

Can Participation Be Gender-Inclusive? Gender Roles, Development Projects and the Antamina Mining Company in Peru*

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Kang, Jungwon (2012), Can Participation Be Gender Inclusive? Gender Roles, Development Projects and the Antamina Mining Company in Peru.

Abstract The term 'participation' has become a principle guiding development projects since the 1980s. Even though the popularity of participation represents ongoing changes in development thinking which critically reflects the shortcomings of the previous project model, several scholars still express concerns about the disjuncture between the rhetoric and practice of participation, which ends up aggravating the exclusion of the previously excluded social groups. In recognition of such critiques, this article examines the exclusionary tendency of participatory development model with a particular focus on gender. For this purpose, this article comparatively analyzes the project participation by gender in four development projects which were implemented from 2006 to 2008 in the district of San Marcos, a Peruvian Andean village. In reference to the two influential frameworks in the development policies and research: Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD), this article proposes the following two research questions: 1) whether participation was more exclusionary to women and men; and 2) whether women's project participation entailed changes in gender relations which can be considered empowering. In conclusion, this

* This article comprises a part of the author's doctoral dissertation, entitled "Getting Engaged in Development: Gender and Participation in the Development Projects of the Antamina Mining Company in San Marcos, Peru, 2006-2008." The dissertation was presented to the department of anthropology at the University of Florida in 2010.

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article argues that: 1) development projects were not necessarily more exclusionary to women than to men especially when the previous gender roles corroborated with new roles imposed by the project participations; and 2) the project participation rarely led to any substantial changes in gender status which I measure through the analysis of women's control of access and their roles in decision making at diverse levels.

Key words Development projects, Gender roles, Corporate mining industry, Peruvian Andes

I. Introduction

As Robert Chambers (1995)'s phrasing of "paradigm shift" implies, the popularity of the term 'participation' in development projects represents a mixture of changes which began to take root in mainstream development thinking since the 1980s. This 'paradigm shift' is, as Cernea notes (1991, 2), largely driven by the increasing recognition by development practitioners and researchers of the failure of development projects shaped by the old model, one which Chambers terms the "paradigm of things" (1995, 32). Characterized by top-down approaches that emphasized knowledge and technology, the old model is increasingly seen as incomplete and unsustainable in itself. An alternative or complementary approach has been proposed, which posits the necessary inclusion of project recipients throughout the entire project cycle so as to turn project-driven changes into transformative experiences that are sustainable even after the end of the intervention. In this scheme, which conceives of change not simply as the outcome of technical engineering but also as social enlightenment (Cernea 1991, 29), the concept of participation forms an essential part of certain moral values, such as equity, empowerment, or sustainability, that it embodies. Seen in this way, participation seeks to prevent or at least moderate the negative impacts of

the previous project model, under which intervention ended up representing the interests of the few who better controlled resources and aggravating the social exclusion of the powerless. The moral implications embedded in the concept of participation have, however, been identified by several scholars as a weakness leading to contradictory consequences. Such critiques are mostly concerned with the disjuncture between the rhetoric of participation, which is cloaked in the ethical connotations of empowerment (Cleaver 1999, 598) and its practice, which is tied merely to increased efficiency (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Crewe and Harrison 1988, 73; Nelson and Wright 1995; Woost 1997).

The concerns about the exclusionary tendency of development projects expressed in the popularity of participation have also been elaborated in terms of gender. The endeavor to include women in development intervention and to reduce the sexually uneven impacts of development projects has been elaborated through two frameworks: Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). Crewe and Harrison (1988, 51-68) summarizes the change from the former approach to the latter as a switch from an 'efficiency' approach to an 'empowerment' one. Similarly, Moser et al. (1999) evaluate that the WID's approach as one of 'efficiency' and the GAD's as one of 'equality' and trace the framework change from equity to antipoverty to efficiency. These views imply that the priority of the WID is to offer woman more access to the process of development while the GAD supposes that their inclusion cannot alter the unequal allocation of resources by gender, if it is not accompanied by a transformation of unequal gender-relationships. Similarly, Cleaver (1999) points out that the participatory literature does not pay enough attention to the connection between inclusion (participation) and subordination. Women may not get an equal opportunity to participate in development projects because they have not

been considered as important as men for the success of development intervention. However, critical studies of participatory development approaches, which share a common perspective with the GAD approach, argue that women's inclusion in the development process may not necessarily guarantee their greater access to resources or to enhanced status, if it takes place in the context of unequal gender relationships (Babb 1985; Crewe and Harrison 1984; Mehta 2002).

The purpose of this article is to examine the major suppositions of WID and GAD frameworks through a case study research in the northern Peruvian Andes. From the WID approach, it is argued that women tend to be excluded from development projects. Thus, the priority should be given to the inclusion of women as a project participant. On the other hand, from the GAD perspective, women's inclusion in the project does not necessarily entail transformative changes in their status if it does not alter the pre-existing gender relations. Focusing on the community development projects financed by the Antamina Mining Company (*Compañía Minera Antamina*, CMA hereafter) in San Marcos, an agricultural town at the site of CMA's mineral extractions, this article formulates the following two questions: 1) whether participation was more exclusionary to women than men; and 2) whether women's project participation entailed changes in gender relations which can be considered empowering.

II. Research Methods and Data Collection

Fieldwork was conducted in the commercial town of the district of San Marcos and the two peasant communities of Carhuayoc and Huaripampa of the district from 2006 to 2008 (January to April 2006; January to August 2007; and October to December 2008). For the interview, I

conducted semi-structured key informant interviews and open-ended surveys. To interview CMA's personnel, NGO staff and local authorities, I approached them through semi-structured key informant interviews. Key informant interviews, not restricted by a set of prepared questions, allowed me to broaden the scope of my questions flexibly as the interview proceeded. To interview local people, I conducted open-ended surveys. Baseline data as well as data related to the project participation were collected mostly through the survey. Participant observation was another important method for data collection. Participant observation took place mostly in the project sites, at public events, and during informal meetings. Project sites included the project of IDMA at Carhuayoc and Huaripampa, FOCADER at Carhuayoc and Huaripampa, IDESI at Carhuayoc, and PMIP at Carhuayoc, Huaripampa, and the commercial town of San Marcos. Moreover, I participated in public events including the Development Roundtable (*Mesa de la Concertación*), the annual fair for seeds and potatoes, the annual fair for handicrafts and textile products, various local protests, the annual workshop for Participative Budgeting (*taller de Presupuesto Participativo*), and an annual contest for local artisans. Through these activities, three types of data were collected: 1) data collected through participant observation and semi-structured interviews at the project site on the project participation; 2) key-informant interviews with local authorities, government officers, mining company employees, and NGO workers on details, narratives, and evaluations on the projects; and 3) base-line survey with the local population at three researched sites of Carhuayoc, Huaripampa, and the town of San Marcos on sexual division of labor and sex-role stereotyping.

III. Case Studies: Women's Project Participation in the Community Development Projects

1. Centro Piloto de Agricultura Ecológica Andina - Cochao Farm of IDMA in Huaripampa

The Cochao Farm (*Fundo Cochao*) was initiated as an experimental agricultural farm in 2000. The total size of the farm was 17 hectares where agricultural products would be produced mainly for the market sale (CMA 2001, 44). Through a public bidding in 2004, the operation of the Cochao farm was transferred from PRODESA (*Programa de Desarrollo de la Sanidad Agropecuarias*) to IDMA (*Instituto de Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente*), an NGO established in 1984 with an organic farm at Huanuco in the central-eastern Peruvian Andes. The bidding was largely motivated by local complaints about the performance of the farm. Moreover, the subsidies received by the farm from CMA engendered opposition. For instance, a NGO staff says, "... at that time, the investment per hector of corn was around 3,500 dollars invested for agro-chemicals. And the corn being sold was 1,500 dollars. It was totally subsidized (*Interview conducted in February 2006 in Huaraz*)."

The Ancash Association (AA, hereafter), a separate development foundation of CMA, allotted a total budget of US\$600,000 for five years, beginning in September 2004. The property was renamed the *Centro Piloto de Agricultura Ecológica Andina* (CPAEA), and IDMA identified its new activities as the following. First, the farm would switch from potato and corn production to the cultivation of a number of traditional and innovative crops. The entire production process was to be organic. To facilitate technical assistance, the individual families of the recipient communities were identified as the basic units of the project activity. At the same time, greater focus was given to providing assistance for the

household farming of these participant families rather than simply concentrating on the production in the demonstrative farms attached to the Cochao property. For that purpose, technicians and NGO staff began regularly visiting the houses of the participant families to monitor progress, usually once a week per each family.¹⁾

In January 2007, when I started visiting the project site of IDMA at the peasant community of Huaripampa, a total number of 78 families were registered as a participant family of the project. While both women and men played active roles as project participants, their involvement markedly differed because of the existing division of labor. Specifically, men were primarily engaged, along with the technicians, in the production in the *chakra*, a household farm located outside the residential site, while women were mostly engaged, again with assistance, in the *biohuerto*, a home garden, raising guineas pigs or beekeeping. This divided project participation of women and men corresponds to the technical division of labor by sex in productive activities of the rural economy (Deere and Leon 1981, 341), in which men's tasks are mostly centered on the *chacra* and women's on the house. The pre-existing sexual division of labor also generated another result, which was hardly anticipated by the project operators. Specifically, as the project was mostly concerned with the productive activities of the rural economy with little relevance to reproductive labor, the women who took part in its new tasks, such as raising guinea pigs, beekeeping or planting the *biohuertos*, ended up having an increased work load, since these new obligations were

1) As of January 2007, five communities in the district of San Marcos and Chavin were reported to be participating in the project. The specific number of families engaged in the IDMA's project at that time were as follows: 78 families in Huaripampa, 17 in Carash, 12 in Huancha, 32 in Cochao, and 26 in Huishin. The IDMA staff provided this number in January 2007 through personal communications.

added to their traditional reproductive ones. However, the tasks of men, such as the cultivation of new types of seeds and plants or the adoption of organic farming techniques, did not generate much change in their total workloads, which was reflected in the number of hours they worked and the intensity of their labor.

As the participation of women and men conformed to the existing sexual division of labor, it had little effect on gender status, both within the household and in communal spaces. This lack of change, despite women's active inputs, is also related to the unsatisfactory performance of the project, which initially proposed two primary objectives, security in the subsistent economy and commercialization. The introduction of organic farming techniques and innovative seeds essentially involved subsistence production because of the small size of the cultivable land. Although guinea pigs were presented as a strategic field for commercialization, it was extremely difficult to find sufficient fodder to feed the numbers of guinea pigs raised. Generating a profit from apiculture was also not a simple task, since very few people had secure access to the market to sell honey. In this context, although some female participants obtained additional income by raising guinea pigs or keeping beehives, the amounts were too small to permit investment or enhance purchasing power. The lack of change in gender status was also observed at the community level. Identified as a strategic channel for commercialization, two community organizations, the Mothers' Club and the Association of Agrarian Producers, were targeted as major recipients of technical assistance and training. The collaboration with the Mothers' Club was periodic, as in the annual seed or guinea pig fairs, held in the town of San Marcos, events initiated by the project donor and operators. The collaboration was temporary, and the members of the club lacked the resources to affect the mode or the goals of their association

with IDMA. The scope of relationship was largely defined by the project operator, which made its impact provisional. In a similar vein, IDMA's technical assistance and networking have permitted the Association of Agrarian Producers to expand its membership and to increase its resources. However, the intervention of IDMA did not make any obvious change in the organizational structure or power relations of the committee, whose leadership was predominantly controlled by male members, who defined its agenda for new projects and its negotiations with prospective project donors.

2. FOCADER of ACUDIP in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa

The project "Strengthening of Capacities for the Rural Development" (*Fortalecimiento de Capacidades para el Desarrollo Rural*, FOCADER by its Spanish acronym) started in August 2006, initially targeting three peasant communities, Carhuayoc, Huaripampa, and Mosna, of the district of San Marcos. ACUDIP (*Asociación Cultural para el Desarrollo Integral Participative*), a Lima-based NGO officially registered in March 2006, served as the umbrella organization for the project's operation. A team, initially composed of two agricultural engineers and three assistant technicians, was organized under the leadership of an ex-employee of the PRODESA. FOCADER embraced three goals: 1) strengthening leadership and organizational capacities; 2) facilitating access to technology for sustainable production; and 3) promoting entrepreneurship. Its objectives thus coincided with those of the CPAEA, as did its approaches, particularly since it targeted the Mothers' Club and Association of Agrarian Producers as the strategic units of collaboration and emphasized technical intervention for guinea pig husbandry. Despite these resemblances, FOCADER, unlike the CPAEA, made use of the

communal lands of the participating community, turning them into a model farm, where the members of the collaborating organizations would become directly involved in the entire process of cultivation, including planting, harvesting, and distribution. The use of the communal land promoted the constant engagement of the project participants, especially as it engaged participants not as individuals but as members of organizations. This strategy of FOCADER facilitated an ongoing commitment of their participants, especially because the benefits of the project were collectively managed, giving participants a greater sense of achievement.

As the Mothers' Club of each beneficiary community becoming a primary participant unit of the project, women more comprehensively and intensely engaged in the project tasks of FOCADER than men. Moreover, at the family level, two types of intervention were made, the installment of the domestic *biohuerto* and assistance in the raising of guinea pigs. As in the CPAEA, land scarcity has been a major factor determining the size and location of the *biohuertos* and the varieties of cultivable plants. With an average size of 206 m² in Carhuayoc and about 140 m² in Huaripampa and with some 7-8 types of vegetables planted on them (FOCADER 2008: 19), the domestic *biohuertos* installed through the project's intervention were very small and mostly located within dwelling sites. The location of *biohuertos*, as well as intensive rather than seasonal labor that they required, corresponded to women's daily routines. Moreover, the priority on the raising of guinea pig coincided with the existing perception that women should take care of domestic animals. The sex ratio of participants clearly illustrates the sexual division of this task. For instance, an internal document of FOCADER reports that in the second year of the project, all those who engaged in this task in Carhuayoc were women, and in Huaripampa 46 women and only four men took part

in it (2008, 27). The greater female presence in the projects did not generate any marked changes in gender roles or gender status within the household, as was observed in the CPAEA, since the products produced added little to family consumption or for sale. In this sense, the overall domestic impacts of FOCADER were very similar to those of CPAEA.

On the other hand, the strategy of FOCADER to include local organizations as basic productive units, by turning the communal land assigned to each organization as a usufruct into a model farm, facilitated the more constant and comprehensive engagement of these associations than that of the CPAEA. For instance, the project intervention at the organizational level involved the mothers' clubs of Carhuayoc, Huaripampa Alto, and Huaripampa Bajo and the Association of Producers of Carhuayoc. The active engagement of the mothers' clubs in FOCADER's institutional intervention may seem unusual, especially given peasant women's marginalized status in the public space. Interestingly, FOCADER did not present any specific gender objectives, either in its documents or through its activities, which make one wonder if the mothers' clubs participated not because they were intentionally targeted by the project operators but because they were the most available and receptive institutions. In this regard, I speculate that the active participation of the mothers' clubs is largely grounded on the distinct attitudes of women and men toward the development project in rural villages. Specifically, it reveals the greater reluctance of men to provide unremunerated labor for the project task. This resistance of peasant men is partially related to the perception that they are the bread winners of households, especially in terms of monetary income, and that their labor, whether permanent or temporary, should be compensated, unlike that of women. Moreover, I often heard people proclaim that men know more and thus they do not need to attend any training workshops. On the other

hand, the peasant women of the mothers' clubs usually told me that they participated because they enjoyed socializing.

By providing access to new resources, the project has certainly strengthened the organizational capacity of the mothers' clubs. The resources generated through the project encompassed not only material benefits, largely through the model farm's production, but also social experiences, obtained through such diverse channels as the training workshops, the exchange trips to the cities in Lima or Cajamarca, and the participation in the annual agro-pastoral fair. The sizes of the project farms were very small, for instance ranging from 0.05 to 0.28 hectares in Huaripampa Bajo, which constrained the scale of and gains from production. In this sense, the material benefits of the project were barely perceptible either by project participants or by their family members. Similarly, tasks that were designed to promote entrepreneurship among participants, including the production of jam made of native fruits and weekly sales of *picante de cuy*, a traditional dish made of guinea pig, at the market place of the commercial town had educational rather than practical impacts because of the profits realized.²⁾ Accordingly, the material benefits can hardly be considered a major factor motivating the participation of the mothers' clubs. Instead, the project has generated more comprehensive and permanent affects on female participants by providing a rationale and an incentive for collective activities and thus

2) For instance, in a field visit in March 2007, I discovered that Mothers' Club of Huaripampa Alto made a net profit of 450 Nuevo Soles which is equivalent to about US \$150 in two jam production periods. The profits were shared by seven women who had provided manual services for the production, which means that each participant received approximately US\$10 per session, which is equivalent to a regular daily wage for unskilled labor in San Marcos these days. Considering each session took about 4-5 hours for the production of jam, the profits obtained from the production barely offset the value of labor provided by participants.

enlarging the scope and intensity of women's engagement at the communal level. These increased opportunities are important for the women of Carhuayoc and Huaripampa, who are, in the case of the former, largely denied entrance to the community reunion because they are not considered representative of households and are normally required to obtain permission of their male partners to attend public meetings. However, the social space created through the project intervention did not generate remarkable changes in women's public status, especially since women played limited roles in the project in which they did not have any power to define its scope or purpose. In other words, the project intervention did not challenge the existing power relations in which women usually take a passive role with little access to decision-making processes.

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3. Artisanal Textile Project of IDESI-Lima in Carhuayoc

Initiated by AA, a suit of development projects in tourism have been carried out in San Marcos since 2004. The project of artisanal textile production is a major component in this field. Conventionally, tourist visits to this region have largely centered on the Chavín's archeological site, a neighboring district of San Marcos, and have had little, if any, impact on the socio-economic activities of San Marcos. The few visitors who stay in the town for personal or business reasons have helped to sustain a range of service businesses. The creation of tourist attractions and facilities thus required strategic plans and long-term investment. In this sense, it is reasonable that AA's community development project in the field of tourism targeted essentially peasant populations who have been involved in artisanal textile production for decades, either for domestic consumption or for sale. The operation of the project was

assigned to the regional divisions of IDESI (*Instituto de Desarrollo del Sector Informal*), a renowned Peruvian NGO that was founded in 1986 and that specializes in entrepreneurship for small and medium firms. In the area of San Marcos, three peasant communities—Carhuayoc, Carash, and Pacash—were initially identified as the primary recipients because of their relatively stronger tradition of textile production and the higher proportion of their populations devoted to the tasks required for it.³⁾

The project of IDESI in Carhuayoc is noteworthy because of the higher proportion of female (14 women) than male participants (one man). These findings seem somewhat contradictory, considering that textile production has been an important source of income for peasant men in Carhuayoc. As with other tasks in rural villages, textile production in Carhuayoc is strongly divided between the sexes. Specifically, peasant men become involved in textile production in order to sell their products and thus generate income, while women are more oriented to production for family use.⁴⁾ Moreover, women's weaving differs from that of men both in

3) According to IDESI's internal document, among the total population devoted to plain weaving in San Marcos, 33 percent are from Carhuayoc, 30 percent from Pacash, 22 percent from Carash, and 8 percent are from Huaripampa. (<http://www.aancash.org.pe/proyectos/cultura/ProgramaDesarrollodeCadenasProductivasArtesanales.pdf>)

4) I have not obtained statistical data regarding the scale of income obtained through textile production of Carhuayoc. IDESI's internal document (<http://www.aancash.org.pe/proyectos/cultura/ProgramaDesarrollodeCadenasProductivasArtesanales.pdf>) provides a broad figure in this respect. According to it, in San Marcos, only three artisans who specialize in plain textiles managed to sell their products outside the province of Huari. The income obtained from the markets outside the province rarely exceeded S/. 450 (approximately US \$150). Considering that the artisans who manage to sell outside the province used to be those of the most devoted and most skilled producers in the region and the profits from the sale within the province would not be of greater scale because of the small size of local market, it is estimated that income from local markets would be smaller. The document also presents that the monthly average income among women who are devoted to hand-knitting for sale is about S/. 100 (US \$35 approximately). These figures point out that textile production in the region is mostly of small-scaled and it is relied upon as

its manner and its level of skill. For instance, in the case of Carhuayoc, the loom is an indispensable part of production for male artisans, while women essentially concentrate on hand knitting. The different techniques and purposes of their textile production enable women to have more flexibility. More specifically, men's labor tends to take place during particular hours at one worksite and that of women at various times, either at home, walking around the streets, sitting at bus stops, or chatting with their neighbors. How has this sexual division labor in textile production interacted with the project? Is the high rate of women's project participation in Carhuayoc motivated in one way or another by it?

While I was visiting the project site in 2007 during its second stage, I did not observe any clear impact of the project on the mode and intensity of female participants' weaving. Above all, the project generated hardly any strong commitment among participants. Mostly designed to teach techniques for the production of plain textiles, the sessions took place at the worksite of the single male participant, who already possessed adequate weaving equipment, including a loom, and who was already the most renowned and successful artisan of the community. The involvement of female participants, who were mostly novices in the operation of loom, was quite low and irregular, which prevented them from obtaining new skills and from undertaking new tasks. As the project was coming to the close, I discovered that the male participant was the only one who had received training throughout the sessions, sometimes even without any attendance of female participants. This finding contrasts with the relatively satisfactory performances and results of the project in other communities like Carash and Pacash. Apparently, the project failed to promote new roles as weavers for the women who took part in it, because they deemed it to be too time-consuming and devoid of

a complementary measure to household economy.

considerable rewards.

In November 2008 when IDESI was preparing to resume the project through the financing of the Antamina Mining Fund (*Fondo Minero Antamina, FMA hereafter*), I had a chance to accompany the staff of IDESI to a pre-arranged meeting with local artisans of Carhuayoc. The purpose of the meeting was to construct a new organization of artisans, comprised of local people who had not participated in the IDESI's previous activities. During the meeting, I spoke to the attending artisans, all of whom were men, about their reluctance to take part in the project during the previous years. They directed their critiques toward the representativeness of the existing organization which had taken part in the project, strongly condemning it for using the project to promote the interests of particular individuals at the expense of other residents. From these accounts, it was clear that the project was generating division among the locals. To a certain extent, the unsatisfactory performance of the IDESI's intervention in Carhuayoc stems from project operators' ignorance of or lack of consideration for the relations among local artisans, who are in competition with one another for better access to the local markets and who have established their reputations through father-to-son and mother-to-daughter technical training. I speculate that the reluctance of Carhuayoc's male artisans' to participate in the project during the previous years reflects not only their refusal to recognize the authority of a particular artisan as a leader but also their disapproval of introducing people without such life-time dedication into the profession.

4. Project of Maintenance of Public Infrastructure of the Municipality of San Marcos in the town of San Marcos and in the peasant communities of Carhuayoc and Huaripampa

Initiated by the local government of San Marcos, the *Proyecto de*

Mantenimiento de Infraestructura Pública (PMIP), a project to maintain the public infrastructure, began in January 2008, originally in the form of Pilot Plan (*Plan Piloto*). Above all, PMIP was conceived as a political measure in order to assuage mounting criticism of the performance of the local government. The major source of these complaints was the low execution rate of the mining canon, which remained at below 5 percent of the total sum allocated by end of the year 2007. Confronted to the difficulty of elaborating project profiles that can obtain the approval of the SNIP (*Sistema Nacional de Inversion Pública*), a screening body of the central government, the local government came up with the idea of innovatively interpreting the mining canon law, which stipulates the use of up to 20 percent of the budget for infrastructure, to distribute money to local people in the form of a temporary employment. Opponents of the then district mayor were mobilized at the end of 2007 under the leadership of local politicians, including the ex-mayor of San Marcos, an event that indicates the intensity of the political conflicts buffeting the local government. The scheme of PMIP was unprecedented. It sought to provide local residents with temporary employment at a competitive rate, which was determined to be between US \$10 – US \$16 (S/.30 – S/.50) per day, depending on skill levels. Considering the desperate economic conditions of Peru, where people roam from city to city in search of jobs that barely pay S/. 20 per day in deteriorating working conditions, this scheme appeared rather utopian. Accordingly, it is no wonder that the program was enticing enough to calm the escalating local critiques of the then district mayor and his personnel. Including a large number of local residents as a project participant, PMIP had a profound impact, not only on local livelihoods but also on local participation in another series of community development projects that were already underway in several communities.

PMIP engendered a variety of impacts, both in the commercial town and in the rural villages. Unlike other community development projects that sought to reinforce traditional occupations, PMIP consisted of tasks that were incompatible with traditional productive activities, leading participants to abandon existing livelihood strategies. Above all, the project triggered women and the elderly to enter the labor market. As is well noted, the rural economy is based on a strict sexual division of labor, in which women's productive activities are largely unremunerated and those of men, who are tied to seasonal labor migrations, are paid. Participating in PMIP, both women and the elderly now disposed of money incomes. Certainly, they performed manual, unskilled tasks and did not benefit from training. In this sense, PMIP engendered no changes in the quality or the competitiveness of peasant women's labor or that of the elderly on the market. In other words, the paid employment of women and the elderly created an intense but temporary impact on the local economy. The wage labor of these groups triggered changes in their access to capital and their control of resources. I have not found specific data on the ways in which the money earned in the project was spent. In response to my questions, people usually indicated that they had spent most of their earnings for family needs, answers that partially reflect their reluctance to give details on family budgeting, a private matter in the unwritten moral code of the rural household economy. However, I frequently observed that the wage earner, whether male or female, held the ultimate power in determining the use of income, even though such power varied between the sexes. Wages created new consumption patterns among peasant women. By the time that I visited the field in October 2008, when PMIP had been in place for over nine months, I encountered more peasant women dining alone in the commercial town of San Marcos and spending money on clothes. I heard reports that the

consumption of alcohol in rural villages was no longer an exclusive male habit.

Moreover, PMIP has brought about important changes in local patterns of labor migration. The employment it offered has acted not only as a major deterrent to male seasonal labor migration but also as a draw for local labor migrants, who had departed for larger cities in their teens or twenties, to return to the district. These returning migrants lived in their parents' homes so as to save money for yet another departure. The cultural and social consequences of this inward migration for local societies were not obvious, since the majority of returning migrants had maintained various contacts with their families and communities and planned to remain but for a short time.

As for the gender impacts of PMIP, I observed that the access of women to and control of resources both in the commercial town and the rural villages were enhanced by their participation in the project. Moreover, as they became less available for household chores, other family members, usually children but sometimes men, carried out more of these tasks. However, this increased flexibility in the division of labor within the household did not necessarily signify a shift in traditional gender assigned roles. Strong resistance to men cooking, laundering, or animal keeping, all regarded as women's work, prevented such a change. Accordingly, children, who were often left unattended or even expected to step in for their parents either at the *chacra* or at home, confronted greater burdens. At the same time, women gained no greater public authority. On the whole, PMIP discouraged people from an involvement in community affairs, especially in rural villages where it employed larger percentages of the population. A range of community development projects in the region also witnessed the reduction of local civic attendance and interest.

IV. Analysis of Research Questions

As I mentioned in the introductory part of this article, the conceptual and policy shift from the WID (Women in Development) to the GAD (Gender and Development) framework illustrates that gender has been a core unit through which critiques of participatory development approaches have been elaborated. The primary concerns proposed by the gender analysis of planned development can be summarized into the following two points. First, some have argued that development projects tend to be more exclusionary to women than men because of the gender inequality and exclusionary tendency of projects (Babb 1985; Cleaver 1999; Mehta 2002). Second, the shift from the WID's efficiency approach to the GAD's empowerment approach, clarified by Moser's distinction between practical needs and strategic interests, has led to a question of the correlation between participation and empowerment; it has been argued that women's inclusion in projects does not necessarily entail changes in their access to and control of resources, especially when adequate measures are not taken to counterbalance pre-existing gender relations (Hamilton 1998, 14; Moser et al. 1999; Visvanathan 1997). In consideration of these concerns, I proposed two research questions: 1) Was participation more exclusionary to women than men? 2) Did project participation entail changes in gender relations that could be considered as empowering?

1. Was participation more exclusionary to women than men?

The previous analysis of the project participation in the four researched projects – CPAEA of IDMA, FOCADER of ACUDIP, Textile project of IDESI, PMIP of the district municipality – all indicate that women constituted an equal or more important group of participants than men

throughout the implementation stage of development projects, both in rural villages and in the commercial town of San Marcos. The important participation of women in the four researched projects corroborates the observation that women and men in San Marcos share responsibilities somewhat evenly for productive household labor. The data analysis indicates, however, that women and men participated differently in development projects, and that these divergences are linked to the pre-existing gender division of labor.

When it comes to the case of PMIP, the overall sex ratio of project participants of the PMIP in the urban town and rural villages did not differ. Women in the commercial town and in rural villages were, compared to men, an important participant group. However, in the commercial town the members of low-income families were more involved, while in rural villages participants came from a broader social spectrum. The town offered relatively abundant and diversified ways to earn income in the cash economy and the rural villages did not, decreasing the participant pool in the former and increasing it in the latter. This comparative analysis implies that the accessibility to cash operated as a major factor determining the project participation of women.

Besides, I observed that peasant women's greater participation compared to men in a range of community development projects such as the project of IDMA, ACUDIP, and IDESI in the rural villages was motivated in part by the nature of productive activities that they were engaged in. The rather strict sexual division of labor in the rural economy triggered the involvement of women, since they did not partake, unlike men, in seasonable and quantifiable tasks, but rather in year-around and flexible ones. Moreover, their absence from income-generating activities underlies the perception that their labor is less valuable than that of men,

creating a major obstacle to the participation of men in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa. Taking into consideration that the sexual division of labor in the productive activities of the commercial town was not as strictly drawn as in the rural villages, I doubt that the development projects there would generate local participation that is as sexually divided as in the rural villages. Since no particular project in the field of productive activities existed in the commercial town of San Marcos except PMIP while I was carrying out field research in San Marcos between 2006 and 2008, I present this inclination in the form of a supposition.

The greater or equal project participation of women in San Marcos implies these schemes were not necessarily more exclusionary to them than to men, especially during the implementation stages of the project cycle. A comparison of the mode and intensity of engagement of the sexes during the other stages, including the identification, designing, and monitoring processes, presents, however, a rather different picture. In San Marcos, local engagement in the development projects was mostly concentrated in the initial and implementation phases, with no instrument to funnel local participants into the appraisal stage, a fact that reduced the transparency of development projects, especially in terms of budgeting.⁵⁾ Given such restricted channels of local engagement, it can be

5) The lack of transparency in project budgeting and financing was one of the major sources of local grievances. For instance, during my fieldwork, several students who were participating in the CMA funded educational project at ISTP (*Instituto Superior Tecnológico Público*), the single higher educational institution in San Marcos, informed me of their suspicion that the project budget was not executed as it was proposed. The suspicion arose when one of the students in the project came across a document, which had been kept confidential, on the planned expenses of the project and discovered a number of discrepancies in the figures. According to the informant's account, many of the proposed expenditures were never carried out nor were recipient students informed of them. Rumors of embezzlement soon spread, and these centered on the project coordinator. Soon, students of the institution received a warning from the school that anyone who attempts to access project

argued that the role of local people in planned development was essentially limited. In other words, development intervention in San Marcos was exclusionary to local people as a whole when it came to the decision-making.

This restrictive tendency, however, seems to have been more severe toward women because of their more marginal social status. Women's marginalized social status in San Marcos is reflected in male communal membership (in several peasant communities); male dominance of communal organizations, including the high-ranking positions of the municipality, the Directive Board (*Junta Directiva*) of *campesino* communities, and the producers' associations; and women's higher illiteracy rate. This more peripheral social status carried over into the development projects. As in regular communal meetings, such as the annual Development Roundtable or the annual workshop of Participative Budgeting, women's voices were rarely heard. In addition, male leadership was barely challenged, even when the majority of project participants were women. The project of the IDESI in Carhuayoc well illustrates the maintenance of male leadership; in it, a single male participant served as a leader of the participants' organization, while dozens of women never challenged his position. Male leadership was upheld in a slightly different way in the project of ACUDIP in Carhuayoc and Huaripampa, where local men were recruited as project technicians to supervise female participants and to facilitate communications with the project staff. Hired as technicians, they shared responsibilities with the project staff throughout the project cycle, including planning and appraisal. Women were excluded from them, even though the project

documents without permission would be evicted from the program, which effectively dissuaded the students with suspicions from bringing up the issue publicly.

worked with the mothers' clubs of several communities as its primary target groups. This gender divided engagement in the project cycle implies that the project participation was constrained by prevailing gender roles, which facilitated women's project participation during the implementation stage while discouraging their engagement when it comes to the decision-making.

2. Did women's project participation entail changes in gender relations, and, can such changes, if any, be considered as empowering?

A review of the project participation in the rural villages indicates that it is extremely difficult to identify any notable changes in gender role or gender status as a result of such participation in the projects of IDMA, ACUDIP, and IDESI. Certainly, these projects improved the participants' access to resources, from guinea pigs, to new seeds or plants, and technical assistance in agriculture and textile production. The project intervention allowed participants to obtain some of raw materials at lower cost, construct *biohuertos* (home gardens) inside their houses, and install cages for guinea pigs. It also diversified and expanded the public space of the recipient communities by offering educational programs, including workshops, exchange trips, and the demonstrative farm. Considering the weak representation of peasant women in communal gatherings, this diversified social space permitted female participants to socialize and share ideas with less interference by their male partners. The maintenance of the *biohuerto* increased the responsibilities of female participants for animal keeping. However, none of these changes counts as a real alteration in established gender relations; women were, if at all, only marginally empowered by them.

On the other hand, the PMIP profoundly affected participants at

diverse levels. The circulation of money through temporary employment immediately boosted local businesses and intensified the market-dependency of the rural economy. The incorporation of peasant women and elderly people into the labor force modified the household division of labor. The comparative analysis of project participation in PMIP between the town and rural villages indicates that household members collaborated with one another, both in rural villages and in the commercial town, to make up for absence of females. That is to say, the complementarity of gender roles grew. Despite this increased flexibility, the gender-determined division of labor was largely maintained. For instance, the cultivation of the *chacra* was still men's work, and when male adults could not carry it out, people usually abandoned plots or chose to hire a *peon* (paid manual worker) to work them. Moreover, when women were not available for household chores, children, if available, and not men took the primary responsibility for them. In addition, the incorporation of peasant women and the elderly into the paid workforce promoted the emergence of a new consumer group. However, the bi-weekly payment from PMIP was not a dependable source of household income, since work shifts were unstable and could be delayed for several weeks and salaries were too small to permit savings. Although not substantiated by statistical data, I speculate that the money earned in PMIP was spent mostly on food and other basic necessities and a few small luxuries, an observation that can be verified through changes in diet and the increased purchase of electronics. These aspects of PMIP suggest that the project triggered notable changes in gender roles, particularly in rural villages as it incorporated peasant women and the elderly as a paid labor force. The income channeled through the project also signified that significant changes were made in the access to cash among project participants. It is, however, dubious whether this project led to alterations

in gender status. Above all, the project did not improve the quality of labor of its participants. In other words, peasant women and the elderly were still the least favored groups on the general labor market. Furthermore, the greater decision-making power of women in the allocation of resources were directed either to household or personal consumption, and simply indicate that they were getting more dependent on the resources distributed by the project as were their male partners.

V. Conclusion

A brief review of official documents of CMA and the project executors illustrates the centrality of the participation concept in the definition of development strategies. In the case of CMA, participatory development was initially presented as its key development model in its EIA (Klohn Crippen-SVS 1998, 8-4) and was further elaborated in its succeeding annual reports. In these reports, participation is defined as “permitting people to prioritize the actions which are considered relevant for their needs” (CMA 2001, 7) during the process of monitoring, surveillance, and budgeting for economic, and social, and environmental activities (CMA 2001, 28). Participation in these narratives is depicted not only as a prerequisite for consensus building and democratic decision-making (CMA 2005, 49), both crucial for the proposed development goals (CMA 2007a, 9), but also as an end in itself, obtained through the intervention of CMA (CMA 2005, 8). Likewise, the NGOs’ documents regard participation as central and interpret it in relation to gender equity, sustainability, and organizational strengthening (IDMA 2005, 60-62), while elaborating their project technique as a “participative methodology” (FOCADER 2007, 24; 2008, 22; IDMA 2006, 12). These organizations took several measures to encourage local engagement at each stage of the

development process, including the creation of local monitoring committees, such as the Environmental Committee of San Marcos, the San Marcos Environmental Conservation Commission, the Huascarán Working Group (GTH), and the Environmental Protection Association of the Ayash Basin; the establishment of public discussion sessions, such as the annual Development Roundtable (*Mesa de la Concertación*) which was later replaced by the annual workshop for Participative Budgeting, and the public project competitions of AA in the field of education and tourism and of FMA (*Fondo Minero Antamina*)⁶⁾ in the field of productive activities.

Designed as a mechanism to enhance communications among diverse stakeholder at each moment of the development intervention, these

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- 6) FMA was created in the form of a voluntary contribution in accordance with the People Solidarity Miner Program (*Programa Minero de Solidaridad con el Pueblo*, PMSP by its Spanish acronym). Initiated by the Peruvian government, CMA made a commitment to create a development fund for the department of Ancash. A total amount of US \$124.5 million was committed by CMA as of 2008 for an anticipated duration of five years in the four areas of development priority – health and nutrition, education, productive activities, institutional strengthening (CMA 2007a, 71). The approach of FMA is clearly differentiated from CMA's previous community development programs in several ways. Above all, the project beneficiaries have been extensively amplified, exceeding the previously defined boundaries of the “affected” populations (Klohn Crippen-SVS 1998, Ch. 8). Compared to previous CMA local projects, the broader range of project beneficiary populations of FMA signified that the features of development projects as a compensational measure became less important in this system. Moreover, the scope of actors involved in the operation of FMA's programs became far more comprehensive as well as diversified in its character, which includes a number of distinct entities specifically the Peruvian ministry of mining and energy (MINEM), and the Peruvian and foreign NGOs such as ADRA Peru, Cáritas del Peru, CARE Peru, SUM Canada, and USAID among others. The role of the MINEM as a decision-maker of the priority areas of development was particularly important in shaping the approaches of FMA. The MINEM identifies alleviation of poverty as the ultimate goal of the PMSP fund and elaborates strategic subfields mostly related to the basic subsistence needs of the rural poor, which promoted the FMA's program to operate like a quasi-state welfare program.

systems created and institutionalized a new space for local involvement. They faced, however, severe operational and communication challenges, the underlying cause of these being the lack of relevant experiences of the local population and other stakeholder groups. This mining society was a closed community, both reserved toward and distrustful of outsiders. This attribute was reflected in the recruiting process of the CRO staff. The majority of its personnel in San Marcos had experience in other mines, most with a specialty in labor negotiations, but few members of the CRO office were formally trained to handle what is termed “rural development in the Andean society.” Development intervention in the context of corporate mining was an unknown field to the development practitioners, including those of the NGOs and AA. The expression of particular expectations and motives, conflicts in San Marcos were not easily compared to the previous experiences of development specialists. In addition, the heterogeneity within and among stakeholder groups created yet another impediment. As Ballard and Banks ably note (2003, 290), the mining corporation is far from a monolithic entity. Instead, it is steered by contesting priorities and perspectives, especially in relation to the company’s role in the social development of affected communities. This division, which was sometimes described as a contrast between the old mining and the new mining of Peru (Bebbington et al. 2007, 5; Szablowski 2004, 302), appeared at diverse levels, including differences between the headquarters in Lima and the CRO offices and AA. Policies were easily discarded and modified with alterations in headship of the CRO office, which often became a cause of conflicts. Likewise, other stakeholder groups, namely NGOs, local government and local communities, were quite heterogeneous in their interests and priorities.

Divided by contrasting ideas and desires, the space designed for dialogue often turned into a battlefield, where people repeatedly debated

the same subject for entire meetings, leaving without agreement but beset with anger and frustration. For instance, the annual Development Roundtables (*Mesa de la Concertación*), which were held until 2006, clearly demonstrated the profundity and breath of the discord among local people. During the Development Roundtable in 2006 which I attended during my fieldwork, discussion agendas were barely addressed in the session, which were dominated by reproaches and by disillusionment with CMA and the local authorities. A lack of leadership or authority aggravated these confrontations. Instead, local authorities or CMA employees remained away, both because they lacked the expertise to deal with these situations and because they did not want to meddle. Criticized extensively for inefficiency, the annual Development Roundtable was replaced in 2007 by the annual workshop of Participative Budgeting (*Taller de Presupuesto Participativo*). My observation of this workshop in 2007 reveals, however, that the same problems reappeared and prohibited it from operating as expected. In this new system, the conflicts were mitigated, since the sessions were organized at the community level, where the local authorities more effectively moderated them. Nonetheless, the meeting ended up with a multiplicity of demands and propositions, which at the district level exceeded 400 proposals. The workshops succeeded in allowing local people to come up with their own issues; however, because of a lack of leadership or filtering criteria, these were not ordered by priority. The list of propositions was delivered to the project office of the municipality. No system informed the population on the implementation of these propositions. That is to say, there was no linkage or coherence among existing institutions, a shortcoming that severely undermined the effectiveness of systems originally devised as mechanisms of local participation during the planning stages of development projects.

The limited scope of this research partly prohibited me from studying the consequences of other participative mechanisms, including environmental committees and a public contest of development projects organized by CMA's subsidiaries, such as AA and the FMA. Despite this restraint, I can present some tentative observations. As a whole, the projects approved through the contest were small and short. The educational projects approved by AA dealt mostly with the financing of school utilities or events. The situation was not very different with the public contest of FMA, since the funds it offered to individuals were tiny and appealed to a limited range of contestants, only those with sufficient education to present plans summarized under the rubrics of sustainability, feasibility, impacts, executive plan, and relevance to social responsibility (CMA 2007b). It is rather obvious that the participation generated through these systems would be limited and partial.

Thus, these fundamental limitations, from contested priorities, to distrust, poor leadership, lack of experience, and the absence of coordinating institutions illustrate the difficulty of creating inclusive participation, especially when local society is already affected by its own cleavages. The analysis of women's project participation revealed, however, that the exclusionary tendency of project intervention was not necessarily worse for women than men. The prevailing gender roles promoted women's participation, especially since the tasks assigned to them were considered appropriate to their sex. Women's inclusion in a range of development projects centered more on changes in the access to resources than on their control. In other words, participation cannot be prescribed as a magic solution, especially when it is imposed from above, to social divisions that are institutionalized and perpetuated by the existing social order.

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Submission: March 06, 2012
Revision Date: April 09, 2012
Approval Date: April 16, 2012

참여적 개발과 젠더: 페루 안타미나 광산의 개발사업 사례 분석

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강정원 (2012), 참여적 개발과 젠더: 페루 안타미나 광산의 개발사업 사례 분석.

초 록 1980년대부터 참여적 개발은 개발프로젝트 전 단계에 걸쳐 핵심 원리로 적용되어 왔다. 참여적 개발의 중요성과 대중성은 하향식 개발 모델의 한계가 광범위하게 인식되고 있음을 의미한다. 하지만 일부 학자들은 참여적 개발이 수사학적 효과에만 머물지 않고 기존의 배제된 사회집단의 역할과 위상 변화로 이어지고 있는가에 비판적 입장을 견지하고 있다. 이 논문은 사례 조사 및 분석을 통해 참여적 개발 접근의 현황과 한계를 살펴보는 것을 목적으로 하며, 젠더 역할 분석을 중심으로 참여적 개발 모델과 여성의 사회적 배제의 상관관계를 분석한다. 사례 연구는 페루 안타미나 광산 기업의 사회사업의 일환으로 진행되었던 개발 프로젝트 가운데 농업, 직물, 일용직 노동 분야에 걸쳐 4개의 프로젝트를 대상으로 하여 수행되었다. 사례 분석을 통해 이 논문은 기존의 젠더 역할과 상충 또는 부합되는 여부에 따라 여성의 참여가 결정되는 경향이 있기 때문에 참여가 반드시 여성에게만 배타적이지 않다는 점에 주목하며, 여성의 프로젝트 참여가 젠더 관계에서 여성의 역량 강화로 이어지기에는 여전히 많은 한계 요소가 작용하고 있다고 주장한다.

핵심어 개발사업, 젠더역할, 광산기업, 페루 안데스