains, children "must not only have knowledge of many aspects of high-altitude life but must also be brave" (p. 76). Balancing the needs of sheep, their shepherds, and the environment, sheep herding provides spaces for play and learning, defines the malleable boundaries of Paru Paru, and help create and maintain social relationships.

Sheep leave their nightly refuge to accompany children to their pasture for the day. This could be in a variety of places as I mentioned earlier (the mountains, *chakras*, or the area in general). Sheep must eat and drink daily for survival, and children ensure that the sheep's needs are met. Their natural movements for food and drink facilitates a balanced relationship with the environment and prevents over-grazing of the *puna* (high grasslands) and fallow *chakras*. Moreover, their reach ebbs and flows depending on the availability of quality graze-land, the season, and the needs/moods of their herders. The land (*chakras*, the *puna*, Paru Paru, Kinsa Qucha, etc.) acts as the place of the sheep labor processes, but also directly impacts it (as both process and context as Simpson writes). Children must profoundly understand how the land sustains life in multiple capacities, how to share the natural production of grasslands for sheep, and what sheep (and other livestock) need to survive.

When describing movement in and around Paru Paru, several participants mentioned joy while working with sheep. Ramiro told Edison in their interview that the first times he left Paru Paru were with his parents, to plant and harvest potatoes, and to take sheep out to

pasture with his siblings. Moreover, Ramiro affirms that he feels happy while caring for his sheep⁸. Marleni echoes many of these same points. I asked her while introducing and demonstrating how to conduct interviews if she could tell me about a time when she felt happy or sad. Immediately—before I could even say “sad”—she affirmed happiness: “salí alegre, feliz a pastear. Con mi tío, con mi papá. Con vacas y ovejas y caballos.”⁹ Caring for sheep—According to Marleni, Ramiro, and others—emotionally satisfies the laborer (in this case: children). The shepherding labor process, not only ensures the successful management of livestock but also creates feelings of joy and connectedness to land and to animals such as sheep. This understanding naturally unites place and space via labor process. Children move through various places with their sheep—observing natural processes, making decisions—using their agency to make the necessary alterations to their daily labor process. Even Marx (1867) reflects on how the labor process inflicts changes upon the laborer, focusing their skills and developing “slumbering powers” and discipline (p. 127). Herding sheep through Paru Paru’s shifting place allows children to cultivate joy, and live fully within their cosmovision.

Much as shepherding links to contentment, work and play are not discrete categories in Paru Paru. My participants emphatically paired work with play. They go to the field playing; they take their sheep out to pasture, meanwhile playing with their friends and family. In the same breath, my participants mention playing during a work task. John described for me: “Trabajo con mis hermanos. Con mis padres, con mi madre, con mis hermanos. Después patea mi oveja feliz, jugando. Después *patea mis ovejas jugando*

⁸ Pateo mi oveja alegre

⁹ I left happily, happy to heard sheep. With my uncle, with my father. With cows, sheep, and horses.

feliz.¹⁰ John repeats playing while herding sheep to emphasize the joy and fun involved in this labor process. John is frequently not alone with his sheep, wandering the high pasture lands. He sees family members, neighbors, and friends. Moreover, he works and plays directly with his family members while taking his sheep out for the day. This creates a space of social learning and community building simply through the labor process of caring for sheep. Generally, in Andean cosmovision children complete many tasks like playing—“Como jugando.” Children do not distinguish between the “seriousness” of work and the Western conception of “frivolous” play (Vásquez 2005, p. 45). No play is frivolous. All play is vital to understanding some aspect of life. Play allows children in Paru Paru to witness and practice place and space making through their communal practices. It provides a system for children to interact with space and place, facilitating their entrance into becoming active participants in their communities and active space makers.

All play is as vital as work. It is a learning experience, a method of relationship building between community and family members, and it is actively part of work. Sometimes work is literally play. Even though in a Western context labor is the process of creating and recreating value between nature and workers, Andean labor processes are joyous occasions that community members in Paru Paru and other Andean communities reframe into celebrations and games. During Marleni’s interview with her mother, Mamá Silvia mentions playing and herding sheep in the same breath¹¹. The two actions happen simultaneously, contributing to each other and providing two dialectical processes interacting and interweaving together. Kalani Akana (2013) addresses the Hawaiian string figure making

¹⁰ I work with my siblings, with my parents, my mom, and my siblings. Then, I herd my sheep happily, while playing, then I herd my sheep happily while playing. (repeated by John for emphasis).

¹¹ Pukllarani uvejata michini. I played while herding sheep.

practice of *hei*, pushing to “[decolonize] old views and misconceptions of *hei* as a “mere pastime and game” [and] begin the process of recognizing the academic and cultural worth of Hawaiian string figure making. *Hei* meaning “to snare” has the power to recapture our imagination and creativity” (p. 26). Just as *hei* is a decolonializing process of understanding cosmovision and geography, we must decolonize play in the Andes from the Western conception of leisure. Just because children in Paru Paru find joy and play while completing their labor processes, does not make that play or that work frivolous or poorly completed. They build social relations, increase their understanding of various forms of labor and cultural production, and they grow to know complex relationships between land, animals, plants, and humans. Playing represents an entrance into the cosmovision and mode of living in Paru Paru and other communities in the Andean Mountain Range in Peru. Play allows children to see themselves within a greater scheme of life fully; to practice and build community; to learn social norms; and to practice life with joy (Bolin 2006, p. 62).

Andean cosmovision defines work as anything but serious (Vásquez 2005, p. 38). Work is joyful and full of play, so much so that play constitutes part of work. Vásquez (2005) describes:

La vida del niño es un juego, pero también un aprendizaje constante, se diría que juego y aprendizaje es una unidad en la vida campesina. Este aprendizaje no constituye un momento serio separado del juego. Los niños en las comunidades rurales aprenden jugando porque viven en un hábitat cálido que lo estimula (p.44).¹²

¹² The life of a child is a game, but at the same time one of constant learning; it would seem that play and learning is one, joint concept in rural life. This learning does not constitute a serious moment, separate from play. Children in rural communities learn while playing because they live in a stimulating environment. (My translation.)

To learn the work, they watch, play, and work. To understand their community's specific placed based cosmology, children play. Ultimately, they play while they work. Ramiro wrote a story featuring Edisón but structured it in terms of "we" instead of a singular "he:" "Somos muy feliz a pastear oveja.¹³" This structure reflects the communal nature of work among children and how herding sheep intersects other aspects of their lives: social, cultural, and educational. They enjoy the time they spend herding sheep and they actively spend that time with family and friends. Shepherding requires children to connect with their peers, family, animals, and land through the labor and labor-play processes. Children build stronger relationships and constantly shape and reshape the spaces they inhabit.

Sheep herding directly contributes to building stronger communal ties between individuals and families. Many of my participants intertwine familial relationships with sheep herding. Ana Lucia told Erika during their interview practice that her first memory of going out into the *puna* was with her parents and tíos to herd sheep. Her first memories in the Andes feature family and sheep, both of who are essential to building the foundation for Paru Paru's good life. Moreover, Edisón, when telling a story about a tío or tía, describes his tíos being part of the same household and that together they herd sheep. While taking sheep for their daily sustenance, families create social spaces and build deeper relationships. This fluid treatment of both social and workspaces demonstrates what Klemm Verbos, Kenedy, & Gladstone (2011) describe as "Indian Time." Much as in Paru Paru and many Indigenous groups in North America, "work, education, and leisure time are not compartmentalized. Rather, time is task oriented and event driven. Attention flows freely between work and social realms" (Klemm Verbos et al. 2011, p. 55). There is not a distinction between what is

¹³ We are really happy when we heard sheep.

work and what is education, play, or celebration. Often work is equally social, educational, productive, and celebratory.

Not only does herding build relationships between family members, but it also helps create networks of chosen kin and communal bonds between families. Edisón describes working alongside his friends to take sheep and other animals out to pasture. Rimber writes: “Mi amigo [Jorge] es un buen amigo porque nosotros somos como hermanos. Yo soy feliz de trabajando y pasteando, somos unos niños felices que tenga las razones son muchos. Su mamá también es una madre para nosotros.”¹⁴ During the process of herding sheep, Rimber and Jorge build a stronger friendship; so much so, that they grow to be chosen kin. Jorge’s Mother (Mamá Francisca) treats them both as her own sons, forming an even closer bond between the two boys and their families.

Finally, the labor process of herding sheep creates the space to create new families. When interviewing their mothers, Erika and Ana Lucia asked how the women met their husbands. Erika wrote in her interview reflection: “Mi mamá (Cecilia) se han conocido poco a poco y jugando en los cerros entonces poco a poco se conocieron y vivían feliz. Entonces ya era como novios y se casaron.”¹⁵ In the hills around Paru Paru, where all families take their animals to graze, Erika’s parents met and continued to meet as they watched their sheep. Ana Lucia’s story about her Mamá Ebarista reflects the same structure. Her mother and father met while shepherding their sheep and eventually, they went to each family home for family vetting before creating their home in Paru Paru. Sheep—in Paru Paru—are not only important members of the community; but the labor process of herding sheep and other

¹⁴ My friend [Jorge] is a good friend because we are like brothers. I am happy working and herding. We are happy boys that have many reasons to be happy. His mother is a mother for the both of us.

¹⁵ My mother (and father) have gradually grown to know each other, playing in the hills. So, slowly they fell in love and lived/live happily. So, they were already like newlyweds, and they married.

animals through Paru Paru, *chakras*, and the *puna* creates socially significant spaces. *Paru Paruq runan* create profound relationships between family members, friends, and create new unions entirely through herding their sheep.

Farming

Agricultural production and agricultural labor processes in Paru Paru follow closely in line with Leanne Simpson's (2014) land as pedagogy. Just as interacting via shepherding with the land, the dialectic that the community creates between humans and the land—Pachamama—via agricultural work builds a mutual relationship of learning, theory, and process. Daily, embodied labor processes in agriculture produce a particular theory, a specific cosmovision to explain learned practices in regards to land management. According to Simpson, “‘Theory’ isn’t just an intellectual pursuit – it is woven within kinetics, spiritual presence and emotion, it is contextual and relational. It is intimate and personal, with individuals themselves holding the responsibilities for finding and generating meaning within their own lives” (p. 7). Children, adults, and everyone in-between create theory daily through their labor processes and modes of living. In Paru Paru, tending the *chakra*—plots of land for cultivation—is akin to caring for Pachamama in general. Managing the environment, and maintaining agricultural land is not distinct nor separate. Pachamama—nature, the environment—interacts directly with Andean communities such as Paru Paru. The land speaks, teaches and is a vital member of each family’s kin group (Vásquez 2005, p. 51).

The human-land interaction in Paru Paru interface through a process of “‘co-evolution’ of culture and environment in which local communities become a ‘patchwork quilt’ of diverse cultural and ecological landscapes” (Peña 1998, p. 11). Agricultural work remains an integral aspect of life in Paru Paru, much as it has for hundreds of years. This

work, moreover, is a family affair. Cameron Deere and Margaret León de la Cadeña (1982) describe Andean farming systems as a family farming system (p. 138). Generations of land interaction produced culturally specific ways to approach agriculture. Through these generations of land interaction, *Paru Paruq runan* grew a cosmology to reflect how and why they interact with their lands. Much as Ted Jojola (2013) describes how Pueblo Bonito in New Mexico represents a Seven Generations approach to planning. The first generation sets out a plan the subsequent generations adapt and develop. This represents the creation of a unique, place-based cosmovision. The children of Paru Paru witness how their parents interact with the cosmovision connected to hundreds of years of knowledge creations across generations. The community wants to ensure its longevity far into the future; so, children work in the present to ensure a future that honors their pasts.

One aspect of Paru Paru's cosmovision is the complementarity between genders in agricultural (Deer & León 1982, p. 60). Every member of the family has important tasks to



Figure 3: Ramiro responds to *¿Por qué salen de Paru Paru? ¿Qué hacen? Y ustedes también. Qué hacen cuando salen?* (Why do people leave Paru Paru? What do they do? And you all too, what do you do when you leave?)

complete for the good of the *chakra* and the good of the entire family. This is not to say that each member of the family can only perform one job. Instead, each woman and man act in the role best fitting the needs on any particular work day. My



Figure 4: Marlini Responds to: *Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? (What do your parents do for work in Paru Paru? Your grandparents?)*

participants demonstrated this complementarity in their drawings.

Ramiro drew men working with hand plows in a *chakra*.

He drew no women at all

(Figure 3).

However, Marleni



Figure 5: Jhoel responds to: *Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? (What do your parents do for work in Paru Paru? Your grandparents?)*

draws a similar scene with a woman present (Figure 4). A woman stands upright to the side of the field (preparing seeds for sowing or another distinct task) while two men work in the *chakra* in a similar fashion to Ramiro's men (with hand plows, deeply involved in

a difficult task). Jhoel depicts a scene almost identical to Marleni's, regarding the positions of men and women and what tools are involved (Figure 5). Specific agricultural tasks are gendered, culturally based, defining how families interact with the land as a whole. That is

not to say that boys and girls are separated at birth and can only do specific tasks. Women are just as capable as men when removing rocks from fields and plowing fields. Everyone knows a little bit of everything and can fill in where they are needed.

Furthermore, having children present within the fields will directly impact how the fields produce. Children bring happiness and stimulation to both workers and the Earth in a constant exchange of life force (Vásquez 2005, p. 25). The practice of including children in field work (and every other type of work in the Andean community) developed across generations with sustained, immersive labor within the mountain range. Introducing children from birth to agricultural labor processes allows women to participate actively in the fields thereby facilitating the development of the Andean familial agricultural system described by Deere and de la Cadeña (1982). All hands in the family participate in this labor process, providing whichever service they are best suited to perform. Moreover, this eliminates the need for women or men to watch or care for children exclusively. Both children and their families actively participate, creating an inclusive labor process where all labor is essential and appreciated. Children's labor is not less than that of their adult family members. They are essential to the health of the field and ensure bountiful harvests.

Agriculture in Andean cosmovision contributes to the diversity of nature. The *chakra* is a reimagining, a recreation of natural space (a labor process) (Vásquez 2005 p. 24). Marx (1867), in *Capital Vol I* places humans in opposition to nature:

“He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time

changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway. (p. 127)

At first glance, Marx explains the human-nature relationship violently; yet, he affirms that the relationship is dialectical as nature forces the human to develop their own capabilities via work, via labor. When my participants drew about agricultural labor processes, they firmly located the human figures of their piece within the specific Paru Paru place. Marleni draws a woman and two men working inside a *chakra* framed by small shrubs and trees and underneath the shadow of the two prominent mountain peaks near Paru Paru (Figure 4). Edison's work reveals a man with a hammer in a grassland attending a small camelid next to a rock (Figure 6).

Both drawings establish a close connectedness to place; while at the same time visually demonstrating how



Figure 6: Edison responds to: Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? (What do your parents do for work in Paru Paru? Your grandparents?)

the community directly adjusts and adapts the land around them. Three male participants (Adán, Jhoel, and John) focus on men and women working in *chakras* that mold to the environment. Adán and Jhoel position their *chakras* in a diagonal frame, demonstrating the various angles that the community uses to adapt the land (Figure 5, Figure 7). John draws two *chakras* in his exercise. One is level to the viewer, while John positions the other

vertically with an emphasis on it facing the viewer from the mountain side (Figure 8). The positions of the fields in their drawings demonstrate the diversity of *chakras*

in their community.

Some are virtually flat, others are completely vertical, and all conform to the shape of the earth as much as possible. This enables Paru Paru and other communities to use as much land as possible with little change to the inclines of the mountain.

It also limits the types of

tools available to work the fields. Tractors would not succeed in a field with a dramatically steep incline. Natural geographic features shape how the community interacts with the land, and the community actively shapes the land at the same time.

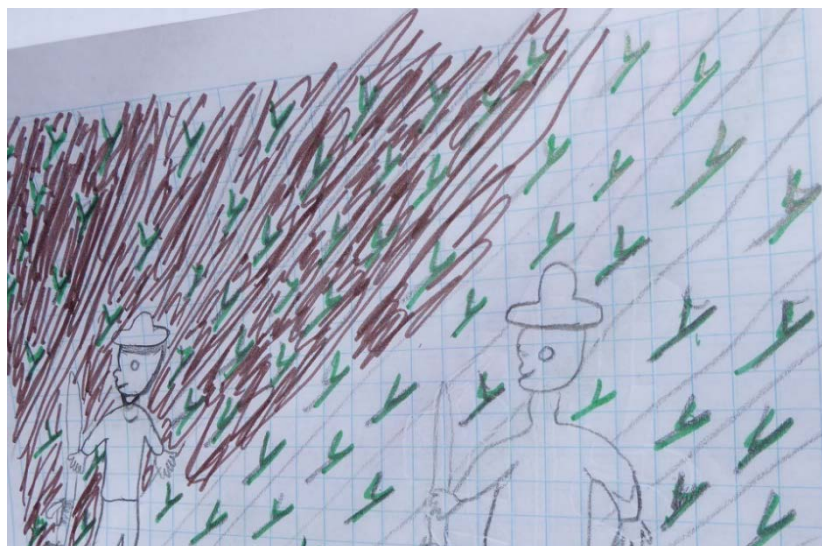


Figure 7 Adán responds to: *Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? (What do your parents do for work in Paru Paru? Your grandparents?)*



Figure 8: John responds to: *Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? (What do your parents do for work in Paru Paru? Your grandparents?)*

A dialectic relationship between people and land fundamentally molds Andean cosmovision. The environment and all elements therein are equally considered and described as people. Even seeds are *runa*: living beings that must be respected and nourished as if they were human children (Vásquez 2005, p. 24). When a family cares for the land, the land cares for them in a mutually beneficial relationship shaped via work and love:

My parents fell deep in love with each other; they loved each other so much they began a life together. In the *chakra*, my father works [...] a lot with beans, wheat, and barley and goes to get commercial goods for the house and we live a good life. Many brothers and sisters have been born to help care for the animals, and we live very contented in Paru Paru. (Luz Marina my translation).¹⁶

From mutual love, Luz Marina's parents established a *chakra* to produce food and create a life for an entire family. From the love and work her parents demonstrate working the land, and between each other, they create a space of love and respect for their children. This is a way of life; not just a means to live. People and the land work together to create the good life (*Sumaq Kawsay*). Neither dominates the conversation, and they live well as family, not in a subject-object relationship but a subject-subject relationship (Vásquez 2005, p.26).

Daily labor working with Pachamama via *chakras* allows communities such as Paru Paru to develop a complex theory surrounding how to incorporate multiple skilled laborers into a mutually beneficial process. Constant embodied labor with and about the land in Paru

¹⁶ Esta en total se se amado mucho con mi mas con mi papa. Charapi papayqa llank' aqaku manateo rispa y trabajaba mucho habas trigo cebada pasas comerescios cosas hace eran como las casa dice que haciero mucho des cosas vivieron en Paru Paru el muchas casa el maruria en un ese dice eses. Nacira mucho mujeres y varones en allí es a masus mus partu pastean vacas, mumas, es muy contento en el Paru Paru. My translation uses this quote plus feild notes.

Paru creates specific processes and detailed theories concerning how to plant, how to act while planting, who needs to facilitate the process. How these theories and processes combine (intersect) produces mutually beneficial outcomes for both the community and the land. Moreover, these land pedagogies claim a connection to the land that stakes a claim to the future, in the present, honoring the past to create Indigenous futurities. How Paru Paru shapes the land provides a claim to that land as a spatial tag (Recollet 2015). This labor process also calls upon generations of knowledge to work in the present for the benefit of future generations. Through these modes of planning, *Paru Paruq runan* (re)create the shapes of their fields and places. These processes constantly connect children and families to their ancestors through the knowledge they continue to use, and to the future where they will enjoy the literal fruits of their labor. This jumping across time creates the basis of futurity according to Recollet (2016). Within these spaces of multiple time-space envelopes, Indigenous communities such as Paru Paru can reimagine, revamp, and sustain their community's cosmovision and ontologies.

Tourism

Tourism, for the community of Paru Paru, is an access point for entering the monetary based global economy. Some community members in Paru Paru—and other communities around the world—convert their cultural capital into income generation; while, men often travel to work as *porteros*¹⁷ along the famous Inca Trail leading to Machu Picchu. Accessing commercial markets requires monetary wealth; but, for semi-remote pueblos such as Paru Paru income generation requires movement to more urbanized areas to access larger consumer markets. Pisac provides the closest access point for *Paru Paruq runan* to generate

¹⁷ Porters. Men who carry large loads on their backs for tourist excursions.

income within the growing tourism sector of the local and national economy. At times, tourists enter the boundaries of Paru Paru: visiting the lakes above the *pueblo*, visiting the school, or simply walking through the land. This flux between tourists and the community of Paru Paru erode any strict boundary between Paru Paru, Pisac, and the global economy.

Children in Paru Paru interact most with tourist groups that visit their school monthly. Willka T'ika in Urubamba pays the school to bring tourists on a cultural excursion. One day in July—while I was preparing for my workshop with my participants—a group of eight tourists arrived. Most of these tourists were from the United States and spoke only a little Spanish. They traveled with a trilingual guide (speaking Quechua, Spanish, and English), who introduced them to the children, explaining how far some live from the school and the challenging life most of them lead. This is a common practice in the Peruvian tourist industry: using narratives relating both the real and elaborated struggles of children to win the sympathies of tourists and increase the earnings of industry laborers (Sinervo & Hill 2011, p. 127). While the tourists listened to Grade Five perform a song, three women and three Grade Four girls set up their *llikllas* (a smaller blanket like cloth) to display their *artesanía* (locally produced and purchased artisanal items). Some tourists watch students in Grade Five weave on their hand looms, while others browse through the *artesanía*. After a short visit, the tourists are whisked away by their guide down to visit Pisac before returning to their base of operations in Urubamba.

Whenever the tourist visit, the school plaza transforms via labor process into a performance of cultural identity. Both children and adults of Paru Paru understand that tourists want to see “authentic” images of life in the *campo*¹⁸; even when they only create

¹⁸ Countryside

them for the tourists. Children in Paru Paru and other areas of Peru working in the tourist industry “play key roles in shaping tourist experiences through their creative and agentive self-presentations” (Sinervo & Hill 2011, p. 116). Erika and Luz Marina once explained to me that they do their own *artesanía* regularly and when a group of tourists visits, they can sell their creations alongside some of the mothers who sell. Not only is it a normal experience at the school, but the girls spoke with both pride and expertise concerning what labor they perform for visiting tourists. Ypeji (2012) studies the cultural commodification and the (re)appropriation of images essentializing Indigenous identities. The individual and communal agency in tourism work demonstrate that Indigenous women and children vividly understand essentialized Indigenous images and use them to their advantage (p. 19). By dressing in their best “traditional” garb, selling their handicrafts, and adopting the tourists for an hour of their day, the women and children at Escuela 50211 produce the images tourists want. In exchange, the school receives direct funds. The Director—Dionicio Mozo Huanan—told me that these funds helped the school to buy a printer and a room full of computers for student use. Moreover, the women and girls selling their *artesanía* exchange their products for cash. Many members of the community in Paru Paru commodify parts of their culture and parts of their lives to enter a formally inaccessible economic space. According to Marx (1867), they are rousing the hidden potential from their cultural performance and weavings “from their death-sleep, [changing] them from mere possible use-values into real and effective ones” (p. 130). The tourists are already searching for the images circulated by the Peruvian government and by globalized media. *Paru Paruq runan* see this as advantageous and as an opportunity to earn cash, diversifying their economic safety net. Furthermore, the

school receives funds it cannot get from the government, Grade Four and Five students raise funds to go on a class trip, and women receive cash for their labor.

Using culture as an entrance into the wage based economy is not restricted to these brief and infrequent visits to Escuela 50211. Some women and children from Paru Paru travel to Pisac weekly and on holidays to perform their culture for wages via “Sácamefotos.” They embody their culture purposely, entering the more urban spaces of Pisac with Indigenous/rural coded clothing and animals for income generation. Several days during my stay in Pisac, I met one of my participants—John—as I walked through the streets. He often worked with Rebecca (a slightly younger girl) and his mother. Moreover, several other girls from Paru Paru and Amaru traveled to Pisac to dress for tourists to take their pictures. Erika describes it as “se vista con su ropa típica y lleva su oveja y sácafoto.”¹⁹ Children holding young lambs (one boy I met held a puppy) pose for pictures in exchange for “donations” from tourists (note the intentional avoidance of “tip” or “wage”). This practice began twenty years ago when women—aware of their place as the main subject of the tourist gaze—sought to reassert their agency and receive some of the benefit of the tourist industry in Peru (Ypeji 2012, p. 23; Simon 2009, p. 121). If tourists take these photographs for their entertainment and social status anyways, the women and children from Paru Paru want to reap a benefit.

Simon (2009) explains how Sácamefotos perform:

The cultural models that are presented by these cameras refer to some ‘Indigenous’ identity and fulfill the tourists’ expectations that they will see ‘real, Peruvian, Andean people.’ These stereotypical presentations are often replicated on the Internet, in tourist brochures, in travel guides, and on

¹⁹ “they wear their traditional clothing, carry their lamb, and pose for photos”

postcards. The phenomenon of the *sácamefotos* in Pisac started some 10–15 years ago when a family from the mountain community of Amaru started to ask money for the pictures tourists took of them. (p. 122)

Women and children from Paru Paru and other communities nearby (such as Amaru) have appropriated their images to gain access to resources that otherwise would be inaccessible. John’s mother arrived in Pisac daily to partake in the *Sácamefoto* industry while her imprisoned husband could not help provide for the family. Each transaction provides the *Sácamefotos* with very little (maybe a dollar per photo). Despite how small the exchange, these women, and children “use the money to make necessary improvements to their houses, pay for their children’s schooling, and buy food” (Ypeji 2012, p. 24). This relationship between tourists and the *Sácamefotos* is exploitative; but also, opens an access point for women and children to enter the broader national and global exchange of goods and services.

This labor process, commodifying (edited/exaggerated) culture relocates Paru Paru as a community in Pisac. Roth (2009) describes what she dubs ‘dwelling space’—instead of abstract space—as a way to understand Indigenous communities’ use of resources. In dwelling space, boundaries between political polities (villages in her example) are porous, flexible, overlapping, and “a product of immediate social relations” (p. 216). With *Sácamefotos* and the infiltration of Paru Paru into the tourist markets of Pisac and the larger Valle Sagrado, *Paru Paruq runan* seep through Pisac’s sociopolitical boundaries. They bring Paru Paru and the labor processes into Pisac, making Pisac part of Paru Paru. The same social processes happening while herding sheep, completing domestic work, and working in the fields continue while women and children walk around Pisac as *Sácamefotos*. Children move in small groups looking for tourists. They are rarely alone. Moreover, women always move

in loose groups separating when they have a potential client and rejoining once the tourists have moved on. They speak Quechua together, children play games, and they continue caring for the animals they brought with them into the crowded Plaza Consituición.

Tourist presence in Pisac alters the social networks creating the lived spaces that *Paru Paruq runan* actively shape. The Plaza Consituición in Pisac now features a moveable market that sets up daily for the benefit of tourists. All the stalls sell *artesanía* specifically marketed (and priced) to national and international tourists. Most of the stalls are owned and operated by local *Piseño*²⁰ families following more in line with Western norms of business (Makie Bromley, & Brown 2014). The *Sácamefotos* add an element of alternative economies to this orderly tourist market. They visibly demonstrate their cultural identity, bring their language, and bring their own process of labor from Paru Paru. Recollet (2015) describes the process of glyphing, where usually silenced communities declare their presence, creating geographies of resistance. *Sácamefotos*' presence in Pisac make "visible an active Indigenous presence and futurity in otherwise contested Indigenous territories" (Recollet 2015, p. 130-1). Pisac now hosts large areas of spaces dedicated, specifically to tourists. Nevertheless, *Sácamefotos* wander through the tourist market, all the while proclaiming visually and audibly that they and the Quechua language belong in these spaces. This creates a tension between the stall owners and the itinerate *Sácamefotos*. Some vendors complain that *Sácamefotos* make tourists uncomfortable, decreasing their sales and demonstrating a struggle over space and labor processes. Makie et al. (2014) describe economic battlegrounds in Cusco between city officials and different types of (usually Indigenous) vendors. Often the conflict arises because one group believes that tourists expect (and many do) Western norms to define the use of

²⁰ People who live in Pisac

different spaces (Makie et al. 2014, p. 1898). Sácamefotos and other community members from the various communities above Pisac (including Paru Paru) challenge how place is used and what creates space.

In the Valle Sagrado, tourism brings different opportunities for men and women. Deere & León (1982) state “the development of capitalist relations of production has a differential impact upon men and women. Not only do the occupations available to men and women differ, but also the conditions of employment, and most importantly, the remuneration to labor” (p. 126). Currently, the women of Paru Paru (who reside there most the year) access their community-based economies, and occasionally they venture to Pisac to produce culture for the eyes of tourists. Men, on the other hand, have more wage earning opportunities. My participants expressed that men will often work in two primary occupations outside of Paru Paru: as taxi drivers or porters. Adán’s father traveled for a little over a week each month to work on the Inca Trail; while Edisón describes his uncle traveling between Paru Paru and the Inca Trail, continuing to care for the *chakra* and participate in harvesting and sowing the fields. Tourism in the Valle Sagrado is changing the movement patterns of the community and impacting who remains in the community. Marleni’s Mother, Mamá Silvia describes that people leave Paru Paru to work because they have no money (*llamkaypaq, mana qullqe kasqarayku*).

The spaces of Paru Paru ebb and flow with the movement of the community that creates it. As people leave to find fortune outside of Paru Paru, they bring their community with them in the form of their language and their shared heritage. The absence of people in Paru Paru’s many places can alter how space is created, when it is created, and by who. Migration out from Paru Paru does not last long for families firmly established on the land.

When a family does not have a *chakra* to tend, they are less likely to return as frequently to the community. Normally, men leave the community to work for a week or a month and then returning. Spaces then fluctuates with the movement of people. Certain individuals and families create space in unique forms, and the absence of men will create a different space than the absence of women.

Conclusion

Movement facilitating labor processes is the vehicle of space creation in Paru Paru. With movement, children and their families create the social bonds that shape the spaces of their lives. Animal husbandry, agriculture, and the tourism industry create distinct spaces of interaction, learning, and land management. However, the social processes inherent within each remain the basic foundations of Paru Paru's spatial creation. The joys of work, the intertwining nature of play and work, and the reclaiming of culture for the benefits of individuals and the community represent distinct aspects of the various labor processes I have explored in this chapter. Each one overlaps within and between different labor processes. Fieldwork is both joyful, play, and a space of reclamation of culture. Herding sheep similarly combines each of these major social processes. Finally, the Sácamefotos and migratory male workers do not stop the social processes of spatial creation crucial to Paru Paru while they are physically located far from Paru Paru's. If anything, the multiplicity of places within the social networks of Paru Paru create a space that jumps scales naturally to reflect the labor processes present and the desires and the survival needs of the community.

Labor processes demonstrate present desires and desired futurities in the community. The mixed economy children describe in Paru Paru represents the resiliency measures that their families have cultivated to deal with hundreds of years of colonial structures and

marginalization. Their profound connections to land and animals provide a continuation of social connectivity and culture reproduction. Meanwhile, Sácamefotos, *artesanía* vendors, *porteros*, and *taxistas* attempt to benefit from globalized capitalism. These processes provide new opportunities for the community and improve their access to diversified goods. At the same time, labor in Paru Paru reveals fluid futurities. In the present, the people of Paru Paru strive to maintain their connection to the land and animals while participating in wage-based labor. *ParuParuq runan* value the benefits of their subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry, and the access to consumer good through wage labor. A balance between their multiple labor processes provides a complement to the balance between the different aspects of Pachamama and *Sumaq Kawsay*.

CHAPTER 4: Scale & the Co-production of Space & Place

Paru Paru, as a community, stretches across multiple scales. It is not one place at any one time but a vast network of intersecting social relations and multiple places serving different needs of the community for different actions. This chapter focuses on the lived spaces that create Paru Paru's place and their stretch across multiple scales. Space, centered on place, is constantly recreated via the imaginings of communities and the social practices/networks of these communities (Lefebvre 2015, p. 399). The production of space does not remain constant within place, however. Cultures—between communities, movements, and processes—create space in distinct ways via distinct methods. The spatial production of tourists visiting Pisac will differ significantly to the spatial production of children performing as Sácamefotos (Escobar 2001, p. 165). As different spatial/cultural practices and divergent economic practices (i.e. global capitalism) enter a place, spatial practices adjust to reflect the new additions. Analysis of scale provides one method for witnessing the desires present within a community, as well as their planning processes and needs. Scale reveals power relations across space and place, and it demonstrates the changing power relations. Looking at different scales and in between scales can disrupt power relations and reconstruct how communities form their resiliency. Dirlik (1999) coins the term “Glocal” to describe “hybridity of the global and the local” (p. 158). As global and local spatial/cultural/sociopolitical/consumption practices and bodies intersect they create new spaces within local places.

As more global structures interact with local places and people, cultural ways of spatial production adapt/adjust to the infiltration in a dialectical relationship that often belies significant power relationships. Habitus— “a system of durable transposable dispositions

[...] which generate and organize practices and representations' (Bourdieu, 1990: 53) [...]— is a sense of one's (and other's) place and role in the world of one's lived environment" (Hillier & Rooksby 2005, p. 21). When systems of different habitus interact, they adjust the meaning of spaces within places. Clifford (2007) asserts that capitalist modes of production and distribution do not wipe out traditional, local modes of production, instead:

They take new forms alongside, and in conjunction with, modern economies. Communal (familial, village-level) affiliations and exchanges are extended by movements into and out of cities. Rather than a linear process of dis-embedding (or de-territorializing), one observes a transformation and extension of culturally distinctive spatial and social practices: re-embedding, extending territories, dwelling with airplanes. (p. 15)

Where different scales, such as global and local directly interact, communities shift their processes to reflect the changes and continue to produce their distinct cultural, land-based knowledge in new or modifies modes. After all, "Indigenous cultural knowledge is processual, situated, and incorporated into the landscape," through actions, stories, space, place names, and interconnection between the landscape and those processes (Pearce & Louis 2008, p. 108). Place-based dynamics do not immediately disappear as global and regional scale interact more directly with local and personal scales. How Indigenous people interact with their places remains connected to their ontologies, remaining connected to situated place. As the process adapts, across various places and scales, cultural knowledge adapts as well (and never in the same fashion).

Fluid Boundaries of Paru Paru

The boundaries of Paru Paru ebb and flow daily, even shifting scales. Particularly, Paru Paru shifts from individuals and families to homes; from single homes to the encompass the entire *puna* or the snaking network of *acequias*²¹ channeling water from Kinsa Qucha down to many lower elevation *chakras* and communities. My participants define the borders of Paru Paru differently per what actions they are talking about, what question is asked, or when asked to draw Paru Paru as a place or regarding specific actions. Much as Roth (2009) found in Thailand the abstract spaces of state produced maps often do not reflect the reality of relationships between villages, people, and natural resources (including land and water). Land use shifts according to time more than specific land divisions (such as property ownership) much as Paru Paru and its surrounding communities expand and contract according to the season, year, and fluctuating social relations (Roth 2009, p. 215). These ever-changing definitions for the boundaries of Paru Paru directly play into Edward Soja's (1996) description of Thirdspace: "a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings" (p. 2). The definition of Paru Paru's lived space changes daily, even changing multiple times during the day to reflect a meaning of the space.

Paru Paru does not have a static, lived boundary. Their boundaries—much as the "Hawaiian concept of boundary as inclusive and fluid"—change according to the season, the actions required for that season, access to communal resources, and various other factors. (Pearce & Louis 2008, p. 115). When I asked my male participants in a groups session if they performed work outside of Paru Paru, many answered with an affirmative: Edisón said,

²¹ Water management similar to irrigation canals.



Figure 9: Edisón's response to: *¿Por qué salen de Paru Paru? ¿Qué hacen? Y ustedes también. Qué hacen cuando salen?* (Why do people leave Paru Paru? What do they do? And you all too, what do you do when you leave?)



Figure 10: Ramiro's response to: *¿Por qué salen de Paru Paru? ¿Qué hacen? Y ustedes también. Qué hacen cuando salen?* (Why do people leave Paru Paru? What do they do? And you all too, what do you do when you leave?)

“Sembramos²²,” while Ramiro chimed in, “Escarba papas.²³”

However, this work is usually done within the familial owned fields. Edisón confirms this in his interview with Ramiro.

Writing about the interview,

Ramiro noted that Edisón goes to the fields with his parents, aunts, uncles, and chosen kin to sow and harvest potatoes and take animals to pasture.

Moreover, both Ramiro and Edisón drew similar scenes when answering: Why do people leave

Paru Paru? and What do your parents do/what is their work in Paru Paru? For the first question, they both drew men working in a *chakra* accompanied by llamas carrying goods (Figure 9, Figure 10 & Figure 3). Next, they drew a man either in the *puna* or a field breaking up rocks with a hammer, accompanied by llamas again (Figure 6, Figure 11). Working in agriculture and working with livestock is simultaneously inside and outside of Paru Paru.

²² We sow seeds.

²³ Harvesting potatoes



Figure 11: Ramiro responds to : *Taytamamaykichischu Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? Utaq, Abueloykichis (Hatun taytamamaykichischu) Ima Paru Parupi llank'anku? Ima Ruwanku? ¿Qué hacen sus abuelos y sus padres? Why do people leave Paru Paru? What do they do? And you all too, what do you do when you leave?*

The land involved in agriculture and animal husbandry extends Paru Paru's boundaries as families use them. *Paru Paruq runan* cultivate an "enduring connectedness [...] with the land [resulting] from [...] active engagement with it" (Escobar 2001, p. 146). The ties between

people and the land remains a fundamental aspect of modern life in Paru Paru. The relationships with the land extend to include more than just the *puna* and the *chakras*. Asking all my participants to brainstorm what is in Paru Paru, they created a list of a wide range of natural, and anthropomorphic aspects. Immediately, the participants listed: trees, mountains, pastures, Apus (Sacred Mountains), and animals. The first thoughts that the children have when they think about Paru Paru are the natural features that play a daily role in their lives in some form. Their list is quite extensive, including rivers, people, children, the school, foxes, churches, the lakes, houses, and rocks. Paru Paru, then, is not just a collection of houses and fields for agriculture and animal husbandry. Paru Paru includes a vast array of geographic features and areas, not limited to Western standards and what is directly owned by the families.

There is not a dichotomy between nature and "civilization," in the daily lives of *Paru Paruq runan*. This community—and others like in the Andean Mountains—co-produces their rurality with nature. The Andean mountain range in Peru particularly demonstrates the

production of rurality. Van der Ploeg (2008) explains that “the rural does not contain ‘pure’ nature. The nature embedded in the rural is a co-product, resulting from the interaction and co-evolution of man and nature” (pg. 53). The composition of Paru Paru, of Paru Paru’s rurality, adjusts per the interactions the human community have with the natural community. My participants demonstrate this interaction via their many drawings. In particular, when both girls and boys answered, “What do your parents do in Paru Pau?” they all demonstrated men and women intricately closely with the land, animals, and in the shade of the ever-present mountains. Marleni (Figure 4 in Chapter 3) draws a very colorful scene featuring trees, clouds, a home and the sun framed by mountains where a woman works alongside two men or boys in a deep, rich, brown field with sprouting plants. Here, Marleni demonstrates how a combination of natural forces (including humans) work together creating the place of Paru Paru and opening its boundaries for a far more inclusive definition of place. Even within the rural space of Paru Paru, multiple scales intersect daily. Individual bodies constantly interact with regional forces of the environment and weather of the mountain. The boundaries of Paru Paru extend far beyond the collection of houses and buildings present. Extended family networks, cultural connections to nature, and economic strategies each demonstrate the mobility and flexibility of Paru Paru’s boundaries.

Paru Paru’s place is a point of pride for my participants. They work with and within the land through their labor and socio-cultural processes. Together, the community and the land create temporal and lasting tags through the coproduction of Paru Paru’s mountain slopes (Recollet 2015). *Paru Paruq runan* and the land cultivate futurity through powerful actions that inscribe meaning across a large geographic area. More, these claims to place, space, and identity proclaim the community’s desires for longevity and resilience. Caring for

the land provides immediate sustenance for families and ensures the future success of the community. The close connection to land and place of Paru Paru deserves recognition in planning processes.

Movement

Roads have a long history in the Valle Sagrado and the Andean mountains. They inevitably cross and connect different scales, from local to regional. Roads can be locally, regionally, nationally, and globally in the same breath. *Qhapaq Ñan*, or the Great Road, is a vast system of roads throughout the Andean Mountain Range constructed, or improved by the Incan Empire before Spanish contact. These roads exhibit lasting importance of roads for communities throughout the Andean Mountain range (Harvey & Knox 2015, p. 22). The communities in Paru Paru use roads extensively and are always looking to connect their community more with other hamlets and urban centers. Some individuals—such as John’s mother—travel along the main road to Pisac daily, others travel once a month to work on the Inca Trail—such as Adán’s father. However, nearly everyone travels down to Pisac on Sundays for the Sunday market. Roads, and the movement they facilitate provide an avenue for *Paru Paruq runan* to jump scales at ease. Movement, as discussed in Chapter Three, is pivotal to my participants’ sense of place and their creation of space. Through movement on foot and car roads, Highland communities such as Paru Paru, people cultivate a specific understanding of place (Waterson 2005, p. 334).

When drawing what they usually see in cities, nine of my eleven participants drew roads alongside cars, buildings, and people. To arrive at the nearest, small urban center, you must travel extensively along footpaths, the main car-wide road down to Pisac or both. With a car, the journey takes around an hour; but without a car, finding *colectivos*—shared

taxies—requires approximately an hour walk down to Quello Quello. From Quello Quello, it is another 30-45 minutes to Pisac. This is one reason why roads feature so prominently in the minds of my participants when they think of the city. The emphasis on movement (both the physical act and the process of movement) provides an opportunity to view how place plays a part of Paru Paru's practice and the creation of culture (Waterson 2005). Community members walk and ride across large physical distances daily, interacting with diverse people and places. This allows culture in Paru Paru to adapt as fluidly as their borders, creating mobile spaces that intersect multiple scales through both movement and practice. Roads facilitate their travel and access to urban areas and the entire region of the Valle Sagrado. They connect communities to urban infrastructures and create greater access to global goods, and networks (Harvey & Knox 2015, p. 24-25).

Roads connect Paru Paru to the rest of the nation, their extended family members, and the global consumer economy. New roads foster a feeling of connectedness, both nationally and globally. They provide access to the desires of the community. Using roads connects Paru Paru to more goods and services, access to the global economy, and facilitates movement between rural and urban places. Peru's government pushes "road construction as a means to economic growth, increased welfare, and a strengthening of national integrity" (Harvey & Knox 2015, p. 39-40). Roads facilitate the movement of people and goods, especially in and out of Paru Paru. However, roads alone do not facilitate the rapid movement of people and goods. Currently in the Valle Sagrado, there are fewer colectivos on the roads, especially en route to the highland communities. As tourism increases the number of foreigners present in the Urubamba Valley, the transportation police increase their surveillance of colectivo drivers, checking to make sure that drivers and cars have all the

required documents to be in legal operation. Nationally, the Peruvian government wants to make their country as comfortable as possible for tourists arriving from richer Global Minority Countries such as the U.S.A. and France (Makie, Bromley, & Brown 2014; Gibson-Graham 2013). However, this decreases the number of car owners willing to drive, especially up to the higher, more remote communities. Car owners do not want to risk paying large fines when they already cannot afford full documentation and when the economic gains from driving as *colectivos* remain small.

Roads, then, in the Valle Sagrado do not function optimally to facilitate individuals jumping scales between their local, rural interactions and more glocal/globalizing urban spaces. Transportation infrastructure must accompany road creation to achieve optimal mobility for communities, and especially for women who do not normally have access to as many opportunities for wage labor as men (Bravo 2002, p. 221). Sometimes there are so few cars going to and from Quello Quello that each car—which is usually a four passenger Toyota Corolla Wagon—carries ten or more people. Moreover, one of the teachers working at the Escuela 50211 (Karina) told me that drivers often do not take passengers all the way to their destinations. Drivers will leave passengers in the middle of the highway, and they have to walk the rest of the way to their destination. These same drivers, however, have no issues taking tourists to and from the highland communities for 50 soles (instead of the usual four soles per person). Global spaces/people (tourists) can access Paru Paru easily, but *Paru Paruq runan* do not have the same conveniences.

Family Networks

Paru Paru, positioned firmly as part of Southern Peru and the Urubamba River Valley, demonstrates unique migration patterns that are outside of typical mass movements

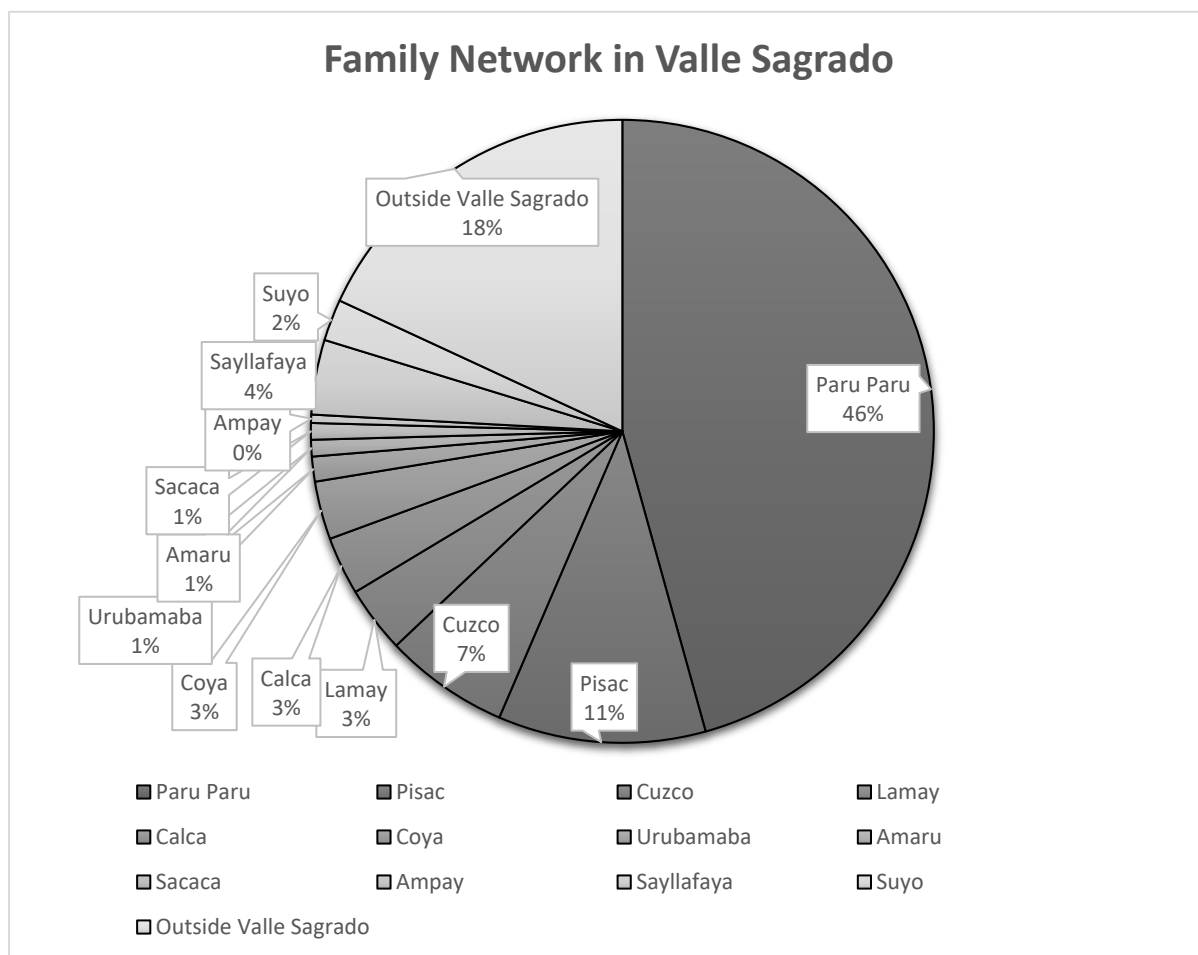


Figure 12: Known family members

to larger urban such as Cusco, Arequipa, or to Lima (Paerregaard 1998, 2013). My participants revealed that their known kin-networks are primarily concentrated in and around the Urubamba Valley. To their knowledge, approximately 18% of their families live outside of the Valle Sagrado, and 46% of their families live within the communal boundaries of Paru Paru itself (Figure 12). Paerregaard (1998, 2013) and Seligmann (2000) describe a rural diaspora with large numbers of people traveling to large cities such as Lima, Arequipa, and

Cusco. However, Paru Paru does not reflect this trend. Their family networks will occasionally extend to larger cities, but most families stay in and around Paru Paru.

Paru Paru has an ideal geographic position, enabling the majority of the community members to remain connected to their family's land. While visiting Cusco, I spoke with a shop owner in her mid-50s who had no choice but to leave her lands with her siblings when she was still a child. One year, a severe drought prevented the water of Lago Tititaca from reaching her lands, forcing her to leave with three other of her sisters. Environmental stressors often create environmental (and climate change) refugees seeking to find work to live, after their crops and safety networks fail. The community of Paru Paru, however, built the majority of their homes close to the Kinsa Qucha lake and river system. Kinsa Qucha currently provides sufficient water for the community and their neighbors to use for crops, live-stalk, and domestic use. Access to water is crucial for their land-based, subsistence livelihoods. Paru Paru's location on the banks of Kinsa Qucha provides a crucial safety net, protecting the community from the mass migrations that occur in other locations. Moreover, because they are so close to Pisac (a tourist destination listed in many international guidebooks), the community has easier access to tourist-based income generation. The community of Paru Paru even invites tourists to visit their homes to share their lakes and their knowledge of potatoes growing as part of Parque de la Papa (Potato Park). Additionally, as I mentioned earlier, the Willka T'ika tourist agency brings tourists directly to the community. These interactions bridge global to local, creating glocal spaces.

Familial networks in Peru create local-regional and sometimes local-national/global networks. Dirlik (1999) describes local place becoming "indistinguishable from the global" when kinship relations begin to stretch across the global and are no longer isolated to specific

localities (p. 155). Paru Paru—according to my participants—currently has few or no kin living internationally (even though Rimber joked that Arturo Vidal, the famous Chilean *futbolista*, was his brother). The kin networks are highly regional to Southern Peru and extend to Lima for brief periods of time (when young men go to study). Erika told me that she has two brothers living in Lima currently studying to be a cook and mechanic respectively. Jorge and John also have siblings in Lima working or studying. Most *Paru Paruq runan* spend only a limited time in Lima to study a profession and then return to the Urubamba Valley Area. Though occasionally extending to Lima, most familial ties to Paru Paru remain within Southern Peru, creating networks and places based firmly in local and regional (and occasionally national) space.

Kinship in the Andean Mountains continues to produce reciprocal relationships. Writing about urban based, street vendors, Griet Steel (2011) describes that social capital and alternative economic practices provide essential assets to individuals and families to mitigate economic risk and negative shocks to the economy or a family's income. These networks are not always overt but may provide support when specific family members need additional assistance in the form of labor, funding, or housing (Vincent 2012, p. 245). Kinship networks provide trust, cooperation, mutual aid and a social web to provide access to credit or other usually unavailable capital or goods (p. 604). Successful marriages must interconnect with extended kin networks. Mamá Francisca—Jorge's mother—describes having to convince godparents of marriage before she could live well with her husband. Moreover, Jhoel writes that his mother and father chose a life together and then searched out a *padrino*²⁴ for a wedding. Extended kinship networks aid individuals to complete important

²⁴ Godfather

celebrations such as weddings, or provide funding or support young people finding employment or finishing school. John has a *tía* in Pisac that his family frequently visits while performing as *Sácamefotos*. Instead of returning to Paru Paru on Saturday nights, John and his mother stay with his *tía*. John's brother—now in high school—attends school in Pisac and lives with this same *tía* for extended periods of time. Steel (2011) demonstrates this sort of reciprocity with Andean street vendors, describing how they “rely on their family network in the street for an introduction, for the smooth running of their business, for protection, or to borrow and exchange money or merchandise” (p. 608). Family networks provide valuable social and economic capital, facilitating the successful economic strategies of families living throughout the Andes. In Paru Paru, families request assistance in field work, in providing education for children, and new families seek out assistance from their extended kinship network to finalize a marriage union and celebrate.

Kinship cultivates resiliency for both rural and urban families. Family networks provide crucial social and economic resources that ensure the survival and wellbeing of multiple families (Steel & Zoomers 2009). Luz Marina recounts leaving Paru Paru to go to Cuzco to help her aunt. Erika also relates helping her aunts and uncles in Arequipa to cook and do laundry. Moreover, as a group, the participants explained that they visit their families in other places to help them. Remember (who's family lives almost exclusively in Paru Paru and nearby *pueblos*) explains that he helps mostly in fieldwork. Family networks adapt as the needs within them change. Mamá Cecilia explained to Erika that she helped her mother in the fields and with the animals when she was younger. Currently, though, many of Paru Paru's family networks extend to urban areas as well. Family networks then act similarly in urban cities and rural based *chakras*. Children visit their aunts and uncles, siblings, grandparents,

and cousins to help. They help with domestic labor, they help in agricultural production and animal husbandry, and they contribute to the general economic success of multiple households in their networks. Extensive family networks provide a shared labor force to complete labor intensive tasks such as field and domestic work.

Furthermore, urban households often provide remittances for rural based families. Steel and Zoomers (2009) report that “a flow of remittances [link ...] rural and urban livelihood strategies; they send commercial goods back home, and in exchange, they receive agricultural products from the countryside” (p. 388). During vacations, Erika travels to Arequipa with her mother, visiting the family she has there. She helps with housework in Arequipa much in the same way she helps with housework in Paru Paru (caring for smaller children and cleaning). Luz Marina and Marleni include Calca, Pisac, and Cusco in the list of more urbanized places that they visit to help their families. My participants never mentioned receiving money or gifts because of the work they do in the cities. For them, to help in the cities is a normal part of daily life. They help with chores because that is what they do every day regardless. Steel & Zoomers (2009), however, demonstrate that remittance flows to rural households are as normal as the labor flows to the cities. Therefore, it is likely that the families in Paru Paru receive some economic benefit for they work they complete in extended family member’s urban households. School holidays and seasonal gaps in agricultural work allow families to migrate and perform short-term work (Bravo 2002, p. 223). Urban and rural households in the same family network weave even closer ties between rural life and urban life. This provides a level of resiliency creating households that can better deal with economic insecurity and vulnerability (Steel & Zoomers 2009, p. 389).

From children's excitement when visiting urban placed family members, we witness the structural changes facing families in Paru Paru and Peru. Familial reciprocity ensures multiple families in the extended network have the best chances for success in a high neoliberal economic marketplace and society. Here, as Tuck (2009) asserts, desires demonstrate the complex reality of the community without framing it as "lacking" or "without." The family networks of Paru Paru collectively confront the challenges present in both rural and urban communities, building their own resiliency.

Rural-Urban Connectivity

Paru Paru provides ample evidence demonstrating the inseparability of rural and urban. The participants speak of Paru Paru and Pisac in the same breath. Adán wrote about Jhoel: "con mi amigo jugando en el parque jugamos en pelota e ir a Pisac. También jugamos escondido. Vamos a Cusco y Calca para mirar la televisión, cocinar, y lavar ropa."²⁵ Ramiro also describes leaving Paru Paru as working, playing, and going to Pisac to buy consumer goods unavailable in Paru Paru (soda and candy, for instance). For Ramiro, Adán, Jhoel, and community of Paru Paru, connecting weekly (or daily) to Pisac remains an integral and multifaceted aspect of their lives. However, many popular imaginings prefer to regulate the rural as something outside of urban life, and even something regulated to history books. Van de Ploeg (2008) writes:

In public debate, the 'rural' is primarily associated with transiency and remoteness. If it ever existed, it is to be located in times far removed from modernity. And if it 'still' exists then it is in some peripheral location, far

²⁵ With my friend, we play ball in the park y go to Pisac. Also, we play hide and seek. We go to Cusco and Calca to watch television, cook, and clean clothing.

away. Rurality is where tourists go to discover the counter-image of the city from which they long to escape. (p. 51)

This popular concept (common among international tourists and *Limeños*²⁶ a-like) attempts to regulate the rural to abstract spaces, defining urban life, urban realities as the only “real” experiences of modernity. At best, this thinking results in a dichotomous relationship between rural and urban. Rural, however, is not simply the opposite of urban (ibid., p. 51). Rural, in this sense, becomes similar to culture, being “used to imprison places, to render place-bound culture identities [and rural lives] into markers of backwardness” (Dirlik 1999, p. 168). This regulates rural, place-based spaces as backward and in need of improvement, ignoring the potential and the contributions of entire communities. Furthermore, this thinking forces rural-urban into a false dichotomy that ignores the evidence in both spheres as the bleed into one another. Both urban and rural places (and spaces—rural spaces have different foundations than urban spaces and vice versa) must exist—and exist in an ongoing process of hybridity.

Soja (1996) speaks the intersections of multitudes of cultures and social processes creating “third space.” Urban and rural spaces have distinct categories that help define them as different cultures with distinctive social practices; but their interconnectedness creates a broad third space where “new structures of authority, new political initiatives [...] and new areas of negotiation of meaning and representation” arise (Soja 1996, p. 140). When drawing

²⁶ People from Lima.

a map of Paru Paru

(Figure 13), Erika,

Marleni, Luz

Marina, and Ana

Lucia created a

colorful

representation of

their home. They

included: the ever-



Figure 13: Map of Paru Paru by Erika, Luz Marina, Marlene, and Ana Lucia

present mountains; a river flowing directly through the middle from Kinsa Qucha; sheep in a

high pasture; sheep outside a home; people working with sheep; *chakras*; trees; flowers; and

houses. Representations of Paru Paru reflect the labor processes and lived experiences (Third



Figure 14: Joel Responds to: *Cuidadpi, ima rikuykichis? What do you see in the city?*

Space) of the children in my workshops.

The girls collaboratively drew this map to represent Paru Paru, defining the social and cultural processes held within.

Meanwhile, when the participants drew about urban spaces, they included more roads, more cars, more buildings and

more people (Figure 14). Moreover, everything in the city is in constant movement. Their drawn cars and people are not static representations but mirror

the active culture of the city. Urban spaces have more people concentrated in one area, more roads linking multiple areas, and access to wage labor and global merchandise. These drawings reflect the intersection of local and global scales through commodities; much as many of the interviews demonstrated the need to travel to Pisac “a comprar,”²⁷ creating the entanglement of urban/rural social and cultural processes.

Pisac is intimately connected to Paru Paru. Mamá Ebarista explained to Ana Lucia that while she was growing up, they did not leave Paru Paru to go anywhere, but specifically to Pisac.²⁸ As in any place, Pisac and Paru Paru have an intertwining history that adapts as necessary and encompasses the close calculations of the people living there (Crampton 2010, p. 95). Humans and their social process create differences within places, and they create the borders that mark that difference. Escobar (2001) challenges boundaries, writing:

Boundaries and links to places are certainly neither natural nor fixed, and while boundaries do not exist in a ‘real’ sense, their construction is an important aspect of the active material and cultural production of place by groups of people that, while heterogeneous and diverse [adhere to social practice]. (p. 152)

Making distinctions between urban and rural in the Valle Sagrado does not fit the reality of either urban or rural space. Steel and Zoomers (2009) admit that even in Cusco (a decidedly urban place in many regards) “the division between urban and rural is difficult to draw [...] especially in the migrant neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city” (p. 387). Populations in the Sacred Valley are in constant movement. One visit to Calle Puputi in Cusco and I encountered dozens of *colectivos* and buses within minutes. These vehicles drop off

²⁷ To buy.

²⁸ Pisacllantan haykuq mana maytaps riqchu. *Just* Pisac, we did not go just anywhere,

passengers from urban centers as far as Urubamba and as close as Pisac. *Colectivos* wind and twist on both the narrow dirt roads to smaller *poblaciones*²⁹ and on the well maintained two-lane highways between the major urban centers. All my participants—at one point—drew a *colectivo* representing the power of motorized vehicles in facilitating movement that remains at the core of rural-urban connectivity (Figure 15).



Figure 15: Jorge responds to *Cuidadpi, ima rikunkichis?* What do you see in the City?

Urban areas—such as Pisac—remain more focused on wage labor and the buying and selling of goods. Lefebvre (2015) conceptualizes the differences between places through the meaning they provide for “the coming together of a given need and a given object.” In other words, “Space is thus populated by visible crowds of objects and invisible crowds of needs” (pg. 394). Urban and rural places may share a cross-section of objects and needs, but their uses may be distinct in each place. For instance, as I discussed in my previous chapter, sheep in and around Paru Paru represent different needs than lambs present in the city (herding versus Sácamefotos). Urban is where “the co-production of man and nature stops;” nature is not currently essential to the production of cities (Van der Ploeg 2008, pg. 53). Meanwhile, for Paru Paru, the rural *campo* remains a place of residence, the places of agricultural and

²⁹ Community, population

animal husbandry work. Paru Paru supplies many agricultural and artesanía products for commercial sale in Pisac; and Pisac provides Paru Paru with opportunities to buy more globalized and regionalize products (clothing, fruits from lower in the Valley, electronics, etc.). These “urban” items are used in Paru Paru, while “rural” goods are consumed in Pisac. This is one of many reasons that Pisac-Paru Paru connection is so strong; as my participants demonstrate, conflating the two places into one overlapping, production of space.

At least weekly, Paru Paru’s community travel to Pisac. Even abuelos³⁰ make the trip into the city, where the family may buy coca leaves, clothing, candy, and additional foodstuffs. Many urban centers in the Andean mountains of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador serve much more than just their immediate population. Challapata in Bolivia reflects the weekly movements to Pisac, Calca, and Cusco. Gorgon (2011) writes that “[although] the town’s population is around 7,000, the marketplace serves over 40,000 people who live in the rural area surrounding Challapata” (p. 31). Similarly, weekly markets draw in populations from all around Pisac, Calca, and Cusco (amongst many others) so the rural producers may sell their wares and buy urban-based goods (manufactured clothing, fruits, and vegetables from other areas, and other manufactured goods imported to Peru). These markets interconnect regional and local scales: providing spaces where products from all over the Urubamba Valley are bought and sold. Paru Paru—in part because of its elevation—does not cultivate fruit, focusing instead on potatoes, wheat, corn, and other plants that can survive high altitude stressors. However, closer to Calca, Urubamba, and Ollantaytambo—lower in elevation and each closer to the Amazon Rainforest—fruits grow more readily. Fruits arrive in Pisac for sale by local market women, —who’s stalls expand significantly for the Sunday market—

³⁰ Grandparents, older community members

then entire communities arrive from the highlands around Pisac (such as Paru Paru, Amaru, or Quello Quello). Together they create an intersection of regional goods and people in the localized place of the Sunday market.

Furthermore, Pisac offers an entry point into global capitalist processes (goods and services, as well as consumers). Rimber writes about his friend, Jorge: “Cuando salimos de Paru Paru nosotros paseamos en la ciudad y compramos ropas y compramos sidi (CD) para mirar tele.”³¹ Urban areas provide spaces of new opportunities for rural households. *Paru Paruq runan* connect with urban areas to access products (often globally manufactured products) that infiltrate rural places via these weekly markets. CDs and DVDs are not locally produced in Pisac, yet their global presence (often with regionally important themes, such as huayno music) intersect the local consumer culture of Pisac. This allows consumers nad previously unavailable goods to create a glocal scale. Global structures interact directly with local places and people, dismantling the binary between global: local, creating “glocal space” (Escobar 2001, p. 156). These weekly markets are just one example where *Paru Paruq runan* daily “construct places [and spaces] even as they participate in trans-local networks (ibid., p. 147).

Another intersection of rural-urban co-production of space lies within what Ramirez (2007) defines as “Native Hubs.” Native Hubs are home spaces that “provide Indians with a chance to learn how to organize, claim their voices, work together across differences, and teach each other positive visions for changing the world” (p. 80). These spaces are usually found in urban areas where diverse groups of Native Americans meet, forming spaces of multiple identities. In Pisac, on the margins of the city—along Calle Amazonas or the road to

³¹ When we leave Paru Paru, we pass through the city and buy clothing, and CDs, and we go to watch television.

the Pisac Ruins—the highland communities above Pisac create temporary home spaces, filtrating rural space making processes into urban places.

Pisac acts as the centralized location for government benefit distribution. To receive their funding from *Pensión 65* (elderly community members [Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social, 2017b]) and *Juntos* (for homes in extreme poverty [Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social, 2017a]), all neighboring communities must travel to Pisac. As early as seven A.M., 50 or more women wait outside of the municipal building in Pisac for their *Juntos* in Pisac for their *Juntos* financial support once a month. I witnessed the mass movement of women from the highland communities to Pisac on June 30th, 2016 (Figure 16). A lot more *colectivos* traveled the roads on this day, with most taking people down to Pisac. Even more women walked down the dirt roads in groups of three to four, dressed in their finest clothing (reserved for special occasions like this one where they get to reunite with many women from multiple communities). As the women waited, they transformed the space outside of the municipal building into a Native Hub (Ramirez 2007). Women exchange news from each other's families; they knitted, hand spun yarn, laughed, made jokes together, and remained connected to their rural roots while in this urban space. Surrounded by women



Figure 16: Photograph by the Author. Pisac at 7AM, June 30th, 2017

speaking a similar language and practicing similar culture, this Native Hub helps to foster deeper connections between women who may not be able to see each other as much while they perform their daily tasks in and around their rural communities.

Moreover, weekly, when the highland communities travel to Pisac for the Sunday market, they create and (re)create spaces on the margins to claim their right to the urban public sphere. Soja (1996) writes that reclaiming “lived spaces [on the margins of the dominant society] are locations of radical openness and possibility” where diverse cultural presentation may exist without threat from the dominant culture (p. 99). These spaces allow people to build communities across multiple boundaries (such as rural-urban). On Sundays, many women and men from Paru Paru wait on the outskirts of the city, where the colectivos wait to take passengers to highland communities. Along this road, outside the heart of Pisac, multiple communities intersect as they wait for their families to finish shopping or to return to their communities. Adán and Rimber both write about spending time with their friends in Pisac eating or playing. Social relations from Paru Paru do not stop their processes in Pisac. Children continue to play together as they do in the *campo*. Moreover, these spaces on the margins of Pisac (literally and figuratively) allow families from different communities to interact with each other similarly to the example of women waiting outside of the municipal building. Here, these families cultivate cross-community connections, while also developing communal relations within *Paru Paruq runan* as well. Therefore, urban places facilitate rural community building and the claims to the public sphere brought by the highland communities.

Much like the many labor processes of Paru Paru declaring lasting Indigenous heritage, the presence of these women alongside their children in the urban landscape creates

a glyph of rural life in the globalizing city. Recollet (2015) describes spatial tags of indigeneity “visually archiving traces of actions engaged in the very process of transformation. This is time sensitive, in that they are archiving moments, and happening of decolonial strategic solidarities. In such instances, the glyph is the Indigenous pedagogy” (p. 132). The bodies of these women—meeting with other members of their community, and with women from other communities while waiting for government assistance— and the bodies of each community—waiting along the road for family members and *colectivos*—claim the space in front of Pisac’s Municipality Building. Here the scale of each woman’s and community members’ individual body jumps into regional and global scales through the imposition of their local ontologies, languages, and social processes. The process of waiting allows rural women, men, and children to disrupt the “normal” processes of urban space and impose their own. In this way, they are (re)claiming this space and making their embodied scale and rural, Indigenous lives obvious and loud in the urban places (Recollet 2015, 2016). In this space, these temporary communities reframe Indigenous futurity by declaring the possibilities present for Indigenous livelihoods in urban places. Their presence is a refusal to disappear in the urban, globalizing space of Pisac.

However, the Pisac Sunday market—located in Plaza Consituición—sets up local and regional produce alongside the augmented, tourist-focused artisanal market. This market reflects a distinctive place making strategy that entices globally scaled tourists to interact with local people and to buy locally and regionally produced goods. Over time the space of the market came to “represent the typical Indigenous market” as more tourists continued to return to Pisac (Ypeji 2012, p. 23). The tourist market creates a junction of global-regional-local scales, where they “derive their meanings from one another” as they converge in one

space making exercise (Dirlik 1999, p. 152). Tourist consumers represent one of many global forces at work in Peru, providing an obvious introduction to how global networks intersect locally based productions of goods and services. Seligman (2000) draws attention to “local understandings of geopolitics (and their history), and culturally grounded spatial organization” interacting with global capitalism (p. 6). Together these process mold spatial creation. Sometimes, as in the case of the Sácamefotos, people such as John and his mother recreate local images for global consumption. Tourists want photos of the “exotic” other representing highly localized lifestyles (that tourists essentialize as “isolated” or “pure” culture); while Sácamefotos want greater access to the money that tourists bring into the country (Steel 2011, p. 603). These interactions allow Sácamefotos to utilize their local images to earn wages directly from the tourist consumer. Sácamefotos—because of the influx of foreign and national tourists—are (re)creating the spaces, via their presence, of the Pisac market for their economic benefit.

As tourism and other global forces infiltrate the local, a hybridity of scales emerges, often in the form of unequal exchange. Dirlik argues that this unequal exchange between the local and the global “is likely to be more in favor of space over place, of abstract power over concrete everyday existence, where the former may even produce the “differences” of the latter in the process of maximizing its power while mystifying its location” (p. 178). We can see this occur through the products offered in the Pisac Market (and the Cusco tourist markets, local communities, and even in other countries such as Chile). The commodification of culture to draw in tourists manifests in the mass manufacturing of “artisanal” products that tourists find in every Mercado Artisanal in Peru (and in other countries as well). This creates

globalizing spaces through these markets. These markets, with similar or identical productions across the country, begin to lose local specificity. Dirlik (1999) further explains:

The globalization of the local does not compensate in terms of politics, economy, and culture for the localization of the global. That is their asymmetry, that requires for its appreciation, a sense of context and structure, even if the context is a product of the content, as the content it's a product of the context. It also requires a sense of history, that what appears today as something of an exchange, in which both sides participate, may turn out to be less than an exchange because it is unequal exchange, because one side will see its life transformed by television while the other side will through the same television invade the world and create a new structural context for its operations. (p. 177)

The commodification of culture, although providing greater access to global consumerism through the increase of foreign currency in Peru, does not provide an equal exchange mirroring Dirlik's warning. Again, to speak of the Sácamefotos, these women and children spend long hours performing their culture for tourists. This provides tourists their desires to view the "exotic" other but leaves the Sácamefotos with less time to perform productive labor in their communities or other areas. They do receive wages from these interactions that are valuable to improving their lives in their rural homes (Ypeji 2012), but the power relation inherent in these interactions privileges the tourist. In many instances, tourists do not pay Sácamefotos for their performance; instead, sneaking photographs of the women and children or refusing to pay altogether, explaining it away as, "It's just a picture, why should I have to pay for it?"

Globalization, though often creating unequal power relationships, also provides new avenues to defend place, and place-based knowledges where local communities such as Paru Paru transform the processes to their advantages (Escobar 2001 p. 157). Not all globalization is created equal. As the tourism industry expands in the Urubamba Valley, more communities want to contribute to the industry so that they may transform their livelihoods in new ways. Paru Paru has already begun this process with its participation in the Parque de la Papa. Tourists arrive in Paru Paru, specifically to explore the lakes, the methods of cultivation, and the agrodiversity that the community continues to cultivate. They partake in specifically cultivated performances of identity and culture, according to what *Paru Paruq runan* believe the tourists want to see. Moreover, Erika—thinking about her future—wants to continue living in Paru Paru, while also finding employment as a guide in the larger tourist industry. She understands the increased opportunities provided by the wage-based labor in the global tourist industry. These opportunities are important and part of cultivating successful, long-term relationships between the global and the local.

Balancing the desire to remain connected to the place(s) of Paru Paru, many individuals seek wage labor opportunities outside of Paru Paru. Mamá Silvia told her daughter, Marleni, that people leave Paru Paru to work wage labor. Three other mothers related similar information. Gaining access to wage labor requires individuals (and sometimes families) to leave Paru Paru (temporarily and long term). However, this access to employment and wages provides the foundation for a more successful household in Paru Paru. Wages, and therefore money, allow families to adjust how they spend time. For example, instead of making clothing for each member of the family, they buy premade clothing. John and Edisón wrote in their reflections on their interviews that adults buy

clothing for children. Moreover, in a workshop, Rimber and John brought up the same point. Currency allows the heads of the families “mantener los que mantienen.”³²

To earn wages, many men in Paru Paru work on the Inca Trail or other capacities in the tourism industry. On the Inca Trail, men from Paru Paru work as porters and cooks. While others work as taxi drivers carting passengers back and forth, work on the Inca trail requires men to leave Paru Paru for a few weeks each month. They leave their families, who then care for the animals and fields while the men work for wages to supplement the family’s income and provide greater opportunities to access education, consumer goods, diversify their economic base, and supplement agricultural production (Steel 2011, p. 609). At the same time, this allows men to work for wages and work in the fields or on communal projects in Paru Paru whenever they return (Steel & Zoomers 2009, p. 388). As a family increases their connections to urban occupations and family members, the more resilient the family becomes. In Paru Paru, migration is an important source of income, as it is in many other communities throughout the Andean Region (ibid. p. 382). Because Paru Paru does not have the same services found in the more urban Pisac, “migration [for work in the tourist industry] is not only necessary but also an inevitable aspect of life. Living in separate worlds is not regarded as a choice between two mutually exclusive possibilities but as a challenge to get the best out of life” (Paerregaard 1998, p. 401). Relying on consumer-driven industries such as tourism requires individuals and families to cultivate multiple economic avenues. The number of tourists demanding the services of porters, cooks, and taxi drivers varies greatly, so the compliment of agriculture in Paru Paru remains essential to the community’s livelihoods (Steel 2011. p. 610). Combining multiple sources of income with subsistence

³² “to maintain those whom they must maintain”

practices allows families to weather occasional severe economic fluctuations. Agricultural subsistence provides consistent access to cultivated produce for self-consumption and sale when income generation decreases or disappears. Meanwhile, tourism-based income generation allows the family to diversify their diets (adding different fruits and vegetables from lower elevations), diversify the uses of their time (buying clothing instead of making it), and diversify the opportunities available for the family (access to more education, increasing knowledge of diverse languages).

However, just as Mamá Silvia told Marleni that people leave to work; she also stated that people return to Paru Paru when there is no money. The costs of living in urban spaces at, times, outweighs the benefits. Adela—in addition to renting rooms for tourists and researchers in Pisac—provides spaces for renters from rural communities such as Paru Paru. She outlined for me the differences between rural and urban consumer practices:

Allá (en el campo) tienen todo a su ultizado: tienen mucha papa, otros productos agriculturas que no tienen que comprar. Acá en la ciudad tienen comprar comida en montoncillos además tienen que alquilar sus habitaciones; tienen que pagar por todo. Algunas veces van del campo al alquilar en mi casa, probarlo, al experimentar en la ciudad. Pero regresan en dos o tres meses. A ellos les pregunto yo, por qué regresan: porque tienen que pagar por todo mientras en sus pueblitos no faltan nada a comer.³³

³³ There, (in the country) they have everything they need: they have a lot of potatoes, other agricultural products that they do not have to buy. Here, in the city, they have to buy food in small piles and they even have to rent their rooms. They have to pay for everything. Some time they come from the countryside to rent in my house, try it out, experimenting the city. But, they return in two or three months. I ask them why they return. They return because they have to pay for everything; meanwhile in their own towns, they do not lack anything to eat.

Adela demonstrates the mutual dependence between rural and urban households explored by Paerregaard (1998) and Steel & Zoomers (2009). Urban work provides important remittances for rural households, and rural households exchange agricultural products and provide shelter for urban family members when necessary. Urban migrants intimately interweave rural and urban spaces, stretching each deep into the other (Paerregaard 1998, p. 397). Urban and rural are not separate in much of Peru, and especially in the Urubamba Valley. These territories interlock via economic survival strategies, and sociocultural practices (Crampton 2010).

Conclusion

Paru Paru, though located by national maps (abstract space) in a rural place, actively shapes urban space and place through the community's constant movement. Community members closely link Paru Paru and Pisac together through family networks, economic strategies, acts of movement, and consumption practices. The proximity of Pisac to Paru Paru provides the community an access point into more globalized processes. Every Sunday, nearly the entire community travels to Pisac for the weekly market. There, they create new, temporary home spaces, facilitating the interconnectedness of multiple rural communities as well as of Paru Paru.

Globalization—facilitating the interconnectivity between global, regional, local, and individual embodied scales—creates new challenges and threats while simultaneously providing new opportunities. Communities, including Paru Paru, see these new opportunities and they want to partake in the benefits present. *Paru Paruq runan* witness the wealth that tourists bring, transforming cities such as Cusco and Pisac. Similarly, *Paru Paruq runan* want to enjoy the positive changes that increasing wealth provides: better educational opportunities, a more comfortable daily experience, etc. However, *Paru Paruq runan* strive

to remain visible in urban spaces as they temporarily tag urban places with their presence, language, and community. They continue their ontologies based on generations of knowledge, and they stake a claim in the future through their present actions. Remixing spaces and creating geographies of subtle resistance ensures the community's futurities. Community processes, ontologies, and futurities in Paru Paru (and other highland towns) provide important foundations for their members to cultivate resilience strategies to maintain their place based socio-cultural processes of identity in the face of globalized spaces.

CHAPTER 5: Conclusions

The participants in my study demonstrate that their labor processes and their active crisscrossing of scales create systems of space making that bridge and bleed rural and urban together. Paru Paru, as a place, and as a community adapts to a globalizing world and the children of the community display precise desires for the future. My participants agreed upon a few key items:

- They love their work in Paru Paru (Agricultural, Tourism based, and especially animal husbandry)
- They enjoy the opportunities Pisac offers (global products, people, and wage labor access)
- The future they conceptualize combines life in Paru Paru alongside the opportunities global scales and networks offer.

The good life in Paru Paru (*Sumaq Kawsay*) shifts and adapts to reflect changing realities in the community itself and throughout the globe. *Sumaq Kawsay*, as a cosmovision and way of life, does not end if the children of Paru Paru leave their community. This cosmovision represents generations of community planning and adaptation. As the community continues to adapt to the needs of the environment, the individual families, and the spiritual needs of the community, *Sumaq Kawsay* and its tenants will modify to fit new contexts and challenges.

Children in Paru Paru actively shape their community through their engagement with their unique cosmovision. They remain closely connected to their lands as they work and play with their families and kinship networks. Place, for the children of Paru Paru, provides the context for their cosmovision and the production of theories. Children grow to understand

their connection to both their community and their lands as they move through them and act within them. The places of Paru Paru help to shape labor processes, culture, and social networks present. Particularly, Paru Paru has culturally based conceptions of work contributing to their creation of space and place. Every action—even leisure—in Paru Paru is work. *Paru Paruq runan* value domestic work, agricultural work, animal husbandry, and wage-based labor, equally as work. Each is different processes requiring different labor processes, but each important in their own way. Play—for children and adults—provides an avenue to understand labor processes and to build social relationships and practical understandings of the environment. Children, while playing, deepen their relationships with their families, animals, chosen kin, and land. Moreover, while playing, children develop expertise in Paru Paru's economic processes, gradually increasing their activity within them. Fundamentally, playing facilitates children's inclusions in the production of space and place in Paru Paru while at the same time developing their roles as community members.

Play remains an active aspect of every labor and social process in Paru Paru; yet, my participants spoke of it most in regards to their herding practices. Conceptualizing play and work as one entity allows children to find joy in every action they complete throughout the day and week. Children in Paru Paru act as the primary herders for a family's sheep and other animals. The animal husbandry labor process solidifies children's connection to their families, animals, community, and land. Children learn how to care for organic and inorganic life around them while leading their charges through multiple layers of Paru Paru. They observe, interact, and find joy through this process that provides a deepening understanding of the world each day the children participate.

Daily connection with the land across seasons and years results in *Paru Paruq runan* creating specific theories via their cosmovisions. Farming provides a canvas where the children of Paru Paru project their unique futurities, cultivating the land, and developing a land/place-based theory. They are experts in their systems of farming, and they mark their landscape with symbols of their longevity and efforts of generations of communal planning. Children cultivate knowledge important to the success of the entire family farming system. Not only do children bring innovation and joy to the coproduction of land and community, but they also ensure the continuations of their family's cosmovision and land-based theories. Caring for the land in Paru Paru realizes an essential aspect of their cosmovision: *Sumaq Kawsay*. Caring for the land is one aspect to reaching the good life, *Sumaq Kawsay*. The balance the community cultivates with the land through their agricultural work contributes directly to the balance between Pachamama—the spirit of the land—the human community and the community of wild animals, plants, and water. With action and with work, *Paru Paruq runan* enact a dance of futurity linking past, present, and future together and ensuring the longevity of the community, the land, and the spiritualities inherent within. These theories of interaction create the cosmovision of Paru Paru, helping the community define their place in broader environmental and social systems.

Tourism contributes to changing conditions of spatial (re)creation in an ever-changing urban place and how Paru Paru's cosmovision modifies to incorporate new opportunities and challenges. Children, alongside their parents and other adults, shape tourist experiences in Paru Paru and Pisac. They listen to what tourists seek to experience and use their cultural capital and knowledges to cultivate experiences tourists desire to experience. This exchange provides essential wages for community members selling their weavings, or using their

cultural performance to provide tourists with photographs of “exotic natives.” In this labor process, both the consumer (Tourist) and producer (*Paru Paruq runan*) define space. On the one hand, Paru Paru extends into Pisac to access Tourists markets and wage labor. Men enter the city to travel further into the Valle Sagrado and work on the Inca Trail while women and children visit Pisac to work as *Sácamefotos* (sometimes daily, other times during the weekends or on holidays). *Paru Paruq runan* continue similar spatial practices from Paru Paru in Pisac and other urban centers. They travel through Pisac’s places, creating mobile glyphs of Paru Paru through language and social networks. On the other hand, the consumption of goods by tourists has completely transformed space in Pisac. Daily tourism has provided many new labor opportunities for *Paru Paruq runan* to explore, and it has fundamentally changed how *Paru Paruq runan* and *Piseños* construct and (re)construct space daily. Pisac now represents the intersection of global and local processes creating and (re)creating space in response to diverse opportunities and shifting limitations.

Urban spaces provide greater access to global consumer goods and regional agricultural products. *Paru Paruq runan* travel explicitly to buy (and sometimes sell) goods in Pisac on Sundays. They buy fruit cultivated in Calca, and manufactured clothing from distant continents. Global capitalist structures directly influence Pisac’s market and enter the lives of the community of Paru Paru. Foreign tourists, as part of these global capitalist structures, have added their own components to the creation of space in the heart of Pisac. Even the Sunday markets that bring all the surrounding communities to Pisac has become a tourist attraction. Food remains an aspect of this market, but most the plaza turns into vendor space for tourist merchandise. Tourists demands for goods in Pisac attempt to push local demands outside of the glocal spaces, but that does not stop families from Paru Paru entering

the Sunday market to buy additional fruits and vegetables. At the same time, tourist demands for goods and services provide many opportunities for *Paru Paruq runan* to directly interact with global economies. Women and children perform as *Sácamefotos*; men provide porter services on the Inca Trail; and the entire community weave bracelets, blankets, and other items for sale in tourist markets. This changes what goods family economies focus on producing for sale and provides wages or cash for families to develop their resiliency and adapt their living conditions.

Much as Paru Paru's people adapt their economic strategies, their boundaries shift to reflect different needs in the community. Children adapt their conceptualization of the boundaries of the community according to the different requirements for specific actions. Movement (and starting points) remain key to describing locations. Most families begin the day by leaving their homes to perform x, y, and z actions (farming, domestic work, animal husbandry, etc.). "Leaving" Paru Paru to work—as a question—morphs into children conceptualizing distance between their homes and where they produce their labor processes as "outside." Paru Paru is—therefore—flexible. Paru Paru may be as small as a single person or home, or as large as the entire *campo* region. My participants clearly express that Paru Paru includes a vast array of important geographic features (mountains, Kinsa Qucha, trees, animals, people, homes, etc.). The boundaries, however, adjust conceptually within a question and within actions, contracting into a single point of entry (the individual or a family home). This flexibility follows how *Paru Paruq runan* have planned their community for generations. Flexibility allows families to cultivate multitudes of options and opportunities to enrich their lives and struggle for *Sumaq Kawsay*. Balance between people, the natural environment, and spiritual needs of both requires a certain degree of flexibility to

ebb and flow within the limitations and challenges facing the community. Open questions, such as “What is in Paru Paru?” provide flexibility for a discussion to include more social processes, more actions, and a broader understanding of what aspects make up Paru Paru and the assets of the community.

Paru Paru’s boundaries shift significantly to include various scales at once. Roads—for instance—enable the interconnectivity of Paru Paru. Roads help create the Parque de la Papa Region and join Paru Paru to urban areas such as Pisac and beyond. Roads facilitate the movement of people, animals, and goods across the different scales that Paru Paru helps create. To illustrate this, pathways and roads of varying sizes crisscross the entire Andean Mountain range—most of these paths are narrow and primarily for the use of humans and animals, not larger vehicles. Families leave their homes along one path, follow another to their fields, to pasture lands, and others to Pisac or other townships. All movement is along one type of road. Traveling by these roads, *Paru Paruq runan* access consumer markets in Pisac; connect to their Parque de la Papa Region; link to their family networks; and connect with global tourists and other global economic markets. Roads also link family networks in a similar fashion. Paru Paru travels with each member of the community as they walk or drive along the roads. As children and adults move between regions and towns, they continue the social and economic processes of Paru Paru. Paru Paru travels with the people that create the community.

Nearly the entire population of Paru Paru travels to Pisac each week during the local Sunday markets and to wait for government assistance. The social processes and relationships do not end at the border of Pisac. When in Pisac for the Sunday market or for the government assistance, *Paru Paruq runan* continue to play, speak, cultivate social

relationships, and even work as they create momentary glyphs on urban environments. Pisac, in many ways, is an extension of Paru Paru. Children play with their friends in Paru Paru, on the road to Pisac, in Pisac, and on the way home. Other community members continue to speak Quechua, joke, laugh, and create safe home spaces hours away from their actual homes. In Pisac, distinct local entities (Paru Paru, Amaru, etc.) converge. Communities forge regional connections with people hailing from similar areas around Pisac, creating social networks to bridge regional-local scales. Their movement and presence in urban areas declare their legitimacy to these places and challenges forces seeking to eliminate or expunge them. Movement remains a crucial characteristic of children's lives in Paru Paru, and as a process, it facilitates the creation of Paru Paru's glyphs and a declaration of their futurities and desires. Rural and urban lives intimately connect and intersect in the Valle Sagrado de Cusco.

Ultimately, Paru Paru contains certain beneficial geographic features that protect the population from drought, and economic stability. Because Paru Paru connects to the regional networks of the Valle Sagrado and the Parque de la Papa, most of the families remain within the region of the Urubamba Valley. Some families do reflect more general trends in Peru, with family members living long term in large urban centers such as Arequipa, Cusco, and Pisac. However, most connections in Lima (the largest urban city in Peru) are temporary for *Paru Paruq runan*. These close kinship ties provide ample social capital and economic capital. Rural households exchange labor and agricultural products with their urban connections in exchange for money or additional labor during harvest or planting seasons. Both rely on the other to ensure long-term economic prosperity and deal with any economic upheavals that impact either or both locations. The networks provide an additional form of

balance in the lives of children. Children experience living in both places (rural and urban), assisting their families equally in both places. Furthermore, these networks of exchange provide a balance for children and community members of Paru Paru to benefit from urbanized centers and global networks while simultaneously maintaining a close connection to their ancestral lands. The resiliency that these households develop binds rural-urban spatial processes even closer together as people, goods, and ideas constant interact between the interrelated geographic spheres.

Paru Paru—and the socio-labor processes that create it—travels with each family and individual as they move about the Urubamba Valley and beyond. Individuals jump scales between individual bodies, local processes, and regional and global influences. For the children of Paru Paru, taking advantage of multiple scales makes logical sense: the more they diversify their knowledges, their experiences, and their opportunities, the more security and balance they can achieve in their lives. Taking advantage of new opportunities and knowledges extends the longevity of their community and provides new ways to achieve the good life or *Sumaq Kawsay*.

The joy children feel while herding sheep, farming, and working in all capacities details important aspects concerning their current desires for their community. Sheep and other animals remain an important feature in Paru Paru, and children wish to continue these practices. Preventing children from participating in the labor processes of Paru Paru would attack their sovereignty and fundamental cosmovision. Moreover, it would disrupt the social fabric of the community, disconnect children from their lands and way of living, and threaten the longevity of the community (Sandercock & Forsyth 1992). Labor represents so much more than subsistence throughout the highland communities in Peru. Labor directs the

energies of these communities towards the balance desired by *Sumaq Kawsay*. As children work, they witness the changes made possible by their capable actions. Children observe, reflect, and implement changes to adjust to dynamic changes in the environment (Climate Change) and (re)produce the blueprint provided by generations of land-based knowledges. Children innovate and build upon the knowledge and cosmovision their families provide. This innovation and respect for continuing their cosmovision—continuing the struggle for the good life—and their desire to remain connected to place cultivates the multiple futurities possible for future generations of *Paru Paruq runan*.

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