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WEAVING IN PUBLIC SPACES: PERUVIAN INDIGENOUS
WOMEN IN SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP VENTURES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this multi-case study was to examine and describe the experiences of two groups of indigenous women weavers that participate in two craft-related social entrepreneurship projects in the Southern Peruvian highlands. In particular, the perceptions of the participants with regards to the impact the ventures have had in their lives were explored. Using a qualitative multi-case study methodology, the study explored three dimensions of the women's lives: their individual life, their family life and their community life. To add depth to the study and gain a better understanding of how women's possible shifts in their gendered roles may affect their community roles and the community at large, the perspectives of community leaders and other community members were sought out as well.

The findings suggest that differences in project implementation and entrepreneurial motivation have led to differences in the level of personal satisfaction the women derive from their respective weaving associations. Findings also suggest that social entrepreneurship projects have a potential to increase human capability and start disadvantaged populations on a path of personal empowerment. In addition, findings suggest that cultural context and social inequities present in that context need to be understood and addressed to achieve long-term sustainability.

The study has implications for social development projects. Understanding the importance of implementation processes, including program monitoring and evaluation, as well as a readiness to respond to unintended project consequences is emphasized.

To Brent

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This multi-case study examines and describes the experiences of two groups of indigenous women weavers that participate in two craft-related social entrepreneurship projects in the southern Peruvian highlands. Social entrepreneurship has gained visibility in recent years as an innovative bottom-up approach to deal with complex social issues and foster socio-economic development. This approach introduces new tools to address unmet social needs, and has been argued to help promote a more equitable society by creating opportunities for disadvantaged groups to participate in labor markets. Furthermore, the innovations put forward by social entrepreneurs complement the services delivered by the public and private sectors, and aid in achieving the objectives of most economic development policies (OECD, 2011).

This approach seems appropriate to address the rural development problems that Peruvian indigenous peoples confront. About 73% of indigenous Quechua and Aymara communities, more than 5 million people, live below the poverty line in the Southern highlands of Peru (RuralPovertyPortal.org). In addition, indigenous peoples suffer from a historical exclusion from the country's socio-economic development agenda. The country is rooted in a dichotomous view, where indigenous is associated with poverty and illiteracy, and non-indigenous with urban manners, economic success and education. *Mestizaje*, presupposes the cultural passage from rural to urban, from Quechua to Spanish, from illiterate to literate, from poverty to affluence and thus, from Indian to non-Indian (de la Cadena, 2000). Therefore, in order to access social mobility, indigenous peoples are asked to renounce their way of life.

Indian peasants live in such a primitive way that communication is practically impossible. It is only when they move to the cities that they have the opportunity to mingle with the other Peru. Through a renunciation of their beliefs, traditions and customs, and the adoption of the culture of their ancient masters they become mestizos. They are no longer Indians. (Mario Vargas Llosa, 1990, p. 52)

Indigenous communities in poverty confront large rural development issues, such as high rates of illiteracy and a lack of essential services such as education and electrical power. Indigenous women are particularly excluded as they have restricted social mobility due to communal rules, and there are gender specific roles with which they are expected to comply. In this multi-case study, I examine what kinds of new roles and opportunities may have emerged, both in the private and public spheres, as a result of their participation in selected social entrepreneurship projects. The cases examined provide an interesting setting to study the impact of social entrepreneurship projects from the perspective of the participants, which rarely has been done in the social entrepreneurship literature.

This chapter begins with an overview of the context and background that frames the study. Then, the problem statement, statement of purpose, and accompanying research questions are presented. A description of the research approach, the researcher, and the proposed rationale and significance of this study then follow, and the chapter concludes with an overview of the remaining chapters.

Background and Context

Peru is located on the upper west coast of South America and has a population of nearly thirty million people. The ethnic composition of the country is 45% Indigenous, 37% Mestizos, 15% Criollo (White), 3% Black, and citizens from Japanese and Chinese heritage making up a significant proportion of the rest of the population (INEI, 2012). Peru is divided by the Andes Mountains into three distinct zones – Coast, Highlands, and the Amazon. Prior to the 1990s, Peru's governmental power was centralized in Lima (Peru's capital city). However, in an effort to decentralize power, Peru is now divided into twenty-five different regions with autonomous governments. These are further divided into provincial governments and district governments.

The official languages of the country are Spanish and Quechua, but the existence of Aymara and over thirty other minor Amazonian languages is also recognized (INEI, 2012).

After many years of military coups and political instability, Peru maintained a democratic elected government since 1980 with a lapse between 1992 and 1993 when then democratic elected president Alberto Fujimori suspended Congress. Peru also adopted a neo-liberal approach to its economic development, focusing on the annual growth of income per capita. It has been considered an emerging economy with a stable economic growth since early 2000 (World Bank, 2015). However, there has been little or no improvement to the economic or social circumstances of indigenous people in Peru during this period of progress. For instance, the incidence of poverty remains high in the country, and it is particularly severe among the indigenous population; with 43% of all poor households being indigenous. This indigenous population also suffers from lower education and a greater incidence of disease and discrimination than other groups (INEI, 2015).

Historically, development policy for indigenous peoples in Peru has been based on the underlying belief that (1) 'Indian' and 'national citizen' are incompatible or even mutually exclusive categories and (2) indigenous peoples are a homogenous category who have not encountered or been affected by modernity, globalization, and the forces of international capital. These beliefs have led to paternalistic development policies and projects aimed at 'fixing' or 'eliminating' indigenusness. This underlying belief has informed development projects enacted by the Peruvian government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international agencies alike. Thus, 'development' for indigenous peoples comes at a very high price: in exchange for access to opportunities and social mobility, indigenous peoples have to renounce their cultural heritage. Until they do so, they are second category citizens. Resistance to this kind of ideology

on the part of indigenous peoples is often deemed as ignorance and backwardness. The following episode portrays this clearly.

In April 2009, a group of indigenous peoples blocked a main road in the Peruvian Amazon in protest of the illegal concession of their lands by the state to foreign investors for the purposes of development. When asked on national television to comment on the social unrest that the disposition of these lands was causing, the President of Peru responded: *“Who do these people think they are? They are second category citizens, they have no right to demand anything”* (April 9, 2009 America TV, author’s translation). He then went on to characterize such protests as a result of ignorance, conducted by people who do not know what is good for the development of the country.

The promised ‘trickle down’ process that the economic growth model to development promises has not happened. This is particularly true for indigenous peoples who occupy a marginal space – second-class citizens – in Peru’s economic development agenda. In Peru being indigenous increases an individual’s probability of being poor. Being an indigenous woman increases the chances of poverty even more. Indigenous women are less likely to speak Spanish, their illiteracy rate is almost three times that of other Peruvian women, and they can only find work in the informal job market, most often as domestic workers or selling food and small crafts in street markets (INEI, 2012).

There are other development actors in Peru who have engaged in activities more consistent with a human development approach to increase the economic and political participation of indigenous peoples. Sen (1985, 1999) defines this approach as a process of enlarging people’s choices and enhancing human capabilities (the range of things people can be and do) and freedoms. In this approach people are conceived not only as beneficiaries of

development but also as active participants of the development process. Actors, interested in building capabilities, including church groups, non-governmental organizations (NGO) and social entrepreneurs, have been conducting groundwork to promote participation and economic empowerment amongst indigenous peoples. Social entrepreneurship has been one approach that is attracting considerable attention as a bottom-up approach that can empower communities to be active participants in their own development process. Social entrepreneurship is a term that generally refers to the transference and application of tools and performances that are characteristic of the traditional business entrepreneur to non-profit ventures. While the traditional business entrepreneur is driven by the economic value of the opportunities he/she exploits, the social entrepreneur exploits opportunities to generate social value in order to respond to social needs and to make positive social changes (Alvord, Brown and Letts, 2004; Austin and Wei-Skillem, 2006; Brinckerhoff, 2000).

The goal of the social entrepreneurship projects I examine in this study is to enhance the economic empowerment of indigenous women through the sale of hand-made traditional weavings. Although weaving is a traditional female occupation in this community, commercialization of the product is not; commercialization is traditionally left to the male relatives of the weaver. Yet, these social entrepreneurship projects have managed to merge the two – manufacture and sale of the products are the responsibility of the weaving group. This practice, unintentionally, has altered the traditional division of labor and has moved indigenous women's weaving from a private to a public sphere. These projects consequently provide a useful setting to examine the strengths and limitations of social entrepreneurship projects within a specific cultural context.

Problem Statement

The concept of social entrepreneurship has been rapidly emerging in the private, public and non-profit sectors and is commonly promoted both in academia and the popular media as an innovative approach for dealing with complex social needs in order to contribute to socio-economic development. Despite attracting growing amounts of talent, money and attention, social entrepreneurship is criticized for lacking focus and being poorly defined (Light, 2008). Furthermore, the case studies found in the literature, are often written from the perspective of the social entrepreneur or by advocates of this approach. We hear about the drive and passion that this individual brings to the project, but we rarely hear about the impacts these projects have on the project participants, their families and their communities. The value of social entrepreneurship projects from these perspectives is largely untested.

Statement of Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this multi-case study was to explore the perceptions of two groups of indigenous women weavers with regards to the impact that participation in craft-related social entrepreneurship ventures has had on their lives.

To shed light on the issue, the following research question was addressed:

How have handicraft-related social entrepreneurship projects performed by indigenous women influenced their traditional roles within their family and community life?

Objectives

1. To examine the personal experiences of indigenous women's participation in social entrepreneurship projects
2. To examine the impact of social entrepreneurship on the traditional role indigenous women assume in their home lives

3. To examine the extent to which indigenous women's roles and opportunities may have changed within their community life since participating in these projects

Research Approach

This study is a qualitative, instrumental multiple case study that was conducted in an indigenous community in Southern Cusco, Peru. This community is a midsized indigenous community located within a three-hour bus ride from the city of Cusco. The primary way of access to the community is by foot. The researcher conducted a pilot study from May to August of 2006 in this community, which led to the current study. Data for the current study was collected from January to April of 2009. The two cases examined in this study were the *Paya Lliklla* weaving association and the *Munay Wasi* weaving association.

In-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection. Interviews were conducted with ten members of the *Paya Lliklla* weaving association, eight members of the *Munay Wasi* weaving association, sixteen auxiliary interviews with family members of the weavers and community leaders, and four interviews with NGO workers for a total of thirty-eight participants. The interview process began with four interviewees selected through a purposeful sampling method and thirty subsequent snowball-sampling interviews. The remaining four interviews were with NGO workers who were selected as key informants given their involvement with the weaving projects. Twenty-eight interviews were conducted in Quechua, six interviews were in a mix of Quechua and Spanish, and four interviews were in Spanish. Each interviewee was identified by a pseudonym and all interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim in the original language in which they were collected.

In addition, participant observation and document review were used as secondary methods of data collection. Participant observation occurred in settings such as the weekly

weaving association meetings, community assemblies, and community festivities. Field note journals were kept throughout the duration of the fieldwork.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim in the original language in which they were collected and organized in a common format. Then, using an inductive method of analysis, coding categories were developed from the emanating themes in the data. Field note journals were also used as data to add depth to the analysis. Triangulation was achieved by conducting in-depth interviews, participant observation and document review, as well as by interviewing various groups of people. In addition, member check was conducted in August 2010 in a meeting with each of the weaving groups.

The Researcher

I am Peruvian native who was born in Lima but left my country at the age of eleven. I went back to Peru for a visit for the first time twelve years after immigrating. During this trip I rediscovered the beauty of the country and also became acutely aware of the level of poverty and disenfranchisement that some groups of people were subjected to, particularly indigenous communities in the highlands. Thus, when I began my doctoral program I knew I wanted to focus my dissertation research efforts in working with indigenous communities in some way, particularly with women. This led me to seek out courses that would help me prepare for this endeavor by learning about the region and learning Quechua. These courses alongside my social work and research training have been invaluable in conducting this study. It was through my Quechua studies that I met the community where this study takes place. I spent a weekend at the community along with several other students practicing conversational Quechua. During this stay I learned about the community organization, economic development challenges, and the lack of social services. It was also the first time I became acquainted with Paya Lliklla, the only weaving group in the community at the time. This experience plus my desire to learn about indigenous

peoples is what led me to go back to this community for research purposes. I continued studying Quechua for a total of four-years of training that proved invaluable for the data collection process. Since my first interaction with the community, I've gone back four more times between 2006 and 2010. I've learned a lot about this community and have had the opportunity to meet wonderful people.

Rationale and Significance

The rationale for this study emanates from my desire to better understand the strengths and weaknesses of the social entrepreneurship approach within a particular cultural context. In this case, the focus is upon a group that has been historically excluded from the social and economic life of the country. By telling the story from the perspective of people who have actually participated in these projects, this study will contribute to a better understanding of the impact these projects have on their lives and their communities. Furthermore, this study will provide a case study analysis of a social entrepreneurship project in a developing country, and contribute to understanding the ways in which different projects can help alleviate poverty and address citizenship issues.

Dissertation Organization

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will review the literature that informed this study. It includes a summary of development approaches, as well as a synthesis of research findings related to social entrepreneurship and insights into women and development. Chapter 3 presents the research questions for the study, and the methods used to address these questions. Chapters 4 and 5 analyze the findings of the interviews and field notes, with each chapter corresponding to a case. Chapter 6 then discusses these study findings and the implications for social development projects and the social work profession.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This literature review explores the interconnectedness of socio-economic development trends in Latin America with the current challenges and opportunities for the sustainable development of disadvantaged populations. In light of this, two major areas of literature were reviewed: (a) development approaches, including the place of women in the development agenda and (b) social entrepreneurship. A review of the literature on development approaches provides an understanding of the context, history and structure under which countries such as Peru have attained a certain level of socio-economic development, yet have left behind a substantial segment of its population. The literature on social entrepreneurship is reviewed to introduce a popular bottom-up approach to development and to provide a context for understanding the two cases presented in this dissertation.

Development Approaches

Over the last two decades, development strategies in Latin America have been defined by multilateral efforts to promote neoliberal economic reform and global market integration. Broadly speaking, the central principle of neoliberal ideology is the belief in the efficiency and fairness of free markets. Policies derived from this ideology aim to reduce government intervention, open more free markets, produce incentives for entrepreneurial behavior, and move economic power to the private sector (Harvey, 2005).

The global economic crisis of the 1980s made the neoliberal push for policies to free markets and eliminate government interventions more appealing. At the same time, International Financial Institutions (IFIs), such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), came to a consensus that the only way to stop

the shrinking of Latin American economies and bring stabilization was to apply a set of neoliberal reforms, which became known as the Washington Consensus (Afshar & Dennis, 1992).

The policy advice dispensed by the IFIs set the basis for neoliberal reforms throughout Latin America. These reforms were aimed at halting further shrinking and stabilizing the Latin American economy by addressing macro-economic distortions and developing sustainable growth (Escobar, 1995; Hoffman & Centeno, 2003). The debt crisis in which Latin American countries were submerged, gave the IFIs the opportunity to condition further aid on the implementation of their advice (Summerfield, 1997), thus making compliance to some degree mandatory. The key structural adjustment reforms implemented were: “fiscal discipline, public expenditures priorities, tax reform, financial liberalization, unified exchange rates, trade liberalization, foreign direct investment, privatization, deregulation, and respect for property rights” (Smith, O’Bannon, Ollian, Sims & Scully, 1994, p. 27). These reforms were designed to reduce government expenditures and increase the power of market forces. Thus, policies that stemmed from these involved a shift toward an individual market-oriented system with less government intervention and a reduction in the expenditure of welfare programs (Afshar & Dennis, 1992; Beneria, 1996; Elson, 1992a; Feldman, 1992).

While these structural adjustment policies worked well for reducing inflation and increasing capital flows, they also implied state cutbacks on social services such as nutrition, health, and education (Afshar & Dennis, 1992; Aslanbeigui, Presman, & Summerfield, 1994; Barrig, 1996; Beneria, 1996). This resulted in a virtual retreat of the State as the principal provider in meeting the needs of poor households. Most critics of neoliberal reforms concede that these policies lead to economic growth, but they argue that it does not have the “trickle

down” effect that reformers assure; on the contrary, wealth accumulates in the hands of the rich. This is evidenced by the fact that while the wealthiest 20% of the population in Peru is receiving 60% of all income, the poorest 20% account for only 3% of all income (INEI 2012).

The retreat of the state from providing basic services to the poor also resulted in an unprecedented increase in registered non-governmental organizations in Latin America (NGOs). For NGOs, opening up markets and decentralizing power meant that many could access a direct relationship with international donors, as the money could now be allocated directly with no need to go through state bureaucracies. Thus, this opened doors for grassroots organizations and NGOs to emerge. This shift was seen as a way of making development more efficient as well as a way of strengthening and empowering civil society. In this way, the responsibility for development programs was shifted from the State to civil society, meaning that civil society was now responsible for meeting unmet needs of disadvantaged populations.

Growth and human development. The growth model is highly associated with neoliberal policies. In the growth model, economic developers are primarily concerned with GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth as the measure of a country’s progress toward development (Summerfield, 1997). Supporters of the growth model often see the ‘underdeveloped’ as passive recipients of development policies, and assume that as long as the economy grows the benefits will “trickle down” to everyone. Thus, in their view “one size fits all” and there are no considerations to account for specific conditions within a country or region, such as class, race, and gender relations (Aslanbeigui, Presman & Summerfield, 1994; Babb, 1989; Barrig, 1989). Critics have termed this model a “people-less” model, as there is mounting evidence that the expected “trickle-down” effect has not occurred and proponents have no real indicators of how these policies affect people’s everyday lives.

The Human Development Approach, initially proposed by Amartya Sen in the 1970s, arose with force in the late 1980s in part as a result of growing criticism to the neoliberal development approach. This approach presumed a close link between national economic growth and the expansion of individual human choices (UNDP, 1990). It provides a people-centered vision of development. In *Development as Freedom* (1999), Sen defines this approach as a process of enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities and freedoms, so that the range of things people can be and do is increased. In this view people are conceived not only as beneficiaries of development but also as active participants of the development process. Furthermore, the approach emphasizes that the real wealth of a country is in its people, and therefore growth should translate into opportunities for people to develop their capabilities and achieve well-being (Sen, 1999; Summerfield, 1997; UNDP, 1990).

In order to measure the human development attained by each country in the world, the human development index was created. This index includes over 200 indicators that are measured each year, and the results are published yearly by the United Nations in its Human Development Report. This report focuses on four important capabilities: to lead a long and healthy life; to be knowledgeable; to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living; and to participate in the life of the community (UNDP, 2004).

Many economists argue that economic growth is a good indicator of human well-being and is true that economic growth provides the means to achieve human development. However, development outcomes are not solely dependent on growth, but also on how those resources are utilized. Therefore the measurement of indicators such as access to resources, opportunity to participate in social and political life, and gender equality amongst others, is essential to promote a better quality of life for all (Summerfield, 1997).

Capability approach. Amartya Sen provides the conceptual basis for this model to development. He defines individual well-being as achievement of valuable functionings. He explains that achieved functionings are dependent on a person's capabilities and thus distinguishes between a functioning, which "is an achievement, whereas a capability is an ability to achieve" (Sen, 1985, p. 36). Ultimately, he claims, a just society has to center on a person's freedom to achieve valuable functionings, "what life we lead and what we can do and cannot do, can and cannot be" (Sen, 1985, p.16).

Martha Nussbaum, a contemporary philosopher, builds on Sen's work. She uses the concept of human dignity as the foundation for her capabilities perspective. For Nussbaum, human dignity is the basis of the political claim of each person to have the chance to achieve his or her well-being. Nussbaum argues that a person should never lose her or his individuality by being considered only as part of a group or as a means to an end. She claims that it is "profoundly wrong to subordinate the ends of some individuals to those of others" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.234). She also expands on the set of 'central capabilities' essential for a person to achieve well-being. The list of central capabilities that she proposes include the following: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions, practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2000, p.70-80). She argues that her list provides a "threshold level," a level, which "all citizens have a right to demand from their governments" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.12). While Nussbaum asserts that her set of central capabilities is composed of universal values, she also attempts to remain ethno-culturally sensitive. She views her list as "facilitative rather than tyrannical" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.59-60). She assumes that her central capabilities "can be more concretely specified in accordance with local beliefs and circumstances" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.235).

Nussbaum also explores the issues of oppression in her capability framework. She recognizes that societal barriers restrict self-determination, especially for disadvantaged communities. Working in the area of women and development, Nussbaum focuses on women's oppression. She argues that while women may have the legal right on paper to an education "it requires being in material position to exercise those rights" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.231). Nussbaum further argues that even if women have the financial and material resources they may live in a repressive marriage or in a society of traditional values in which they would likely be prevented from making "true choices." She argues that in countries where women encounter societal barriers from traditional hierarchies or prejudices, more resources are required, for example, to educate women than men. One of the main contributions to the capability approach combating the oppression of women is that, from the start, it takes a stand against viewing women as primarily the agents or adjuncts of men. In other words, the capability approach sees women as deserving to achieve well-being in their own right, and not merely as a means to guarantee the well-being of others.

Women and development. Women are usually not a specific focus of development programs. Rather, development policies often address the needs of poor women entirely in the context of their roles as wives and mothers. Until the early 1970s, the focus of development policies toward poor women in the developing world, known as the 'welfare' approach, was on maternal and child health, childcare, and nutrition (Moser, 1999). It was assumed that the benefits on macroeconomic strategies oriented towards growth would trickle down to the poor, and that poor women would benefit as the economic position of their husbands improved. Then, in the early 1970s, women's movements questioned the invisibility of women's contributions to economic development.

Ester Boserup's (1970) book *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, in which she investigated the impact of development projects on women from the developing world, became a path breaker in the field of women and development (Benería, 1982; Sen & Grown, 1987). Boserup uses examples of the impact of development policies in Africa and Southeast Asia to systematically challenge the assumptions made by development theorists that women would benefit from the improvement in their husband's economic positions. She observed that in agricultural economies women have an important role in the growth of subsistence crops to feed their families, and thus are a status provider within the family. With the implementation of development projects however, preference was given to cash crops and the utilization of new agricultural technologies, which were thought to be signs of modern society. Yet these new technologies were made available only to men, who were thought to be superior farmers to women. Moreover, these policies promoted land ownership in many places where women could not legally own land. Thus, women lost status as providers at home. Furthermore, because no modern technology was introduced to aid in growing subsistence crops, this activity became associated with the backward and the traditional. In comparison, men and their cash crops were increasingly associated with the modern and progressive (Tinker, 1990). Boserup's work is also credited with documenting the existence of a gendered division of labor across nations, and with showing that women's labor was not reported in official records.

Based on Boserup's findings and the work of women's movements, two consecutive views emerged to try to explain – and remedy – women's position in the development process: (a) the women in development (WID) view and (b) the gender and development (GAD) view. Women activists in Western countries organized the WID approach, which had the main priority of bringing women into the development process so that they could benefit from it (Tinker,

1990). The perspective of WID was that women were excluded from the development process because policy makers had ignored the important contributions they made to their household's welfare. Women's unpaid labor provided in domestic chores, communal projects, agricultural labor, and participation in grassroots organizations made them invisible, and their activities were considered merely an extension of their domestic responsibilities. Given this appraisal, the solution was to integrate women into the development process by engaging them in paid 'real' jobs (Prugl, 1999; Velazco & Olivera, 1999). WID proponents argued that women were underused assets in the development effort and that their increased economic activity would lead to increased gender equity. This became known as the "gender efficiency approach," which stressed the idea that the primary role of development assistance should be to eliminate gender inequalities.

The WID approach is credited with bringing a shift in development thinking that no longer saw women only as mothers, and thus ensured the visibility of women's contributions to the development process (Moser, 1999). However, this perspective was wedded to notions of modernization and efficiency, and therefore rarely addressed fundamental questions about women's subordination (Merchant & Parpart, 1995; Moser, 1993; Tinker, 1990). Furthermore, the WID approach generally ignored the impact of global inequities on women in the developing world and the importance of race and class in women's lives. The GAD approach emerged to address this gap. This approach was influenced by grass roots organizers, the writings of developing world women and the research conducted on issues of women subordination within the development process at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex in England (Young, 1993; Sen & Grown, 1987; Moser, 1999; Elson, 1992b).

GAD proponents placed gender relations, and not only women's conditions of incorporation into the development process, at the heart of this new perspective. Women had been incorporated into the workforce in conditions inferior to those associated with men's employment. For example, women's participation in paid employment in the Third World is often limited to part-time, informal sector, and home based work. Their viewpoint was that women were already integrated into the development process but development projects neglected women's different needs and barriers, and overexploited their unpaid labor. The solution therefore was a reassessment of women's contributions to the development process, and a more equitable redistribution of the benefits and burdens of this process (Young, 1993). The GAD approach stressed several key positions: (a) the focus on women alone was inadequate for understanding possibilities for change or opportunities for agency; (b) women cannot be approached as a homogenous and frozen category, the analysis should emphasize a specific context – including issues of class, race and ethnicity, as well as a historical approach; and (c) any analysis of social organization and social processes has to take into account the complex dynamics of gender relations, and that women are not passive, or marginal, but rather active subjects of social processes (Young, 1993). Thus, the basic difficulty from the GAD perspective was not women's integration into the development process, invisibility of their activities, lack of training or education, inaccessibility to monetary sources, or low self-esteem. Rather, oppressive structures and processes that have given rise to women's disadvantages in particular contexts were considered more fundamental (Young, 1993).

The WID and GAD approaches may be understood as “successive efforts that responded to changes in international systems and policy environment” (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). WID provided the groundwork upon which GAD continued to build; and GAD broached the

WID framework by looking at women in specific contexts of gender relations, as well as in cultural, racial, and ethnic contexts.

Peruvian development. Peru adopted structural adjustment reforms in the 1990s. As a result, economic growth as measured through Gross Domestic Product (GDP) indices grew in the short run and gradually over time, fueled by foreign direct investment and privatization. However, within Peruvian society income inequality increased, shifting sections of the former middle class into the category of poor as the sweeping application of privatization, deregulation and market oriented policies did not factor in “distributive justice” into the framework (Beneria, 1996). Many of those who joined the ranks of the poor were women and children. Women were ultimately carrying much of the burden of the economic crisis (Safa, 1990; Barrig, 1989). The economic social costs shifted from the public sphere to the domestic one, with the bulk of the burden falling on the unpaid labor of women in households and community organizations (Elson, 1992b; Beneria, 1996). Grassroots organizations such as “*Comedores Populares*” and “*Vaso de Leche*” emerged in response to the food insecurity that people were confronting. Indigenous groups are another segment of the population that suffered greatly from these reforms. Historically excluded from the conversation, many were displaced as their lands were given in concession for purposes of development.

About half of the population of Peru identifies as indigenous or of indigenous descent. 63% of indigenous people live in poverty and 22% are in extreme poverty, as compared to 43% of the non-indigenous being in poverty and 9.5% in extreme poverty (Hall, Gillette & Patrinos, 2006). Indigenous peoples’ poverty is due in part to their historic exclusion from the economic life of the country. Due to this exclusion, indigenous peoples continue to have low endowments of human capital; limited access to productive land, basic services, financial and product

markets; and poor infrastructure. Their main resources are labor and the set of social relations and institutions that they have come to develop over time.

Indigenous peoples are also relegated primarily to economic opportunities in the informal sector, or to self-employment. They often rely on their social networks to set-up these opportunities. Some scholars argue that attempts to address the disadvantaged situations of poor and excluded groups through promoting participation, institutional engagement, and the formation of social capital, cannot work without a deeper consideration of the structural disadvantages of the poor and the constraints of agency. These structural disadvantages include their lack of access to basic services such as good nutrition, health care, and a quality education. Furthermore, most indigenous peoples have to choose between their communities and traditions and social mobility. In the case of indigenous women, social mobility is further restricted by gender norms that are imposed in their communities.

Social Entrepreneurship

Bornstein (2004) defines social entrepreneurs as

transformative forces: people with new ideas to address major problems, who are relentless in their pursuit of their vision, people who simply will not take no for an answer and who will not give up until they spread their ideas as far as they possibly can. (p. 10)

Social entrepreneurs are not a new phenomenon. For example, historic figures such as Florence Nightingale who pioneered modern nursing, and contemporary figures such as Mohammad Yunus, who inspired a micro-credit movement that has spread around the world, attest to their existence prior to the term social entrepreneur being in vogue.

In the last 15 years, social entrepreneurs have attracted the attention of politicians, business people, academic institutions, and worldwide organizations (Cook, Dodds & Mitchell, 2003; Bornstein, 2004; Roberts & Wood, 2005). As with any change-oriented activity, social

entrepreneurship has not evolved in isolation. Rather, it has evolved within a complex framework of political, economic, and social changes occurring at the global, national, and local levels. One change that has had a significant impact has been the global shift away from a social welfare state approach to development, towards a neoliberal approach with an emphasis on market forces as primary mechanisms for the distribution of resources. Although the impacts of this shift are often discussed in economic terms, they also have significant implications for social change initiatives (Reis 1999). Thus, at a time when economic reforms have downsized the role of the State in welfare provision in developing and developed countries alike, the social entrepreneur's ability to 'do more with less' and to be creative and innovative in coming up with real world problem-solving ideas have led many to give further thought to the effects a social entrepreneur could have in society (Bornstein, 2004).

This term, developed in the United States, generally refers to the idea that a social entrepreneur transfers and applies the tools and performances that are characteristic for the traditional business entrepreneur to the non-profit organization. While the traditional business entrepreneur is driven by the economic value of the opportunities he/she exploits, the social entrepreneur exploits opportunities to generate social value in order to respond to social needs and to make positive social changes. The profit that is made by the social entrepreneur is reinvested in the social endeavor in contrast to the business entrepreneur whose surplus is distributed either to shareholders and/or owners (Alvord, Brown & Letts, 2004; Austin & Weis Skillem, 2006; Brinckerhoff, 2000).

Social entrepreneurship as an area of academic study is a relatively new field. In the literature we find a myriad of definitions (Dees, 1998; Mair and Martí, 2006). The fact is that in both developing and developed countries, there is a range of initiatives that could fit the social

entrepreneurship category (Bornstein, 1998; Fowler, 2000; Seelos and Mair 2005a, 2005b) and this makes the task of agreeing on a single definition difficult (Dees, 1998; Mair & Martí, 2006). In addition, there are a variety of terms that have emerged to refer to social entrepreneurship ventures around the world including: social enterprise, social firms, social cooperatives, community business, integrations firms, solidarity firms, social-employment firms, third-sector social economy, and responsible tourism (Ducci, Stentella & Vulterini, 2002; Caplan, 2010). Abogabir (2004) argues that while an “agreed upon” definition might be desirable, by narrowing down the field to a single definition, we run the risk of limiting the set of issues and problems where the definition would apply.

There are nevertheless key definitions that have emerged in the literature. One of the most cited definitions in the literature is that of Gregory Dees. He defines social entrepreneurs as people who play the role of change agents in the social sector by: 1) adopting a mission to create and sustain social value, 2) recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission, 3) engaging in a process of continuous innovation, 4) adaptation and learning, 5) acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and 6) exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (Dees, 2001:4).

What we know today about social entrepreneurs comes primarily from anecdotal evidence (Drayton 2002) and in the form of case studies. This qualitative research serves as a basis to document the work of social entrepreneurs and the ways in which they are fulfilling a gap in service provision and even changing systems to better meet the needs of the underserved. Research to date also has provided a snapshot of what may be the limits to what can be solved by this sector alone, and it has opened a debate as to what roles the public and private sectors should play in the future. Anderson (2014) has argued that the success of a social entrepreneurship

venture is dependent on how well a program is implemented. Therefore, attention needs to be paid to applying sound business principles in planning and monitoring programs. In addition, program evaluation is essential to assess the continued sustainability of a program. Without doubt, social entrepreneurs have emerged as significant players within areas where neither the public nor private sector can reach, or have the competencies or inclinations to do so.

The developing world in particular is home to a large number of social entrepreneurship initiatives (Bornstein, 2004). This is not surprising given the challenging social problems faced by people in these countries. Bornstein (2004) also points out that some social entrepreneurs prefer to work in developing countries because it is more cost beneficial, there are less regulations, and they are able to accomplish more with very limited funding. Developing social entrepreneurship ventures in the developing world however, can also post significant implementation challenges. Azmat and Samaratunge (2009) have found that a challenge for social entrepreneurship in the developing world is that the majority of the small-scale individual entrepreneurs are motivated by survival reasons rather than being classic entrepreneurs driven by challenge and independence. Also, small-scale entrepreneurs tend to be more isolated and disconnected from the local community (Currant et al, 2000; Perrini, 2006; Azmat and Samaratunge, 2009).

Despite the challenges, social entrepreneurs in the developing world seem to be discovering unique, bottom-up solutions within a local context and thereby contributing to social, human and economic development. Ganly, Mair, and Seelos (2006) analyzed 73 social entrepreneurship initiatives worldwide, and found that 60% are operating in the countries with the lowest levels of human development where social impact is most needed and can have the greatest effects. More recently, as the United Nations moves to renew their Millenium

Development Goals to be called the Sustainable Development Goals, social entrepreneurs have been highlighted as key players in developing, implementing and achieving the sustainability of development projects.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of this multi-case study was to explore and describe the experiences of two groups of Peruvian indigenous women who participate in handicraft social entrepreneurship projects. Using qualitative methods, this study examined the perceptions of these indigenous women with regards to the consequences (intended or otherwise) that these projects have had in their lives. The study explored three dimensions of the women's lives: their individual life, their family life and their community life. To add depth to the study and gain a better understanding of how women's possible shifts in their gendered roles may affect their community roles and the community at large, the perspectives of community leaders and other community members were sought out as well.

In seeking to understand this phenomenon, the study addressed the following research question: How have handicraft-related social entrepreneurship projects performed by indigenous women influenced their traditional roles within their family and community life? There were three specific objectives that this question addressed: (1) to examine the personal experiences of indigenous women's participation in social entrepreneurship projects; (2) to examine the impact of social entrepreneurship on the traditional roles indigenous women assume in their home lives; (3) to examine the extent to which indigenous women's roles and opportunities may have changed within their community life since participating in these projects.

The social entrepreneurship projects selected provide a unique opportunity to explore these questions. While weaving is a traditional female occupation in this community, commercialization of the product is not. Commercialization of the product is traditionally left to the male relatives of the weaver. Yet, these social entrepreneurship projects have managed to

merge the two – manufacture and sales of the products are the responsibility of the weaving group. This alters the traditional division of labor and moves women's weaving from a private to a public sphere. Thus, it provides the setting to explore what could constitute a major change in the way women view their roles within their families and communities.

This chapter describes the study's research methodology and includes discussions around the following areas: (a) rationale for the research approach, (b) description of the research sample, (c) methods of data collection, (d) analysis and synthesis of data, (e) ethical considerations, and (f) issues of trustworthiness. The chapter culminates with a brief concluding summary.

Rationale for Research Approach

This research design constitutes a qualitative, instrumental, multiple case study approach. An instrumental case study allows us to gain insight into a particular issue using in-depth scrutiny of the context and details of activities particular to the specific case (Stake, 2005). A case study allows us to examine an existing phenomenon within its real live context, especially when the researcher has little or no control over behavioral events (Yin, 2009). Merriam (1998) describes case study design in the following manner:

A case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. Insights gleaned from case studies can directly influence policy, practice, and future research. (p. 19)

A multiple case study is the instrumental study of more than one case. The cases are chosen because it is believed that understanding them will farther enhance our understanding of a particular issue (Stake, 2005). Furthermore, the evidence of multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust (Herriot & Firestone 1983). There is scant research on the impact of social entrepreneurship projects on the

lives of indigenous women, thus the two cases selected for this dissertation research offered a unique setting to study this phenomenon. An instrumental, multiple case study approach provided the means to illustrate the impact of social entrepreneurship projects in the personal, family and community lives of the participants from their perspectives.

The Research Sample

In this section a description of the setting where the study took place is presented. Following this the two cases examined in this study are described. Lastly, the sampling procedures are presented.

Setting

There is no official census information regarding the demographics of the community or any official written records. Therefore, the information presented below stems from data that the researcher gathered in 2006 while conducting a pilot research study, and updated in 2009 while doing fieldwork for the study presented here. These data were primarily collected through interviews, participant observation, and a review of informal records kept by an elderly man in the community on matters such as births, migration, and deaths. It is important to note that his record-keeping did not include children under the age of four due to high mortality rates.

Rakhi sits on top of a hill in Southern Cusco. It takes a three-hour bus ride from the city to get to Cheqa, the district where Rakhi is located. Then one can wait anywhere from thirty minutes to two hours for one of the only two small '*convis*' (mini-bus) that make the trip to the edge of the community (a thirty-minute bumpy ride on a dirt road) and then walk another twenty minutes to the entrance of the community. Alternatively, one can walk the 6.75 Km to the community in approximately two hours. The researcher often chose the latter. Being a rural area, it is a beautiful and peaceful walk where the mountains, the trees and the river surround you. Cheqa's plaza (main square), where the walk begins, is home to the mayor's office and police

station, a small health post, a couple of convenience stores and a historic Catholic Church built in the XVII century. Adjacent to the Church is the priest's house and across from his house is the home of three nuns who work in the area. In addition, one can find a few market vendors every morning offering fruit and breads. Saturdays is market day at the plaza and people who come down from their communities to exchange or sell products populate the area. People anxiously anticipate this time at the market since it is also a time to socialize with friends and relatives.

Within fifteen minutes of beginning the walk from Cheqa to Rakhi, one is left with the trees, the river, the dirt road and a few houses along the way. Depending on the time of the day one will walk alongside peasants taking their animals (sheep, cows, llamas, etc.) to pasture or bringing them back home, children going to or coming from school, and the 'teacher's bus', a '*convi*' that drives teachers to and from the communities' schools every day. There are several communities along the way but they are all located on tops of hills, which take up to three hours to hike before you see any sign of a community. Once one arrives to Rakhi, the first thing one sees is their plaza (main square) which is home to the kindergarten and elementary school, the community center, and a *Vaso de Leche* building built by a NGO in 2003, according to a sign on the building. *Vaso de Leche* is a popular governmental program that provides fortified milk (one glass per day) to poor children under the age of six, pregnant women and women who are breastfeeding. In this building powdered milk with added nutrients is prepared every day for children who are enrolled in the program. The mothers of the school children take turns preparing this milk. A glass of milk per child is usually distributed during school hours.

The total population in the community is estimated to be 750; of these 450 are considered adults, approximately 300 are school-age children, and there is roughly the same amount of male and females. In the community children ages four to twelve are considered school-age children.

After the age of twelve it is up to the parents whether they want their child to attend secondary education. At the age of sixteen individuals in the community are considered adults. With the exception of those who migrate to work in the city, most young people are married by the age of sixteen.

The primary language spoken in the community is Quechua, and only a handful of residents are considered bilingual (Quechua-Spanish); most of those who are fluent in Spanish are high school students. It is interesting to note that within a few years of dropping or finishing high school these young people, especially if they stay in the community, report not speaking Spanish at all. The other group likely to speak Spanish to some degree is those who migrated to Lima city for long periods of time to work.

Formal education offered on site is limited. There is a kindergarten and elementary school in the community. The elementary school serves students up to the fourth grade. The building only has two classrooms; therefore, there are two grade groups per classroom (i.e. 1st and 2nd grade share a room). Often, the school is only open for half a day, 3 days a week. The teachers assigned to the school are not local teachers, but rather come from nearby cities to teach and often do not make it to the school on time or at all. Until 2004, Spanish was the only language of instruction in primary school; new educational policies, however, have changed the primary language of instruction in primary school to Spanish and Quechua. These initiatives to institute bilingual education in the communities are often interpreted by parents as attempts by the government to leave their children behind by not teaching them Spanish. Those students who wish to continue their education beyond the fourth grade have to travel every day to schools in nearby districts. Each of these districts is 20 minutes to an hour and a half away by car; however, most children have to walk to school every day. According to the school principal in Cheqa's

secondary school there were 30 students registered from the Rhaki community in 2006 – 23 boys and 7 girls. This number had decreased in 2009 to 25 students – 22 boys and 3 girls (Personal communication with school principal, July 2006; February, 2009).

A household in the community usually consists of parents and children. Ideally a man brings his wife to live in his parent's house for a year of trial marriage, after which they move to their own house built on land given by the man's father. In practice, however, couples live with the husband's parents for two years or more and have one or two children by the time they move out to their own house. This is mostly due to economic circumstances; couples need more time to find the resources to build their own house. Marriage in the community intertwines two separate traditions, ancestral rituals of courtship and trial marriage, and a religious Roman Catholic Church ceremony. Prior to the religious ceremony couples usually also have a civil wedding. A civil wedding is officiated by a judge, and it is the only event that makes the marriage legal. Because cost is often an impediment for couples to legalize their marriage or have a church ceremony, both the civil and religious weddings are usually celebrated in mass ceremonies sponsored by the municipalities and the church respectively. Couples from the Rakhi community who wish to marry in a mass ceremony have to travel to one of the larger cities, the closest one being 40 minutes away by car. All of these marriage activities are sequential, but some may take place years apart.

Extended families keep close ties, but usually only share living quarters in cases of death, separation or temporary absence of a member. In Rakhi one can also find incomplete households where a member is absent due to separation or temporary migration. Women always manage these households. It is considered in the community that a man cannot live alone because he has no one to cook for him, while a lone woman can obtain male help on her fields from non-

household members. This is directly related to the division of labor in the community, whereby men are in charge of production tasks while women administer the resources in the household. Women are also in charge of the kitchen, provide the childcare, and are responsible for the care of the household's animals.

Relationships of *padrinazgo* (godparenthood) are very important for families in the Rakhi community. The role of a godparent is to help the child develop morally and economically. As the child grows up he/she is expected to help the godparents by doing little tasks and by working their fields. Godparenthood is used to establish ties beyond the family, and parents often look for upper-status godparents. Godparents are sought for any important event in a person's life such as first hair cutting, baptism, confirmation, marriage, and even the building of a new house. The ties that are formed through godparenthood create a new network of people who, like kinspeople, can be called on for help.

Household economics consist primarily of subsistence agriculture and commerce. Families work their land primarily for their own consumption. However, some of their products are put aside to sell on Saturdays at the district's plaza or for *trueque* (exchange) with other products. Some families also raise cattle and farm animals to sell in nearby towns and cities. Other sources of income are the sales of arts and crafts for tourist consumption, and remittances sent from young women and men who leave for the city to work.

The political structure in the community consists of a community junta elected every three years. The junta has seven members – president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, sheriff, and two officers. Any man who is at least sixteen years of age is eligible for election in the junta. Communal law does not allow women to be elected to any public office. The junta is responsible for resolving disputes, advocating and negotiating with the district's government for new and

improved services for the community, and administering justice. Although community members contribute economically for communal activities, such as holiday celebrations, people are free to take up any trade they want, come and go from the community, and make use of their individual land as they wish. Community members also have the option to forego the junta and petition for the district's government to resolve their problems. The junta is also in charge of administering the *faenas*, a form of communal work that dates to colonial times. In *faena*, each household is required to send a male member, at least thirteen years of age, for a day to work on community or district projects, such as building and repairing footpaths, schools, the municipal hall, and the church. They take turns until the project is completed. If a household fails to send a male worker, they have to pay a fine.

Medical and social services in the community are very limited. There is no medical facility on site at the community. The nearest *posta médica* (a small facility set-up to deal with minor injuries) is located in Cheqa. During the time the researcher conducted a pilot research in 2006, the facility was without a doctor or nurse; a medical student came to work at the facility but left after a week because there were no supplies for him to work with. In 2009 this was still the case. To receive medical care for major injuries, pregnancy complications, or other illnesses people have to travel to the nearest city, which is about an hour away by car. There is no state-sponsored ambulance available to the community in case of emergency. Most illnesses are cured with local herbs, and deaths are attributed to 'bad spirits'.

The Catholic priest and three nuns who have been in the district for over 20 years administer the social services in the area. These services include: a communal kitchen that serves breakfast and lunch to all children attending school; an office for the prevention of child abuse and neglect; counseling for families dealing with domestic violence and alcoholism; and, more

recently, assistance with economic development projects in the area. Although most of these services are short on funding and, with the exception of the communal kitchen, are not always available, the priest and nuns are regarded in the community as the “go to” people when any problems or concerns arise.

According to the president of the community, prior to the year 2000 there were no NGOs working within the community. Since 2002, however, and with the beginning of the weaving groups in the community, two NGOs have been constantly present. Both of these organizations provide technical assistance to the weaving groups, and one of them also provides technical assistance to local farmers.

The NGOs

NGO A. NGO A has worked in Peru since the 1980s addressing the needs of small-scale farmers in the highlands. Their funding comes primarily from a United States Federal Agency and the NGO works in partnership with the Peruvian government, represented by the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture, The Ministry of Women and Social Development and the Social Development Cooperation Fund (FONCODES). According to their brochure, NGO A’s projects work to (1) improve access to services, such as technical assistance and financial services, by helping develop markets and the capacity to contract services locally, and by strengthening institutional and private sector service providers; (2) to promote rural-urban linkages, by helping small-scale entrepreneurs expand their non-agricultural activities and supporting local farmers who establish agriculture-related enterprises in nearby small and medium-size towns. (3) To foster local development by making local institutions and communities responsible for decisions regarding project funds and implementation.

In 2002, Raimundo, a local entrepreneur, approached NGO A to solicit financial and technical help to continue to work with the Paya Lliklla women. Although NGO A had not

worked with craft-related activities before, they saw this project fitting under their rural-urban rubric, and at the time they had also began targeting women farmers as part of their development projects. Thus, they decided to allocate a small sum of funding to bring in local experts to help the women achieve better quality in their weavings. In addition to economic support, they also provided organizational support to help the group register as a formal association. A key strategy of NGO A was that, recognizing the patriarchal nature of the community, they involved the women's husbands to help their wives create their own junta and determine bylaws. These men have at one point or another served in the community leadership. This also gave the NGO A an opportunity to interact with the men and have a dialogue as to the benefits of this project.

After a year of working with this association, NGO A sponsored the first district-wide artisanal competition to increase interest in these activities as sources of cultural pride, economic income, and to motivate weavers to increase the quality of their weaving. Since then, this artisanal competition takes place once a year at the District's main square.

NGO A was involved heavily with the Paya Lliklla group until 2004, when NGO B came along and proposed to offer Paya Lliklla technical assistance, leadership development, and an outlet for the sales of these women's weavings.

NGO B. A Priest interested in the plight of indigenous peoples founded NGO B in Cusco, Peru in 1985. According to Maria – a field worker – NGO B's mission is to offer support and solidarity to rural peasants in their encounters with the urban world. Their funding comes primarily from two European NGOs and private donors recruited through the Catholic Church in various parts of the world. Their work is conducted independently of any government organization, and they see their role as advocates for the rights of indigenous peoples. Their activities include: advocating for the rights of rural domestic workers employed in Cusco city

and offering support services when these rights are violated; running a citizenship project to make sure all rural citizens have an identity card (without one a person is not recognized as a Peruvian citizen); providing community education in rural areas with regards to voting registration and voting rights; and running a project called Responsible Tourism, the purpose of which is to find ways in that rural communities can benefit from the growing tourism industry in Cusco.

In the context of this latter project, NGO B applied for a grant offered by a British NGO in 2003 to work with social entrepreneurship projects in rural areas. Through their responsible tourism project, NGO B had become acquainted with the idea of marketing hand-made traditional weavings in the tourist market. They proposed to work with 10 groups by providing a storefront in Cusco city that could be shared and that would be supported by the weavers' themselves. NGO B would provide training and education on topics of business planning, organizational issues, and marketing of traditional weavings. Their rationale was to economically empower women to better the lives of their children, families and communities as a whole. And thus, since 2004 they have been working with groups of weavers.

Case 1: Paya Lliklla

In 2000, a group of five women, encouraged by a local entrepreneur, got together to start Paya Lliklla, the first weaver's group in the Rakhi community. Raimundo, a man from a neighboring community, who used to trade in crafts and weavings, approached the community looking for women interested in (re) learning the art of traditional weaving. Weaving is an activity traditionally undertaken by women in the indigenous communities in this area. Raimundo explained that he was in the business of buying traditional weavings from indigenous communities and reselling them to tourists in Cusco city. However, he had noticed that as elderly women died, there was a decline in the availability of traditional weavings. With the introduction

of synthetic yarn and dye in the market, younger generations of indigenous women are no longer using natural yarns and dyes to weave. In addition, with the push towards communities dressing in a more westernized manner, less emphasis was placed on the production of their own clothing. This has led communities to lose the traditional stitching patterns that distinguish communities from one another.

Raimundo presented his project as a solution to the lack of employment opportunities for indigenous women. He proposed to help women in the community to rediscover the art of traditional weaving by bringing two elderly women from a neighboring community, Faustina and Rosalia, to teach them. Faustina and Rosalia are both originally from Rakhi but had married men from a neighboring community and moved to this community with their husbands. However, they had continued to weave using the Rakhi community's stitching patterns and were familiar with their ancestors' traditional weaving colors and patterns. Raimundo would assist the women in organizing into an autonomous women's weaving association while also finding an outlet to sell their products. He asked the women to take a chance and to view the association as a long-term investment that could become an interesting economic opportunity. And so, five women – all related by blood or marriage – took the challenge.

It took two years for these women to fully learn the art of traditional weaving, and by the end of the two years, three additional women had joined the group. Raimundo connected the group with NGO A, which became interested in the economic possibility that traditional weaving could represent for indigenous women and their communities.

For the next two years NGO A provided technical assistance with regards to product development and production, and spearheaded efforts to publicize the project. NGO A also sponsored the first artisanal fairs in the district, in which competitions were held. During these

two years, NGO A also found a way to engage the women's husbands, who were for the most part skeptical of the project. Most of the husbands of the eight women who were participating had held leadership positions in the community at one point or another, and thus were familiar with the process of organizing, electing officials, and generating bylaws by which to run the organization. They consequently became mentors to their wives. By the end of their third year as an association, Paya Lliklla had elected its first junta and drafted a set of bylaws, which included policies on meeting attendance, number of weekly hours devoted to weaving, and requirements to accept new members into the association. The junta also established that the community's traditional clothing would be the dress code for public presentations. By their fourth year as an association, the Paya Lliklla women were devoting a minimum of six to eight hours a week to weaving. They usually came together as a group every Thursday morning to guarantee that each woman could devote a certain amount of time solely to weaving. They used each other's houses as workspace.

The women proved to be very talented and committed, and were rewarded by winning several artisan contests in their district and a neighboring district. The quality of their work and participation in these artisan contests made them well known in their district and neighboring districts, and in 2004 NGO B, which had an interest in weaving groups, approached them. NGO B was looking for associations that were organized and had quality products to occupy a space in a store in Cusco. The association had to commit to sending a number of products to Cusco per month, attending seminars on pricing, product quality, and leadership, and sending a representative once a year for a week to showcase their work at the store. Thus, Paya Lliklla found a direct way to offer their product to Cusco city's tourist market.

After gaining direct access to the tourist market, Paya Lliklla began actively recruiting other women in the community to join their association. During the next two years, the association recruited twelve other women into their membership. At the time this study took place, they had twenty women in their membership. They are between the ages of eighteen and sixty-three. All of the women are married, except for two who are widowed. Three of the married women have absent husbands. They are also related by blood, marriage or ‘padrinazgos’ (godparent-godchild relationships). They have an average monthly income of fifty soles (\$17.00) per month for double income households and thirty soles (\$10.00) per month for single income households.

Case 2: Munay Wasi

Motivated by the success of Paya Lliklla and the possibility of accessing store space in the city, a second group of women came together in 2004 to form Munay Wasi, the second weaver’s association in the Rakhi community. Initially, the association grouped ten members and they received technical assistance from NGO A. By that time, NGO A had hired Raimundo as a permanent staff member in charge of providing technical assistance to weaving groups in the area. Once Paya Lliklla began working with NGO B, Raimundo and NGO A officially terminated their formal working relationship with Paya Lliklla and focused their attention on Munay Wasi. NGO A’s assistance to Munay Wasi consisted of providing paid instructors, and Raimundo recruited Faustina and Rosalia once more to teach the women the art of traditional weaving. NGO A also assisted the women in organizing their association and formally registering it as such.

While Paya Lliklla expressed a desire to have these 10 women join their association rather than forming a second weaver’s association, Munay Wasi members did not feel they could join Paya Lliklla. Although they have known each other for most of their lives, there are no

familial or social (padrinazgo) ties between them. Munay Wasi members felt that because of their familial and social relations, Paya Lliklla women would be more loyal and helpful to each other, and thus Munay Wasi members would be at a disadvantage in any disagreements or negotiations. However, they maintained an amicable relationship with the Paya Lliklla women and often could be seen weaving together.

In 2006, Munay Wasi was registered as a weaver's association in the community and in the district. By 2009, they had increased their membership to fifteen members and were receiving help from the Paya Lliklla women to improve the quality of their weavings. The Munay Wasi women were between the ages of sixteen and thirty years old, and they were all married. At the time of this study, the group had elected its first junta and had adopted Paya Lliklla's bylaws, as opposed to writing their own. However, they were finding it hard to meet on a regular basis due to household and childcare responsibilities. While NGO A had tried to implement the same strategy of involving their husbands as they did with Paya Lliklla, only three husbands had become involved at various levels. As of 2009 Munay Wasi continued to rely on local fairs and a "middle man" to sell their products.

Sampling

Participants. The populations of interest for this study were the members of the Paya Lliklla and the Munay Wasi associations. For the purpose of comparison, participants were selected based on the following set of criteria: women who are active members of the association, have participated a minimum of two years, are married and currently living with their husbands, and have school-age children. These criteria are appropriate because one of the researcher's interests was to explore how these women perceive that their traditional roles as mothers and wives may have changed as a result of their active participation in the weaving group. Married women are expected to perform traditional gender roles as wives and mothers

such as household chores and childcare, and they generally manage and distribute resources but do not produce them. Their participation in the weaving groups alters this gendered divide by placing the sales responsibility on the women. In addition, the activities associated with active participation in the weaving group compete with their household responsibilities.

A secondary interest of this study was to explore how community members perceive the weaving groups and the women who participate in them. Thus, in order to enhance the richness and texture of the data, I solicited referrals from the participating women in an attempt to conduct auxiliary interviews with additional adults significant to the daily lives of the women participating in the study. Because the setting for this study is a small and close-knit indigenous community, the auxiliary interviews served to gain a better understanding of the perspectives of community members with regards to the weaving groups. This included women who did not participate in either of the weaving groups, husbands, extended kin, neighbors, community leaders and/or other adults as suggested by the women.

I also interviewed representatives from the 2 NGOs involved with the weaving groups as well as Raimundo, the entrepreneur who first brought the idea of forming a weaving group to the community and who at the time of this study was employed by one of the NGOs. These interviews further enhance the richness of the data and provide socio-historic context to this study.

Recruitment process. Approval of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) Institutional Review Board (IRB) was obtained for this study. As it is customary in the community, I approached the community leaders and provided a comprehensive explanation of the study. Their permission was sought to carry out the research study in their community. The

research study was discussed at a community assembly meeting, where I answered the community member's questions.

No written explanation of the study was provided, with the exception of an information sheet with contact numbers for the researcher, principal investigator and IRB. Most adults in this community cannot read or write, and their experience with written documents often has been a negative one. Written documents have often been used to take advantage of them, and thus they tend to be distrustful of any official looking document.

In a previous stay in the community in 2006, the researcher had identified four women, three members of Paya Lliklla and one member of Munay Wasi, who participated at the time in a pilot study. During this pilot study, the researcher established a close relationship with these four women and they expressed their willingness to participate in other studies. These women were the first to be approached to participate in the current study. In this case, these women were selected using a purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling is appropriate for selecting the participants given the researcher's knowledge of the population under study and the nature of the research (Babbie 1988). The rest of the participants were identified using a snowball sampling method. The final sample was thirty-eight interviewees distributed in the following manner: ten members of Paya Lliklla, eight members of Munay Wasi, sixteen other women who do not participate in weaving groups, husbands and kin of women who do participate, community leaders, and four NGO workers.

Data Collection Methods

The data collection for this study was done in three stages: (a) entering the community, (b) gaining community member's trust, and (c) conducting interviews. Stages 1 and 2 happened as part of the pilot study that I conducted in 2006. In May of 2006 I traveled to the community with the intention of conducting a pilot study on the community's perspective on family

violence. Before visiting the community, I was introduced to the community's president at an informal event and I briefly explained my intentions. He then explained that to enter the community and ask for participation in my study, I would have to come talk at a community assembly where most members of the community would be present. In this assembly I was to explain the purpose of my visit and request that the members grant me permission to enter their community and carry out my study. The following story, constructed from my field notes, narrates the process of entering the community for the first time and gaining the trust and acceptance of community members.

In the Rahki community it is customary that any 'foreigner' wishing to enter their community presents her or himself to the community, states their purpose for being there and asks the community for permission to enter their community and carry out her or his business. And so there I was on my way to my first community assembly where I was expected to greet the community and tell them about my research project and myself. I went over my speech in Quechua in my mind once more and thought to myself once this presentation is over, and if I'm granted permission, the rest of the research process will be so much easier.

Once I arrived to the community center where the assembly was to be held, I was greeted by the president of the community and was invited to sit in one of the chairs at the front of the room. I noticed that all those seating around me were men. The women that were present were seated at the back, not on chairs, but on the floor. Several items of the agenda were discussed that day and only men actively participated in the meeting. The women remained silent, seating on the floor, at the back of the room. When my turn came, I gave my little speech and after a brief discussion, I was granted permission to conduct my research. Only the men had asked questions about what I would be doing in the community, only the men had voted to grant me permission to conduct research. The women remained silent, seating on the floor at the back of the room.

At the end of the meeting we stepped outside and several men and their families approached me to welcome me into the community and to assure me that I would have their full collaboration. While I was grateful for this warm welcoming, I felt very uneasy at the fact that all the talking was being done by the men and the women remained looking at the floor during the whole interaction. In the days that followed I tried to position myself in women's spaces by offering help with daily tasks and by trying to strike up random conversations. But women were very shy around me and although they were always polite, they were distant and would only answer in monosyllables to my attempts to initiate conversations. I later learned, from one of the NGO workers that came to visit, that what the women perceived as my lifestyle – traveling alone, speaking in public, initiating conversations with strange men – did not fit the proper gender roles for

a woman and thus, they felt I had more in common with men and treated me as they would have treated a strange man entering their community.

Here I faced an ethical dilemma. I had gained permission from the community (but really only the men) to conduct my research and as such I knew that men and women would feel compelled to answer my questions. On the other hand, I had to consider what kind of information I would be receiving from members of the community if they were only participating in the interview because they felt obligated. Furthermore, what kind of relationship could I expect to forge with the women if I gained access to their time using the power that their fathers and husbands had given me by approving my being there? After giving these questions a lot of thought I decided that I needed to find a way to gain the women's trust before attempting to conduct my first interview. Otherwise I would have simply reinforced their position in their community, as someone who has no public voice to express her wishes.

I eventually did find a way to become accepted and embraced by the women in the community. I volunteered to teach English to the school children on Saturdays. The moms would come with their children and sit outside the school weaving through the duration of the class. When I noticed this, I started giving the children a half-hour break to have a snack and play. I used this break to invite the women to have some tea and bread with me. I noticed after the first week that women who did not have children in my class were also coming to join us for tea. In this space these women and I slowly began sharing stories and finding commonalities that brought us together. After many cups of tea, I was able to conduct my first interview two months after my arrival. This process of getting to know each other generated lasting relationships that made my reentry into the community much easier.

In 2009 when I arrived in the community to conduct the current study, I was welcomed into the community as a friend. I again presented myself at a community assembly and answered questions regarding my research project and, while the women were still seated at the back of the room they made eye contact, smiled and a few of them even asked questions. Thus, I was able to initiate the research process promptly after my arrival. Data collection was done between the months of January and April 2009. Three methods of data collection were employed: the interview, participant observation, and document review. Given that the aim of the study was to elicit information regarding the perceptions of women weavers, the interview was the primary method of data collection.

Interview Process

Once the community approved the project, I contacted four women that were identified from the previous pilot study and invited them to participate in the current study. They agreed to participate and I scheduled a visit with each one of them. The participants chose the location of the visit. Most visits were held either at the participant's house or at their '*chacra*' (field). The interviews were conducted during these visits and lasted anywhere from one to three hours. Although a written consent form was not provided to the participants, the purpose of the study was reiterated at the beginning of each interview, and an oral consent script was read to each participant prior to any interview. All of the interviews were recorded. Participants were asked prior to the interview if they were agreeable with having their interview recorded. Based on my experience interviewing participants in this community during my pilot study, I allotted time for participants to 'play' with the recording device prior to the interview. Most people in the community are not familiar with recording devices, thus showing them what the device looked like and how it worked made them feel more comfortable with it. Women in particular were very happy to have their interviews recorded. They liked hearing their voices as their recordings were played back and were excited at the fact that I was "taking their voice to be heard outside their community."

An interview guide was used to structure and guide the interview process (see Appendix). Probes and follow-up questions were also used to elicit further information relevant to the study's objectives. The use of semi-structured questions allowed participants to speak freely about their own perceptions, providing rich accounts of their experiences through storytelling. It also allowed flexibility in better tailoring the interview guide as the research progressed.

The interview guide was organized according to the study's objectives. The first set of questions was aimed at learning about personal benefits and challenges the women had

encountered through the weaving project, positive and/or negative feelings toward this new experience, whether their personal expectations were met, and any future plans they had for this project. The second set of questions asked about their home lives and how their roles as wives and mothers may have changed since participating in the project. They were asked about challenges meeting the project's expectations and their household responsibilities, about strategies they were using to meet expectations at home and for the weaving group, the challenges they faced because of their participation in the group, their support system, their feelings toward the allocation of their time and about any benefits this project had brought to their home life. Finally, the third set of questions was aimed at learning about the women's experiences in their public communal lives. They were asked about their roles in public life, about their rights and responsibilities as community members, the community's support of the weaving groups, and about any differences in their participation in community life since they began participating in the weaving group.

Participants were able to choose whether they wanted to have the interview conducted in Spanish or Quechua. The participants were also asked to choose a name by which they wanted to be referred to for purposes of confidentiality. The final sample consisted of twenty-eight interviews in Quechua, six interviews in a mix of Spanish and Quechua and four in Spanish.

After interviewing each woman, I asked them to make referrals to two other women who were members of their association and whom they believed might consider participating in this study. I also asked them to make referrals of two other people who were not members of the association, but whom they believed had an opinion about or had been influential to the project. Upon receiving these names from the participants, I followed the same procedure with each interview participant.

I interviewed as many participants as possible while conducting the study. Field notes were jotted down during the interview process. I noted interesting comments, participant's demeanor, and anything else that caught my attention. These notes were fully developed upon leaving the interview site. The interviews were not always transcribed immediately. My living arrangements and lack of electricity presented challenges to transcribing and initial coding while in the field, and thus it was difficult to determine saturation point.

Although no compensation was given to the individuals who participated in the interviews, donations were made to complete two community projects at the end of the study. The first project was for the elementary school, and it entailed replacing windows in the school building, buying cups for each child in the school for their daily glass of milk, and buying a barrel where they could collect water for children to use to wash their hands after using the bathroom. The second project was for the community center where the assemblies and other community wide activities are held. This project entailed buying fluorescent lights for the building and windows.

Participant Observation

A second set of notes was kept noting the events in which I was a participant observer. These events included weaving meetings, artisans show fairs, community celebratory events and community monthly meetings. These events provided an opportunity to observe the members of Paya Lliklla and Munay Wasi interacting with each other as well as with other community members. The notes were fully developed as soon as possible upon leaving the event. Finally, I also kept a personal journal in which I noted my thoughts and reflections about everyday life in the community. All these field notes and journals were used as data.

Document Review

I was given access to records kept by a community elder regarding the demographics of the community. I also reviewed NGO documents regarding their work with the weaving groups, as well as community assembly's and weaving group meeting's minutes.

Methods for Data Analysis and Synthesis

Upon completing the interview process, all recordings were transcribed verbatim in the original language in which the interview was conducted. The interviews were then organized in a common format and printed. The transcripts allowed appropriate and accurate documentation of the verbal interview process (Flick, 1998). A general inductive approach was used to organize and synthesize the data. The primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.

The transcripts generated from the raw data were read in detail several times to identify categories. Systematic coding allowed major categories to emerge. It also enabled an analysis of interview segments on a particular category, the comparison of relationships between categories, and the identification of themes important to participants. Appropriate quotes were selected to convey the essence of the category.

The field notes and journal entries also provided written documents and contextual information, which were incorporated during the data analysis process. In addition, the information generated from the review of relevant documents provided either affirmative or contrasting information that was also incorporated in the analysis process. Based on analysis and synthesis of the data the researcher was able to move forward and think about the broader implications of this study.

Ethical Considerations

Although it was anticipated that no serious ethical threats were posed to any of the participants, this study employed various safeguards to ensure the protection and rights of participants. First, I adhered to all community norms regarding entering the community. Everyone in the community knew of my presence and the purpose for my visit to their community. By doing this I avoided putting anyone who spoke to me under suspicion of speaking to a stranger. Second, informed consent remained a priority throughout the study. Given my knowledge of the implications written documents have in this community, plus the fact that the majority of the community members cannot read or write, an oral consent script was read to the participants prior to beginning any interview process. In addition, once I learned that the women had no say in granting me permission to conduct the research project, I took the time to build relationships with them. In this manner, they felt more comfortable expressing their true wishes regarding the interview process. Third, decisions regarding compensation were made based on what would benefit the community as a whole. This prevented giving the impression that only community members who interacted with me would have an economic benefit. At the request of the participants, I was also committed to keeping the names and/or other significant identity characteristics of the participants confidential. Cautionary measures were taken to secure the storage of research-related records and data; nobody other than myself had access to this material.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Following the procedures delineated by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the trustworthiness and credibility of this study was established through the following techniques: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, audit trail and member check.

The credibility of the findings was enhanced through prolonged engagement with the participants. I spent a period of three months in 2006, and a four-month period in 2009 in my field site. This prolonged engagement allowed adequate time to learn about the study participants. In addition, persistent observation through multiple interview sessions, dropping by the weavers group weekly meetings to visit, and participating in community activities such as community assemblies and market fairs provided the time, opportunities, and discussion points that enhanced the depth of the information obtained.

Triangulation was another way that the credibility of this study was established. The use of multiple data collection methods (interviewing and observation), multiple sources (women, extended kin, neighbors, entrepreneurs) contribute to credible data, findings, and interpretations through triangulation.

Audit trail and member check also enhanced the trustworthiness of the research. The recorded interviews and extensive field notes provide a method by which my procedures may be audited. The field notes include a variety of notes that represent my attempts to glean meaning from my observations; comments concerning my personal responses to what I saw and heard in the field; methodological notes indicating my reflections on the activities or events being observed; and observational notes that record the specific who, what, when and where of the activities that occurred in the field.

In August 2010 the researcher returned to the community and conducted member checks with the weaving groups. Two conversational sessions were organized, one with each weaving group. These sessions lasted an average of two and a half hours. These meetings took place at the community center over tea and bread. The first fifteen minutes of the meeting were spent with the researcher providing a brief summary of the research question and objectives and of thanking

them once more for their participation and answering questions. The rest of the time the researcher met with people individually. The researcher had identified six weavers with whom she was interested in doing member checks so she spent more time with each one of them and presented them with an oral summary of what she thought they had said. Their initial reaction was surprise that the researcher would want to make sure she had heard them correctly. They each engaged in a productive conversation with the researcher that provided additional depth to the study.

The researcher had also identified a community leader and a few other community members to do member checks, but an attempt to organize a third meeting was not welcomed. By the time the researcher was doing member checks, considerable tension had built up in the community surrounding the weaving groups. Thus, it was a sensitive issue.

Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter provided a detailed description of the study research methodology. Qualitative multi-case study methodology was employed to illustrate the experiences of indigenous women participating in two social entrepreneurship projects. One group of women weavers was interviewed for each case. In addition, supporting interviews with other community members and key informants were performed. Three data collection methods were employed, including individual semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document review. A general inductive approach was used for data analysis and synthesis. Trustworthiness and credibility were established through various strategies, including time in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, and member check.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS FOR PAYA LLIKLLA

Introduction

In order to make sense of the findings, the power dynamics within the community will be first briefly discussed. The community power structure is hierarchical. The community junta oversees and brings to a vote all community matters, including property disputes and any outside projects to be implemented in the community. This junta is made up of all male members 16-years of age and up. Each family in the community has a head of household, who makes all decisions. The head of household is the father, husband or older brother in the absence of a father. Although the community is autonomous in theory, in practice there are other powers that the community leadership responds to. For instance, the district's government can override decisions and agreements made by the communities in the district and can also prevent or force projects upon them. The mayor is the leading figure in the district government. Another power relation to note is that of the school's principal and teachers. The principal and teachers come from outside of the community and tend to make decisions pertaining the school without consulting the community leadership.

The findings of this study are presented in two separate chapters. Each chapter corresponds to a case. The findings are organized according to the study's research objectives. The use of semi-structured questions allowed participants to speak freely about their own perceptions, providing rich accounts of their experiences through storytelling. Stylistically, findings and themes that emerged from interviewing the women weavers are presented first followed by responses from others (i.e. husbands/partners, kin, other community members) when appropriate. The research question examined in this study was: How have handicraft related

social entrepreneurship projects performed by indigenous women influenced their traditional roles within their family and community life?

Objective 1: To Examine the Personal Experiences of Indigenous Women Participation in Social Entrepreneurship Projects

The first set of questions was aimed at learning about personal benefits and challenges the women had encountered through the weaving project, positive and/or negative feelings toward this new experience, whether their personal expectations were met, and any future plans they had for this project.

All the women had heard about the weaving project either at the initial meeting with Raimundo or by word of mouth from women who were already in the group. All of them stated that their initial motivation to participate in the group was the economic opportunity. Out of the ten women who were interviewed, seven joined the group at a time when their husbands were not employed. The participant's responses resulted in the identification of the following themes: self-worth, voice, visibility, freedom, power and isolation. Each of these themes is presented and elaborated on below.

Self-Worth

Participants consistently spoke about the weaving group making them "*feel happy inside.*" The women repeatedly stated that since they began learning and weaving with this group they had come to know what happy is, like "*when I was a very small child and I knew happy feelings.*" They generally spoke about their lives been valuable and that now they could make their children's lives valuable as well. They conveyed that they did not feel useless anymore and that they felt they had something to offer. They felt they had good ideas for things to weave and colors to use and that this process was very exciting for them. Fortunata expresses this in the following quote:

This makes me feel that I'm worth something. Before, sometimes, even animals are worth more than the children or me because animals give you food or you can sell them for money and you can work your land with them but the children, especially the girls... and the women... people think we are a burden and have nothing to contribute. Weaving has made me think that this is not true, that I have my weavings to offer, that there are people who want to buy my weavings. I'm only in the house or caring for my animals but I do a lot for my family. The men sometimes say we don't do anything or that what we do is not hard work, but they could not live a day without a woman tending to them, preparing their food and keeping their clothes clean.

The women felt they were part of something that they could be proud of. Rosa explains this in the following quote:

We can do a lot of things with our hands but no one cares because it is just woman's work, but with the weavings is different because people think we are doing something really good and because tourists want what we make, then it is very valuable and that is something good, something that will be really good for my children too. I can show them something different, I have begun teaching my children to weave, the boys and the girls because I want them to feel happy and to make things that have value. That way they will know they are valuable too, especially my little girls. That is why I stay in this group. At first it was just because they said I could make a little money but now it is not only that, it is also a place that makes me happy and makes me think life could be better for my children.

Most of the women were very emotional during the interviews, in particular when speaking about the times they felt their families did not value her work. One of the women, Regina, talked about the moment when she realized she was valuable to her family and community:

They told me that my weaving work was valuable and that I had to price it fairly for the tourists... to price it I had to think of all the work I did from the time I spend raising my animals for the fiber... they say all this work, all my work is valuable... so I started thinking that means I must be valuable too.

Voice

"Achachay mamay! Listen to me! That is what my voice sounds like. I have never heard my voice like that before," exclaimed Paulina as she played back a few phrases she had recorded using my recording device. Listening to their own voices played back on the recordings was one of the women's favorite activities.

Being heard was very important to all the women. They felt that the weaving group gave them confidence to speak up and felt people were interested in what they had to say. Aurora explains,

When we go to the city sometimes we participate in a school where they teach us about our weavings and how to know how much to sell them for. In those classes they ask us questions and they tell us it's ok to speak, they really want us to say something and to tell them what we think about what they are telling us.

My presence in the community was also used as an example:

You are interested in what we have to say. That is why you are here. You will take our voices for more people to hear us.

As the women talked about their newfound voice, they also accounted for a time when they did not feel they could talk at all, particularly at community assemblies. They also expressed conflicting feelings regarding their current participation in public meetings. Some of the women had begun to be more vocal at community gatherings, which made the community leadership angry. Fortunata narrates her experience the first time she spoke at a community meeting:

I decided I was going to speak at this community meeting. The community leaders had started to talk in the meetings about our weaving group and they were saying it was not good that we were spending so much time weaving. They were telling our husbands that they should not allow us to neglect our chores and duties. They were saying all this while we sat there but they never looked at us. I decided to speak. I stood up, greeted the people who were there and told them that we had a right to weave and sell our products to feed our families and that we were not neglecting anything. They told me to seat and be quiet, that I was embarrassing my family and myself. I felt bad and I almost sat down but another woman got up and repeated what I had said and then another one did. The leaders got angry but they did not talk to us, they told our husbands that they needed to control us and teach us how to behave properly. Then they ended the meeting. I was scared but it felt good to speak. And since then more and more women speak at the meetings. At first the husbands got really angry too but now they are getting used to it.

The requirement of the weaving association that women come together to weave once a week provided a safe environment where they could speak freely. Paulina, who is one of the more vocal women in the group, narrated her experience when she first joined the group:

Since joining the group I realized that I have a lot to say. I also realized that I have a lot in common with the other women. We are all relatives but, after we move with our husbands to his family's house, we do not get to talk to each other much on a regular basis. With the weaving group we got to know each other better and we learned about our families and the problems we have. Little by little I started feeling good about sharing stories with these women and I liked hearing their stories too. I know now that we have many stories that are the same. Everyone listens when I speak and I like that.

Fortunata also shared her experience when she first joined the group:

I did not go to school so I felt dumb and was afraid to speak up at the weaving meetings, but these women have taught me that what I have to say is important and that I will be heard. I am not afraid to speak up anymore.

“I Am not Invisible Anymore”

An activity that the women kept referring back to was the time they spent weaving at the local store in Cusco city. They described the experience as very exciting and fun. Once a month the women are required to go to the storefront provided by NGO B in Cusco city and weave in that public space. Shoppers come into the store and watch the woman, who is seating in the middle of the store, weave with her back strap loom. There is a sign nearby that reads, *“if you would like to take a picture, please leave a donation in the box.”*

All the women waited eagerly for their turn to go to the store. They felt special that people would want to see them weave. They were also curious to know why tourists liked to watch them. Aurora expresses her sentiment in this quote:

We weave all the time at home, it is not a big deal. But people in the city, the people from other countries they really like to watch us, they smile, they take pictures. Sometimes I wish I knew what they were saying, they talk while they are watching me but I do not know what they say. Most people always buy something before they leave the store. That is good for us.

Ana also had this to say:

I exist. That is what those people make me feel. I exist, I can see you and I think what you are making with your hands is very pretty. They spend their little money on something I make. That is special to me because if they like my work then they like me and that is important to me. I like that they come to see me.

Several of the women also talked about their visibility in the community. Fortunata explains,

Here in the community is not something new; we women weave all the time. Although now that we do it together in our weaving house people stare at us and we know they talk about us but that makes us feel important even when the things they are saying are not so nice. Before no one paid us any attention. I think the men and women in the community pay attention to us now because they know the people in the city and the tourists want what we make so now they have to see us and pay attention to us.

Freedom

In general, the women felt that their freedom had increased since participating in this project. In talking about freedom they were often referring to mobility. They had weaving meetings that they went to once a week, they met with NGO B's representative once a month and three or four times a year one of them went to Cusco city for a week. Once or twice a year they also had leadership meetings sponsored by NGO B and this would also take place in Cusco city. The meetings alone had increased the amount of time the women spent out of their homes significantly. Most of these women had not been to Cusco city prior to participating in the weaving project. Ana shares her experience on her first visit to Cusco:

The first time I went to Cusco city I was very scared. I had never been to a city before. I visit relatives in neighboring communities but never the city. I had this idea in my head that the city was an ugly place... that is what my parents told me and that is what my husband said as well and he has been to the city to look for work. Especially for a girl they said the city was a scary place, unsafe and women like me who go there are insulted or sometimes a woman stays too long and picks up bad habits like talking back to their husbands. But I saw this is not true. I do feel a little scared when I am in the city but I like seeing different people. Most people do not talk to me but they are not mean to me either and in the store everyone is very nice. I spend most of my time in the store.

Women also talked about feeling like a bird and like they could fly. Aurora and Fortunata talk about this:

When I am weaving I feel like a bird, like I am flying because I get to forget everything else and I just weave. I can choose what to weave and what colors to use to make my "llikllas" look nice. That makes me feel like I can fly, free like a bird, it makes me feel good inside.

I am teaching my little girl to weave. Maybe she can sell her weavings too, you know later when she is a little older and learns more. I want her to feel good inside like me, like a bird with wings, like she can go places, other places and be better.

Power

The word power was used many times by the women weavers in our conversations. They used the word power to talk about how they felt when they spoke up at the weaving meetings, community meetings or at home. They saw themselves as being able to influence others, a quality that up to that point they associated with being a man. Isaudra talks about this:

You know I have noticed that people listen to me when I talk, the other women here at the group and sometimes even people at other kinds of meetings will listen to what I have to say. That makes me feel like what the man call power. You know when people like what you said and maybe they do what you said because it is a better idea, a better way. It is good when others say we should do what she says because that is a good idea. That happens sometimes in the group or at the store in the city... I did not know I could do that.

They also talked about feelings of power in the context of decision making over the production of their weavings, what they did with the income generated from the sales of their weavings and that was allocated to the association for common use, and the decisions they were able to make as a group at the weaving meetings. There were two instances that they felt particularly proud about. The first one was their decision to hire a teacher to teach them to read and write. Up to that moment they always invited a local teacher to the weaving meetings to help them write minutes of the meetings. Almost five years into the project one of the women proposed that they should pay the local teacher to teach them to read and write. They talked to Luisa, a NGO B worker, and she agreed that that was a good idea and helped them allocate some of their weaving money to pay the teacher. Aurora remembers the day she was able to write her name as one of her happiest moments:

We decided to hire a teacher to teach us to write and to read. Many of us never learned to do that in school very well. I did not get to go to school for long because I had to help my mother in the house. I was happy when we agreed to hire the teacher to teach us. We had

to use funds from our weaving sales to pay her and all the women agreed that that was something good to do. We did not have to ask anyone else if we could use this money for that. We talked to Luisa about it and she said it was a good idea. The teacher came every Thursday and gave us our lessons while we weaved. And the first things she thought us how to write were our names. The first time I could write my name I was so happy I wrote it many times.

The second instance was when they petitioned the district's mayor for a piece of land to build a weaving house in 2008. The mayor not only gave them the land but also built a small weaving house for them. Aurora narrates this experience:

Rainy season is always a problem. You know how cold and muddy it gets. The only place at our homes that we can get together to weave is our patios and that is impossible some days during rainy season. At a meeting Luisa jokingly said that we should build a weaving house. We all laughed and joked around but the more we thought about it, it seemed like a good solution to our problem. So we decided that Fortunata and Ana would bring it up at the next assembly meeting. We all went home and spoke to our husbands first and explained why we wanted a weaving house. They thought it was a good idea. Fortunata's husband who was community president in the past thought that it would be better if one of them presented the idea to the leadership because they probably would not let us women do it. And we agreed. So Fortunata's husband brought it up at a meeting. The leadership did not think it was a good idea. They said weaving was something women did at home. There was no reason we had to do it together and it was fine if we did not have enough time to weave a lot because our responsibility was to weave for our families first and do our other chores. And that was that. They did not let us discuss it more. We were sad and we talked about it at our next weaving meeting and one of the women, I do not remember who said it first... said what if we asked the mayor for a piece of land maybe he will give it to us. At first it sounded impossible but the more we talked about it the more we were all agreeing to do it. So we talked to Luisa and she helped us write a letter for the mayor and we sent Fortunata and Ana with their husbands to talk to the mayor. When they came back they were happy happy because the mayor said yes yes he was going to give us land and also build our weaving house!

Isolation

Feeling lonely and isolated was also brought up in conversation. They felt that since they had started participating in the weaving group they had become different than the other women in the community. Isaudra comments on this:

We want other things now for our children and for our families and other people here in the community do not like us for that. They think we think we are better. They also think we are lazy because all we do is weave. They say we get paid for nothing. So most of the time we feel we cannot trust people here anymore. They are not supportive of what we

do. The men feel like we are not behaving like women and they will even insult our husbands. Tell them they are not men because they cannot control us. Even the women who are part of the other weaving group sometimes do not want to be seen with us. They do not talk as much as we do because they do not meet as often, so they are our friends but a lot of times they do not want to weave with us so that the community will not treat them badly. My weaving group is a great group but I also feel kind of lonely because when I walk around the community I know people are talking about me and they do not think I am a good woman. And that is hard.

The women noted that since they began weaving as a group and going to the city to attend meetings, some people in the community had become more hostile toward them. They also noted that since having petitioned the mayor for land to build their weaving house, the community leadership was openly hostile to them. The women believed that most people in the community did like them and were supportive of the weaving group. These people however expressed their support in private but not in public. These included some of their extended family who in private had even lend the women money to buy materials or helped with household chores while they weaved, but would not come to their rescue when the women were attacked in public.

The following interaction recorded in my field notes illustrates this scenario. I observed this interaction from inside the school building, as I was getting ready to start my day.

Fortunata, Ana and Faustina were seating in the schoolyard chitchatting and spinning yarn. Two men who were walking by the school stopped and one of the men said to the other men in a loud voice: “look at them, these are those lazy women who neglect their families and their houses” to which the other man responded “they think they are like a man now.” And they laughed loudly as they continued to walk by the three women. There were other people nearby, including a few of Ana’s relatives. A few of the bystanders laughed as well while others looked down and walked hurriedly. Fortunata, Ana and Faustina did not respond or looked up at all.

Objective 2: To Examine the Impact of Social Entrepreneurship on the Traditional Roles Indigenous Women Assume in Their Home Lives

The second set of questions asked about their home lives and how their roles as wives and mothers may have changed since participating in the project. They were asked about

challenges meeting the project's expectations and their household responsibilities, about strategies they were using to meet expectations at home and for the weaving group, the challenges they faced because of their participation in the group, their support system, and about any benefits this project had brought to their home life.

All the women who were interviewed described their lives in function of their duties as daughters, wives and mothers. The themes that emerged from this set of questions were: distribution of labor, decision-making process, and respect. The ten women who were interviewed were married, living with their husbands and had children. The number of children each woman had and their ages varied widely. Women's difficulties with distribution of labor seemed to be less of an issue in households with older children.

Distribution of Labor

The women's perspectives. Household chores are generally distributed in the following manner: women are in charge of caretaking, cooking, weaving and doing laundry. In addition, they care for their animals and are in charge of planting seeds. Men are the financial providers, take care of the land and harvesting, and provide labor for communal projects to pay their *Mita* (family's communal tax). As children grow they will share some of these responsibilities according to their age and gender. It is also more acceptable to have women help men with their chores than to have men help women with household chores or child care responsibilities.

The Paya Lliklla women described their roles at home primarily as that of caretakers. Their day begins at sun up and it includes preparing breakfast and deciding which tasks the family needs to accomplish that day. She will then distribute tasks amongst family members. Children usually begin helping with household chores at the age of five. Girls will take care of younger siblings and aid in preparing meals. By the time she is seven a girl is capable of preparing a meal on her own. Pasturing animals, fetching water and wood are jobs that either

boys or girls can do by the age of seven. Starting at the age of thirteen boys are able to substitute their fathers on communal labor tasks.

Managing house chores and childcare responsibilities is one of the bigger challenges for the women. Delegating tasks is the major strategy that the women used to assure they had the time to weave. Children's help and, most recently, their husband's help, have been valuable for the Paya Lliklla women to be able to meet their household responsibilities and their weaving responsibilities. In the case of children, particularly girls, helping with household chores means many times that they miss school frequently or are pulled out of school altogether. Delegating tasks is particularly important when big orders come in. "Big orders," as the women call them, usually come from someone from abroad through the priest, the nuns or a NGO worker. The women feel particularly pressured to fill these orders as they have the expectation that these could lead to opening another market for them. In 2008 they had fulfilled three 'big orders'. They are not very frequent but these orders provide a big share of income for all the women.

Rosalia narrates how the husbands became involved with helping more with chores at home:

I used to think that my husband was not capable of taking care of the children or helping the girls prepare a meal but I was wrong. He can. One day we received this order for several weavings from France, the priest who is from over there got us the order, and we only had one month to get this work done because they wanted the weavings for a festival. We were all worried because it was several pieces per person. Luisa helped us decide how many hours we each needed to weave to get everything done, then she helped us see how many hours we actually thought we had in the day to weave, and we realized it was impossible. Then Luisa asked if our husbands could help but we laughed because they do not know how to weave but then she said no, could they help you with some of your chores so that you have the time to weave? The husbands will help a bit sometimes when we are really sick so we thought maybe, maybe they would be willing, especially if they know we will be selling a lot of weavings and getting money for the house and yes, most of them were willing to help especially the ones who were not working at the moment it was kind of like they were working because they were making it possible for us to weave. And we need the money so there was no other way to do it. Since then it is more common in our houses that the husbands help. Most of us have one or two girls that can take care of food preparation and watch the younger children so the husbands do not have to do a lot but they keep an eye on things and tend to the animals.

Fortunata also volunteers,

My husband also sees that if I do not weave as much then I do not sell as much. When he has work is good but is really hard for him to find work sometimes so he sees that is good if he helps me because I can finish more weavings each month. My husband even spins the yarn for me sometimes and he gives me ideas for what colors to use together. I like that. Sometimes I think he wishes he could weave.

To meet their regular weaving commitments, the women have also begun weaving smaller pieces, as they require less time to make. They also seem to sell faster than larger and more costly pieces. As Ana explains,

A big piece sells for more but what if I do not finish it on time, that would be all I have. If I make small items first, then I know I will have those to send to the store. They are not as expensive but I have learned they are more likely to be bought because they are cheaper and I will have some income that month for sure.

The husband's perspective. Five husbands were interviewed and they all referred to themselves as the head of the household and the main provider. However, all of them felt that the lack of job opportunities in their district and surrounding districts made these roles very difficult to manage. All the men reported experiencing unemployment for most part of a given year. For example, three of the men had been unemployed eight out of twelve months in 2008 and all of them were unemployed at the time this study took place. Although all these men owned land and practiced subsistence agriculture, the crops that are produced are not enough to meet their nutritional needs. Thus, they have to trade for or buy what the land does not provide. In order to find employment, they have to travel long distances to bigger cities such as Cusco or to neighboring states such as Puno. This requires absences from their homes for weeks at a time. These absences were hard for them and they didn't always do well in the city. The jobs they usually found were as *'porteadores'* (a *'porteador'* is a person who hauls merchandise in their backs for people in the market), which paid very little. They reported facing discrimination in the city, being called "stupid Indian" several times a day and receiving very little pay, or less than

what was agreed to at the beginning of the work transaction. Sometimes they were absent from home for a long time and by the time they got back they did not have much money left. For those men who did not have a son age 13 or older, the community tax was an additional burden as he was not there to do the required work. The community leadership does not allow women to replace their husbands in the tax work thus these families had to pay the monetary fine instead. Furthermore, although family members and godchildren helped work their lands in their absence these relationships were not always amicable, especially if the absences were frequent or prolonged and many times the family felt obligated to share their crops as a thankful gesture. Thus these husbands were grateful and relieved for the weaving group opportunity for their wives. They felt relieved that they could share the financial responsibility with their wives. In the following narrative Raul expresses his sentiment:

I was always told that one day I would have a wife and children and that I needed to work to support them. I inherited land from my father but it was a very small plot, I can work the land and feed my family but sometimes is not enough or we do not have enough crops. We exchange some crops with our neighbors too. It is good that my wife can work and make money, people like her weavings. We do not have to suffer all the time because we do not have money. I get teased a lot sometimes because my wife works, some man say I am not man enough, I used to get very upset but not anymore because we have food and my children are going to school, the people that insult me do not have these things. These women are doing something good. And I help my wife so it is my work too. I now do some things at home like helping my daughters prepare meals or look after the younger children and the animals. I also help her sometimes with her weaving, I catch the sheep and the alpacas and shear them, I spin yarn sometimes and I also help dye the yarn, I bring the water and make the fire so that the women can mix the plants and flowers and make the dyes. Things like that, so we are working together, so that she can make the nice things that the tourists want. My neighbors insult me but I do not listen to them anymore. I do not get angry anymore. At first it was difficult because people were saying I was not man enough and that I cannot control my wife... but the people at NGO B and Raimundo were saying this was going to be good and our families were going to be better off and when I look at the people who work for NGO B and Raimundo they have things and their children go to school and speak Spanish and that is what I want for my children, so I listened to them. Maybe at least one of my children will be like one of those NGO B people when they grow up.

Decision-Making Process

The women's perspective. The ten women who were interviewed reported that they had more input in the decision making process in their homes since they began working with NGO B, particularly in decisions pertaining her own mobility and children's education. At the time of the interviews all the women had traveled to the city to attend meetings related to the weaving group at least once. Most women identified this particular event as the time when they first attempted to actively negotiate their mobility with their husbands. At the beginning of their relationship with Paya Lliklla, NGO B had held a meeting to which the husbands were invited to learn about the NGO's proposal and the responsibilities the weaving group would acquire. At this meeting the trips to the city were discussed. However, most women reported this particular event to continue to be a point of tension with their husbands. Fortunata talked about her first time going to the city:

The first time I had to go to the city my husband did not want me to go. He wanted to go himself instead and bring the weavings to the store. But I told him that the workers from the city would not like that because I am the one who was supposed to go. I told him that I was supposed to weave in the store for the tourists too. He does not know how to weave, what was he going to do? He was worried because I had never traveled alone before but everything went well. I have done the trip several times now and we do not fight as much about it anymore.

The younger women in particular reported having a hard time negotiating their trips to the city. They usually had to rely on the NGO worker to visit their home and explain to their husbands that the trip was needed and that in fact these women were traveling to weave at the store and attend meetings. Two strategies the women were using to ameliorate their husband's concerns were traveling in pairs or taking their younger children with them. If the younger women traveled with an older woman, the husbands did not seem to be as opposed to the trip. Likewise, if the women took their babies and toddlers the husbands were less likely to argue with them. The younger women reported that they themselves preferred to travel in pairs and they did

not mind taking their children. However, the NGO did not encourage this behavior. The NGO workers would accommodate the women and her companions once they showed up in the city but they would remind the women of the original agreement and ask her not to bring companions again. On her last trip to the city, Rosa took her 3-year-old with her to avoid a fight with her husband:

My husband really dislikes the idea of me going to the city. He is good with me weaving here in the community and he even helps out so that I can weave but he is not happy when I have to go to the city. So when it is my turn to go to the city we fight. Sometimes he accuses me of not being a good woman because the city is not a proper place for a woman or he says that maybe I like to go there because I see other men. I tell him NO! That is not why I go, I go because it is good for us. I like weaving in the store and I like the classes I take with the people who run the store. Sometimes we fight hard. But it is a requirement from NGO B, a responsibility that the association needs to honor and he knows this. He also knows that if I do not do my part I won't be part of the group anymore and we won't have the money from the weavings. So he cannot tell me not to go, he has to let me go. Last time my turn came up to go to the city the other women suggested I take one of my children with me. They warned me not to let NGO B's workers know that I was bringing my child until I was already in the city. I did that. My husband was happier because I was not in the city alone. Juan, a NGO B worker in the city told me I could not do this again but he was nice about it. It is better to argue with NGO B people than with my husband. NGO B people do not scream at me.

A second area in which the women expressed having more input was their children's education, particularly in decisions regarding their daughter's education. In general, all the women felt that it was good for their daughters to finish high school and six out of the ten women had hopes for their daughters to become teachers or nurses. Traditionally, girls are not encouraged to continue in school past elementary school and generally the eldest daughter is kept home after age 7 to help with younger siblings and household chores. Thus, out of the ten women who were interviewed only four had teen-age daughters attending school. In comparison all school age boys were in school.

Paulina's family was an exceptional case. She had four daughters ages 12, 11, 6 and 5; and two sons ages 10 and 8. All her children were in school and she believed that she would be able to keep her older daughters in school as long as she weaves and earns an income.

I did not go to school for very long so I did not learn anything I do not even know Spanish. I want my children to know Spanish that way they can go to the city if they want and they will understand the people there. It is hard to find work if you do not know Spanish. My husband thinks this is more important for the boys because they will have to travel to look for work but I think that girls should know Spanish too. If I knew how to talk well I would understand things better. I convinced my husband that we should keep all our children in school. He does not see why the girls need to be in school for so long and thinks it would be better for them to be with me and learn to cook and to weave. But the girls do know how to cook and weave, they know how to do a lot of things but I want them to learn Spanish well, I want them to know how to write their names and how to read. I promised my husband that I would only use my weaving money to buy whatever the girls needed for school. Luckily they do not need much. And also my mother helps me with some chores at the house when I have to weave a lot because if not I do have to keep my oldest daughter out of school to help in the house.

Even though several women mentioned their desire for their daughters to become nurses or teachers they thought this would be unlikely given their lack of economic resources. Instead they saw the weaving association as a source of employment for their daughters and other women in the community in the future. Their vision for the future of the weaving association included building a weaving house with enough rooms to demonstrate each step of the weaving process, a store where they could sell their finished products and a small hotel where tourists could come and stay and learn to weave. The women felt that knowledge of the Spanish language, reading, writing and math was necessary to make the association big and for their products to reach more tourists. They were hoping their daughters would learn these skills by staying in school.

Rosa, like Paulina, was trying to keep her two daughters, ages 9 and 7, in school. She had two boys as well ages 5 and 3 and she was struggling to find the time to care for her family and

meet her commitments with the weaving group. Her husband wanted to pull out both girls out of school so that they could help her mother with chores.

My husband asks me what I think now and he listens to what I say before he decides. He wanted to pull our daughters out of school a year ago. He said they had enough schooling and that they should stay home to help me take care of the house and their siblings. I told him I did not think that was a good idea and that I wanted my little girls to continue to go to school. He thought they were wasting time in school and did not think they were learning anything useful. But I explained to him that we in the association we wanted our daughters to be part of the association when they got older and make the association bigger. I told him that if the girls knew Spanish and if they could read and write maybe they could help the association find tourists in the city that wanted to come and visit our community and the tourists would come and buy our weavings. Maybe one of our daughters could be president of the association someday. They can have work to help their families when they are older. Like me but she will be better because she will know how to read and write and do math. We talked for a long time and he finally agreed to leave them in school. But he said that if I could not manage my responsibilities in the house I would have to keep the oldest one at home to help me. It is hard to do everything, especially when I have to go to the city but my mother, his mother and my sisters help me when they can so that my girls can stay in school.

The husband's perspective. Our women are supposed to stay home, do their chores and take care of their families. That is how things used to be here in the community. That was fine. But now things are changing and my wife is one of the people who are changing and so my family and my children are different now. My wife travels alone to the city and sells her weavings at the store. Only men used to travel to the city alone and sell things. Now some of our women are also doing this. There are things I like about this and things I do not like. I like that the women can weave and that there are people who want to buy her weavings because it gives our family some money. I cannot find work most of the time so I work my land and do little things here and there but it was never enough. Now that she can sell her weavings we have more money and live a little better. But I think that the men could go to the city and sell the weavings instead of our wives having to go. It would be easier because we men have experience traveling to the city. That way the women would not have to leave their children and their homes. I know NGO B says that they have to weave in the store and take classes but I liked it better when

Raimundo came over here and picked up the weavings and took them to the city to sell. I let my wife go to the city because those are the rules NGO B has and I do not want her to be kicked out of the group. She has been to the city several times now and she is not afraid of traveling alone anymore. I think she likes going too. Raimundo says that it is a good thing that she has experience going to the city and that that way I can stay and work the land and do the community work when I need to. But other men tell me that I am not strong, they insult me. At the beginning I was really angry and I wanted my wife to stop going to the weaving group meetings but Raimundo talked to me. He said not to listen to people who were insulting me because they were jealous. I respect Raimundo, he is a prosperous man and he thinks all this is good for my family and maybe he is right. I still do not get used to my wife going to the city alone but I try to help her because I want NGO B to be happy with her work so that she can continue to sell her weavings. The little money is good for us.

Benancio's account summarizes the men's feelings regarding their wives' participation in the weaving group. They all expressed mixed feelings. There was consensus that the weaving association was providing needed income to their families and that their wives were happier since participating in the group. One of the husbands said:

My wife has a purpose now, she gets up every morning with a lot of plans for the day and sees a different future for our children. I do not know if what she thinks our children can do will happen but she is happy and has the purpose to work to make these things she is thinking about happen.

However, all the men had trouble adjusting to the idea of their wives traveling alone to the city. They cited fear for their wives' safety and fear of abandonment of the home as the main reasons for their concern. Both these concerns stemmed from their own experiences. They feared their wives would suffer the same kind of discrimination the men have been subjected to in the city such as being ridiculed for being indigenous and speaking Quechua. In addition, they knew of

several men who had a 'second' family in towns near the city, or who had deserted their families altogether to establish themselves in the city. The men, in particular the younger ones, were afraid the women would also do this.

They all felt frustrated that there was nothing they could do about it to prevent their wives from traveling to the city. They did however see their wives vision of having a weaving center in the community with a small hotel as a solution in the long run and were willing to help as much as possible for this to happen: *"if we can build a bigger weaving house and a hotel in the land the mayor gave the association, then the tourists can come here and our wives do not need to go to the city anymore."*

Respect

Although questions regarding family violence were not asked directly, all the women who were interviewed shared their experiences with physical violence with me as they talked about their family life. The theme of respect emerged in the interviews as a signifier of a decrease of physical violence in the home. The term respect was always used in Spanish as opposed to Quechua, the language in which most of the interviews were held. The ten women attributed the physical violence to their husband's excessive drinking and their frustration with not finding work. Thus when discussing the decrease in violence in the home, they attributed it to their ability to bring income home through their weaving group. Fortunata expresses this in the following quote:

I bring a little money for us now. My husband does not have to go looking for jobs in other cities all the time. He can help me with the weavings and other chores and I tell him that the weavings is his work too because if he does not help me I cannot weave as much. The more I weave the more chances I will sell something in the store and we will have a little money that month. This money helps us a lot. He has found work around the community a few times and that is good, now he comes straight home once he is done working... before he would go and drink... he does not drink too much anymore. He only drinks at community festivities, but everyone drinks at those. And when he went away on those long trips to look for work he would come back drunk and angry and with no

money. Then he would really get violent sometimes with me, with the children. But now he does not drink much so he respects the children and me.

Rosalia also shared her experience:

One thing I am very happy about is that we do not fight any more, we still do sometimes but now is not as often and he does not drink much either so now he does not get violent. Before we could really fight, he would get really angry and sometimes he would be already drunk or he would go out and get drunk after a fight and then come and beat me. We do not do that anymore. Raimundo and Lola talked to us about respect. After a big fight we had, Raimundo and Lola came for a visit and I had bruises in my face. They asked what had happened... I said my husband was drunk. My husband told them that I did not know my place and so he had beaten me. And then they started talking to us about respect and how it was not good or normal for a man to beat his wife. This was the first time someone was telling us this was not normal. I grew up in a house where my father and older brothers would beat me sometimes... sometimes I did not even know why they were so angry. But they said it was not normal... Raimundo talked to my husband about his drinking. My husband likes Raimundo and looks up to him because he looks like us but he is educated and he is successful... so he listens to him. And other men in the family have also stopped drinking so much and getting angry with their wives, there is more respect... I think Raimundo talked to them too. My husband saw that the other men were not drinking much either, and he stopped drinking as much and hitting me too.

All the women in this group had similar experiences and they all attributed the respect their husbands showed them to their participation in the weaving group. Two of them however talked about an increase in violence when they first began working with NGO B. Their husbands were upset about the new requirements the women had to meet to be part of the group. Requirements such as being absent from the home for a whole day to weave as a group and traveling to the city were the ones they had most trouble with. Ana recounts an incident of her husband becoming violent after learning about these new requirements:

NGO B had a meeting to explain how the association was going to work with them and they invited the husbands and whoever wanted to come. Almost all the husbands went. I had told my husband about the trips to the city and all that because I already knew. He said he did not like that and I think he went to the meeting to tell NGO B that I was not allowed to go to the city. Many husbands raised their hand to talk and said that their women did not travel to the city alone. But NGO B said that we had to, that this was part of the deal, that it was not going to be very often... most of us would only go to the city 2-3 times a year. The husbands offer other options, like they could bring the weavings to the city or Raimundo could continue to bring the weavings to the city... but the NGO B did not want to. They said the women had to bring the weavings and take some classes in

the city... the husbands did not like this but after a while they stopped arguing because they did not want us to lose the job with the NGO B. My husband was quite when we walked back to the house. When we got to the house he said that he did not care what the NGO said I was not allowed to go to the city alone. I told him that I had to go when my turn came and that he could not tell me not to. And he slapped me... then he kept beating me and yelling that I was not allowed to talk back to him either. Then he went out and got drunk. I was very sad because he had stopped beating me many months before that. This went on for a few weeks, every time I had to go to my weaving meetings. The other women in the group talked to Raimundo and he talked to my husband. I do not know what he said to him but he stopped beating me after that.

Objective 3: To Examine the Extent to Which Indigenous Women's Roles and Opportunities May Have Changed Within Their Community Life Since Participating in These Projects

The third set of questions was aimed at learning about the women's experiences in their public lives. They were asked about their rights and responsibilities as community members, the community's support of the weaving groups, and about any differences in their participation in community life since they began participating in the weaving group. The themes that emerged were: finding their voice, child rearing and land ownership.

Finding Their Voice

In general, the women reported that their participation in community meetings and community activities was limited to a supportive role. The tasks that they would be in charge of included: cleaning, organizing, preparing and serving snacks and meals. While all married women attended the meetings, they did not have a right to voice their opinions or to vote. Participating in the weaving association was, for all the women who were interviewed, the first opportunity to voice their opinions and to experience the process of voting. The women described this process as difficult and painful, but also as liberating. Over the years of their participation with the weaving group they had tried to bring this newfound voice into other areas of their lives such as community activities. This was not encouraged nor tolerated by the

community leadership and it had generated conflict between the weaving association and the leadership. The following incidents, constructed from my field notes, portray these interactions.

The first incident occurred during the monthly community assembly:

A discussion about whether or not to participate in an agriculture and artisan fair organized by a neighboring district begins. The leadership and voting members quickly agree that it is a good idea to participate. Then they proceed to discuss which product categories they would enter. They decided on three categories: alpaca breeding, native potatoes and native corn varieties. Fortunata raised her hand to speak but was ignored so she got up and raised her voice and said: we also need to enter the weaving category. While many heads turn to look at her the leadership remained as if no one had spoken. They carried on with the meeting. At that moment both Ana and Rosalia also got up and repeated that they wanted to enter the weavings category. Again no one acknowledged them. Just as the meeting was about to come to a close Fortunata's husband asked to speak and he was acknowledged. He proceeded to express his interest in having the weaving association participate in the weaving category at the fair. He cited other fairs at which the ladies had participated and where they had done well and won cash prices that were good for their families. He asked that the matter be put to a vote. The president put the issue to a vote and more than half the men present voted in favor. The president announced the favorable vote and remarked that when the rules were followed things worked out fine and exhorted everyone to remember their places in the community.

The second instance took place at a school welcoming activity at the beginning of the school year.

The children, parents and community leadership were present at the school welcoming activity. As it is customary the community's president was invited to say a few words to the audience. His speech followed the principal's welcoming remarks. When the president was done, the principal introduced Ana as the next speaker. The president who was returning to his seat stopped and stared at Ana as she got up to speak. He did not stop her from saying a few words to the children but pulled the principal aside to scold him for calling her to speak. He was loud enough that we could all hear what he was saying. He told the principal that it was unacceptable to have a woman address the children and other members of the community. The principal listened quietly but did not apologize or offer an explanation. He patted the president in the back, shook his hand, and walked away.

The Paya Lliklla women reported feeling uncomfortable, sad and conflicted by the turmoil in the community. They felt uncomfortable because the turmoil was caused by their desire to speak up and to have a more active participation in the community life. On the one hand they felt they were hard working and were providing a better future for their children. On

the other hand, they felt rejected and shamed by the community leadership and many other members of the community. They wanted their community to be supportive of their work and saw their rejection as a sign that they were not welcomed there anymore. Three of the women who were interviewed reported a desire to move out of their community to a neighboring district that they perceived as friendlier to weaving associations. Out of these three women, one had concrete plans to move out with her family.

The Leadership's Perspective

I interviewed the community's president and vice-president who were serving at the time of the study. I asked them about their perceptions regarding the weaving association, what did the weaving association mean to the community, and what benefits and/or challenges had the community faced since the beginning of the association. They both agreed that the idea of the association was not bad but that it was not carried out properly because it did not follow community norms. They both pointed to NGO B's intervention as the beginning of the problems with the association. The president categorized NGO B as *"outsiders who like to make trouble and think that we can be like them but we are not."* He went on to narrate what he saw as the beginning of all the trouble:

When Raimundo first came to propose this idea of a weaving group for the women it sounded fine because the women already weave and they could make a few extra weavings and then Raimundo took that to the city and these families made a little money. That benefits all of us because many women can participate and then those families contribute to community activities and to the school. You know they were just fine like that. They weaved in their homes and then Raimundo or sometimes their husbands would take the weavings to the city to sell. But then NGO B came and they had all these rules, they came here and told our women that they had to be the ones selling the weavings and going to the city and they had to weave together. Now they even have that weaving house... in community land! These women are only looking out for themselves and their families... they have forgotten that we are a community and that we have to work together... they will talk back now and they demand things... they even talk back to their husbands but NGO B has convinced the husbands that this is good... I do not know what they have told them because I do not know, I do not understand it... they think they are better than the rest of us.

Child Rearing

Traditional child rearing practices were a point of contention between the weaving association and the community. The Paya Lliklla women were introducing child-rearing practices that were frowned upon by others in the community, including the community leadership. The practices that were most commonly mentioned as “*irresponsible*” by community leaders were: playtime, homework time, and the selection of godparents.

Customarily, from a very young age, children are responsible for a number of chores that they perform before and after school. People in the community believe that responsible parents provide chores to their children in order to equip them with useful skills for the future and to socialize them into the way of life in the community. Children do not only do chores at their homes, but they’re also required to serve at their godparents’ homes. Thus, a child spends his or her day doing chores in the morning, going to school and then doing more chores until bedtime. There is no allotted time for play or for homework. Parents expect children to play at recess in school, or while doing certain chores that do not require their full and constant attention. They also expect them to do any homework at school. The Paya Lliklla women however had relieved their younger children from most after school chores so that they would have time to do homework. They were also providing “free time” for their children on the weekends so that they could play. According to the women, a NGO B worker who led one of their leadership workshops initially introduced this idea. Fortunata had this to say:

She was talking to us about our children’s future... what did we want them to be when they were older. We all said we wanted them to be professionals... so she asked us how were we helping them so that they could be professionals. Most of us told her our children were going to school. But she asked about homework and what other things the children did. She explained to us why homework was good... and she also talked a lot about playing... I think it is important for children to play so if we want our children to be professional we have to let them play.

This idea did not seat well with other members of the community and the leadership. The leadership felt these parents were neglecting their obligation to teach their children skills that would be useful for their grown up life in the community. The community vice-president offered this comment:

They think they are better than us... they think that their children are going to be somebody, a professional... but most of these children will grow up and still be here and they will live in this community. They need to learn how to work the land and how things are done here.

On the issue of finding godparents for their children, the weaving families were seeking godparents from outside the community. Two of them had been successful in giving their children godparents who lived in European countries and had been in Peru on short volunteer work trips. These two families had no way of contacting these godparents. I was once asked to be godmother to a little girl. I asked the parents if they were not concerned that I, most likely, would not visit the community very often as the little girl grew up and thus we would not have much of a relationship. The parents' response was that by asking someone from outside the community, they were releasing their child from the obligation of having to serve and do chores for another family. The community leadership was not happy with this. They felt these families were rejecting an ancient practice and "going against an ancient tradition of shared work and reciprocity."

Land Ownership

As mentioned previously, the Paya Lliklla women were successful in securing a piece of land at the edge of the community from the district government and building a weaving house in the property. They went over the community's leadership authority in order to do this. The leadership made the community's discontent with this land allocation known to the district mayor arguing that the land belonged to the community not the mayor. The mayor however

alleged that the land was public land and thus it belonged to the government and to prove his point he issued a title to the land in the name of the weaving association.

The fact that they were able to build their weaving house was a source of great pride for the Paya Lliklla women. They did not seem to care as much about having the title to the land. They considered the land to belong to the community as the community leadership did. However, the women saw nothing wrong in having a property title because they considered themselves as good caretakers of the land. They also saw this victory over the community leadership as a door that had increased their participation in the community assemblies and their visibility within the community, even if most of the time this translated into negative interactions. As Ana said to me:

They have to pay attention to us now; even if is only because they want to fight us for the use of this land.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings for the Paya Lliklla group. Overall, the women who participate in this group reported high levels of satisfaction and growth. While the women experienced challenges, findings suggest that they also increased their agency and gained personal empowerment and this was reflected in their personal lives and their family and community interactions. The women have used their newfound voices to negotiate their roles in the family in order to fulfill project commitments. Furthermore, they are participating in the decision-making process at the family and community level processes.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS FOR MUNAY WASI

Introduction

Munay Wasi was the second weaving association established in the Rakhi community. They came together in 2004 motivated by the success of Paya Lliklla and were hoping that like Paya Lliklla, they would be able to obtain a storefront space in the city. At the time this study took place, Munay Wasi had fifteen members. Eight of these women were interviewed for this study. In addition, three of the women's husbands were also interviewed. The themes that emerged from these interviews are organized according to each study objective and comments from other groups (i.e. husbands) are noted after the women's responses when appropriate.

Objective 1: To Examine the Personal Experiences of Indigenous Women Participation in Social Entrepreneurship Projects

All of the women reported mixed feelings about their participation in the weaving association. While they felt that they were able to bring additional income to their homes with the sale of their weavings, they also felt that since participating in the association they had more difficulties in their lives. Many of the women had expected to join Paya Lliklla in their store front in Cusco in a relatively short time. However, at the time this study took place this had not happened yet, and it seemed unlikely that it would happen. In addition to the additional income they were generating, the women also enjoyed weaving together as a group but they did not have many opportunities to do so. Most often they would weave together in groups of two or three but rarely as a whole group. Like the Paya Lliklla women, they reported that weaving together provided a space where they could talk freely, share their concerns and receive advice.

Their hesitation to weave together as a whole group seemed to be related to the major themes that emerged from these interviews: fear of isolation and lack of opportunities. The

women were afraid to be perceived as breaking community norms by weaving together in public; and since they did not perceive themselves as having the same economic returns as Paya Lliklla, they did not see breaking norms as worth any possible negative community repercussions.

Fear of Isolation

Although the Munay Wasi women reported having started the weaving association with much enthusiasm and hope that it would yield the same economic results that it had for Paya Lliklla, at the time of this study they were more concerned with not suffering the same social stigma to which they felt the Paya Lliklla women were being subjected. They came together soon after Paya Lliklla became involved with NGO B. Regina explains that the arrival of NGO B is what motivated them to form the association, but that things in the community had changed very much since then:

When Paya Lliklla first got together no one thought much of it. We thought maybe they would sell a weaving or two but not much really. We were already doing that in a way, if we weave a little extra we give it to our husbands or fathers and they take them to sell in their trips. But Raimundo really helped Paya Lliklla to be better weavers and to make weavings that the tourists wanted and those cost more. They were making some little extra money and then NGO B came along. They came from the city looking for the weaving group and now they had their own space in a store in the city! And until then people here in the community had been happy with the women... they were not doing anything wrong and we thought we could have that too. But NGO B has many rules that our men do not approve of. They want us to abandon our children... our families... that is what my husband says. I want to make an extra little money but I do not want the people here to talk about me and call me lazy. Plus, my children are small and I do not have anyone to watch them. My husband does not have a job right now but he says he is not going to do women's work... so he does not help much.

At the initial stages of forming their association, Munay Wasi sought Paya Lliklla's advice on the weaving techniques they were learning and they would come weave together with them on Thursdays. Both associations had remained amicable; however, as relations grew tense between Paya Lliklla and the community leadership, the Munay Wasi women stopped weaving with them. In Blanca's words,

We had to stop weaving with the other women because people were saying bad things about them. At first it was just talk from the community leadership, they would come around the houses and comment on how these women were taking trips to the city and taking work away from their husbands because the husbands should be the ones selling the products. And then some of the Paya Lliklla women began speaking at the community assemblies and asking for things... a lot of people did not like that... I thought they were brave but it made me feel uncomfortable and afraid for them. My husband told me he would beat me if I ever thought of talking like that in front of everyone. Raimundo tries to work with us and has talked to our husbands but they do not listen to him like the other husband's do. I think this is because our husbands think the other women make more money from their weavings. They think Raimundo helped them more, they do not see that it is only that the other group weaves more because they have more time. I would be able to weave more if my husband helped me like Fortunata's husband, he helps her a lot... but mine is not very helpful, he does not want other men in the community to call him names and think he is not man enough. And my children are too young to help much... we really do not want to be treated differently; I do not want to be called names either.

Four of the women who were interviewed expressed the same fear of being perceived as not being good wives and mothers. However, they also talked about their admiration for the Paya Lliklla women and their strategies to remain connected to them. These four women would sometimes join the Paya Lliklla women on their weaving days and weave with them for an hour or two. Since the weaving house was built they tried to weave inside so that they were not seen. According to Isabel, they would also give the Paya Lliklla women some of their weavings to sell alongside theirs:

We sneak in and weave together sometimes and the Paya Lliklla women are nice, we give them some of the things we weave and they send them to be sold like if it was theirs. No one really knows this, they can't tell NGO B they do this... but we get a little more money for our weavings this way... we only send little stuff like key chains and small bags.

Ines adds,

The other women know our husbands are not very helpful... mine does not say anything about my involvement with the association but he does not help me or encourage me either, but I keep coming to my weaving group because he does not say anything. The Paya Lliklla women know this; we do not have the husbands like they do so they help us so we can make some little money too... the other women do not know this because there could be trouble if they find out. Us four and Fortunata, we were very good friends from before the weaving and so that is why they help us.

Despite the help they received from the Paya Lliklla group, the Munay Wasi women reported that they did not want to be associated with Paya Lliklla for fear of being rejected by the community. They were also afraid their husbands would be teased and that this would prompt them to drink more and beat them. It was important for these women to fulfill their traditional roles as mothers and wives which assured them approval and acceptance from other community members.

This same fear prevented them from weaving together as a group. At the beginning of the association the women would gather together in someone's patio to weave as a group or they would join the Paya Lliklla group. Once they stopped weaving alongside Paya Lliklla, they also stopped weaving as a group on their own. This was primarily because they did not want to be perceived as taking the time away from their household chores and children in order to weave. By weaving alone or in groups of only two or three women, the Munay Wasi women kept weaving as a secondary activity and pleased the community leadership. They distinguished themselves as "good and proper" women.

Although this fear of associating with Paya Lliklla women existed, it is important to note that it was not uncommon to see Munay Wasi women and Paya Lliklla women weaving together. On my visits to the weaving groups I often found one or two women from the other group present. As mentioned before, there were four Munay Wasi women who would often weave with Paya Lliklla on Thursdays. In addition, when visiting Munay Wasi women, Paya Lliklla women would sometimes be present helping them with their weaving technique.

Lack of Opportunities

Six out of the eight women commented repeatedly on their lack of opportunities compared to Paya Lliklla. They felt that NGO B had provided opportunities for Paya Lliklla that it was not willing to provide to them. They recognized that Raimundo and NGO A were helping

them improve their weaving technique, but they were not learning to read or write like the other women had. Even though they had heard that learning to read and write was something the group had decided to do on its own, the Munay Wasi women did not believe it. They did not think it was possible for the Paya Lliklla women to have decided this on their own. Regina explains,

Someone would have had to talk to the husbands and convince them to let their wives take those classes. No one is doing that for us. I think someone in NGO B told the women that they could make more money if they knew how to read and write. And then they came and talked to their husbands and convinced them... Raimundo and Luisa and the other NGO B workers who come around, they talk to the husbands and make things good, Raimundo comes around and talks to our husbands sometimes but they don't really listen to him because they don't trust him...our husbands think Raimundo favors Paya Lliklla and doesn't stand up for us with NGO B and that is why we don't have a space in their city store yet... we could sell more if we had a space in the store... but NGO B does not work with us because they say we do not weave as good as they need us to weave yet... I want them to give us an opportunity; they could talk to our husbands... I think if they sold our weavings and we had more money our husbands would let us weave more... maybe they would help us more in the house too.

The perception that NGO B had the power to convince their husbands to let them weave more was very strong amongst the Munay Wasi women. They also believed that the key to their success was NGO B. Most of the women felt that if NGO B sold their weavings they would have more income, and this would motivate their husbands to get involved. They believed this was the reason the Paya Lliklla husbands were involved in their wives' weaving and helped with household chores. Although the women maintained that it was important to them to be "good community women and follow the rules," they also argued that it would be fine to break some of these rules if this meant more family income and keeping their children in school. They also felt their husbands would be more inclined to challenge the rules if they knew their wives were making as much income as the Paya Lliklla women were.

Luisa's (NGO B worker) perception. Luisa had worked with Paya Lliklla for the last 4 years. She supervised the technical workshops and had also organized social focus classes that

included family planning, for example. She had this to say about her involvement in the community:

We are very proud of the work we have done with Paya Lliklla. They are good weavers. When we found them, they were already creating quality pieces... we helped them perfect their technique and they worked hard at it. We knew a second group was forming when we started working with Paya Lliklla but we never promised them anything. The groups we work with have usually been together for some time and they already are pretty good weavers. Munay Wasi does not meet those requirements. They have been together for some time now but only in paper, they do not really weave together that often and from what Raimundo tells me, they do not have a lot of time to weave... so they do not get a lot of practice. We have tried to explain to Munay Wasi that they need to weave more often and get better at it for us to be able to bring their products to the city. They think we favor Paya Lliklla and that we do something special to sell their weavings but we do not. The Paya Lliklla women sometimes do not get much income from their weavings... sometimes it is a bad month or they do not give us enough weavings. They do not always make money from this and they certainly do not make a tremendous amount of money when they do sell their weavings... people seem to think they do but they do not... Both groups seem to get along though; we do not think there is a problem with us not working with Munay Wasi although we recognize they came together because they thought we would work with them... but we never promised them anything.

Luisa recognized that challenging the perception that Paya Lliklla made *lots* of money from selling their weavings was very difficult because the association did not keep accurate records. In addition, the mistrust that had ensued from the misconceptions surrounding the income brought in through the sales of weavings was deeply rooted by now and it prevented effective communication. She further acknowledged that even amongst Paya Lliklla women there were problems sometimes because some felt some of the women made more income than others. Since each woman receives the income from the item they sold, the larger or more complex the item the more it costs. In my observations, the older women, with no small children to care for and especially those who were widowed, invested more time on their weavings creating more weavings per month but also investing time in larger and more complex weavings. Widowed women were also freed from the stigma that followed other Paya Lliklla women since they lived with their elder son or daughter. While they were expected to help with domestic

duties, these were not their main responsibility thus the argument that they were neglecting their families did not apply to them. On the contrary these women were assets to their extended families because the income they generated went to help support their children's households.

NGO B has no records of income brackets for the households participating in the weaving association. The women keep a financial record of all their sales and expenses since they joined NGO B and Luisa reviews the record from time to time to make sure the women are populating the different columns correctly. This provides a record of the income the association as a whole received from (monthly) sales, but it does not break down income per member, thus there is no record of how much income each individual woman receives.

Raimundo's perspective. Raimundo has worked in the Rhaki community and surrounding communities for most of his life. He was instrumental in bringing Paya Lliklla to NGO B's attention. He is proud of the work the women have done. He feels he has a close relationship with each of the women and the families. When asked about Munay Wasi, however, he becomes solemn and looks away. He says,

I have failed that group. That is how I feel inside of me. They organized their group because they saw Paya Lliklla's success and they looked to me to help them get there. But I could not help them. I was not able to gain their trust. I think the women want to trust me and appreciate that I visit them, but their husbands do not trust me at all. They do not doubt my skills or my expertise but they do not believe that I want their group to be as successful as Paya Lliklla. Nothing I say or do convinces them and of course I cannot force the NGO to accept Munay Wasi's weavings. And honestly they have not learned the techniques well. Their weavings would not compete.

It seems that the root of the mistrust Raimundo is experiencing lies in the belief that the only factor that has contributed to Paya Lliklla's success is external intervention. The Munay Wasi men, and to some extent the women, fail to recognize the talent, effort and entrepreneurship of the Paya Lliklla women. They truly believe that it is only because of Raimundo and NGO B

that this group is successful. Thus, they are disappointed that the same cannot be done for Munay Wasi.

Elaudio, for example, referred to Raimundo as a very knowledgeable man with many contacts but that for some reason “*dislikes us.*” By ‘us’ he meant the Munay Wasi families. Elaudio felt that NGO B favored Paya Lliklla’s weavings because of Raimundo’s influence and thus the NGO “*refuses to even look at my wife’s weavings and make an independent assessment of whether they are good or not.*” It is true that NGO B relies on Raimundo to make the assessments of quality, but the researcher had the opportunity to record two instances in which NGO representatives interacted with Munay Wasi and gave them feedback on the quality of the weavings as well as organizational matters. Elaudio and the other two husbands who were interviewed felt that the main reason Raimundo did not like them was that they were not “soft” men like the Paya Lliklla men and they would not allow him to manipulate them. They made these comments as they talked about how unnecessary it was for women to weave together and to take time away from their homes and chores. These men did not believe the women would need “extra time” to weave quality pieces because the women have always weaved as part of their day-to-day chores. It is important to note that women have also always weaved in small groups. When talking about women “weaving together,” these men are referring to the act of weaving together in public as opposed to the privacy of the home.

Objective 2: To Examine the Impact of Social Entrepreneurship on the Traditional Roles Indigenous Women Assume in Their Home Lives

In general, the women reported that their participation in the weaving association had meant more work and heart ache for them. They often felt conflicted between their household responsibilities and meeting the number of weavings they were supposed to have each month. They reported that, because of their household responsibilities and lack of support from their

husbands, in the last two years they had only met the weaving quota twice. The major themes that emerged from this set of questions were competing responsibilities and uncooperative husbands.

Competing Responsibilities

The women's perspective. The women described their duties as wives and mothers as their primary responsibilities. Five out of the eight women had children under the age of five, which made it difficult to rely on their children's help to fulfill those responsibilities. The three women who had older children were among the ones who would often give their weavings to the Paya Lliklla women to sell. Since these women had children who were 5 years of age and older, they could enlist their help in completing household chores and at least one of the women had taught her children how to weave. These arrangements provided these women with the time they needed to weave more elaborate weavings or a greater number of weavings. Four of the women with younger children had enlisted the help of a female relative in the past so that they could weave more however, their husbands had not approved, arguing that it was their job to care for the children and their home. Jenny narrates her experience:

My mother thinks the weaving group is a good idea. She likes the Paya Lliklla women and when she heard another group was starting, she told me I should be part of that weaving group. So, she was going to help me with my children so that I had time to weave. And she did a few times... but my husband would be very angry when he found her caring for my children. He accused me of neglecting my children and my mother of covering up for me. My mother tried to explain to him that selling my weavings will give us a little more money, but he only gets angrier when people say that because he says he brings the money home, not me. He doesn't tell me to quit the group but I can only weave once in a while so I almost never meet the quota... but I don't want to quit, maybe things will get better.

It is important to note that when the women talk about children old enough to help with household chores or children who can produce weavings, they are exclusively referring to daughters. The 5 women who have children (daughters) younger than age 5 also have sons who

are older. However, like their fathers, sons are not expected to engage in domestic work. In observations and interviews it was apparent that the gender role divide was accepted and enforced by the women (as much as the men) through the socialization of their children. It also seemed that there was a lack of awareness of this construction of gender. The women rarely used the terms son or daughter to differentiate between their children. The researcher was expected to know the gender of the child they were referring to base on location – a public vs. a private sphere.

Three of the women reported feeling anxious whenever the time to meet with Raimundo came, because they knew they wouldn't have enough weavings ready. The quota that was initially established for Munay Wasi was five medium size pieces per month. At the time this study took place it had been reduced to three pieces per month, and the pieces could be any size.

Blanca talks about this anxiety:

I try really hard to have at least one weaving done for Raimundo but it is hard for me to find the time. I can do some spinning while tending to my animals but to weave on the loom I have to sit for a while and concentrate. Sometimes I weave smaller pieces because I can do it with needles and I can take them with me anywhere I go. But smaller pieces sell for less money. It's important to me that people know I'm a good mother and a good wife and that my husband is happy. He doesn't drink as much when he's happy... I also want to be able to sell my weavings, the other women are making money from it and they are keeping their children in school... my children are still small but if we don't have money for them to go to school they'll grow up to have a hard life like us. When my husband goes away to look for work I can weave more because then my mother or my sister helps me.

Isaudra, whose youngest child was ten years old, had a different experience:

I know that the women in my group have very little time to weave for the association. I used to have little time too and it was hard to weave for my family and also pieces to sell. But now that my children are bigger I have more time and I've taught my two younger girls to weave too so they help to make some of the pieces. The younger one is still in school but she has to do chores too. She prefers to weave than to do other things; she weaves a lot of little pieces, usually key chains, when she's pasturing the animals. I sometimes have more than three weavings so I give three to Raimundo and the rest I give to Paya Lliklla... they help some of us sell too.

The women also talked about the quality of their weavings. Five out of the eight women felt that their weavings were not as good as Paya Lliklla's while the other three felt they were comparable. The diminished quality of their weavings was attributed to the lack of time to weave as well as the lack of opportunities to participate in trainings offered by NGO B. They acknowledged they did not have as much time to practice their weaving technique as the Paya Lliklla women did and felt this was one of the reasons NGO B had not offered them storefront space in the city. Fausta narrates a conversation she had with Raimundo and a NGO B worker:

Some time ago I saw Raimundo and Luisa in the schoolyard and decided to talk to them about my weaving group. We talked about the possibility of selling some of our weavings in the store in Cusco, but they said we had a lot more work to do to weave as good as the other women. We needed to practice. I tried to explain that we didn't have much time sometimes and they said our husbands needed to help more... like I can make my husband help me [laughing].

Although the women recognized that the Paya Lliklla women spent more time weaving, the Munay Wasi women, like their husbands, also believed that one of the main reasons they did not have access to a storefront in the city was Raimundo. This was particularly true of the women who sometimes gave their weavings to the Paya Lliklla women. These three women had successfully passed their weavings as Paya Lliklla weavings many times. This indicated to them that the quality of their weavings was comparable to Paya Lliklla and negated NGO B's 'quality of product' argument.

Mada was one of the weavers who often gave pieces to Paya Lliklla to sell. She was annoyed that the quality of her weaving was not recognized.

I know when they judge the quality of our weavings they are judging us as a group... as a whole... and not individual weavers but I know my weavings are good because they get sold... I can only send little pieces so I do not get much income... I want an opportunity to send bigger pieces to the store.

The researcher asked Mada if she had considered leaving Munay Wasi and officially joining Paya Lliklla. The groups are open to new members so this was a real possibility. Mada

responded that while she had considered that option she did not see it as a good step to take for her. She was worried about her image in the community and she knew her husband would never support her joining Paya Lliklla.

I would probably make much more money if I joined Paya Lliklla and sold big weavings but I do not want to be called names, I do not want my children to think I am a bad mother and a bad wife. That is important to me.

The researcher had similar conversations with the other two women who often ‘passed’ their weavings as Paya Lliklla weavings. None of them saw the option of joining Paya Lliklla as a good thing for the same reasons cited by Mada. They felt that the only way for them to be successful was for Raimundo to do for them what he had done for Paya Lliklla and secure them a good income. When asked what did they think Raimundo had done, they could not say specifically. This thought that Paya Lliklla women were making a ‘good income’ came up repeatedly. However, the women could not say what that income was.

The husband’s perspective. The three husbands interviewed reported feeling disappointed with the outcomes of their wives’ participation in the weaving group. Two of them reported not understanding why their wives could not sell as many weavings as the other group of women. The third one acknowledged that his wife did not weave as much as other women did but he also stated not knowing why this was the case. The men were also upset that all the orders that came from foreigners were given to Paya Lliklla women. Their expectation when their wives had formed the weaving group was that they would soon thereafter have a storefront in Cusco and that their household income would increase, although they could not say how much this increase would be.

They often referred to the Paya Lliklla women as “lazy women,” and would become increasingly agitated when talking about them. They could not say how many weavings the Paya Lliklla women sold per month or how much money they had earned from these sales. But they

believed their wives deserved to make as much as “those women earn selling their weavings.”

They also believed that their wives were better women. The distinction between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ women was made several times by these men. Their wives were the ‘good’ women who obeyed the rules of the community, respected their husbands and put their children first.

Efigenio’s account summarizes the men’s feelings:

My wife is a good woman, all our wives are. But that is because we keep them that way, we do not let them run around and go to the city like those other women. Who knows what they do when they are there. Our wives do what they are supposed to be doing... taking care of their homes, their husbands, their children... the weaving is extra, and they cannot weave and neglect all their other obligations. A good woman does not do that... and a good woman does not run around in the city selling their weavings... selling merchandise is our job. We, men do that. Not the women. If they start doing that, what are we supposed to do? The NGO B people do not understand that... they think they are better than us so those Paya Lliklla women think they are better than us, they think their children are better than our children... but that is not true. We have the approval of our leaders and they do not, we think of our community, they do not.

The conversations with these husbands revealed that there was little understanding of the time that went into weaving and other household chores. Since weaving for their families is something that the women have always done they did not understand or believed that they needed extra time to weave the pieces the NGO required. Women often utilize synthetic yarn to weave clothing for their family thus eliminating several steps that are necessary in the traditional weaving process. The marketing strategy the NGO utilizes for their weavings relies completely in the idea of the traditional hand woven product. This means that the whole process remains natural – from shearing to processing to dyeing the fibers used in the weavings. The husbands acknowledged that this process took time but suggested that their wives needed to find the time to complete this task without taking time away from their daily responsibilities at home. One of the husbands suggested that NGO workers could take care of this step without taking time away from the women.

Throughout the interview all of the men were more focused on the sales of the weaving as opposed to production. They struggled with the idea that their wives would be the ones taking the weavings to the city and participating in workshops. They could not understand the NGO's rationale for wanting the women to take on this role. They did not believe it was safe or appropriate for their wives to travel to the city. They also felt that they were losing a role that was important to them and that if they allowed this to happen, they would ultimately lose authority over their families. They cited the behavior of the Paya Lliklla women, such as speaking out in public, as evidence of their fear.

Raimundo's perspective. "Ay señorita, I have talked to these families so many times but they do not listen," lamented Raimundo at one of our conversations. He indicated that he had started working with Munay Wasi very enthusiastically, especially after seeing Paya Lliklla's success. He didn't think working with these women and their families would be much different:

We did everything the same way we had with the first group of women. They learned weaving techniques, we met with their husbands and explained to them that they needed to cooperate with their wives for this to work... the women have tried and are still trying but they don't have the support of their husbands. The husbands want quick results; they thought their wives would start making a lot of money really quick. The Paya Lliklla women don't make a lot of money either but for some reason people think they do... I think it's because they look happy... so people think they must be making lots of money... I don't know how to fix it or how to explain to these men that if their wives spent more time weaving they would get better, make nicer products and then they would be able to join NGO B. They think we all favored Paya Lliklla but that it's not true. And I cannot work miracles; everything has to be step by step.

Raimundo seemed to still hold hope that the Munay Wasi women would eventually succeed but was very frustrated with the process and the misconceptions that were held by the group of women and their husbands. He conveyed that he felt he was speaking in a foreign language when he spoke with this group. He acknowledged that the husbands in this group and even some of the women had trouble with the idea of women gaining autonomy but he did not know how to address this fear of change. He felt he had followed the same steps as when he first

approached Paya Lliklla, but did not know what was different about the two groups. He was certain that as long as the group remained together he would continue to assist them but was unsure if he would ever succeed in gaining their full trust.

Uncooperative Husbands

The major obstacle the women identified at home was their husband. They would not help with household chores and would not cooperate with any weaving-related tasks. For example, they would not shear the animals or fetch water to dye the yarn, which are appropriate tasks for men to do. The women would often talk about how their husbands were not cooperating to help them be good weavers. They had to rely on Raimundo or other male family members to help them with the shearing of their animals. Although shearing and dyeing was only done two or three times a year, these tasks were very time consuming and the women were often helped by their extended kin. Unlike the husbands of the Paya Lliklla women, these husbands did not see their participation in these tasks as a way for them to participate in their wives weaving activity.

Three out of the eight women reported that their husbands had been out of town during the last shearing and dyeing season. The other five women reported that their husbands refused to participate. Two of the five reported that after seeing her kin come to help her, their husband had changed their mind and had joined in the work. Fausta offered an explanation of why her husband refused to help her with her weaving association:

My husband gets mad because I don't sell too many weavings. I tell him I don't have the time to weave but he doesn't believe me. He says that I only want more time because I want to learn all the bad habits the other group of women has learned... like talking back and wanting to go to the city. He doesn't help me because he wants to keep me good.

Objective 3: To Examine the Extent to Which Indigenous Women's Roles and Opportunities May Have Changed Within Their Community Life Since Participating in These Projects

The major theme that emerged from this set of questions was the ownership of the weaving house. The Munay Wasi women did not feel their involvement in community events had increased since their participation in the weaving association. However, they had received more attention from the community leadership since the Paya Lliklla women had received a title to the land where their weaving house was built. All of the women had been approached by the leadership and encouraged to take their weaving to the weaving house. According to Jenny, the community president came by her house and talked to her and her husband:

He told us that the mayor had taken part of our land... that he gave the Paya Lliklla group a paper that says that the land belongs to them and that we could not allow that to happen. The leadership had tried to reason with the mayor for a long time but he had made his decision and it was not a good one. The president said that Munay Wasi was a good group of women and that we should go and use the weaving house... if there was going to be a weaving house in the community then it would be for all the weaving groups.

The women felt conflicted about Paya Lliklla owning the land. Three of them were consistent in asserting that the land was the community's and it should not belong to the weaving group. However, the four that occasionally weaved with the Paya Lliklla women thought it was fine that the women had a title to the land. They did not think it meant anything. In Isabel's words,

I do not think the title means anything. They are not going to steal the land or anything like that. They have the weaving house but they have never said 'this land is ours'... it is just normal, like always. They just want to be able to weave... it was the mayor's idea to give that piece of paper to them but only because the community president was trying to take the weaving house away from the women.

As far as Munay Wasi going to weave at the weaving house, they were not sure it was a good idea. Most of them did not have their husband's permission to go weave at the weaving house. Thus, they had not gone to the weaving house as a group. A few of them had gone

individually and weaved with the Paya Lliklla women and had not had any problems. Regina, one of the women who opposes Paya Lliklla having a title for the land, did go weave with them a couple of times:

I wanted to know what they wanted the piece of paper for. They were nice and I weaved with them all morning. My husband let me go because he wanted to know too. I asked them what they wanted that piece of paper for... they said that the mayor had given them that document to make it official so no one could take the weaving house away. I know the leadership was trying to get the weaving house torn down because they had not given their permission for it to be built... but the mayor had said it was fine to build it... and we have to listen to the mayor. I told the women they were wrong to have a piece of land that belongs to the community. They said the land was the community's, they were only weaving there they were not going to sell it or anything like that.

The Leadership's Perspective

Both the community president and vice-president were very angry with the mayor for not recognizing their authority. It is important to note that while indigenous communities have their own local governments, the district, provincial or national governments can surpass the authority of those governments. Knowing this, the Paya Lliklla women had ignored the local leadership's ruling regarding the weaving house and had gone to the district's mayor. Paya Lliklla had approached the community leadership to request a space at the edge of the community to build a weaving house. The group argued that they needed a space where they could weave as an organization and that, especially during the rainy season; their house patios were not suitable. In addition, they argued that having a weaving house at the edge of the community and near a road could attract tourism. The leadership denied their petition arguing that it was unnecessary to build a house specifically for weaving since this was a domestic activity that could be carried out in the women's homes. They also saw it as unnecessary for the women to weave as a large group. The women were very disappointed and one of them suggested bringing the matter to the mayor and, with the help of Luisa and their husbands, they did. They sent the mayor a letter and secured a meeting. Their endeavor was successful and the mayor not only gave them a piece of

land at the edge of the community but also funds to build a small house. It appears that there was no discussion between the mayor and community leadership prior to the mayor granting Paya Lliklla's request. Thus, the local leadership was very angry at the mayor's office but they were also angry with the Paya Lliklla women's husbands for not controlling their wives. The community president had this to say:

It was wrong of the mayor to give away our land; I am very angry with him. I am more angry with the women's husbands because some of them went with their wives to petition the mayor for the weaving house... they are supposed to make sure their wives behave well, like proper women! And they are not doing that. They are setting a bad example for this community. We have tried to reason with the mayor but he will not change his mind... we are trying to find other solutions.

He did not have any specific ideas of what these solutions would look like. The only plan he mentioned was to have other groups join Paya Lliklla at their weaving house:

We have talked to the Munay Wasi women. We want them to use the weaving house as well. We will issue an order that the weaving house should be a space for all the weaving groups or anyone who wants to weave in the community.

Even though the president and vice-president maintained that women should weave in their own houses they thought that by issuing this order they were reclaiming ownership of the land. It was also a way to assert their authority over the mayor's orders. The vice-president also stated that this would be an opportunity to provide exposure for the Munay Wasi women, and to allow them to have a weaving association while taking care of all their domestic obligations:

These organizations [NGO A & B] come in here and they think they are going to change everything. They do not respect our rules. Even Raimundo who is one of ours tells our men to do things that are not manly... and to help their wives in their house... but the Munay Wasi women, they weave only after they have taken care of their homes and their children and they do not have these crazy ideas that the Paya Lliklla women have. I was in favor of having the weaving group in the community... I thought it was a good idea and extra money is good for us but I do not want things to change here in the community. The Paya Lliklla women and their husbands do not understand this.

Even though the leadership had issued the order that the weaving house was to belong to all weaving groups in the community, neither the Munay Wasi women nor any other group of

women had gone to weave as a group to the weaving house at the time this study concluded. As mentioned above, most women did not have their husband's approval to weave in public.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings of this study for Munay Wasi. Findings suggest that, overall, the weaving group experience for Munay Wasi was more negative than positive. While the Munay Wasi women report enjoying having additional income and weaving together as a group, it appears that in general they are more preoccupied with not being perceived as “bad women.” This fear stems from the community leadership's and their husband's opinions and treatment of Paya Lliklla's women. There seems to be a marked distinction between being a “good and proper woman” that follows community norms and a “bad woman” who does not. Munay Wasi seemed to have found a privileged place in the community leadership by maintaining a “good and proper women” status. Although it was not clear that this status brought any tangible benefits or made them happier.

Findings also suggest that the women struggle to meet their household responsibilities and their weaving quotas simultaneously, and that is a source of distress. Although both the women and their husbands seemed to be aware that if the women had helped with household chores they would be able to weave more, husbands were opposed to this. Once again, it seemed that the notion of “keeping the women good” was a reason for the husbands not to help or allow other family members to help with daily tasks. However, it also appeared that if NGO B were to work more closely with Munay Wasi and they saw an increase in their household income both the women and their husbands would be more likely to break community norms and follow NGO B's requirements.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This multi-case study research examined the impact that social entrepreneurship ventures have had in the lives of participating indigenous women, their families and their community in one small community in southern Peru. The following research question was addressed: how have handicraft related social entrepreneurship projects performed by indigenous women influenced their traditional roles within their family and community life? In order to explore this question, the study was organized around the following objectives:

1. To examine the personal experiences of indigenous women's participation in social entrepreneurship projects.
2. To examine the impact of social entrepreneurship on the traditional role indigenous women assume in their home lives.
3. To examine the extent to which indigenous women's roles and opportunities may have changed within their community life since participating in these projects.

The study findings revealed differences in the personal experiences of the women in these two case studies, the Paya Lliklla and the Munay Wasi, across the three areas that the objectives addressed. This discussion will comparatively examine these differences, as well as the implications of such initiatives.

Social entrepreneurship projects have garnered considerable attention from the social sector, politicians, and academics alike. The potential of a bottom-up development approach as a mechanism to deal with high levels of poverty in different countries around the world is riveting. This fascination has been illustrated by very enthusiastic accounts in the literature, in which the social entrepreneur is the main protagonist. However, there has been little attention paid to how these projects impact the recipients of the intervention as well as their families and communities.

Furthermore, issues of group disenfranchisement within individual countries, as well as issues of sustainability, are often not discussed. In this study, the length of time spent in the field, the use of case study methodology for data collection, and an inductive approach to data analysis have provided the researcher with a depth of understanding of the cultural nuances that may impact the implementation and sustainability of social entrepreneurship projects.

This discussion chapter will be organized around the three study objectives. A comparative analysis of the two cases will be presented for each objective. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the study's implications for social development projects and social work practice.

Objective 1: To Examine the Personal Experiences of Indigenous Women's Participation in Social Entrepreneurship Projects

The human capabilities approach, and more specifically Martha Nussbaum's (2000) explication of it, argues that for women to be free and live a life of dignity, opportunities to raise their human capabilities need to be made available. This is what the Paya Lliklla venture seems to be doing for the women who participate in it. While this economic development venture does not provide a steady income, the women seem to derive much satisfaction from the personal and group power they have found through their group membership. In telling their story the Paya Lliklla women spoke both of benefits and challenges, but most of their stories focused on the personal gains they have derived from the project. In contrast, the Munay Wasi women spoke primarily of the challenges they have faced since joining the group. Even though the women could list positive aspects of their group membership, they characterized their participation in the weaving group mostly as a source of stress and conflict.

There are several issues that seem to have impacted these contrasting perspectives concerning how the women experienced their participation in these two case studies. In

particular, the group's history and composition, the women's level of skill, and the level of support from their husbands are all areas in which the women in these two groups differ. Paya Lliklla first came together as a group of learners with the purpose of mastering a lost skill that would enable them to produce a craft with the markers of traditional weaving. They understood the project as a potential future income-generating source, but did not have high expectations. The time they had together prior to the arrival of NGO B allowed them to develop group identity, solidify group membership, and grow their skill set. Furthermore, they had the opportunity to develop leadership skills and experience aspects of governance in the context of running their organization. These skills served them well once they joined NGO B and were faced with challenges to their entrepreneurial venture.

Munay Wasi, in contrast, originated in response to Paya Lliklla's perceived success. The women participating in Munay Wasi self-organized with the expectation of joining NGO B alongside Paya Lliklla in a short period of time. They perceived that their skill level and group characteristics were similar to those of Paya Lliklla, and thus assumed that NGO B would offer them storefront space as well. Prior to the arrival of NGO B, Paya Lliklla's project was kept in the private domain, where it seems there was no indication to outsiders of the time allocation challenges faced by the women. The need for shifts in housekeeping and childcare responsibilities were discussions that happened in the privacy of the home and within group member discussions. Given that the Paya Lliklla women had no external pressure to produce a fixed quantity of products or to travel outside their communities, the challenges they faced, as well as the problem solving process, were not part of the public narrative of success. When the Munay Wasi women come together hoping to follow Paya Lliklla's footsteps, they do so without

a complete understanding of the group's path to success, and this leads to unrealistic expectations.

NGO B's arrival moves Paya Lliklla from the private to the public realm, and this single event becomes the locus of success in the community's collective memory. In fact, Paya Lliklla's success often is attributed solely to this outside intervention. The years the women spent relearning the art of traditional weaving and perfecting their techniques no longer factor into the community's collective memory. Therefore, the Munay Wasi women firmly believe that their key to success lies with NGO B, and reject the argument that because they do not spend enough time practicing their weaving techniques they do not produce high quality weavings.

The fact that traditional indigenous weaving differs from just weaving or knitting is another aspect often lost in Munay Wasi's as well as other community member's narratives about the craft of traditional weaving and Paya Lliklla's success. Traditional indigenous weaving is characterized by the presence of indigenous designs and techniques on the final product. This intergenerational knowledge has traditionally been passed down from mothers to daughters, as indigenous women have historically been tasked with clothing the family. This weaving process often begins with harvesting natural fibers and then spinning, dyeing, and weaving the textile employing a backstrap loom.

Raimundo's motivation to organize Paya Lliklla, as well as other groups of women, was his observation that this skill set was no longer passed down to younger generations. The advent of synthetic fibers as well as a push for modernization has had a major impact on how indigenous women clothe their families. With the exception of items for ceremonial use, women in the Rakhi community most commonly weave or knit using synthetic fibers found at the markets, as it is less time consuming to do so. Thus, while mothers still teach their daughters

how to weave, the weaving materials and techniques have changed to accommodate this phenomenon. Relearning this craft requires time and practice, and while the Munay Wasi women recognize that lack of time to practice is one of their challenges, they simultaneously deny that the time invested by the Paya Lliklla women to the practice of their craft has led to their success. The prevalent narrative seems to be instead rooted in the belief that the art of traditional weaving comes naturally to indigenous women and hence requires no effort.

Paya Lliklla and Munay Wasi also differ in the level of support the women have received from their husbands as they embarked in their respective projects. It is apparent that the husbands of the Paya Lliklla women are on board with the project and throughout time have increased their support for the project as well as their own participation. In contrast, the husbands of the Munay Wasi women often seem as if they were sabotaging the possibilities of their wives' success by refusing to actively help them, even when what the women needed was help with a task that would be regarded as gender neutral such as collecting water. The Munay Wasi husbands do not believe their wives should work toward meeting the productivity demands established by NGO B without the same monetary benefits they believe Paya Lliklla enjoys.

The differences in project buy-in exhibited by these two groups of husbands seem to be ingrained in their understanding of the purpose for their wives joining the weaving group. Like the wives, the Paya Lliklla husbands saw their wives' participation as an extension of domestic tasks they were already engaged in and that had a potential as a future source of income.

Raimundo and the women who taught the Paya Lliklla women the traditional weaving techniques were from neighboring communities, and thus were regarded as locals. NGO A was brought into the project by Raimundo as a source of assistance in the women's efforts to formalize their venture. By the time this happened, the women and their husbands trusted

Raimundo and were eager to pursue this venture as a source of income for their families. By the time NGO B arrived in search of the Paya Lliklla women with an offer of a storefront in the city, NGO B was seen as an asset. The rules and organizational demands NGO B had were also met with resistance from the husbands at first, but Raimundo was instrumental in helping with the transition. In addition, the strong bond the women had and the leadership skills they had acquired helped them problem solve and negotiate the new demands with their husbands.

Munay Wasi, in contrast, understood their organizing efforts solely as a means to bring needed income to their families. Their motivation for organizing seems to be deeply rooted in two premises: first, that Paya Lliklla women gain large sums of money through the sale of their weavings in the city and second, that since weaving is a natural task for women, it requires no extra time commitment or effort. Coupled with these beliefs was the fact that the Munay Wasi women have not benefitted from a period of time to develop a group identity and membership. As this group organized and sought help from Raimundo and NGO B, they set the association in motion with the set of requirements that NGO B had set out for Paya Lliklla without assessing their own readiness to meet these. Most importantly, the Munay Wasi husbands, and to some extent the women as well, believe that Raimundo and NGO B are the ones preventing the group from having the same success Paya Lliklla has.

The NGO and the weaving association seem to have arrived at different conclusions as to the cause of the Munay Wasi's stagnation. NGO B believes that the root of the problem is that Munay Wasi women do not invest the time and effort in developing their skill set and producing the number of weavings the NGO requires every month. They attribute part of this failure to the husband's strict gender role expectations, and their refusal to assist their wives. The Munay Wasi women and their husbands, in contrast, believe that they could only afford to invest their time

into weaving as opposed to other domestic tasks if NGO B provided the storefront space and the opportunity to earn the income they believe the Paya Lliklla women earn. The Munay Wasi women believe this is essential in convincing their husbands to buy into the project. Furthermore, they believe that this is the only reason the Paya Lliklla husbands are invested in their wives' endeavor. This circular thinking seems to be at the heart of the discontent the Munay Wasi women feel about their participation, as well as their inability to grow as a group.

In summary, the success the Paya Lliklla group has experienced is due in part to the fact that the group was the first to be established in the community. This provided the time for the women to master their weaving techniques, for everyone in the family to find a place in the economic venture and adapt to shifting gender roles, and for the women to develop leadership skills and grow their individual capabilities. Furthermore, Paya Lliklla had the opportunity to do all this without the scrutiny of the larger community or the demands of outside entities. Munay Wasi, in contrast, set out to copy Paya Lliklla's success without an understanding of the dynamics that led to that success.

Objective 2: To Examine the Impact of Social Entrepreneurship on the Traditional Roles Indigenous Women Assume in Their Home Lives

Altering or questioning traditional roles in the home was not a goal of the social entrepreneurship project. Nevertheless, particularly in the case of Paya Lliklla, there is no doubt that the project has had an impact on the traditional gender roles the women assume in their homes. Gender norms in this community limit women's opportunities to pursue endeavors outside of their domestic responsibilities, and women generally lack the power to negotiate their responsibilities in order to take full advantage of economic opportunities. Both groups of women have faced the tension of competing responsibilities between household and childcare tasks and

project demands. However, the human and social capital available to the women to upset the order of these dual responsibilities differ substantially between the groups.

The Paya Lliklla women have experienced growing capabilities through their participation in the project. It is evident that the personal sense of empowerment that the Paya Lliklla women have acquired since joining the group has carried forward into their home lives. Delegating tasks and negotiating homemaking and childcare responsibilities are part of daily life for these women. In addition, they participate in the decision making process in the home. This includes advocating for older daughters to remain in school and finding alternative sources of support to help with domestic responsibilities.

The Munay Wasi women have not experienced this same growth in personal empowerment. An aspect that has an impact on the ability of the women to delegate responsibilities within the home is the number, gender and age of children. The Munay Wasi women are in general younger than the Paya Lliklla women, and they also have younger children who cannot yet help fully with domestic tasks. This limits their opportunity to delegate tasks. In addition, the Munay Wasi husbands are opposed to other family members helping with domestic tasks, further limiting their wives' opportunities for success.

A struggle that both groups face in this area is whether to keep the older daughters at home when no one else is available to take over domestic responsibilities. Due to the gendered division of labor, it is understood that only girls are to be kept home to fulfill this role. In the community it is common for girls to only attend up to the third or fourth grade of elementary education. It is quite remarkable, then, that the Paya Lliklla women have been able to successfully advocate keeping their daughters in school past the customary age. While the

women do not seem to be aware of gender dynamics that give place to their gendered existence, they are challenging gender norms nonetheless.

The level of agency the Paya Lliklla women display in their household interactions has also increased. They have come very adept at transferring the negotiating skills learned through business workshops to negotiate time allocation and responsibilities at home. The trips to the city are the best examples of their success in negotiating time for travel as well as finding solutions to their husband's concerns. The exposure to traveling has certainly helped Paya Lliklla women gain confidence and a sense of self. This in turn has helped them articulate what they would like for their futures, their children's future and their households as a whole. There is also no doubt that the income they are able to supply to their homes, no matter how small, is a great asset to the husbands in times when unemployment is high in indigenous communities.

In contrast, the Munay Wasi women seem to have had their agency further constrained by their participation in the weaving project. In an effort to distinguish their wives as "good women" in the community, the Munay Wasi husbands are vigilant about their wives' domestic activities and actively prevent them from exercising decision-making in the home even when decisions such as delegating tasks or asking for outside help were part of the women's domain. The community leadership coined the status of the "good woman" in an effort to maintain control over the manner in which these economic ventures develop.

It is important to note that the Paya Lliklla husbands have managed to create their own narrative surrounding their support of and participation in their wives' project. They have inserted themselves in the project by providing their expertise in marketing and sales and advising their wives in pricing matters. They continue to see themselves as the main providers and see their contributions as integral to the success of the project. The Munay Wasi husbands, in

contrast, find meaning and value in maintaining the status quo and are unwilling to support the entrepreneurial venture without experiencing quick economic returns. While power dynamics have shifted in the private sphere, particularly for Paya Lliklla, the public realm is still male dominated. The leadership only hears the women's voices when the husbands carry the message.

In summary, the social order in the community, very much supported by the division of labor along the lines of gender roles, seems to be in opposition to the direction of the social entrepreneurship project brought in by NGO B. In the community, families function as a single unit where all members work for the benefit of the whole family unit and not the growth or fulfillment of individual members. NGO B did not set out to explicitly challenge that social order or gender norms, but the organizational rules and production demands are in line with an individualistic viewpoint. As detailed in the findings section, Paya Lliklla women have found their voice and power in this context. This empowerment is evident in the women's increased leadership, and is not constrained solely to their group activities, but rather is also evident in their family and community lives. Empowerment, however, has come at a cost to these women. They are increasingly at odds with the community leadership and have become isolated. In contrast, the Munay Wasi women have not experienced this level of personal empowerment but enjoy a privileged position in the community as the "good women" who respect and uphold the gender role structure prevalent in the community.

**Objective 3: To Examine the Extent to Which Indigenous Women's
Roles and Opportunities May Have Changed Within Their
Community Life Since Participating in These Projects**

Women's roles in the public community life have traditionally been relegated to support roles. Women do not have the right to vote or to voice their opinions in public settings. Prior to the arrival of NGO B, Paya Lliklla was regarded well by the community leadership and in many cases they were asked to contribute monetarily to community events. The organization was even

recognized publicly as economic contributors at community events. The community leadership was comfortable with Paya Lliklla as long as the endeavor was primarily carried out in the privacy of the women's homes. The arrival of NGO B and its rules for participation were received with suspicion by the community leadership. As time went by the community leadership determined that the weaving project and its participants threatened the social organization of the community, and leaders sought ways to control the women through their husbands.

Munay Wasi has not suffered this same fate since their project remains largely in the privacy of their homes. As detailed in chapter V, this group was well aware of the community leadership's concerns at the time they organized, and the community leadership sought to influence the conditions under which Munay Wasi would perform by continuously referring to this group as an example of the "good and proper woman." This creates a dilemma for the women who are simultaneously trying to uphold this standard, and seeking solutions to propel their economic endeavor forward.

It is evident that the Paya Lliklla's women understanding of the political life of the community has increased since participating in this project, as has their desire for active participation. They have made multiple attempts to voice their opinions in public forums, even though they continue to be treated as invisible. The school's principal and teachers, who come from neighboring towns and districts, seem to be the only ones willing to acknowledge the group's contributions to public life by inviting them to speak at school functions. In all other public spaces, they continue to rely on their husband's voice to convey their wishes. In this regard, the women have received no clear guidance from NGO B, as its staff maintains that it is not their goal to change the community's organizational structure. The Munay Wasi women, in

contrast, do not seem interested in actively participating in public life or the political process. Given that they continue to struggle to be heard at home, it is understandable that their focus is not on the political life of the community. It could be argued however, that by accepting the role of the “good women” figure, they are passively participating in the community’s public life.

These power dynamics have resulted in the Paya Lliklla families suffering increasing ostracism from the community leadership and community members. The community leadership perceives the shifts in division of labor and childrearing practices as acts of defiance by these families. In addition, actions such as the women hiring someone to teach them how to read and write were perceived as revolutionary. In contrast, the Munay Wasi families have been exalted as model families for keeping in line with community social norms while pursuing an economic development opportunity. This has placed the Munay Wasi women in an interesting conundrum of enjoying a privileged place of virtue in their community while simultaneously desiring to accomplish Paya Lliklla’s success.

Without doubt the most contentious event between the Paya Lliklla group and the community was the adjudication of a piece of communal land for the weaving group. As detailed earlier (See chapter IV), Paya Lliklla’s vision for the future of their organization included a weaving house. The community’s leadership refused to provide a piece of land, but with encouragement from NGO B the women took their petition to the district’s government which not only gave Paya Lliklla the land but also built a weaving house for them. The community leadership maintains that this was a great act of betrayal of communal values on the part of the Paya Lliklla organization. The leadership, in an attempt to uphold the communal nature of the land, has declared that Munay Wasi and any other weaving group that may emerge in the future has a right to use the weaving house.

In summary, the community leadership sees the Paya Lliklla project as a threat to the community's power structure. The group and its demands have made it evident that the district government can overrule the community's leadership. This fact in itself is not new or a rare happening, but this was the first time that it happened because one group within the community challenged the leadership. This has resulted in community divisions and a hostile climate for members of the Paya Lliklla group. The Paya Lliklla women have increased their agency and desire for participation in political life, but the lack of changes in the community's political and social structure serves to constrain that agency. This highlights the complexities of Paya Lliklla's success. The empowerment of the women is a desirable outcome of their success, yet it is an unanticipated outcome and it seems the women are alone in facing the consequences of their newfound voice and agency. NGO B is not partaking in the conversation nor acknowledging this outcome as a result of their intervention. Munay Wasi, on the other hand, seems to be reaping the results of the community leadership's efforts to exert power over its citizens in response to Paya Lliklla's increased public persona. The Munay Wasi women are in between two forces, NGO B and its productivity demands and the community leadership and its call to be a role model and uphold communal values, and they are finding it hard to build their own identity while in the public eye.

Implications for Social Development Projects and Social Work Practice

Social entrepreneurship is a social development strategy that has garnered much support in the last decade for its potential to reduce poverty and promote self-sufficiency. As an economic intervention, it takes a "bottom-up" approach where the response to social problems is articulated by providing innovative income-generating opportunities to the affected population (Caplan, 2010). The case studies presented in this dissertation fall under the broad umbrella of social entrepreneurship, because the intent of the economic intervention was to provide a

bottoms-up innovative income-generating opportunity to groups of women who have no other sources of employment. Unlike most social entrepreneurship studies, these case studies provided an opportunity to present the perspective of the participants and examine the different processes that took place in establishing each of these social entrepreneurship ventures. The analysis of the Paya Lliklla and Munay Wasi projects reveal how the results of such projects are more complex and nuanced than often is understood. In particular, both cases highlight the intricacy of implementation processes, including opportunities for sustainability, understanding social context, and responding to unintended consequences.

Paying attention to the implementation process of a social entrepreneurship venture is important to its viability as a social development strategy (Anderson, 2014). The difference between a social venture and a traditional economic venture is that the economic benefits generated are intended to sustain a social cause as opposed to been distributed to shareholders. Other than that, it is important that social entrepreneurs follow sound business practices as they implement their ventures. Paya Lliklla benefited from Raimundo's entrepreneurial experience as he set out to address the cultural loss of traditional weaving techniques through creating an income generating opportunity for indigenous women. The group began small and Raimundo took steps to grow the venture over the course of four years, implementing his business and cultural knowledge to assess the group's readiness to take the next steps. He not only assessed their skill acquisition, but also modified his initial mission to include promoting traditional weaving as a form of cultural pride. He likewise set up the business to truly belong to the women by encouraging the women to officially register the weaving association. As a result, the group has been successful in mastering a new skill set and bringing needed income to their families. What we learn from this strategy is that consistent assessment of the project's mission and

objectives and people's readiness to realize those objectives is crucial to the success of a social entrepreneurship venture, as is an understanding of their family life and culture.

Understanding Paya Lliklla's path also helps us understand the lack of success that Munay Wasi is experiencing. Munay Wasi is not that different from the Paya Lliklla women when they first started. However, while Paya Lliklla's organizer was a traditional entrepreneur motivated by a social mission, Munay Wasi organizes as a group motivated by economic need; misunderstanding Paya Lliklla's path to success, they expect to join NGO B and see economic returns in a short period of time. In this second case, there is no gradual growth based on a business plan and assessment of readiness. Rather, the group narrowly focuses on NGO B's ability to "make them" successful. Both NGOs and Raimundo also seem to not fully understand the foundation of Paya Lliklla's success, and consequently expect Munay Wasi to move forward (i.e. becoming a registered association, placing production quotas) more quickly than the Paya Lliklla did.

These results underscore the importance of social program developers emphasizing careful implementation accompanied by ongoing program monitoring and evaluation. The learning that occurs from such activities would have increased everyone's understanding of Paya Lliklla's success, and in turn provided a model for Munay Wasi to follow. Particularly when working in disadvantaged communities with cultural values and practices very distinct from those of the developers, the need to fully engage participants in program planning and to learn about local cultures in depth is much more important than is commonly recognized.

Opportunities for the sustainability of social entrepreneurship ventures also depend on the group's readiness to take advantage of new market opportunities. Paya Lliklla was well positioned to take advantage of NGO B's offer because they had mastered the skill of traditional

weaving and were able to negotiate competing demands to meet the NGO's production quotas. This indicates that for a project to be sustainable it needs to invest time and resources in raising the individual capabilities of group members. In addition, social program developers need to be aware of market trends. Joining NGO B was a positive move for Paya Lliklla, because with a storefront in Cusco city they gained access to the largest tourist market in the country. Tourism in Cusco has grown steadily in the last ten years and the government is investing heavily in developing that sector.

Awareness and understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which a project develops is important for its success. In the case of Paya Lliklla, it is evident that Raimundo's awareness of family dynamics and gender roles made it possible for him to introduce his business idea in a culturally appropriate way. He was also able to identify challenges associated with these two areas, and he helped the women navigate and negotiate their roles within their families. This strengthened both the women's and the husband's participation. While NGO B provided a great opportunity for Paya Lliklla, they lacked the social and cultural awareness to anticipate or recognize the impact their intervention would have on community relationships. Furthermore, the NGO focused solely on the success of the economic intervention without regard for the disruptions in the women's community life. For these types of development projects to be successful in the long run, social developers need to take into consideration the social organization of indigenous communities so that the interventions have the potential to uplift the whole community. In addition, understanding power dynamics within the community would help social developers decide on best approaches for introducing, promoting and sustaining their intervention.

In order for social development projects to succeed, gender inequity needs to be recognized and addressed. Women's subordination has been the main roadblock to the success of the projects presented in this dissertation. The consequences of promoting women's economic development without taking into consideration their gendered existence is evident in the backlash the women experience from the community leadership and others in the community. The women's personal sense of empowerment and increase in agency are two desirable outcomes of economic interventions but in the case of these projects they are unintended consequences that neither Raimundo or NGO B is willing to address as consequences in need of immediate attention given that the lack of resolution may impact the sustainability of the project. Thus, the women and their families have to navigate a hostile environment within their own community. Despite the lack of guidance they receive from NGO B in this regard, the growth in human capabilities the women have experienced cannot be reversed or stopped. This social entrepreneurship venture was able to provide the setting for the women to increase their sense of freedom and power to make decisions that will affect future generations.

There is consistency between a social entrepreneurship development model and strengths and empowerment theories in social work. In addition, the goal of social justice is aligned with the profession's value system. Consistent with social work values, social workers should more explicitly consider and promote gender agency and empowerment as part of social entrepreneurship projects. Furthermore, with a person-in-environment and systems perspective in mind, social workers would be able to facilitate effective partnerships between NGOs, local governments and communities to engage in social development projects.

Social workers are ideally placed to contribute directly to social entrepreneurship development projects. Social workers bring knowledge about community needs and social issues

and skills in participatory people-centered community development. The skills and mindset social workers can bring to such projects can make their effects more meaningful and long lasting.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Personal

- Tell me about your involvement with the weaving group.
- What are some of the benefits of participating in the weaving group?
- What are some of the things you have learned since joining the weaving group?
- What do you like most about participating in the weaving group?
- What did you expect this group to be like when you first joined? Has the group met your expectations?
- What feelings do you have about your participation in the weaving group?
- What are some of the challenges you have faced since joining the weaving group?
- What would you want for the future of the weaving group?

Home life

- How does your family feel about your participation in the weaving group?
- Has anything changed at home since you joined the weaving group?
- What does your day typically look like?
- Are there any challenges associated with meeting monthly quotas, household work and childcare? If yes, what strategies do you use to manage these challenges?
- Who supports (provides help) with household and childcare responsibilities?
- What are some benefits that participating in this project has brought to your relationships and home life?
- What are some challenges that participating in this project has brought to your relationships and home life?

Community life

- Tell me about the place of the weaving group in the community.
- What is your role in participating as a citizen of your community?
- What are your rights as a citizen of your community?
- What are your responsibilities as a citizen of your community?
- How do you perceive the community's support toward the weaving group?
- Has anything changed for you with regards to your rights, responsibilities or place in the community since joining the weaving group? Has anything changed for your family?