

# For an analytics of affective life

*Marginalized youths, social interventions & development affectspheres in Cusco, Peru*



Chih-Chen Trista Lin

## **Propositions**

1. Young people's aspirations are the best illustrations of their embodied responses to the social and political rules of the world in which they live.  
(this thesis)
2. Social researchers must help with democratizing debates about welfare and development interventions by studying the perspectives of these interventions' target populations and beneficiaries.  
(this thesis)
3. A top priority for public health emergency responses is to address and rectify marginalized populations' pre-existing vulnerabilities.
4. The future of tourism education as not just an economic but also an ethical enterprise depends on whether education institutions enable a decolonial, anti-racist and feminist learning environment.
5. Doing care work is only as mundane and dull as it can be revolutionary.
6. Actions for social change are best sustained when people feel attached to something in their own lives and when they can share each other's sense of attachment.

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Literature from human geography, anthropology, development studies and social policy traces the evolution of governmental and expert-led social and development interventions in places throughout the global South (Bordonaro and Payne, 2012; Cheney, 2010a; Escobar, 1995; Ewig, 2010; Ferguson, 2015; Koffman and Gill, 2013). Scholars from these disciplines and fields of study have analyzed social and political struggles over the rationales, terms and operations of these interventions (Escobar, 2010, 2012; Li, 2007, 2010; Radcliffe, 2015; Roy, 2009). Discussions over social and development interventions in Peru specifically have revealed a complex picture in which multiple local, national and international actors have intervened in the livelihoods and welfare of impoverished and marginalized families and communities (see, e.g., Barrig, 2001; Bebbington, 2004; Burrai et al., 2017; Irons, 2019; Jenkins, 2011; Knight et al., 2017; Molyneux, 2007; Olson, 2006; Sinervo, 2013). In the past decade, studies in Peru tend to focus on the Peruvian state's public policy and large-scale development and welfare programmes focused primarily on children in impoverished households (Cookson, 2016; Cueto et al., 2011; Jenson and Nagels, 2018; Jones et al., 2008; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011). Despite the fact that programmes often claim to improve the conditions for children and families in need, the abovementioned body of research offers incisive critiques towards the problems created by their top-down and externally driven operations. In particular, it shares strong concerns over how the actual institutional and professional practices related to these interventions impose forms of control and domination, dismantle existing meaningful social relations or reinforce norms that marginalize or exploit lives.

My thesis aims to complement this large and important body of critical work related to the international, state and local politics of intervention in Peru that impact people's lives and welfare. Instead of examining large-scale, state-led

programmes and their top-down operations, or voices of dissent towards these operations, however, the focus of my investigation is different. I am interested in exploring groups of vulnerable and marginalized people's experiences of certain other kinds of interventions that seem to improve their welfare, when those large-scale or externally-driven social and development programmes in Peru do not directly address the issues and vulnerabilities these people encounter. These other kinds of interventions can emerge as highly specific small and local responses to governmental neglect and social exclusion of Peru's vulnerable and marginalized groups. In this thesis, I use the term "alternative interventions"<sup>1</sup> to address some of these specific small-scale and non-state-led operations that intervene in situations of precarity and vulnerability through promoting young people's<sup>2</sup> long-term well-being, development and livelihoods. The "alternative" interventions examined in my thesis comprise multi-faceted social organization for welfare and inclusion, which is locally based even as it draws on resources internationally and involves multiple non-local actors.

The rationale for examining these particular interventions and for focusing on young people's experiences of these interventions is two-fold. First, I aim to enrich existing critical scholarly discussion related to social and development interventions in Peru and beyond. I am encouraged by anthropologist Li's (2007, 2008) and geographer Radcliffe's (2015) calls for a "situated politics" of development and reproduction of life in places in the global South. Li, for example, asserts that interventions that succeed in securing the lives and welfare of impoverished populations are "surely worth having" (2010: 66). Based on this premise, Li specifically notes that life-sustaining and life-enhancing operations can be "sometimes grandiose, and occasionally revolutionary, but just as often pragmatic, and unannounced" (2010: 87). She also suggests paying attention to how these operations materialize in specific sites in order to analyze the "critical

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<sup>1</sup> The rationale and substance of what I tentatively addressed as "alternative" interventions here can be influenced by diverse ideologies and cultural values, and it is not my thesis's intention to readily qualify any such intervention as "progressive", "radical" or otherwise (see also the discussion on Kraftl, 2015 in Chapter 2). For other uses of the term "alternative" in discussions related to "alternative" care or education interventions, see Anglin and Knorth, 2004; Islam and Fulcher, 2016; Marshall, 2014; Mills and Kraftl, 2014; Wells et al., 2014; Whittaker et al., 2016.

<sup>2</sup> UN agencies define children as 0–17 year olds and youths as 15–24 year olds (Ansell, 2017: 1, 4–6). In this thesis, I use the general term "young people" to address both children and youths. See also footnote 5 where I reflect on the related terminology for addressing the social groups on which this thesis is empirically focused.

possibilities” for social and political actions to serve to protect lives and improve people’s well-being. In line with this suggestion, my thesis turns precisely to some seemingly “pragmatic” and “unannounced” interventions in marginalized and vulnerable young people’s lives, which have materialized through mundane everyday practices. In view of recent and rather similarly formulated scholarly critiques and criticisms directed towards state-led and large-scale programmes currently in place in Peru (Cookson, 2016; Jenson and Nagels, 2018; Jones et al., 2008; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011), my thesis thus provides an alternative entry to the ongoing discussion of the problems of intervention and social services organization and the critical possibilities for those services to make impacts in people’s lives and welfare.

To be sure, there has been a wealth of scholarly discussions in the past few decades especially surrounding the grassroots social and political mobilization of women in Peru, as well as the social organization of services for children and families this mobilization enabled during the economic crisis of the 1980s and 1990s (see, for example, Blondet and Montero, 1995; Jenkins, 2011; Molyneux, 2007; Palomino, 2004; Radcliffe, 1993; Rousseau, 2012). These discussions, however, are primarily concerned with the complex relationships developed over time between the state and women’s organizations featuring their women leaders. The focus is much less on the “problems and critical possibilities” of those interventions and social services organization based on the perspectives of the target populations/beneficiaries at the level of the mundane everyday.

This brings me to the second part of the rationale behind the focus of this thesis. My thesis shares a similar commitment to that of recent work on Peru and the neighbouring countries to consider the perspectives of groups of people facing both interventions and marginalization (see, e.g., Cookson, 2016; Radcliffe, 2015; Radcliffe and Webb, 2016). These people are often subjected to the state’s social protection and inclusion interventions at the discursive level while at the same time experiencing ongoing marginalization and exclusion because of the postcolonial, intersectional<sup>3</sup> power hierarchies<sup>4</sup> at work in these countries. Specifically, I foreground the experiences of groups of children and youths—girls

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<sup>3</sup> On “intersectionality” related to age as a social difference marker as experienced by young people, see Hopkins and Pain, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Such as those marked by gender, race–ethnicity, education and economic status, and rural/urban divide.

and young women<sup>5</sup>—who are often framed in public policy as poor and vulnerable,<sup>6</sup> not receiving care and suffering from violence (see, e.g., Peru’s National Plan of Action for Children and Adolescents (*Plan Nacional de Acción por la Infancia y la Adolescencia*, PNAIA, 2012–2021). In Peru, these girls and young women’s own voices and the precise problems and challenges they face have been historically marginalized in public discussions. This is because persistent gender, economic and ethnic inequalities and perennial governance and political mobilization challenges have long prevented their social participation and political representation (Ames et al., 2018; Jaquette and Lowenthal, 2018; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; Radcliffe, 1993; Rousseau and Ewig, 2017). Researching these young people’s experiences of existing modes of social organization beneficial to their well-being thus remains timely as ever. With the state’s proclaimed social protection and inclusion agendas in recent years, there is ongoing although so far insufficient development of Peru’s public policy and national programmes for vulnerable children and youths (MIMP, 2012a). In this vein, my thesis intends to provide discussions on existing and potential life-enhancing social protection and inclusion operations besides/beyond the state’s policies and programmes, based on the valuable perspectives of marginalized girls and young women themselves.

Specifically, my PhD project investigates two non-governmental, locally initiated and operated social and residential care<sup>7</sup> centres<sup>8</sup> in Cusco, Peru. The two

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<sup>5</sup> The terminology related to the different age groups and genders of young people is fraught with normative assumptions and value judgements about these groups and how they differ from each other. In my thesis, I do not prescribe particular, fixed categories to refer to young people of the same demographic profile as the main groups of my research participants. My frequent use of the terms “girls”, “young women” and “young females” is first and foremost according to how my young research participants in both social and residential care centres addressed themselves and each other in everyday language, namely most often as *chicas* (girls/young women/young females). Participants also regularly used the term *mamás* (colloquial term for “mothers”) in referring to those with children, and I often specify them as young mothers or adolescent mothers. I do not use the term “children”, as my participants seldom addressed themselves as such. On occasion, I do deliberately employ non-gender-specific terms in English such as “adolescents” (*adolescentes*), “youths”/“young people” (*jóvenes*), which my participants drew on in formal conversations to refer to young people of their age groups.

<sup>6</sup> For problematization and in-depth discussions of the terms “vulnerable groups” and “vulnerable populations”, see Chapter 5.

<sup>7</sup> Residential child and youth care can be defined as protection and provision for the health and welfare of children and youth who live or stay in a non-family based, residential environment provided by (public or private) institutions (Islam and Fulcher, 2016; Peru’s General Law of Residential Care Centre for Children and Adolescents, Law No. 29174 of 2007; the UN General Assembly 2010 Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children).

centres have been running over the past two to three decades for groups of girls and young women/mothers. They depend on private, external funding often hinging on Cusco's tourism and international volunteering developments. Most of their target population/beneficiaries are young females between 13 and 18 years of age, coming from poverty-stricken rural Andean and Quechua-speaking<sup>9</sup> family backgrounds. These youths face severe forms of vulnerability from having been subjected to (sexual, physical and other forms of) abuse, discrimination and impoverishment. The thesis critically investigates these girls and young women's lived experiences of the centres' comprehensive care (*atención integral*) programmes. Besides providing shelter and legal assistance and satisfying basic needs, these programmes are focused on long-term social, educational and development interventions.

Given the lack of scholarly work treating the complex experiences of "alternative" interventions in vulnerable and intersectionally marginalized young people's welfare, my thesis assembles insights from several relevant bodies of academic literature. I develop a set of analytics—i.e., tools, strategies or ways of doing analysis and the underlying rationale—for studying "alternative" interventions using young people's perspectives and lived experiences. To do so, I draw on some of the most recent theoretical debates on affect and embodiment in and beyond human geography.<sup>10</sup> "Affect" is closely associated with feelings, senses and emotions but cannot be reduced to any of these terms (Berlant, 2011). To evoke "affect" is not solely to adopt a more expansive category than feelings and emotions for addressing experiences and bodily states such as the sensorial and

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<sup>8</sup> Both of the organizations I have studied are registered at the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations as "residential care centres" (*centros de atención residencial*) for children and youth under 18 years of age. Throughout the thesis, however, I often address the two centres as providing "social and residential care". I do so in order to highlight, next to the conventional content related to "residential care", the social work support and services provided by the organizations beyond the confines of their immediate residential care environment.

<sup>9</sup> Quechua is the most spoken indigenous language in Peru. Most of the girls and adolescent mothers who are the residents and beneficiaries of the two organizations are bilingual: they speak Quechua as their first language and have then acquired Spanish as well. In public perceptions in contemporary Peru, remaining monolingual in Quechua is not only an indicator of one's "Indianness" but also often a marker of status of poverty, illiteracy and peasantry. See also discussions in de la Cadena, 2000, 2015; García, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> See the detailed discussion in Chapter 2. For other key discussions on affect and embodiment in human geography that inform my thesis, see Anderson, 2012, 2014; Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Barnett, 2008; Bondi, 2005; Davidson et al., 2005; Thien, 2005; Thrift, 2004; Tolia-Kelly, 2006.

the visceral. Rather, it is to foster an emergent scholarly sensibility towards social and political engagements and changes present in various dimensions of intimate and social life often excluded from conventional academic discussions of politics (Anderson, 2014; Berlant, 2011; Clough and Halley, 2007; Cvetkovich, 2012a; Pedwell, 2014; Sedgwick, 2003).

In particular, my thesis builds on and contributes to two areas of geographical scholarship. First, I engage with the scholarship on geographies of children and youth. Some of this scholarship has explored young people's embodied experiences in daily life and the affects of "alternative" care and education interventions in young people's lives (Holloway et al., 2019; Horton and Kraftl, 2006a; Kraftl, 2015; Mitchell and Elwood, 2012; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Second, I critically examine geographical work that has evoked affect theories in seeking to understand diverse experiences of volunteering that contribute to meaningful social change in the context of development aid interventions (Frazer and Waitt, 2016; Griffiths, 2018; Griffiths and Brown, 2017; Sin et al., 2015). Considering such geographical work, I argue for an in-depth analysis of youths' mundane intimate and social lives, in order to grasp their lived experiences of the workings of local organization for welfare entangled with diverse actors and channels of resources. Crucially, I argue that literary scholar and cultural theorist Lauren Berlant's (2011) affect theory can help in this task. This is because Berlant theorizes on the shared manners and capacities in which people come to respond to precarity and vulnerability during the mundane reproduction of life. In so doing, Berlant's work inspires my attention to the messy, uncertain "good life" practices and solidarity that may emerge as part of youths' experiences of "alternative" interventions and social service organization. At the same time, her work also encourages a critical examination of the social and political climates that give rise to young people's needs and desires for "alternative" interventions.

My thesis therefore approaches the cases of "alternative" interventions in Cusco using a "Berlantian" analytics of "affective life". "Affective life" is lived and *more-than-individual*; it is constituted by personal and shared attachments, the related feelings, capacities and relations as experienced or manifested by individuals and groups in ongoing response to their social and material environments. Based on my seven months of ethnographic field research<sup>11</sup> at the two specific social and residential care centres, I trace the unfolding individual and

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<sup>11</sup> The fieldwork spread over two periods, from August 2014 to January 2015 and from November to December 2015. See also Chapter 3.

shared “affective life” as lived by the young target population/beneficiaries. I examine the ways in which the particular comprehensive care and education programmes create spheres for mediating structural conditions impacting their beneficiaries. It is in these mediated spheres that the programmes govern and invest in youths’ aspirations and desires, reconfiguring youths’ shared capacities of enduring and responding to the environment of contemporary urban Cusco. Ultimately, the analysis of “affective life” helps advance nuanced accounts of the sociality and change that may emerge through the local, mundane and pragmatic mode of “alternative” interventions looked at in my thesis. At the same time, it also sheds light on the complications of such social organization for marginalized young people’s “good life”.

## 1.1 PUTTING INTERVENTION AND MARGINALIZATION IN CONTEXT

Studies from sociology, social policy, development studies, childhood and youth studies as well as areas within human geography have variously contributed to academic discussions in the past years over the welfare of marginalized populations in Peru. Many studies highlighted the negative implications of top-down interventions for the well-being of these populations (see, e.g., Aufseeser, 2014a; Ewig, 2006a; 2006b; Molyneux and Thompson, 2011). These studies investigate government interventions claiming to tackle poverty, promote health, family welfare or women’s and children’s rights into the lives of the impoverished and those in need (Boesten, 2014; Cookson, 2016; Jones et al., 2008; Molyneux, 2007). Boesten (2014), for example, critiques the Fujimori government’s (1990–2000) policies focused on family planning and on “women’s issues” such as domestic violence.<sup>12</sup> She points out that such policies were part of an overall

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<sup>12</sup> Fujimori’s government created a ministry for the promotion of women and human development (*Promoción de la Mujer y Desarrollo Humano*, PROMUDEH) in 1996, pledging to promote gender equity and address domestic violence and violence against women in particular (Alcalde, 2010: 153–157; Boesten, 2014: 135; see also Cáceres et al., 2007: 139). Studies have examined this short-lived “gender mainstreaming” as then-President Fujimori’s attempt to seek support from Peruvian feminist groups and international development agencies (Boesten, 2014; Ewig, 2006b; see also Vargas, 2004). Fujimori’s national family planning programme (1996–2000) involved campaigns targeting rural, indigenous women (Ewig, 2006b). It has been reported that the programme resulted in 300,000 cases of sterilization (Brown and Tucker, 2017; Ewig, 2006b). Among these cases, there were at least 17 deaths caused by surgical interventions, and many men and women were sterilized without having given their informed consent (Brown and Tucker, 2017).



“patriarchal strategy of control” over civil society actors and the (poor and indigenous) Peruvian population (2014: 135, 140–142; see also Ewig, 2006a; 2006b). Scholars also suggest that the Peruvian state’s social policies and programmes in the following administrations have been guided by state paternalism and patriarchal values as well as plagued by inadequate management (Cáceres et al., 2007; Cookson, 2016; Jenson and Nagels, 2018; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011; Radcliffe, 1993; Streuli, 2012).<sup>13</sup>

In the department of Cusco<sup>14</sup> (see Figure 1.1), scholars have critiqued the inequalities and unjust power relations brought into being by a diverse mix of actors in international humanitarian and development aid and in social welfare interventions (Barrig, 2001; Bebbington, 2004; Burrai et al., 2017; Knight et al., 2017; Sinervo, 2015, 2017). These actors range from small and large non-governmental and non-profit organizations, to types of social enterprises and individuals such as philanthropic locals, foreign professionals, international volunteers and tourists.

State-, church- and NGO-sponsored welfare and care provision for children and youths in Peru historically concentrates in urban areas (Béjar, 1997). Such services, including non-family-based residential care, have been provided traditionally through prominent religious institutions and religiously inspired philanthropy funded by the wealthy upper classes (Béjar, 1997; Burns, 1999; Portocarrero and Sanborn, 2003; Sanborn, 2006). The city of Cusco and the wider region (department) of Cusco, however, have seen a significant amount of international cooperation and the expansion of tourism in the past several decades (Bebbington, 2004; Desforges, 2000; Steel, 2013). Such developments have had influences on the organization of services for children and youth in places around Cusco, as many private and foreign-funded initiatives have emerged over the years to provide aid, education, social services and residential care to children and youths, and many of these private initiatives seem to diverge from the “traditional”

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<sup>13</sup> Observing the reform and renaming of the ministry during the 2000s as the Ministry of Women and Social Development (*Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social*, MIMDES, nowadays Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, *Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables*, MIMP), Miloslavich Tupac (2004: 79) also points out that there has been increasing reliance on “social development experts” in policy and practice while marginalizing the involvement of feminist actors and advocates for women’s rights. See also Cáceres et al., 2007: 141–146.

<sup>14</sup> The department of Cusco is divided into 13 provinces, including the province of Cusco, where Cusco city is located.

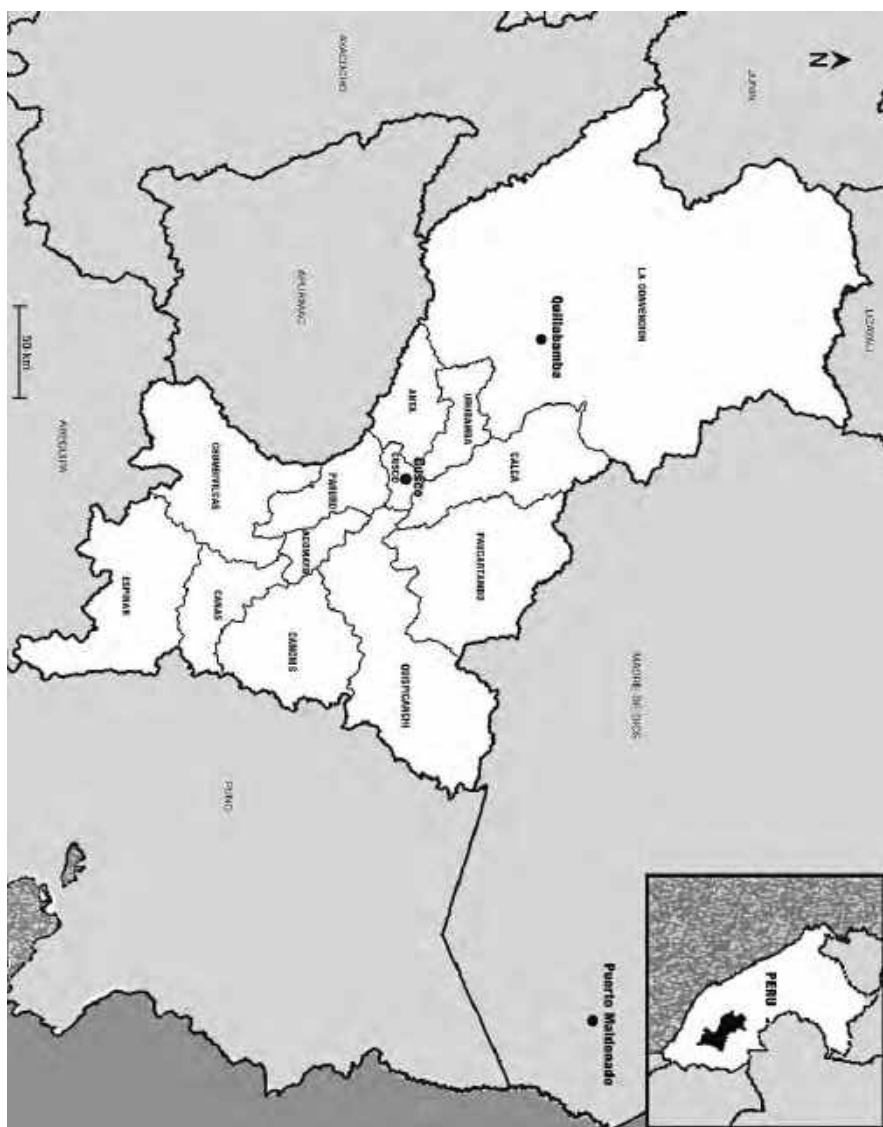


Figure 1.1: The department of Cusco. Source: Map drawn by Leon Martakis.

religiously inspired forms of welfare provision (Burrai et al., 2017; Sinervo, 2013; see Leinaweaver, 2008: 65 for the situation in Ayacucho).

For example, the Cusco city-based *Semilla Nueva Network* represents an alliance of diverse non-governmental organizations working with “at-risk” children and youth. The network has identified around 60 programmes within the department of Cusco currently offering social and residential care services for children and youth.<sup>15</sup> Many of the organizations offering these programmes and services are non-traditional, secular non-governmental organizations (NGOs). They are also “hybridized”<sup>16</sup> in terms of their operations and funding schemes: they collaborate with multiple other national and international NGOs and tap into a broad variety of funding sources. These funding sources include long-term support from wealthy foreign individual donors and fundraising internationally through social networks. Some collaborate with large international charity and humanitarian NGOs (e.g., Terre des Hommes). These organizations also draw on Peruvian urban professionals, volunteers, philanthropists and activists as well as foreigners such as international volunteers and tourists for their operations (Sinervo, 2017). Sinervo (2011, 2013) has critiqued hybridized NGOs and aid programmes for poor children in Cusco city for their normative ideas about childhood poverty that reinforce stigmas regarding poor and working children. Meanwhile, given the challenges involved in facilitating and managing the day-to-day involvement of foreign volunteers and tourists, and the general governmental negligence regarding social services and the presence of international volunteering in Cusco, the power relations between the organizations and volunteers/tourists have been found by researchers to be often problematic (Burrai et al., 2017; Sinervo, 2015, 2017).

Parallel to this problematic history of governmental and non-governmental interventions at the national, regional and local levels, despite recent economic development and the overall reduction of poverty in Peru, rural and indigenous populations continue to face impoverishment (Ames et al., 2018). Of all indigenous language-speaking Peruvians, 33% of them live in poverty as compared

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<sup>15</sup> Most of the programmes are operated by NGOs. Only a few of them are state-operated.

<sup>16</sup> See Millán, 2003: 18.

with 19% of the Spanish-speaking population (INEI, 2017: 9).<sup>17</sup> Poverty also affects rural populations residing in the Andean and Amazonian regions of the country in particular (INEI, 2017: 131-132). A 2010 UNICEF report on Peruvian indigenous young people between 3 and 17 years of age further shows that 78% of all Quechua-speaking young people lived in poor households, whereas the figure was 40% for the young people who spoke Spanish as their first language (UNICEF, 2010: 34–35). Extreme poverty affected 46% of Quechua-speaking young people, as compared with only 12% of young people who spoke Spanish as their first language (UNICEF, 2010: 35). Access to and quality of education and public services such as health care have also long been major issues for rural indigenous children and youths despite recent improvement in service provision (Ames, 2012; García, 2003, 2004; Jones et al., 2008; UNICEF, 2010, 2016, 2018).

Gendered social and economic inequalities, lack of access to social services as well as insufficient and inadequate institutional response to these inequalities have further posed persistent challenges for the welfare of girls and women of rural and indigenous backgrounds. Norms regarding household labour division and childbearing have also historically influenced the educational participation and livelihood strategies of poor and Quechua-speaking girls and female adolescents (Ames, 2013a, 2013b; Bourque and Warren, 1981; Boyd, 2013; Radcliffe, 1986). Further, these young females are often subjected to specific gendered forms of discrimination, exploitation and abuse during the common process of leaving their families and moving alone to live in urban areas (Crivello, 2015; Gutiérrez, 1983; ILO, 2002; Santisteban, 2007; Schellekens and van der Schoot, 1989; see also Viviano Llave, 2007). Most have done so for better (secondary and higher) educational and employment opportunities, and maintain ties with rural families or communities. While this migration nowadays happens most significantly during adolescence, in the past girls could be brought, at an age as young as 5 or 6, by family acquaintances to stay with families they may or may not have known (Gutiérrez, 1983: 302; Santisteban, 2007; UNICEF, 2010: 32). Leinaweaver (2008) addresses such prevalent and historically shaped practices as the “circulation of

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<sup>17</sup> Peru has a population of over 31 million according to the 2017 census (INEI, 2018: 13). There are approximately 4.3 million people who speak an indigenous language as their first language. Three million and seven hundred thousand of them speak Quechua as their first language. The number of Quechua-speaking young people between 3 and 24 years of age is around one million.

children”,<sup>18</sup> in which young females circulating into urban households tended to perform domestic work (see also ILO, 2002; Llallisunchis, 2007; Radcliffe, 1990). Often-reported forms of abuse and exploitation against young female domestic helpers include sexual abuse and harassment, physical and verbal abuse, underpaying or no salary, no days off, and not being allowed to contact their families (ILO, 2002; see also Anderson et al., 2010; Díaz Uriarte, 1989; García, 2003: 81).

Furthermore, girls and young women living in rural poverty and lacking sexual education and access to contraception can face early and unexpected pregnancies. While 21% of all young Quechua females between 15 and 20 years of age were mothers as of 2007 (UNICEF, 2010: 18; see also Palomino, 1996: 49–50), girls from the younger generations are increasingly postponing motherhood, in accordance with their own and their families’ expectations for them to pursue education and professional careers (Ames, 2013b; Crivello and Boyden, 2014). In the case of unexpected pregnancies, girls can experience difficulties and vulnerabilities including conflicts within families, exclusion from families or from schools, social stigma and livelihood difficulties (Palomino, 1996: 50–51; Leinaweaver, 2008: 116–117, 125). Abortion in Peru is penalized with imprisonment up to three months, except in cases when the girl/woman’s life is at risk (Boesten, 2014; Cáceres et al., 2007; Jacay, 2012).

It has been reported that Peru has one of the highest rates of violence against women and the highest rate of registered cases of sexual violence in South America (Boesten, 2014; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2018; Mujica, 2011; UNHRC, 2015). Mujica (2011: 78) points out that between 2000 and 2009, 78% of the victims in all reported rape cases were minors (under 18). Ames et al. (2018: 57) cite a 2015 national survey that suggests that 35% of adolescents between 12 and 17 experienced sexual violence. Sexual violence and sexual and reproductive health, however, are not only sensitive topics in the country but also areas of intense political struggle (Boesten, 2014; Cáceres et al., 2007; Ewig, 2006a, 2006b; Leau, 2013; Palomino et al., 2011; Rousseau, 2007). Recent policy interventions and institutional reforms have been so far insufficient in addressing

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<sup>18</sup> Historically, the prevalent phenomenon of children’s circulation is entwined with the Andean system of “co-parenting” (*compadrazgo*) (Gutiérrez, 1983: 192; Leinaweaver, 2008). In this system, children are not only taken care of by, but also actively contribute to, the household they circulate into through labour (Ames and Rojas, 2009: 18). Children’s circulation facilitates profound social and economic relationships between households across class and urban-rural divides. See also Ødegaard, 2010: 113.

the problems of sexual violence (Ames et al., 2018; Boesten, 2014).<sup>19</sup> Victims of sexual violence in poor and rural areas are especially impacted by the lack of access to institutions and services such as the police, General Attorney/Prosecutor's office (*Fiscalía*), forensic medical services, as well as healthcare and social services such as women's emergency centres (Mujica, 2011; see also Bunt, 2008; Palomino, 1996: 50–51; UNHCR, 2017). In the case of girls and adolescents being sexually abused by acquaintances or household members or while experiencing precarious living conditions (e.g., in street situations), however, further care provision and protection measures may be necessary (see also Leinaweaver, 2008: 187–188). Placing young females in residential care may be one of these measures should staying with their own families or in their communities not be feasible (e.g., because of family abandonment, extreme poverty or risk of further abuse or retaliation).

## 1.2 STUDYING “ALTERNATIVE” INTERVENTIONS FROM YOUTHS' PERSPECTIVES

In the previous section, I depicted the complexity of and troubles related to governmental and non-governmental interventions in Peru against the backdrop of long-standing and intersecting inequalities impacting groups of children's and youths' (particularly girls' and young women's) welfare. Considering in particular the welfare of marginalized girls and young women at stake discussed so far, I argue that it is important to research existing modes and forms of intervention and social organization related to the (potential of) improvement in their welfare while being critically aware of the problematic implications these interventions can have.

To do so, my thesis focuses on the interventions of two non-governmental social and residential care centres in Cusco: Runachay and CARA.<sup>20</sup> Both of these centres are operationally “hybridized” in ways similar to the other organizations in Cusco and target marginalized girls and young mothers. The centres implement programmes aimed to address conditions facing these young females, including

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<sup>19</sup> This is despite the fact that, over the past two decades, there seems to be growing public awareness in addressing sexual violence and violence against women such as through, e.g., public protests (Ames et al., 2018) and increasing attempts to report cases of rape and child sexual abuse (Mujica, 2011; see also Ames, 2013c: 63; Barrig, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Pseudonyms are given to both organizations appearing in my thesis.

social and cultural discrimination, domestic work exploitation during the process of rural-to-urban migration, sexual abuse and livelihood challenge in case of early and unexpected pregnancy. Their programmes boast comprehensive care interventions claimed to be capable of attending to the vulnerability facing these young people and serving the youths' interests and needs, as opposed to perceived inadequacy in mainstream and normalized practices of school education, other residential care arrangements or social programmes. In addition to shelter, social work, health care and legal support, Runachay and CARA tailor for their target populations'/beneficiaries' education, personal development and livelihood strategies, such as those having to do with vocational training and professional education.

With this PhD project, I have aimed to account for marginalized young people's own interests and experiences of changes in and improvement of their welfare in relation to CARA and Runachay's "alternative" interventions. Relatively little research, however, has been done on marginalized young people's own perspectives and experiences when faced with intervention into their welfare in Peru, regardless of the kinds of interventions in question (cf. Aufseeser, 2014b; Leinaweaver, 2008). Since the early 2010s, a set of publications on Peruvian children and youths has aimed to improve Peruvian national and international scholarly understandings of childhood and youth experiences in Peru. Examples of these publications include those related to the Peruvian study with the multi-country projects such as *Nuevas Trenzas*<sup>21</sup> and *Young Lives*.<sup>22</sup> Some of these discussions shed light on rural girls' and young women's education and migration aspirations (see, e.g., Crivello, 2011, 2015). Nevertheless, these discussions do not offer in-depth critique of the social and political conditions shaping the lives of youths from marginalized rural and indigenous backgrounds, nor do they dive into the vulnerability or challenges that girls and young women face. Further, few studies examine the different modes of social and development interventions in children and youths' lives and welfare from their own perspectives (for an exception, see Sinervo, 2013).

Therefore, I have chosen to undertake research on young people's perspectives and experiences facing "alternative" interventions through combining varied insights from several strands of work from children's and youth geographies and from the geographies of development and volunteering. Scholarship on children's

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<sup>21</sup> <https://iep.org.pe/buscar/Nuevas%20Trenzas>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.younglives.org.uk/>

geographies over the past two to three decades has generated nuanced considerations of young people's perspectives and experiences, and it has shown that these matter for critical studies of politics influencing young people's lives (Holloway et al., 2019; Robson et al., 2013; Skelton, 2013; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Several related conceptual and theoretical discussions have inspired my thesis's general commitment to paying attention to young people's lived realities, their seemingly mundane affective and embodied experiences as well as their voices articulating the social and political issues relevant to their lives.

Further, both of the sub-disciplinary fields of children's geographies and geographies of development volunteering have yielded empirical research in the past few years on care, education or development interventions that are similar to and relevant for those looked at in my thesis. Some of this work from both sub-disciplinary fields has also drawn on theorization of affect and embodiment—most notably from works in human geography but also from other fields/disciplines in the humanities and social sciences such as cultural and media studies. Evocations of affect and embodiment have helped these geographies to rethink and debate “the political” (Mitchell and Elwood, 2012; see also Thrift, 2004): when and how the actions and practices of children, youths or other social actors conventionally neglected in scholarly discussions may be considered politically relevant; and where and how politics and social change emerge through the more-than-discursive dimensions of intimate and social life.

The key affect-theory-inflected work among these contributions shares a rather similar call for scholarly critiques to move beyond problematizing unjust structures of power relations. This work suggests that attention to affect and embodiment may help scholarly understanding of certain education and development aid interventions that implement practices of, or yield potential for, change. “Change” suggests that lives may be lived differently from that governed by prevalent norms in life, or education or international development experienced in ways alternative to mainstream practices that enact unjust power relations. Some have examined this by exploring adult educators' perspectives on how “life” or “childhood” may be lived differently from normalized ways of living through the organization of “alternative” education that challenges mainstream school education (Kraftl, 2015). Others have shown that (young) adult, non-professional volunteers' practices of development aid do not necessarily reproduce all the problematic power relations in global North–South inter-subjective encounters as suggested by previous literature (Frazer and Waitt, 2016; Griffiths and Brown,



2017). They suggest that affective experiences of volunteering do, in some cases, encourage these volunteers to engage in meaningful actions towards reducing global inequalities or alleviating others' misery.

In striving to integrate these insights into a critical yet enabling scholarly analysis of the Runachay and CARA interventions with a focus on the target populations/beneficiaries' lived perspectives, however, I encounter difficulty because of the discrepancies in the varied understandings of embodiment and versions of affect theory emphasized by the authors. These discrepancies pose methodological and analytical challenges. I thus argue that it is necessary to adapt parts of Lauren Berlant's (2011) work in order to further aid geographers' deployment of affect in researching lived experiences of "alternative" social and welfare service organization beside/beyond state or other conventional institutional arrangements. My research questions in the next section reflect my project's objective to develop a Berlant-inspired framework related to understandings of "affective life" that can tackle these challenges in order to study "alternative" social and development interventions from the perspectives and experiences of the target populations/beneficiaries.

### 1.3 DEPLOYING ANALYTICS OF "AFFECTIVE LIFE" FOR CRITICAL INQUIRY

My thesis is organized in six chapters and is guided first and foremost by the following main research question:

*What and how can analytics of "affective life" offer insights into "alternative" interventions that bring improvement to young target populations/beneficiaries' welfare in the social and material context of Cusco?*

Three sub-questions are developed in order to further consolidate a critical and thorough discussion of the value of "affective life" in researching "alternative" social and development interventions. The first sub-question entails a quest for theoretical and methodological innovation based on conversations with the key literatures for my thesis. The second and third sub-questions then each go on to identify a crucial empirical aspect of the workings of "alternative" interventions in Cusco, Peru. One is related to education, and the other to international

volunteering. Education is aspirational for many Peruvian young people in poverty and precarious and vulnerable situations, and it is at the heart of both centres' programmes for girls and young women's long-term well-being, personal development and livelihoods. The presence of international actors such as global-North volunteers and tourists is commonplace in small-scale "alternative" interventions in Cusco, despite the many critiques of the social problems their presence creates (see, e.g., Burrai et al., 2017).

1. *What theoretical innovation does "affective life" offer studies of social and development interventions and how can it be operationalized?*
2. *How does my proposed analytics of "affective life" shed light on "alternative" interventions' responses to precarity and marginalization facing the target populations/beneficiaries through education?*
3. *How does my proposed analytics of "affective life" shed light on "alternative" interventions' arrangements for target populations/beneficiaries' well-being and livelihoods through the involvement of international volunteering?*

Chapters 2 to 5 are guided and structured by these sub-questions. Chapter 2 lays out my rationale and motivation to draw on affect and embodiment to study young lives in "alternative" care. This chapter should be read as the first part of my response to sub-question 1: *What theoretical innovation does "affective life" offer studies of social and development interventions and how can it be operationalized?* In this chapter, I critically review literatures on children's and youth geographies and on the geographies of development and volunteering. I identify the theoretical and analytical issues at stake in using insights from these literatures to study "alternative" interventions and to foreground these youths' own perspectives and experiences. I then introduce Berlant's (2011) affect theory, which allows me to address the challenges emerging in geographers' discussions. I conclude Chapter 2 by outlining important aspects to which to attend when performing a Berlant-inspired analysis of "alternative" interventions based on the mundane "affective life" of the young people such interventions target.

Following the elaboration of a "Berlantian" approach, Chapter 3 should be read as the second part of my response to sub-question 1. In this chapter, I construct a methodology suited to working with young participants, inspired by a variety of methodological discussions across geographical, anthropological, feminist, and childhood and youth research. It details the practical,

methodological and ethical considerations involved in studying the affective life at Runachay and CARA through young participants' expressions of their needs, desires, capacities and experiences. Besides explaining how I have selected CARA and Runachay and providing information on both organizations, Chapter 3 aims at providing an overarching account of my research design that involves young research participants and ethnographic field research. I discuss the principles and rationale guiding the fieldwork's emphasis on young participants' "expressions", and the ethnographic research processes that took place at Runachay and CARA. I detail the multi-method fieldwork through which all the empirical material appearing in Chapters 4 and 5 was generated, and I document my positionality working with the young participants during this process. The chapter presents a "mosaic" approach—a multi-method approach to "knowledge generation" instead of "data extraction"—inspired by Clark (2011a, 2011b) and compatible with my ethnographic fieldwork focusing on participant observation and informal talk. When presenting my "mosaic" design of methods, I explain my incorporation of young participant-friendly elicitation techniques into individual interviews, and I reflect on the diary/notebook activity conducted. All methods fit into and contribute to the overall methodology aiming to facilitate my understandings of young participants' diverse, mostly verbal but sometimes more-than-verbal expressions. In this way, I gained insights into their daily and long-term needs, desires, and practices and capacities of life-making, as well as into their perceptions towards and experiences of life at Runachay and CARA. This chapter contains material that I am in the process of editing for a methodology paper to be submitted to the academic journal *Area* in the coming months.

Chapter 4 addresses the second sub-question: *How does my proposed analytics of "affective life" shed light on "alternative" interventions' responses to precarity and marginalization facing the target populations/beneficiaries through education?* This chapter further elaborates on Berlant's (2011) affect theory introduced in Chapter 2. It does so in order to propose analytics relevant for discussing the politics of life as experienced by Quechua-speaking girls in Runachay Centre's orbit of influence and in Cusco's social and political contexts where they are inspired and aspire to "get ahead" in life. The chapter seeks to understand the operations of Runachay's politics of childhood/youth through social and vocational education in light of other existing structural forces and forms of power influencing the lives of these young people. It argues for the significance of doing so by attending to the "affectsphere", i.e., the "world" in which the programme's resident-beneficiary

youths sense themselves to be situated and which is in ongoing formation through “personal and public filtering of the situations and events” (Berlant, 2011: 4). This chapter then looks at the nuanced ways in which the girls individually and collectively feel about, make sense of and respond to Runachay’s facilitation of their well-being and their aspirations. In so doing, the chapter analyzes how Runachay mediates the precarity in Cusco’s urban economies faced by the girls in their rural-to-urban migration. It shows how the centre intervenes in the ordinary conditions in Cusco, and in Peru more generally, that shape Quechua-speaking girls’ domestic labour, their schooling and future employment. With the understanding of “affective life”, the analysis critically unpacks the “alternative” workings of Runachay’s interventions grounded in and materialized through the quotidian. This chapter is based on an article co-authored by Claudio Minca and Meghann Ormond, published in the journal *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* in 2018.

Chapter 5 addresses the third sub-question: *How does my proposed analytics of “affective life” shed light on “alternative” interventions’ arrangements for target populations/beneficiaries’ well-being and livelihoods through the involvement of international volunteering?* It does this with a critical reading of affect-inflected literature in the geographies of development and volunteering introduced in Chapter 2, since the development interventions mentioned in this literature are highly relevant to the ones looked at in Chapter 5. In view of the literature’s rather individualistic and Northern actor-centred approach to affective and embodied experiences of development volunteering, the chapter then argues instead for retheorizing the spatiality of “affective life” in international development besides/beyond that experienced by global-North volunteers. This is to say that it is essential to pay attention to the feelings, desires, affective states and capacities that emerge among an often-ignored group of development actors—the populations relying on development aid who are often represented as “poor” or “vulnerable” in public discourses and in writings on development volunteering. These marginalized development actors have ongoing relations with each other and with other kinds of development actors such as international volunteers, and they continue to respond to the social and material conditions in which they are embedded. Based on this understanding, this chapter turns to examine the “affective life” at CARA, a popular destination in Cusco for international volunteering. CARA has as its principal function the provision of residential care to adolescent mothers who are either survivors of rape or sexual abuse, or who lack

family and community support for managing early pregnancy and motherhood. The chapter constructs its analysis through exploring residents' quotidian expressions of their needs and desires. It considers how the residents rely on CARA's institutional-collective arrangements as they respond to socio-politically shaped vulnerability in everyday or long-term modes of living. In light of CARA's collective household environment and the sensibilities it promotes among its residents, the chapter shows that the involvement of international volunteers affects residents' capacities for living on and (self-)transformation in complex and sometimes problematic ways. This chapter is based on an article co-written with Claudio Minca and published in the journal *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* in 2020.

Chapter 6 provides a review of the discussions emerging from the preceding chapters. In so doing, it addresses each of the sub-questions in turn, while articulating my thesis's contribution to scholarly literatures. The chapter then turns to highlight some implications of the findings for social and development policy critique and advocacy, including a reflection on Berlantian deep ethnography and on critical scholarly approaches to "normativity". There, I also explain how my findings can speak to contentious policy debates and governmental and institutional inactions, using the examples of child and youth work and social programmes for adolescent mothers in vulnerability in Peru. I conclude my thesis by laying out aspects of the Cusco cases for further research as well as by formulating other conceptual and theoretical issues worth exploring using the Berlantian framework that I have developed here.





## Chapter 2: Affect, embodiment and “alternative” interventions in young people’s welfare: A framework

This chapter provides the academic context in which my thesis derives its focus on affect and embodiment in approaching the perspectives and experiences of marginalized girls and adolescent mothers faced with “alternative” interventions in their welfare in Cusco, Peru. The chapter comprises three sections. I start by explaining the decision to turn to two specific areas within human geography—geographies of children and youth (Section 2.1) and geographies of development and volunteering (Section 2.2)—for their conceptual and theoretical considerations of the importance of and challenges in researching young people’s experiences linked with (alternative) interventions. These pages serve as a foundation for subsequent elaboration on Berlant’s (2011) affect theory (Section 2.3), which holds relevance not only for my thesis’s analysis of “alternative” interventions into these young females’ lives and welfare in Cusco from their own perspectives, but also for further extending geographers’ lines of inquiry regarding “alternative” interventions and social organization related to improving (young) people’s welfare.

I provided a succinct overview of critical scholarly literatures on the welfare of marginalized young populations in Peru in Chapter 1. There I also noted that critiques abound with regards to top-down and externally driven social and development interventions that are suggested to have problematic implications for young people’s lives. There has been, however, limited scholarly discussion of experiences of “alternative” social or development aid interventions that offer or facilitate some sort of protection, welfare provision or development aid to some highly vulnerable and marginalized Peruvian children and youths (girls and young women).<sup>23</sup> I use the term “alternative interventions” to frame small-scale and

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<sup>23</sup> For the terminology used in my thesis to refer to young people, see Chapter 1, Footnote 5.



locally organized responses to governmental neglect and social exclusion of these groups of vulnerable young people. I contended there that it is both scholarly and societally relevant to produce—besides critiques of the state power and structural conditions impacting the population—knowledge about such existing “alternative” interventions and modes of social organization that support or facilitate changes in the welfare of vulnerable groups. What critical theory, related concepts or analytical tools may one draw on to aid such a study in order to understand the ways these interventions target and change aspects of youths’ lives as responses to social and political problems? What is more, whereas one can find scholarly work on childhood and youth experiences of growing up in Peru, there is rarely analysis integrating young people’s perspectives and critical scholarly discussions of social and development aid interventions.<sup>24</sup> The issue at stake, then, is the accountability of academic research to young lives and their actual experiences, not only in the case of young people confronted with top-down or otherwise problematic interventions, but also in scenarios of certain “alternative” practices where they do experience improvement in their welfare in one form or another. Thus, to develop a robust approach to examining the perspectives of the marginalized youths faced with interventions, and in seeking some more conceptual and theoretical grounding in order to critically analyze “alternative” social interventions, I turn to work on the geographies of children and youth and on the geographies of development volunteering.

In the past years, literature within and across the geographies of children and youth and the geographies of development volunteering has sought to attend to the emotional and embodied experiences of people—children, youths and volunteers—and to discuss their practices and conceptualize forms of (human) “agency”.<sup>25</sup> In light of political, economic and social changes in the past decades, geographers across several sub-disciplines have critiqued policy reforms and considered social mobilization besides/beyond governmental institutional involvement aiming to improve people’s welfare, to engage with equitable social and political change and to promote “development” practices aligned with these directions (see, e.g., Ballard, 2013, 2015; Holloway et al., 2019; Jeffrey, 2010, 2012,

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<sup>24</sup> For an exception, see Sinervo, 2013.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., discussions of children’s and youths’ social agency, political agency as well as critiques and questions raised about the conception of “agency” in Ansell, 2017; Bordonaro and Payne, 2012; Holloway et al., 2019; Kallio and Häkli, 2013; and Tisdall and Punch, 2012. For discussions related to international volunteers’ practices and “agency”, see Griffiths, 2016 and Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018.

2013; Mohan, 2003; Staeheli and Brown, 2003; see also Barnett, 2005). In the following sections, I explain how geographers' discussions connected to affect and embodiment in children's and youth geographies and in development volunteering help me situate my own use of affect and embodiment in order to critically discuss "alternative" care, education and development interventions in Cusco. In Section 2.1.1, I explain from where my thesis derives its commitment to studying youths' mundane, embodied and affective experiences. In Sections 2.1.2 and 2.2, I detail how scholars have sought to explore critiques of "alternative" social and development interventions in the context of interventions into young people's lives and in the context of international volunteers' participation in development politics and their encounters with global-South populations. I show here how affect is deployed rather differently by these scholars to explore a similar question: how might "alternative" social and development interventions hold potential for changing normalized practices and power relations that negatively impact people's lives?

Through Sections 2.1 and 2.2, I synthesize the various insights from these literatures regarding the use of young people's own experiences to analyze "alternative" interventions into young people's lives in Cusco. In so doing, I identify two interrelated analytical challenges that have emerged through these geographers' discussions and yet so far remain unresolved. First, how to analyze "alternative" interventions when there are multiple structural forces, forms of dominance and control, and actors at play? By this I mean, what may scholars pay attention to besides/beyond recognizing that the situated politics of any intervention is complex and fraught with problems? Second, how to include and foreground marginalized individuals' and groups' voices and perspectives? How may studying "affective" and "embodied" dimensions of youths' experience of life and of social and development interventions help to address the challenge of analyzing "alternative" interventions? Ultimately, I suggest moving towards Berlant's affect theory for its insight on how to attend to "affective life" and embodied experiences (Section 2.3). Her theory offers my thesis a framework for critically analyzing the complexity of "alternative" interventions, without dismissing or rendering inconsequential the change and potential present in such interventions.

## 2.1 GEOGRAPHIES OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

### 2.1.1 Young people's perspectives and experiences: affect and embodiment for conceptual and theoretical innovation

Studies of geographies of children and youth emerged over the past two decades, and these reflect a fast-growing, wide-ranging field of geographical and interdisciplinary work regarding children and youth (Holloway et al., 2019; Kallio and Häkli, 2013; Philo and Smith, 2013; Robson et al., 2013; Skelton, 2013). The field prioritizes the study of young lives, their voices and everyday practices, and this interest resonates with two important developments within and beyond the larger discipline of Geography. First, academic work over the past decades has sought to produce knowledge on the geographies of people traditionally marginalized in scholarly research, including children and young people (Horton and Kraftl, 2006a). Second, there has been increasing general public attention to children's and youths' rights and political and social agendas related to their welfare, especially since the international ratification of the 1989 United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) (Kallio and Häkli, 2013; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). In this broad context, Kallio and Häkli (2013) note that a fundamental conviction about young people's rights—to “participation”, to be heard and to be respected—underlies the proliferation of geographical research on “children and young people's experiences, understandings and views” (2013: 2). The premise is that research regarding young lives, their perspectives and experiences should “inform all practice, decision-making and planning concerning childhood and youth in general and individual children and young people's lives in particular, on all scales of policy-making and in every corner of the world” (Kallio and Häkli, 2013: 2).

Over the past years, however, geographers of children and youth as well as other scholars working on childhood and youth have observed that research has produced an “overwhelming” amount of empirical accounts about young people (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). They also point out a tendency among fellow researchers to focus on young people's personal experience, agency and competence in their so-called “micro worlds” consisting of particular places such as the school, the household and the neighbourhood (Skelton, 2013: 128; see also Ansell, 2009). These scholars call for conceptual and theoretical innovation that can overcome a narrow concern over young people's personal or “local”

experiences and engage with the “macro-political” constant in meaningful ways. By this “macro-political”, these scholars point to the “wider issues”, “macro factors” and “structural constraints” that impact young lives, their situations of vulnerability and the unjust power relations they experience, such as widespread poverty and political instability (Skelton, 2013: 128–129; Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 256). There are three major sets of conceptual and theoretical discussions on how scholars (should) study young people’s perspectives and experiences related to this call. Together, they highlight the important task of foregrounding these perspectives and experiences in not only scholarly but also public discussions of political issues related to young lives and their welfare. They also provide arguments for how embodiment and affect may help in this task. I discuss each of these three sets of discussions in turn in the paragraphs below.

Childhood/youth scholars and children’s geographers who also work in development studies have voiced especially strong concerns over uncritical, normative conceptions of young people’s “agency” and “participation” (Ansell, 2017; Bordonaro and Payne, 2012; Koffman and Gill, 2013; Nieuwenhuys, 2007). Young people’s “participation” is often discursively constructed by global-North/minority-world adult academics, policymakers as well as funding agencies to entail “being spatially and conceptually in schools or family homes and being heard by adult decision-makers in particular ways” (Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 254; see also Skelton, 2013; Wyness, 2013). This conception of participation ignores the primacy of paid work over other forms of participation in the embodied and lived experiences of most young people who make up a major part of the population in the global South.<sup>26</sup> In research, normative constructions such as that about “participation” can narrow researchers’ attention to only limited aspects of young people’s personal lives and their “micro worlds”. They can lead to downplaying or ignoring the multitude of young people’s specific educational and material needs, and their desires and demands having to do with extensive amounts of work/labour shaped by certain structural conditions. It is thus important to pay attention to young people’s lived experiences in order to address persisting structural conditions that influence young people’s lived realities and to attend to possibly existing political struggles attempting to change these structural conditions.

The “non-representational” and “affective” body of work advanced mainly by British children’s geographers approaches the task for conceptual and theoretical

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<sup>26</sup> For related population estimates, see Ansell, 2017: 3–5.

innovation of studying young people's experiences in another distinct way. Since the beginning of the 2000s, some geographers working with children and youth have sought to and continue to discuss young people's emotional experiences in such ways that highlight the social and political issues impacting children's and youths' lives and well-being (see, e.g., Pain et al., 2010; Robson, 2001). Horton and Kraftl's (2006a, 2006b; see also Kraftl and Horton, 2007) interventions on "embodiment", however, call for children's geographies to innovate research drawing on non-representational and affect theories. Relying most crucially on Thrift's (2004) work among other theorists and geographers, they follow the definition of "affect" as "the property of the active outcome of an encounter, [which] takes the form of an increase or decrease in the ability of the body and mind alike to act" (Thrift, 2004: 62, quoted in Horton and Kraftl, 2006a: 79). Horton and Kraftl (2006a) also thus distinguish affect from emotion: "affects are most commonly expressed, or experienced, as relational reactions, in excess of emotions, and located in bodily habits or the situational 'atmospheres' between actors" (2006a: 79). Emphasizing affect in this way, Horton and Kraftl's (2006b) main call at the time was for children's geographers to attend to the "flowing" and "ineffable" experiences that are the "deeply banal and affective stuff of everyday lives", which, at first glance, may not seem to be "useful", or the "big political issue of the day" (2006b: 260, 272; see also Stewart, 2007).

Such a discussion seems to present a certain opportunity for geographers of children and youth to subvert or at least reconsider the distinction between, on the one hand, young people's mundane, banal aspects of daily life and their personal experiences and "local" perspectives, and, on the other hand, the factors shaping their lives—conventionally considered as "properly political"—such as the setting of policy agendas. Kraftl and Horton (2007: 1012), for example, present their analysis of an event during which young people participated in discussing their health needs and health policies. In so doing, they argue that "the everyday work, happenings, emotions, conversations and materialities" in youths' lives that do not seem academically relevant enough can nevertheless be "fundamentally constitutive of [...] participation, policy and politics per se" (Kraftl and Horton, 2007: 1012).

Mitchell and Elwood (2012), however, worry that some non-representational research in practice tends to avoid "theories of dominance and subordination and analyses of power relations" (793). They caution against the risk of de-politicization, in the sense that research can overlook or downplay issues of

inequalities and marginalization readily present in “personal bodily encounters and emotions” (Mitchell and Elwood, 2012: 793) when it focuses on interpreting ephemeral, mundane and banal “non-representational” practices *as such*. Mitchell and Elwood (2012) also argue that, in emphasizing the “ineffable” experiences, researchers may end up alienating many young people’s needs, desires and capacities to actually “articulate” their understandings of adult-constructed rules and systems, as well as the restrictions and power hierarchies shaping their lives (see also a response to this in Kraftl, 2013a). Overall, therefore, these geographers’ discussion regarding the affective and the discursive thus highlights the potential scholarly relevance of not only young people’s “banal” affective experiences but also their formulated opinions and reflections in aiding scholars to make sense of the social and political issues that young people manifest to be important for their welfare.

#### 2.1.2 Interventions in young people’s lives and welfare: affect and “alternative” interventions

Scholarly literature on children and youth has examined a wide variety of care, education, development and humanitarian aid interventions (in either global-North or global-South settings) into young people’s lives and welfare. This literature has employed diverse concepts and a variety of theoretical lenses. It does not always feature young people’s own perspectives and (affective, emotional, embodied) experiences, nor does it necessarily relate to the debates and discussions mentioned in Section 2.1.1. For example, within this literature, some scholars examine how state institutions, top-down education and training policy and programmes regulate and discipline children’s and youths’ minds and bodies to become particular types of governable “citizen subjects” (Gagen, 2015; Wells et al., 2014). Others respond to a “biopolitical turn” in the social sciences and humanities over the past two decades.<sup>27</sup> They refer to the concept of “biopower” or

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<sup>27</sup> Discussions related to biopower and biopolitics are inspired by Foucault’s original discussions of the concept of “biopower”, as that which “intervene[s] to make live” ([1976] 2003: 248). “Biopower” intervenes into life by way of regularization and management of life. Foucault focused on the workings of “biopower” through state practices emerged in Europe during the 18th century, which intervened into and governed the biopolitical and social welfare of the populations. See discussions in Chapter 4. See also Anderson, 2012; Braidotti, 2013; Campbell and Sitze, 2013; Esposito, 2008, 2011; Hannah, 2011; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009; Lemke, 2011; Li, 2010; Minca, 2015; Reid, 2010; Rutherford and Rutherford, 2013.

the term “biopoliticization” to discuss policy discourses and campaigns (e.g., those related to sustainable development, food and health) that target the biological and social lives of children and youths (Gibson and Dempsey, 2015; Skoglund and Börjesson, 2014; see also Evans, 2010; Wells, 2011). Still others examining humanitarian and development aid interventions critique how NGOs’ discursive constructions of trauma, poverty, vulnerability and childhood in the global South work against nuanced understandings of young people’s lived experiences of livelihood adversity and their capacities for resilience and endurance of hardship (see, e.g., Marshall, 2014; see also Cheney, 2010a; Sinervo, 2011).

Besides these diverse critiques directed towards state or other forms of institutional power controlling and dominating young lives, there are also academics and practitioners working with children and youths who explore critiques of certain other “alternative” kinds of care and education interventions into the lives of young people and families (Disney, 2015; Jupp, 2013; works in volumes edited by Horton and Pyer, 2017; Mills and Kraftl, 2014; Wells et al., 2014). These academics and practitioners are interested in interventions that do not seem to reproduce, or instead even hold potential for resisting, unjust power relations influencing these lives. Here, discussions are relatively more scattered and tones of critique are more tentative. Ranging from informal types of learning spaces, to childcare facilities, to penal-protection-welfare interventions for young people, research shows not only forms of regulation and control but also complex and important relations involving trust, care and human connection that come into being through the emergence of such spaces and interventions.

Situated within this context, Kraftl’s (2015) more recent work uses affect theory in a different way from the series of discussions mentioned in the previous sub-section. Researching adult-led, “alternative” educational practices for childhoods to be lived differently from childhoods shaped by normalized practices of disciplining and regulation over young bodies and minds in mainstream schooling in the UK, Kraftl proposes the concept of “alter-childhoods”. Using this concept to navigate his material and frame his discussion, he observes features in these “alternative” educational practices such as educators’ attention to the harmonious relationships between children’s bodies and the materiality of the spaces, as well as intimacy and love facilitated in small, “human-scale” learning environments (Kraftl 2015: 226). In discussing these educators’ conceptions of child–adult affective relations, Kraftl (2015) tentatively evokes “love” in the Spinozan–Deleuzian conception as elaborated in Braidotti (2011), Hardt and Negri

(2009) as well as Thrift (2004), which refers to an affective force linked to the production of social life<sup>28</sup> and a body's capacity to act. Further, he is here significantly influenced by Hardt and Negri's (2009) particular deployment of affect in formulating how adults come to practice and to involve young people in "alternative" forms of education. Kraftl (2015) thus intends to open up a discursive space for geographers to explore diverse forms of other possible or existing interventions into young people's lives and welfare that "constitute alternatives [for childhoods] that involve individuals variously positioned within biopolitical and social orderings" (2015: 221; see also Anderson, 2012). Nevertheless, Kraftl also notes that these "alternative" education initiatives emerge at a time when mainstream, privatizing, neoliberal education reforms roll-back funding for public education and encourage private initiatives. In this last aspect, he points out that "alternative" interventions are necessarily complex, embedded within and somehow constrained by mainstream and structural forces. He thus also cautions that "the 'alternative' nature of those childhoods is always muddled, complicated, and dynamic" (Kraftl, 2015: 219).

My thesis builds specifically on Kraftl's (2015) call to consider "alternative" interventions into the politics of (young) life in social and residential care. It is, however, more generally inspired by children's geographers' major commitment, as discussed in Section 2.1.1, to involving young people's own perspectives when possible. Paying attention to young people's own perspectives is important, since current "alternative" intervention discussions are often shaped by adults' perspectives or mostly through listening to adults' voices, such as in Kraftl's (2013b, 2013c, 2016) own research. I aim to incorporate young people's voices and experiences by attending to young people's needs, desires and practices grounded in the lived realities of development contexts and by combining insights from both non-representational and feminist children's geographers to approach affective and embodied experiences in ways that can shed light on structural conditions, inequalities and unjust power relations. It is thus necessary, I think, to further consolidate a theoretical framework that would clearly allow for approaching (young) people's emotional, embodied and affective experiences as well as their voices and expressions along these lines of consideration. I claim that Berlant's

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<sup>28</sup> Here, Kraftl (2015) especially relies on Hardt and Negri (2009: 181). Kraftl states that "love" is an affective force that creates social life, as seen when a social collective experiences a 'qualitative increase' in its ability to act and think and when it finds the "recognition of an external cause" (2015: 231).



(2011) framework for affect and embodiment is suitable for this purpose, as it takes into account that all these aspects of young people's experiences and expressions may hold relevance in a critical scholarly analysis of the social and political issues at stake for them.

Analytically, however, how may investigating the target/beneficiary of young people's experiences and expressions in such a way in my thesis offer anything new or relevant to Kraftl's (2015) discussion of "alternative" interventions beyond/beside calling for a greater general "critical scholarly sensibility" (see also Sedgwick, 2003)? Although not yet providing answers himself, Kraftl (2015: 234) finds it crucial to ask how children's own experiences and perspectives may further help facilitate the kind of critique of "alternative" politics of childhood about which he is enthusiastic. Such a kind of critique, he writes, would be an "affirmative" critique. This means that the critique would go beyond/beside simply problematizing or criticizing normalized mainstream childhood culture or education systems, to instead "constitute part of efforts to exceed [...] some pervasive contemporary constructions of childhood" (2015: 235).<sup>29</sup> For Kraftl (2015), a challenge in furthering a critical yet "affirmative" analysis of alternative interventions is to address not only whether the constructions of childhood in certain "alternative" (educational) interventions "really exceed a perceived mainstream [construction of childhood] but also whether the challenges they pose [for the mainstream practices] [...] are morally, practically, and politically justifiable in a given context" (2015: 228).

As I will discuss in Section 2.3 below and then elaborate further on in Chapter 4, I find that Berlant's affect theory can help cut to the heart of the task of critical yet "affirmative" analysis of "alternative" interventions in a slightly different way. By this, I mean that Berlant's (2011) affective and embodied approach to (young) people's experiences may not help in determining what sort of "alternative" politics of childhood/youth can "exceed" a certain perceived mainstream as Kraftl (2015) mentions. And yet, it may help to develop nuanced knowledge about the ways in which "alternative" interventions affect young people: in the sense of living their lives, their individual or shared needs and desires differently from those normalized or regulated by existing structural forces and forms of power that

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<sup>29</sup> Kraftl (2015) mainly uses the term "exceed" to indicate going "beyond" or getting outside of the mainstream constructions and practices of childhood. In a similar way, he also asks how an alternative educational practice or experience may be considered as "exceeding" the "habit-ecology of capitalist sentiment and mediation" (2015: 227)—borrowing Dewsbury's (2012: 81) words.

control or marginalize these young people. This knowledge is crucial for the analysis of “alternative” interventions into (young) people’s lives and welfare offered in my thesis. Before I dive into Berlant’s (2011) affect theory, however, I first shift to examine another set of affect-theory-inflected geographical discussions relevant to “alternative” social and development interventions. The discussions evoke affect and embodiment in innovative and yet notably problematic ways, which divert attention away from, rather than accounting for, the affective experiences of often marginalized (global-South) actors in the politics of development interventions. Through the following review, I thus provide another reason for turning to Berlant’s (2011) affect theory.

## 2.2 GEOGRAPHIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND VOLUNTEERING

Geographies of development and volunteering provide another set of reflections particularly importantly related to “alternative” social and development interventions for children and youths in Cusco’s specific context. This is because the popularization of international volunteering in Cusco, many times as a form of tourism, has been an undeniably important force shaping many locally based social, development aid and education programmes and initiatives working with local Peruvian children and youths (Burrai et al., 2017; Sinervo, 2013, 2015). Academic work specifically on “volunteer tourism” first appeared with Wearing’s (2001) work situated in the field of tourism studies. Geographers and critical geographical work have become influential since then in shaping a large and well-established interdisciplinary body of literature on international volunteering as well as the related tourists’ practices in the following years (see, e.g., Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011; Baillie Smith et al., 2013; Cousins et al., 2009a; Crossley, 2012; Keese, 2011; Lorimer, 2010; Mostafanezhad, 2014; Simpson, 2005; Sin, 2010; Sin and Minca, 2014; Zavitz and Butz, 2011). In this work, the programmes and initiatives claiming to address local issues in the global South and to provide services to local populations often become the “backdrops” against which these scholars provide critiques of development volunteering and (often young adult) volunteers’ practices.

Over the years, a sentiment has gradually emerged within the scholarship on international development volunteering that studies should “critique development or neoliberalism while not being dismissive of meaningful or affective experience”

arising from volunteering practices (Sin et al., 2015: 124). For example, while Mostafanezhad (2013a, 2013b, 2013c; see also Conran, 2011) has been prominent in offering a series of critical readings debunking international volunteering as a systematic “depoliticization” machine, in her 2014 book she also points out the risk of such readings diminishing one’s scholarly capacity to discuss or influence potential positive transformation:

[I]f volunteer tourism ultimately supports the expansion of neoliberalism that we know to be exacerbating global inequality at unprecedented levels, then what do we do [...]? Should we dismiss volunteer tourism as a superficial experience [...]? As scholars it is easy to be dismissive about these types of experiences because “we” seem to know where it is all leading, but being snarky never solved anything! (Mostafanezhad, 2014: 137)

Most recently, several publications especially draw on non- or “more-than-” representational theory to explore the embodiment and affects in development volunteering in ways similar to each other (Everingham, 2016; Frazer and Waitt, 2016; Griffiths, 2015, 2018; Griffiths and Brown, 2017). More specifically, in performing a series of analyses on volunteers’ emotional, affective and embodied experiences encountering the locals/hosts/poor people, this affect-inflected work claims that there is “(self-)transformative potential” in the volunteers to feel, think about and practice “development” in ways different from those often critiqued in the previous literature (cf. Cheung Judge 2016; Cousins et al., 2009b).

For instance, Griffiths and Brown (2017) studied unskilled British undergraduate volunteers working side-by-side with villagers in a water-installation project in Northern Thailand. Working hard, while fearful of getting in the way of the residents’ work, a volunteer was quoted as saying: “Why not just pay the guys to do it properly? They could have it done in half the time and it cost [sic] a few thousand pounds for the flight each you could just give to them as well” (Griffiths and Brown, 2017: 676). This volunteer was so affected by concrete bodily and emotional experience acquired *in situ* that he began to question discourses surrounding the figure of the “helping” volunteer and his own privileged position vis-à-vis the villagers. This, along with other experiences and expressions from volunteers, has convinced Griffiths and Brown (2017) that embodied volunteering experiences may indeed serve as “a site of potential transformation and transcendence of the inequalities” (2017: 680). Similarly, Frazer and Waitt (2016:

186) quote Chouliaraki (2013: 23) in offering an account of an older Australian volunteer, whose “imaginative capacity to feel for vulnerable strangers” and experience of empathic pain for residents living in suburban poverty in the Philippines transformed and moved him into years of fundraising action and trips to build homes for them.

Both Frazer and Waitt (2016) and Griffiths and Brown (2017), while explicitly highlighting how volunteers may perpetuate unequal North–South inter-subjective power relations, at the same time take into consideration how those very same volunteers may experience deep personal transformation. This literature is therefore relevant for my thesis in its exploration of affectivity and certain potential “alternative” development practices in the global South relating to international volunteers. However, its approach to volunteering is clearly preoccupied with excavating or (re-)discovering the potential in individual volunteers to practice “alternative” development interventions and (self-)transformation. Consequently, little is said with regard to the relevance of these interventions and (self-)transformation for the broader politics of life or development of global-South populations with which these global-North volunteers are clearly involved. By way of speaking about the volunteers’ ethical self-transformation as seen in the examples above featuring their perspectives and embodied experiences, the authors hint at the positive implications such individual volunteers’ transformations have for the local residents/beneficiaries. This is done at the expense of the latter’s own voices and grounded perspectives.

It is not only the literature’s clear Northern-actor-centred and individualist approach that limits its analytical potential for being connected and contributing to grounded politics in places in the global South (see also Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018). Certain specific ways of deploying non-/“more-than-” representational theorization on affect and embodiment also present major limitations for their discussion of “alternative” social and development interventions connected to international volunteering. Common to the works of Everingham (2016), Griffiths (2014, 2015, 2018) and Griffiths and Brown (2017), for example, is the emphasis on individual volunteers being impressed by rather momentary emotional encounters or friendly and intimate embodied exchange with the local residents (e.g., laughing together or holding hands). Individual volunteers’ positive perceptions of these momentary and hence “touristic” affective experiences are held in the analysis to be illustrative of the volunteers’ empathy for, if not solidarity with, the locals. Such experiences are then argued to

be indicative of the potential for these development actors to share genuine human connection and manifest the possibility of social change despite persisting global North–South inequalities and development trends that exacerbate these inequalities.

The emphasis on affect and embodiment from volunteers’ “touristic” perspectives is also done at the expense of, rather than illuminating, “alternative” politics of life or of development on which these works do occasionally touch (cf. Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018). For instance, Griffiths’ (2014) work pivots on two volunteers’ (including his own) affective experiences of rural Indians’ march for justice. This march seems to have much to do with rural Indians living the affects of land injustice, political corruption and other clearly political and economic issues. And yet, the specific affect discussion sets the grounded local/national political struggle as the background. As the writing lingers on the suggestion that any (volunteers’) bodily, affectively charged and ineffable experience is necessarily richer and “more-than”-political, it in fact sets affect to work *against* (instead of *for*) a nuanced and sustained analysis of the political:

I was marching next to her [volunteer Allison], my experience was similar to hers because this was a richly affective moment comprised of infinite intersubjectivities that are not describable but always palpable. The clues to this come where Allison labels the moment “emotional” and “exciting” and also gives a strong sense of transcendence to “something bigger”, a “rush” that she concedes “you can’t describe”. Such affect cannot be reduced to words, nor should it be surrendered to research frameworks informed solely by political economy. [...] To be discursively oppressed or constructed, from this point, is no longer a possibility; the world, at least in part, is not determined by, say, technologies of governance but by the intersubjective and felt movements that emanate from the body. (Griffiths, 2014: 93)

Thus, while this emerging body of literature opens up a promising conceptual space for thinking newly about “alternative” practices of development interventions, it sometimes generates more questions about, rather than responding to, its own call for “locat[ing] within the affective experiences documented [...] a substantive move, or a push, against global inequalities” (Griffiths, 2018: 122). As such, the specific evocations and deployments of affect and embodiment as seen in this section do not suit my thesis objectives: neither

have they shown examples of performing a nuanced analysis of social, care and development interventions entangled with international volunteering, nor do they provide ways to research global-South populations' affective experiences. I therefore argue that there is a need for another way of using affect and embodiment to perform critiques on "alternative" social and development interventions and on the presence of volunteers in such interventions. How may this other way of employing affect facilitate explorations of potential for social change found in the geographies of development and volunteering, beyond/beside the preoccupation with volunteers' perspectives? This is, in fact, the main analytical concern addressed in Chapter 5. A Berlantian approach to affective life, to which I will now turn, can attend to long-term embodiment and affective experiences of inequalities while also exploring aspects of (self-)transformation and changes in the lives of "poor" or "vulnerable" populations in the global South. This framework then serves as the base for Chapter 5, as it sets out to analyze change and transformation emerging through the "alternative" interventions for target/beneficiary adolescent mothers in the CARA project in Cusco, which relies on international volunteering to provide part of the collective care work and social education supporting these mothers.

## 2.3 A BERLANTIAN APPROACH TO EMBODIMENT AND AFFECTIVE LIFE

Despite the still-limited attempts in human geography to delve into Berlant's work, geographers are increasingly making references to it, recognizing Berlant's contribution especially to affect in feminist and queer theorization (see, e.g., Anderson, 2012, 2016; Barnett, 2008; Bondi, 2005; Colls, 2012; Griffiths, 2017; Salih, 2017; Thrift, 2008; Wilkinson, 2017). In this section, I explain how Berlant's 2011 book *Cruel Optimism* especially provides a fitting framework to explore lived experiences of "alternative" social, care and development interventions and to contribute to discussions in both of the abovementioned bodies of geographical scholarship relative to affect and embodiment. I start by briefly positioning Berlant's (2011) work in relation to other theoretical literature on affect. I will then explain key elements of her affect theory. Building on that, I discuss what her understandings of "affective life" and "embodiment" bring to geographers' discussions regarding the politics and "potential" of certain social and

development interventions and to my own aim of analyzing “alternative” social and residential care in Cusco.

Seigworth and Gregg (2010: 5) identified “two dominant vectors of affect study”: one being characterized by Tomkins’ psycho-biology of affects, which inspired Sedgwick and Frank (1995) and Sedgwick (2003), and the other being characterized by Spinozan–Deleuzian thought, which guides the development of various “lineages” of work frequently evoked in human geography such as Hardt and Negri (2000, 2004, 2009), Massumi (1992, 1995, 2002) as well as Thrift (2004, 2008). Berlant’s work does not develop according to either of these vectors. Instead, together with Stewart (2007, 2011), Berlant (2011) prefers to engage in a genre of writing about affect through doing “descriptive work” on mundane, quotidian life (see also Berlant and Stewart, 2019). At the same time, Berlant is in close alliance with Sedgwick (2003) in her efforts to rethink critical theoretical engagement with “the political” through queer theory’s commitment to understanding human desire (Berlant, 2011, 2012). Further, her book *Cruel Optimism* (Berlant, 2011) is a specific attempt to use affect to understand (the potential of) social and political change in “our” biopolitical present, in which labour exploitation and capitalist social norms influence the conditions for biological, psychological, social and political life. The book argues for doing so by paying close attention to diverse labouring bodies and the everyday scenes of their reproduction, which often feature exploitation and precarity.

Thus, *Cruel Optimism* (Berlant, 2011) first and foremost focuses on people’s embodied practices, their psychology, needs and desires as situated in the ongoing but also historically shaped social and political atmospheres—which is often perceived by people in conscious or less-than-conscious ways as the “ordinary everyday”. The book’s fundamental premise is that there is an “affective structure of relation” underpinning people’s constant “attachment” to, and affective investment in, things in life and aspects or ways of living. The exact content of such “attachment” may be subject to change according to people’s individual and shared attempts and capacities to live on and to adjust to political, social and economic conditions. As Berlant (2011) notes: “Bodies are continuously busy judging their environments and responding to the atmospheres in which they find themselves” (2011: 15).

Berlant sees affect as “a metapsychological cluster of activities related to the senses and emotions without originating in any particular places” (Berlant, 2011: 271). Affect, as such, manifests through a myriad of relations between people and

all that they come to sense, feel or otherwise register emotionally, viscerally, physically or cognitively, as they navigate through their lives with their “attachment”. Following this vein, paying attention to affective life at the dimension converging “the corporeal, intimate, and political” (Berlant, 2011: 16) can give important clues not only to what things in life or aspects of living matter to individuals and groups, but also to embodied and shared ways of sensing, knowing and engaging with structural conditions—even when these do not “make sense” to an outside observer. She writes:

The ordinary is, after all, a porous zone that absorbs lots of incoherence and contradiction, and people make their ways through it at once tipped over awkwardly, half-conscious, and confident about common sense. Laws, norms, and events shape imaginaries, but in the middle of the reproduction of life people make up modes of being and responding to the world that altogether constitute what gets called “visceral response” and intuitive intelligence. (Berlant, 2011: 53)

As I see it, the “Berlantian” approach to affect and the politics of life can help geographers in analyzing experiences and practices of “alternative” social or development interventions in the face of other institutional, state or neoliberal regimes of power in a two-fold way. First, in concentrating on ordinary or marginalized people’s “local” perspectives, subjective and embodied experiences from which development is practiced and life (“childhood”/“girlhood”/“youth”) lived, researchers can pose critiques to the conditions of life (and the forms of power that shaped them) as felt and perceived by those people and thus important to them. Second, a Berlantian approach highlights individual and shared attachments, needs and desires, together with people’s coping strategies as well as other embodied capacities to sense, to express, to act and to endure vulnerability (see especially Berlant, 2011: 16, 194). In so doing, it enables, alongside grounded critiques of any politics, considerations of how living/life is ongoing and possessing “transformative potential” precisely because of complex, (inter)subjectively lived desires, experiences and related capacities of “responding to the world” (Berlant, 2011: 53). Affective life thus is necessarily sensitive/responsive to, but not predetermined by, impersonal structural forces, social inequalities or certain seemingly consolidated collectives/structures of feelings. In this sense, Berlant’s affect theory allows for an alternative to writing



about how an abstracted idea of institutional or state power “impinges on”<sup>30</sup> and “subjectifies” people (or the extent to which it does). Indeed, it provides a different vocabulary for accounting for how marginalized (young) lives “subjectivize” in ways and capacities influenced by, but exceeding impacts of, forms of power and structural forces—individually, collectively, in groups or in interactions or in encounters with multiple other subjects/actors/lives.

Hence, I come back to further address the challenges of contributing to geographers’ attempts at analyzing “alternative” interventions into people’s lives and welfare as I have laid out through the previous sections. I think the analytical task at hand involves something rather distinct from those suggested by works from human geography reviewed earlier. Inspired by Berlant’s (2011) work, I would argue that this task consists in, first, analyzing lived affective experiences of *more-than-individual* “subjectivization” as a process influenced but not determined by power relations at play in any social and political context; and second, contemplating what Berlant addresses as the “embodied processes of making solidarity itself” (Berlant, 2011: 260) happening during the process of subjectivization. This task is therefore different from that of—as mentioned in Kraftl’s (2015) proposal for children’s geographies—determining whether/how a certain “alternative” politics of life/youth/childhood indeed “exceeds” mainstream politics. Nor is it a matter of—as indicated by affect-inflected works from geographies of development volunteering so far—affirming any individual’s affective experiences as always richer, messier and hence “already better than” or beyond the constraints of power relations (see also Anderson, 2014: 92). I am inspired specifically by Berlant’s (2011) own discussions in *Cruel Optimism* to lay out three more detailed aspects that I suggest are important when considering “alternative” social and development interventions:

1. Attending to embodied engagements with precarity and vulnerability as the “political action [...] of not being worn out by politics” (2011: 262);
2. Staying “proximate, no matter what, to the potential openings marked out by fantasies of the good life, self-continuity, or unconflictedness” (2011: 185–186);
3. Tracing the ongoing processes of “people inventing life together, when they can” (2011: 263), including possibly diverse, hybridized or even problematic assemblages of actors and practices.

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<sup>30</sup> See Sedgwick, 2003: 13.

For my thesis's discussions of "alternative" social and residential care projects in Cusco, Chapters 4 and 5 thus employ this Berlant-inspired approach to analyze the lived experiences of the girls/adolescent mothers who experience these projects' care, education and (personal) development interventions in their lives. The thesis also develops further specific analytical arguments for investigating "alternative" interventions that can contribute to works in geographies of children and youth and geographies of development as discussed in my thesis. Chapter 4 makes an argument for children's geographies to consider the "affectsphere", the "world" in which young people sense themselves to be living and which is in ongoing formation through "personal and public filtering of the situations and events" (Berlant, 2011: 4). It makes a case for considering diverse minor and major ways in which their lives may be organized and mediated differently from those seemingly dictated by state power or by normatively shaped practices. Chapter 5 argues for examining the *more-than-individual* ways in which people endure socio-politically shaped vulnerability. In doing so, it further points to the need to analyze the often-neglected forms and modes of (self-)transformation in development volunteering geographies.

Before diving into those discussions, however, many methodological questions have arisen in view of employing the Berlantian approach to affect and embodiment to actually study marginalized youths' lived experiences. How did I develop my research methodology in order to involve the youths—girls and adolescent mothers aged between 13 and 18—as research participants? What were the ethical and methodological challenges? How did the field research process unfold and how did it contribute to the eventual analysis of youths' desires and attachments, embodied experiences and individual and shared affective life? How do I connect these with the operation of "alternative" care and (personal) development interventions in the social and political "atmospheres" of Cusco, Peru? Because these are all important issues to address in order to provide an adequate account of researching "alternative" interventions in Cusco using affect theory, I now turn to Chapter 3 where I discuss them in detail.



### Chapter 3: An ethnography of affective life and a multi-method approach to youths' expressions

In this chapter, I discuss the methodology of the research project as well as the practical and ethical aspects involved in carrying out the field research. I focus especially on two aspects. First, I account for how, through facilitating participants' "expressions", the two-period, seven-month-long field research generated understandings of the affective life and youths' lived experiences at the two social and residential care organizations in Cusco, Peru. Second, I detail how I have sought to manage and reflect on research ethics issues and my own positionality vis-à-vis the participants during the fieldwork. Overall, this chapter extends my understanding of Berlant's affect theory as developed in the previous chapter, and it advances a "Berlantian", ethnographic and multi-method approach to affective life and lived experiences of "alternative" social and development interventions.

The chapter comprises five sections. The first section discusses the rationale behind the involvement of young participants in this project and behind the methodological focus on these participants' "expressions". In the second section, I provide descriptions of the two social and residential care organizations, as well as how I have come to select them for this study. The third section expands on the process and my reflections on the ethnographic fieldwork, while the fourth section details the interviews, elicitation techniques/activities as well as a writing activity incorporated during the fieldwork in order to facilitate participants' expressions during our research interactions. This chapter concludes with my reflections on data analysis and an overview of the young participants' "expressions" and the versions of affective life presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

### 3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN FOCUSING ON YOUNG PARTICIPANTS' "EXPRESSIONS"

My thesis has sought to involve residents/beneficiaries of social and residential care programmes in the 13–18-year age group as the principal group of research participants. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the girls and young women in CARA and Runachay face diverse forms of marginalization in their daily lives. Inviting socially neglected groups and people who experience vulnerability to participate in research can help to generate understandings about their lives, the issues impacting their lives, their voices and perspectives (DeVault and Gross, 2007; Kim, 2007). At the same time, I am keenly aware of the methodological and ethical concerns and challenges that I must address in order to ensure the accountability of my research. It is especially important for me to do so, as these are young participants mostly under 18 years of age who are already highly disadvantaged, and their struggles are often neglected, ridiculed or “othered” in public opinion and policy discourses (see Invernizzi and Milne, 2002; Sinervo, 2013). Before addressing a whole range of specific issues—from consent, to how not to do harm and avoid/mitigate negative impacts during the fieldwork, to the related practical aspects when employing research methods—the most fundamental question is perhaps that regarding the methodological rationale of involving them in the research. That is to ask: is this rationale ethically sound? A related point of consideration comes from Todd (2012), where she argues that, in an era in which there is increasing general public attention towards children’s rights and in which involving children and youths in studies has become increasingly common, it is important to steer clear of instrumental, “tokenistic” uses of young and/or vulnerable people to embellish or legitimize one’s own aim or preconceived analysis/evaluation. Upon what principles, then, do I draw to involve these youths and to ensure that the methodological approach and research process do not objectify them and reinforce or exacerbate their social marginalization and their possible experiences of unjust power relations?

With these considerations in mind, I have involved the youths as the principal participants in the thesis research, relying on, first, the rationale of involving research participants as discussed in what I broadly address as transnational and intersectional feminist methodologies and, second, insights from childhood and youth studies.

Transnational and intersectional feminist research generally emphasizes the importance of producing knowledge about experiences of power relations as well as struggles amidst marginalization or vulnerability. Moreover, it argues that such knowledge should shed light on the “interconnectedness of issues that are often separated analytically and politically, such as gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nationality, nations/states, imperialism, and so on” (Kim, 2007: 119). To facilitate such knowledge production, researchers need to take into account the nuanced forms of living, subjectivities and agency informed by geographical, historical and social differences (DeVault and Gross, 2007; Kim, 2007). Thus, these discussions at once present the methodological rationale *and* an ethical argument: methodological, as they suggest studying situated politics and struggles through involving people whose lives and welfare may be at stake, when possible; and ethical, as they suggest being accountable to the manifestations of possibly complex experiences, agency and capacities of those addressed in one’s research, not just their misery or suffering.

For example, treating the issue of violence against women in Turkey, Ahiska (2016) cautions against ethically questionable and politically debilitating representational practices about “women’s vulnerability”. These representational practices are found not only in common political and media arenas but also in some feminist activist campaigns. By representing, for example, the women killed by men in specific ways through numbers and images about the murder, these practices “objectify women as a general and vulnerable category” and even “prioritize the death of women over the affirmation of female desire” (2016: 223–224). To accompany the “struggle against the ‘naturalized’ subjection of women without reproducing the status of victimhood”, Ahiska suggests that research should attend to the complexity of women’s desires “for life in all its dimensions, extending to knowledge, beauty, creative work, and politics” (2016: 228, 214).

Agreeing with Ahiska’s (2016) suggestion, which shares a similar emphasis on “desire” present in dimensions of life such as that in Berlant’s (2011) framework, my intention is to primarily study resident youths’ “expressions” that may reveal all sorts of needs and desires, practices, capacities and aspects of affective life in ways that they consent to, find themselves comfortable with and find relevant for their own interests. By “expressions”, I mean not only those verbal ones emerging in interviews, informal talks and in written form, but also non- and more-than-verbal expressions such as those emotional and affective manifestations that accompany, strengthen or otherwise help clarifying verbal expressions (see also

Sections 3.3 and 3.4). It remains my responsibility as a researcher to make sense of these expressions in such ways that my research generates deeper understandings of what the “alternative” interventions do to/for their lives and welfare grounded in the social and political contexts. The ethnographic and multi-method approach described in the following sections thus aims to facilitate and understand young participants’ generation of multiple expressions along this line of reasoning.

Certainly, when speaking of foregrounding expressions from the youths themselves, I am aware of another related major epistemological point of contention coming from childhood and youth scholars that can put the methodological and ethical accountability of this choice at stake. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the prevalent global North-led policy discourses have led to the rising orthodoxy regarding young people’s “participation” and “agency”. Wyness (2013) in this case is especially concerned with prioritizing young people’s “voice”, or “individualised discursive activities” (2013: 344), as the main indicator of children’s and youths’ agency and social participation. This prioritization of individuals’ “voices” and “discursive activities” is underpinned by a bias skewed towards the Western, liberal-democratic conception of social and political participation. In contrast, the material and routine activities—notably those having to do with “global-South” child and youth labour—are often discredited in policy discourses and excluded from being considered meaningful forms of participation. Children’s participation in work is understood especially in downright negative terms as problems to be eradicated (see also Streuli, 2012: 597).

Informed by these concerns, I have sought to do three things in both field research and in the analysis regarding my participants’ voices and expressions. First, I have attempted to consider resident youths’ expressions that indicate their needs, desires, practices and capacities as grounded in their own personal contexts. Second, I have gone beyond expressions being solely “discursive activities” such as voicing one’s “opinions”, to attend to those expressions that may reveal routine, physical activities and material practices relevant to my participants’ own perspectives (see also Barnett, 2011a; Barnett et al., 2011). These priorities and practices may be related to paid work, (re)productive labour or the related social, material and economic forms of participation (for instance, using one’s earnings from work to provide school supplies for one’s younger siblings). Third, I understand and have analyzed youths’ needs, desires and practices by situating them in their common histories and social and material conditions, including those of their immediate social and residential care environments. I do

so in order to not solely reveal the constraints, tensions, problems and injustice shaped by these conditions, but also to consider any *more-than-individual* capacities, forms of agency and intelligence that my participants reveal in coping with, responding to or adapting to these different conditions and “environmental problems”. Towards the end of Section 3.3, I provide some examples of how I eventually made sense of these expressions emerging during the fieldwork, and those examples reflect these principal methodological and ethical considerations. An overview of how these considerations eventually show up in Chapters 4 and 5 can be found in Section 3.5.

There are no easy or straightforward paths through which the overall rationale of involving youths and focusing on their expressions as discussed so far can be neatly translated into practices and choices in the field. No set of “data collection methods”, questions in interview guides or bullet points in ethical guidelines can claim to sufficiently manage the considerations outlined so far in self-evident and clear-cut ways. One may both agree with Todd’s (2012) pertinent reminders and be confounded by the methodological and ethical challenges implied by these words:

If the purpose is to involve children in decision-making about their own future, this might involve more than a questionnaire on their likes and dislikes about school. If the purpose is to evolve better children’s services, just asking questions about what is good and bad about a service may not be sufficient to put children in a position in which they are able to comment on service delivery. (Todd, 2012: 192)

What then would be the adequate fieldwork process, the “right things” to do, exactly? I attempt to answer this question in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 by reflecting on the methods, steps, principles, manners and relations that I assembled and managed during my field research. In those sections, I explain how the methodology has taken an overall ethnographic shape, while integrating participant-friendly and “creative” components, drawing most notably from children’s geographies and youth studies. Before doing that, however, I first provide some descriptions of the youths and the two organizations: Runachay and CARA.



## 3.2 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE YOUTHS AND THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS

### 3.2.1 Notes on case selection

To lay bare the process of selecting the two organizations in very pragmatic terms: I had previous experiences with international volunteering as well as encounters with local social, education and community initiative organizations in Ecuador, and these experiences made me personally orientated towards and emotionally invested in exploring cases of locally based social interventions into young people's welfare that turn to tourism and international development volunteering for funding and resources. Also, as mentioned in Chapter 1, I have been interested in studying in-depth seemingly "alternative" interventions of organizations that do not operate according to top-down government policies or forms of institutional power, and that seem to support youths' welfare in certain ways that mainstream social, educational and non-family-based residential care practices do not. Because of these reasons, during the case selection, I focused on non-governmental and internationally funded/supported programmes. I did not consider studying state-run programmes; nor did I intend to compare non-governmental with governmental programmes.

While I had once considered research sites located in different regions or countries, pragmatic considerations including limited funds and time for fieldwork led me to eventually decide to focus on one site. From my location in the Netherlands, I chose Cusco, Peru, at an early stage of this project as the site for empirical research. This was the result of my preliminary (and mainly desk-based) research: in early 2014, when I cross-checked a variety of social programmes and initiatives unfolding in the Andean countries with information I compiled on Dutch and international commercial and non-profit organizations that promote and arrange internships, work placements and volunteer tourism in the social sector in different countries. Cusco, Peru, emerged as one of the "hotspots", with an abundance of locally based while internationally funded social projects and programmes.

Between 2013 and 2014, I spoke to six Dutch organizations (see Appendix A) to gather information not only on a more general level about international volunteering and internships in the global South, but also on the projects and programmes offered specifically around Cusco by some of these organizations. I compiled a list of a few small-scale organizations offering social and residential

care programmes in Cusco working with girls and adolescent females. While their histories and practices are diverse, these few organizations all seem relatively well known in the local/regional social sector, and they address young females' welfare when faced with, for instance, exploitation of girls' labour or pregnancy as a result of rape, which have been (historically) shaped by major political, social and material factors. All such programmes are governed by past and recent developments in the national and international social realms: they operate in accordance with the Peruvian Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations' (MIMP) framework<sup>31</sup> for residential care, and they receive funding from international NGOs such as large-scale international cooperation and humanitarian organizations (e.g., Terre des Hommes). They also frequently appear on the lists of "local projects" offered by volunteer tourism and internship tourism agencies. I was able to gain access to and eventually chose to focus on only two organizations—Runachay and CARA<sup>32</sup>—based on their relatively high accessibility to me as a researcher. Because of time and resource constraints, it was not feasible for me to study more than two organizations.

It is crucial to note that, despite the noted commonality among the organizations I initially had as options, I did not choose these two specific organizations based on whether they were empirically "representative" of anything more than themselves. Organizations are grounded in their rather particular histories and contexts and influenced by diverse different factors and actors despite their mentioned commonality. I also understood from talking to my participants and other relevant local actors that, even among the similarly "alternative", locally organized and small-scale social and residential care organizations in Cusco, organizations could position themselves quite differently

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<sup>31</sup> See the Ministry's (2012b) Manual of Intervention in Residential Care Centre for Children and Adolescents without Parental Care and the (2012c) Manual of Accreditation and Supervision of Programmes for Children and Adolescents without Parental Care. See also Peru's General Law of Residential Care Centre for Children and Adolescents, Law No. 29174 of 2007 and its regulations (MIMDES, 2009).

<sup>32</sup> The names of both organizations have been changed. For the purpose of enabling the discussions in my thesis, it is important to delineate some aspects of the histories of the organizations and their contexts. I have chosen not to alter details of such information given, in order to ensure accuracy and accountability of the analysis, while at the same time giving the organizations fictitious names. Even as I consider that it is important to anonymize the organizations to decrease the possibility of undesirable and perhaps unforeseen impacts that my research may have on those organizations, complete anonymization of the organizations in this case may not be possible, especially for readers who are familiar with the social and residential care scene in Cusco.

from each other. I have thus selected two cases for the specific purpose of conducting in-depth qualitative study, without attempting to claim their representativeness of other organizations.

Much of the fieldwork was carried out in the contexts of the two institutions, with resident youths as well as staff on site, as detailed below and in Section 3.3. However, in order to understand my participants' expressions and the affective life at Runachay and CARA in the social and political contexts including but not being limited to those in the immediate environment of the two organizations, other sources of material and data have been important for my research as well. Informal talks and interviews with other relevant actors, such as international cooperation and social entrepreneurship partners, as well as archival and journalistic materials, policy documents, and existing academic literature were all invaluable sources of information. Together, they have enabled, contextualized and supported my understanding of the contexts for and the histories of the specific "alternative" interventions and of the affective life that emerged among my participants in the two different cases.

### 3.2.2 Runachay

The Runachay Social Centre (the focus of Chapter 4) has been providing girl-only shelter and advocating for the rights of young domestic workers since 1994. Two Peruvians—including Quechua-speaking Valentina,<sup>33</sup> who grew up as a domestic helper herself—and an Italian teacher volunteering in Peru founded the girls' home (*hogar*). The girls under Runachay's care come mostly from families in peasant communities (*comunidades campesinas*) in the poorer provinces in the department of Cusco such as Acomayo, Paruro and Paucartambo (see Figure 1.1).<sup>34</sup> At the time of my fieldwork, almost all Runachay residents aged 15 years and above had been working as domestic helpers prior to arriving at Runachay, some starting as young as 10 years old, and had commonly experienced maltreatment during these earlier arrangements. The minimum age for domestic work in Peru is 14 years, and the girls under 14 years of age were brought by their families and relatives as an alternative to sending them to other families for work. The

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<sup>33</sup> All the research participants have been given fictitious names or have chosen pseudonyms themselves in order to protect their anonymity.

<sup>34</sup> Figure 1.1 shows the department of Cusco, the 13 provinces in the department, and the cities of Cusco, Quillabamba and Puerto Maldonado. See also Section 3.2.3.

remaining few were placed at Runachay because of other family circumstances such as domestic violence or lack of means to care for the girls' (mild) intellectual disabilities. The girls live under Runachay's residential care (combined with a workplace arrangement as live-in domestic workers from 14 years of age onwards). They rely on Runachay's resources for long periods of time; Runachay only occasionally provides emergency shelter. Between 2014 and 2016, Runachay was responsible for around 15 residents and another 10 to 15 girls living with the families that employ them.

There are several buildings on Runachay's premises in Cusco city. The two largest ones are for the *hogar*, including workshop/classroom spaces for the resident girls, and for the Centre's offices, the main kitchen and the guesthouse. Although overseen by the coordinators, the girls' mobility in and out of Runachay's premises is in principle not restricted during the day. The residents follow daily schedules for school and other educational activities, for work and for maintaining the common areas, helping out with cooking and other chores. Those aged 14 years and above attend the vocational training classes held on the first floor of the *hogar* building three evenings per week. All resident-beneficiaries are supposed to spend part of their Sundays at Runachay to spend time with each other and for meetings with the coordinators and workshops; however, during the fieldwork periods, there were usually a few who did not show up.

Besides the *hogar*, Runachay's other activities consist of community outreach programmes for rural children; research and campaigns related to children and youths' rights, in collaboration with national and international actors; radio programmes that started out as a way to reach out to children and adolescents working in domestic environments; a Vocational Education Centre (*Centro de Educación Técnico-Productiva*); and an Alternative Basic Education Centre (*Centro de Educación Básica Alternativa*) located in another part of the city. All these activities have relied on (most notably Italian) donations and international cooperation funds via European NGOs over the years. Runachay has also hosted international visitors and tourists since its early years of operation, and it established a guesthouse on the same premises and the associated responsible tourism agency in the mid-2000s in order to create revenue for further financing its own social programmes. Runachay also used to receive international volunteer(-tourists), who mostly approached Runachay individually or via NGO partners and volunteering/tourism agencies, without the centre having a defined plan or programme to recruit them. The large number of volunteer-tourists

created problems for the staff to effectively manage and incorporate those volunteer-tourists into supporting their tasks. As a result, Runachay largely ceased to receive volunteer-tourists at the time of my fieldwork, focusing instead on its guesthouse operation and initiatives for developing responsible and ethical tourism.

### 3.2.3 CARA

*Centro de Atención Residencial de Adolescentes* (CARA, Residential Care Centre for Adolescents, the focus of Chapter 5) started in 2000 as an additional location of a children's home for the care of infants left at the children's home by young mothers. CARA soon became dedicated to housing mothers who are minors themselves along with their young children. It was an initiative taken by several Peruvian and international volunteers, including a nurse from Spain who became its director. The young mothers have experienced poverty and additionally, for many, instability in their families. Except for some cases when they seek shelter because of domestic violence, all young mothers are placed at CARA for protection, care and assistance while a formal investigation regarding sexual abuse and/or their family situations is conducted by the national child protection agency (*Unidad de Investigación Tutelar*) and family or criminal prosecutors. Whereas in CARA's early years girls/mothers came mostly from the rural highlands within the Cusco department, in recent years they increasingly have come from Quechua-speaking families that have moved towards *la selva* (the jungle areas) for agricultural work, for instance, close to Quillabamba in La Convención or Puerto Maldonado in the department of Madre de Dios (see Figure 1.1).

CARA is responsible for the care of a maximum of 15 minors with their young children at a time, and 80% of the girls/mothers are in long-term residential care. Its nursery cares for these young children while also providing day care for the children of former residents living close to CARA, who work either at the leather workshop that CARA operates on the same location or at other places in the city. Smaller in size than those at Runachay, CARA's living spaces are in one large house. The residents' mobility is more restricted than at Runachay, as residents who have not yet commenced their vocational training (at an outside education centre) spend most of their days on the premises. It should be noted, however, that neither residential care spaces are "carceral": while there is security for entering

into the premises, there is no security to prevent residents from leaving. Residents at both homes for girls and adolescent mothers move relatively freely within the premises. I discuss CARA residents' daily activities in more detail in Chapter 5.

The funds for CARA's overall maintenance and activities are raised through a network of (former) volunteers, tourists, donors, patrons and NGO partners in Peru, Spain and several other European countries. In relation to booming commercialized volunteer tourism activities (see Chapter 5), donations and fees from these tourists as the result of CARA's negotiations with intermediary, for-profit agencies covered 10% to 15% of CARA's overall yearly expenditure at the time of my fieldwork. Besides volunteer tourism (see Chapter 5), CARA hosts tours around its own premises for small groups of mostly European tourists led by a local responsible tourism agency. Meanwhile, the centre continues to develop income- and work-generating initiatives, mainly operating a leather workshop that employs six former residents to make products such as leather wallets and bags. It is estimated that 30% of CARA's funds typically emerge at the last minute via precarious connections made through the abovementioned fundraising network and enterprising activities.

Both Runachay and CARA residential care are registered at the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (*Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables*), and both work with Cusco's Family and Mixed Courts as well as the national child protection agency (*Unidad de Investigación Tutelar*).

### 3.3 AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO AFFECTIVE LIFE

This section documents my reflections on the largely ethnographic field research process. In the following, I first provide an overview of the fieldwork and some background information regarding my decision to adopt ethnographic methods. The section then divides into two parts, with the first part focusing on my positionality and conduct in the field, and the second part reflecting on how ethnographic methods can facilitate understandings of the affective life emerging at Runachay and CARA.

My fieldwork in Peru lasted about seven months, spread over two periods: the first period was from August 2014 to January 2015, and the second period was from November to December 2015. Except for two short periods in Lima, the fieldwork took place mainly in Cusco and consisted of ethnographic participant observation

and informal, unstructured conversations and exchanges with the research participants at the two social and residential care centres, including the girls and mothers. As part of a “mosaic” methodological attempt that I will describe below in Section 3.4, I initiated a diary/notebook activity for the participants in October 2014. I did not begin with the recorded in-depth interviews until late October, two full months after I began ethnographic interactions with my participants.

Two books have had a fundamental influence on my wish to investigate the youths’ needs, desires and “subjectivization” at the two centres. These two books, however, have employed two distinct methodologies in their respective studies. Berlant’s *Cruel Optimism* (2011) presents supremely theorized and nuanced accounts of affective life, its sensorium and its everyday desires in living socio-economic precarity in contemporary Belgium, France and United States through analysis of literary, cinematic and art works masterfully interwoven with socio-political contextualization and commentaries. Fischer and Benson’s *Broccoli and Desire* (2006) puts forth an ethnographic agenda for desire—in particular, the “material desires, affective states and sense, and aspirations interface[d]” as poor Mayan farmers in post-war Guatemala engage with the global broccoli trade (2006: 18). Fischer and Benson (2006) suggest that

ethnography is not simply about describing realities. In identifying what matters most—why folks get up and do what they do each day—ethnography becomes a pragmatic tool for addressing social problems. To develop political strategies without taking into account what people care about is, to put it bluntly, impractical, since what matters to people usually turns out to be different from what matters to researchers or advocates. (Fischer and Benson, 2006: 18)

The main part of my study involving existing and (in principle) accessible small institutions and people lends itself well to ethnographic methods. Moreover, I admire the unparalleled rich ethnographic work in Latin American studies, such as that of Fischer and Benson (2006), as well as many others on the Andean region (e.g., de la Cadena, 2000; Leinaweaver, 2008; Seligmann, 2004; Weismantel, 1995; Ypeij and Zoomers, 2006). I therefore adopted an overall ethnographic approach in generating material/data. I did find myself, however, returning in the following months again and again to Berlant’s (2011) work in further attempts to grasp and to rely on her stylistic treatment of singular and shared affective life (2011: esp.

Chapters 3 and 5; see also Barnett, 2011b, 2015). I found it inspirational as I sought ways to attend to my participants' lived needs and desires in their specific social and political context, and to grasp the affects of the specific social, care, education and development interventions. I must thus state that I have learned to read affect theory, to appreciate its relevance and attend to affective life iteratively through the course of my fieldwork and my reflections and analysis of the materials produced during the whole process of writing this thesis. Further reflection related to affect theory and ethnographic methods can be found towards the end of this section.

In August 2014, with the early versions of the research questions and research design, piles of literature and some preliminary ideas for methods inspired by the “mosaic” framework (see Section 3.4), I started my first fieldwork period with the main goal of attempting sustained immersion through “hanging out” (DeVault and Gross, 2007: 180).

I should also note that I had gone through the formal ethics review process prior to my departure. Before granting ethical “clearance”, the Social Sciences Ethics Committee (SEC) at Wageningen University added a condition requiring me to seek ethical guidance from local researchers and experts as advisors on addressing, in advance, risks of having negative impacts on my participants. In line with this, my fieldwork included two short periods in Lima—respectively in August and November 2014—not only for literature and archival research, but also for consultation with three academics: Patricia Ames (*Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*), Jeanine Anderson (*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*) and Stephanie Rousseau (*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*). These three academics work extensively with women, children and youths in Peru on topics ranging from social and political marginalization, activism and (sexual) violence, to rural and community development. I consulted them in particular on the research design and aspects of ethical considerations in the field on three occasions. They kindly provided me with concrete, invaluable advice about when I should discuss ethical issues that may not have definite answers, e.g., when facing research participants sharing emotionally intense content during the interviews—issues that I continued to manage during the fieldwork as reflected below. While raising ethical research standards through reviews and prior ethics approval is a welcome trend in many aspects, Benson and Thomas (2010) pertinently call for researchers and institutions to retain understandings of (ethnographic) fieldwork as an essentially social and ongoing process. Perhaps not easily captured by the standardized



formal review procedure and a “checklist” approach to prior ethical “clearance”, fieldwork requires researchers to continue to deepen their social, interpersonal and reflexivity skills vis-à-vis the specific research situations. I have found from my own experience that formal review, consultation and a kind of situational ethics sensitive to the agendas and needs of my participants worked together to strengthen these skills.

My time with the two centres overlapped throughout the fieldwork, and my very first days in Cusco at CARA and Runachay included talking to each centre’s respective coordinators/founders, staff and organizational partners about the different centres’ histories and the youths’ everyday life; watching Runachay girls soaking freeze-dried moraya potatoes, while peeling fava beans and cutting carrots with them for lunch; sitting around while the girls did their homework together, sometimes asking me how to do math; visiting the office where a beneficiary-turned-staff member worked on the local radio programmes that Runachay hosted on social issues; assisting mothers and the nursery room educators in CARA; chatting with mothers and volunteers on the playground; and introducing myself to the girls, mothers and their small children, saying a couple of words in “*my language*”/Mandarin Chinese, as they were curious to hear these the moment they realized that I am “*Asian*”/Taiwanese.

I split my time evenly but rather flexibly during the week between the two centres, which meant two to three days for each centre in the same week. I kept my observations of the two centres in the same notebooks on separate pages, which are numbered, dated and organized chronologically (later scanned into separate files named after Runachay or CARA according to the content of the pages). I intended to be a participant observer conforming to the overall organizational conventions at the centres (see also Hardy, 2012). At Runachay, I mostly hung out with whoever was around during the day, accompanying them to their educational workshops at other locations or joining their evening vocational training classes (see Figure 3.1). Sundays were the liveliest day of the week for Runachay. As mentioned in Section 3.2, this is when most youths who lived with their employers during the week were present for meetings with the coordinators, when workshops for these youths were organized and when former beneficiaries visited. At the request of Runachay’s director from the very start, I also assisted the coordinators/educators in accompanying the young women when they, for instance, had to pick up documents or when they attended public events organized by its partner organizations.

At CARA, I was requested to start my stay with a full month of volunteering—in the nursery, the kitchen and in class with children from three to five years old—just like all the other volunteer(-tourists) and interns. As time went by, besides activities similar to those at Runachay, I observed educational activities, meetings, leather workshop activities, responsible tours on the premises and comparable kinds of charitable and touristic visits. There were also social and community education organization events, public gatherings, excursions and festivities (see Figure 3.2). Besides interviews and activities with the youths (see Section 3.4), I conducted in-depth interviews with former beneficiaries, staff, international cooperation partners, volunteer(-tourists) and interns, and (volunteer/responsible) tourism organizations.<sup>35</sup>

During the second period of fieldwork, I additionally observed Runachay's guesthouse operation, and accompanied Runachay's team and an international cooperation partner organization on an annual review of Runachay's community outreach programmes in a neighbouring province. At CARA, I worked together with an educator in leading two group discussions with girls/mothers about volunteer(-tourists), the content of which were of interest both to my research (Chapter 5) and to the staff's day-to-day coordination of volunteer(-tourists).



*Figure 3.1: Runachay youths and a social educator preparing for the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women during a workshop. Source: Author.*

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<sup>35</sup> See Appendix A.



*Figure 3.2: CARA's theatre performance at a social and community education organization event. Source: Author.*

### 3.3.1 Positionality and conduct in the field

Taking my cue from researchers such as Benson and Thomas (2010), I relied on patience not only to encourage rapport building with my participants but also to be sensitive to the situational ethics. I strived to be modest, friendly, proactive and committed through my actions and frequent presence to embed myself into the overall affective life of the youths at the two centres, and to decrease the chances of obstructing or posing an inconvenience to their organizational operations. I think that my embodiment—the fact that I am an “Asian”/Taiwanese<sup>36</sup> who is just as short and small-framed as most of the girls/mothers, and appearing in their eyes of about their age—contributed considerably to building good and informal relationships with the youths. This is not to deny that my actual age, education, institutional affiliation, social capital, international mobility as well as my implied economic status played a role in the affective dynamics in the field. At the same time, the “sources of (dis)advantage” (Miraftab, 2004: 601) and perceptions of privilege or tension were complex, not the least in a field when staff and the older girls/mothers were generally used to the presence of Westerners—from donors to volunteers; from health professionals to researchers. To them, I was not a *gringa* (North American), *rubia* (blonde), *española* (Spanish) or one of *los europeos* (the Europeans). Furthermore, I spoke Spanish, though much less fluently than English and with a Taiwanese accent. The language factor added another layer to the relationships I had with them. A few (younger) girls occasionally made fun of or corrected my pronunciation in playful and light-hearted ways; in contrast, I was viewed as privileged for speaking English, especially by the adolescents who aspired to learn it but lacked the resources to do so.<sup>37</sup>

Given the field dynamics, how did I go about interacting with the participants in order to understand their needs, desires and the governing of their lives without doing harm, intruding on privacy or imposing otherwise questionable power hierarchies? It is crucial to address issues of acute concern raised in discussions not only in feminist ethnography but also in feminist geography (England, 1994; Rose, 1997). As well known through Stacey’s (1988) discussion, an ethnographic

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<sup>36</sup> For quite some participants who were fond of Korean soap operas and K-pop music, I appeared “positively” exotic with my “Asian” features, even though they discovered that I was not Korean.

<sup>37</sup> I could not communicate with the few young people (usually short-staying for shelter) at the two centres who spoke mostly Quechua.

research process is essentially “intrusive” and “non-egalitarian”. And this aspect should be especially alarming for my thesis, as ethnographic methods were employed with girls and young women who already experienced, among many other things, vulnerability and disadvantages on several fronts in their lives.

Perhaps most importantly, when interacting with the youths and facilitating their expressions, I did not focus on and did not actively employ probes into past events and experiences of maltreatment, violence or abuse nor accounts of pain, misery or trauma (cf., e.g., Calgaro, 2015: 49–50; Robson, 2001). This is an ethical choice informed by DeVault and Gross (2007: 188), who suggest that feminist researchers “display respect for the time, effort, and, often, pain involved in sharing experiences” especially related to vulnerability and marginalization. I observed the principle these authors mention of relying mainly on sources that were already available—such as records, official reports and internal documents from both centres’ archives, and on long-term staff’s accounts—for important understandings of my participants’ backgrounds and situations. I did not attempt to “corroborate” these accounts or information with my youth participants and in so doing require them to repeat what they may have already had to speak about multiple times willingly or unwillingly. I pursued “active probing” only with regards to their reflections on readily accessible, relatively “safe” topics such as participants’ current daily activities, everyday expressions of desires and future aspirations.<sup>38</sup> As I became more embedded into the groups at CARA and Runachay, the related but sensitive or difficult aspects of their affective life often more-or-less spontaneously emerged at the initiative of the girls and young mothers themselves.

Within such general parameters, what was accessible or “safe” varied per situation and depended on the specific (group of or individual) participants and my rapport with them. Overall, most were fine with talking about their plans, concerns or (wild) ideas for the (near) future, and they did so relatively frequently in a variety of settings. Some were keen to teach me the respective centres’ rules and customs, or to talk about their life stories, family situations or relationships with and opinions on those around them including the staff at the centres; others were more reserved or inclined to talk only at a few specific moments. On a couple of occasions, girls/mothers also initiated conversations on rather sensitive topics,

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<sup>38</sup> The focus on participants’ future aspirations and desires also coincides with and bears reference to research on children and youths’ aspirations, e.g., Crivello, 2015; Morrow, 2013; Pimlott-Wilson, 2017; Radcliffe and Webb, 2016.

sometimes among themselves. In those fleeting moments, I tended to avoid actively pursuing discussions on those sensitive topics. It remains difficult to tell if I handled the layers of sensitivity adequately, especially in some unexpected situations. There was also one day when, during some chitchat in CARA, I was confronted with a sudden question by the usually shy and quiet 15-year-old Katy: “Does your partner hit you?” As I reflected on this afterwards, I did not mind the question. And yet, unprepared at that moment and somehow shocked by her being the person to pose that question, I blurted out what could feel like a rather abrupt dismissal of her question: “No!” As I was bringing myself to the point of asking her in a calm yet curious manner if it happened a lot from what she knew, Liz jumped in to inform Katy: “Other countries are more civilized.” I was baffled. I happened to grow up with domestic violence. I said something about all that. However, as it was just chitchat, the girls moved straight on to other topics.

Not actively probing into youths’ experiences of suffering and trauma is different from being oblivious to their own expressions indicating such experiences, or completely turning a deaf ear to my participants’ willing or purposeful communication. I did not completely preclude or deliberately shut down moments when my participants did come to share their own feelings of sadness, complaints, needs to ventilate negative experiences and so on. Simplistic avoidance would silence and “black box” my participants’ lived experiences, reflections and expressions, and in that way contribute to isolating or even victimizing them (see also Benson and Thomas, 2010; Kleinman and Benson, 2006). Moreover, I did include a couple of questions in the interviews (see also Section 3.4)—asking in a brief and understated manner if they could tell me anything about their first days at CARA/Runachay—to which some participants would answer in ways that touched upon troubling or vulnerable experiences resulting in their arrival at the centres. This was especially the case with those who established good rapport with me, or those (usually older in age) who appeared to have previously processed related experiences enough to express them to me. When moments like these occurred, I used mainly facial and other less-verbal expressions to convey empathetic support and my appreciation of their openness, while concentrating on listening.

It is important to note that I continued to present myself to the youths throughout our interactions as a researcher interested in their needs, desires, aspirations and well-being related to their lives and in their opinions on their daily life at the centres. I made it clear throughout our interactions that it was not my

role to impose moral judgement or guidance as an authoritative figure, nor was it in my capacity to provide them with advice as a social worker or a psychologist/psychotherapist. I discussed the suitability of my research themes with the coordinators/social educators of both centres and received guidance from Runachay's psychologist on handling situations when participants were prone to share their vulnerability. I also agreed with these professionals that I would refer the participants to the psychologist/psychotherapist or to the educators should any aspect of the conversations accidentally become upsetting for them.

Beyond the concerns related to the conversational content and the act of probing to generate knowledge, the very nature of participant observation does make it hard to be certain about the ramifications of power relations on many actions, practices and expressions for which one is accountable during the fieldwork process. I do feel that my efforts to be cautious were helpful in navigating the fieldwork, and that everything went relatively well with both the youths and the staff from both centres. Yet, I pondered the moments when I might have unwittingly become part of "a system of relationships that the researcher is far freer than the researched to leave" (Stacey, 1988: 23). There were moments when I had to politely disagree with Edith—the main gatekeeper at Runachay who oversaw my activities with the girl participants—about the need for her or me to inspect the girls' "progress" of the diary/notebook activity, as she would normally do for their schoolwork (see Section 3.4). I also once proposed for a 13-year-old girl/mother to take time off from her (kangaroo) maternal care responsibility, which may or may not have been perceived as intervening in CARA's structure of routine responsibilities (see Chapter 5). With the understanding that the field dynamics and power relation implications cannot be avoided, neatly managed or explained away, especially in this case with youths in social and residential care, I have nonetheless hoped that, in laying bare aspects of the process as well as uncertainties, I acknowledged the challenges and my own ongoing accountability (see also Rose, 1997; see also the discussions surrounding "consent" in Section 3.4).

### 3.3.2 Ethnographic evidence of affective life? A quandary

As the field notes accumulated over time and as I started to weave other activities/methods into my everyday interactions with the participants, I

experienced an overabundance of information. Tens of ideas and questions were often buzzing in my mind. I struggled with what I could do about two things: on the one hand, I considered the diverse needs, desires and aspirations having to do with care and development, be they major or minor, everyday or long-term. I also attempted to trace and think through possible connections between many of the needs and desires, such as what CARA girls/mothers appreciated in an international volunteer, and how this connected to their practical, educational, interpersonal and other needs living in the specific residential care setting (see Chapter 5).

On the other hand, I explored my participants' expressions of these needs and desires as indications of how they (individually or in shared ways) may feel, sense, intuit, grasp, give meaning to, judge, evaluate, react or become habituated to conditions and practices regulating their daily and long-term life-making. I paid special attention to conditions enacted through or mediated by the social and residential care at the two centres. The analysis in Chapter 5 of CARA's young mothers' everyday, shared affective life is one such example. There, these mothers' group discussions about their encounters with and opinions of the volunteers show how they come to (partially) rely on and expect volunteers to help them with daily, collective housework and child care. Another example comes from Runachay (see Chapter 4), where I gathered many of these girls' expressions about their needs and desires related to current and future earning as well as their reflections about work and training. All of these contain indication of their affective responses to the Runachay-organized domestic work placement and to the hospitality and tourism work training that it encourages. The affective labour aspect connects both historically subordinated domestic work and the booming hospitality sector in Cusco in which the girls aspired to work. It was during this phase of fieldwork reflection combined with preliminary analysis that I began to consider how Runachay's mediation of and connection between the types of labour played a role in reshaping the girls' shared livelihood strategies and their shared affective life.

Doing so, of course, raised some technical questions as to how I eventually found "evidence" in participant observation and informal conversations that would tell me anything certain about the affectsphere sensed, felt or perceived by the girls and young mothers at CARA and Runachay. An important, underlying question is also how I would justify or position this method in relation to the many concerns about studying affect, people's feelings and what they sense or register



viscerally. For example, the issues of producing knowledge based on people's own expressions of feelings, and of producing knowledge about others through "feeling them out" are complex ones (see, e.g., Bondi, 2014; Nencel, 2005). In addition, it is a highly tricky business to identify/name/determine the "affects" that may come to be registered or shown as particular feelings or emotions:

I may be or feel overwhelmed, I may be composed or feel composure; my panic might look like a stony silence, my composure might be a manic will to control, or not. What looks like a shamed response in one decade, may look angry in another one. [...] The subjects of structural subordination seem always to have tone-of-voice problems. All babies smile, but it might be gas. (Berlant, 2011: 158)

I am aware of these technical challenges and methodological quandaries, and it was not my intention during the fieldwork nor the objective of my thesis to figure out a "right" way of doing or distinguishing affects/feelings/emotions. Moreover, I also recognize that the accounts on affective life based on expressions given in my thesis are partial, open to examination and critique (see also Baillie Smith and Jenkins, 2012; Barnett, 2011b, 2015; Clough and Halley, 2007; Mitchell and Elwood, 2012; Wetherell, 2013).

Nevertheless, I do think that ethnographic methods are suitable for the particular task of my thesis, following my discussion of the Berlantian approach to affective life in Chapter 2. By this task, I mean to provide certain understandings of people's *more-than-individual* affective life in the material and historical conditions in which they are embedded—while retaining a sense of the messiness of affective life, that it is often personally embodied, mostly "ineffable" and ultimately non-foreclosed as discussed in Chapter 2. This task can be distinguished from producing seemingly conclusive accounts about people's "culture", discourses or a certain ideology guiding their collective practices. And it can certainly be seen as different from asserting the workings of affectivity or affects as "non-signifying, autonomic processes" (Leys, 2011: 437; see also Berlant, 2011: 52–53).

Specifically, I argue so because ethnographic methods ask the researcher to openly and actively work on multiple fronts: to teach oneself about the historical and material conditions of the research "field"; to become attuned to the micro cultural and social context; and to learn about individuals' and groups'

temperaments, personalities, feelings, senses, meaning-making, language and non-verbal expressions—all diverse ways of going about their daily matters and indications of affects as in individual and shared affective responses to situations and environments (Berlant, 2011: 15, 158–159; Ducey, 2007: 193). All the while, positionality in (especially feminist) ethnographic methods emphasizes researchers' reflection on their necessarily particular situatedness in the fieldwork process, and on their "awareness of alterity" vis-à-vis the participants (Bondi, 2014: 53; Narayan, 1993; Nencel, 2005; Stacey, 1988; Strathern, 1987). All these aspects of ethnographic methods are suitable, I think, for the specifically Berlantian understanding of affective life: that accounts of certain (shared, mediated, sometimes collective) experiential, emotional and affective dimensions of people's lives are always tentative rather than conclusive; and that they are best used to showcase the vicissitudes of mundane living and the grounded potential for sociality and solidarity therein.

Some explanation, though, should still accompany the account I have given so far, namely about my rather personal affective dimensions in relation to this approach to generating material/data on affective life. "One might"—as Berlant does say—"be wrong about everything" (2011: 158). During the fieldwork and writing periods, I had anxiety and self-doubt. I questioned whether my "researcher self" was able to faithfully capture youths' expressions and to reflect on significant or relevant conditions and modes of governing of their lives. Some days saw paralysis in the face of working/writing with nuance, fluency, a literary quality and ethical clarity, which I *knew* I lacked. For a large part of my fieldwork, I was in a weird state shifting between feeling exhilarated and hyper-energized, and exhausted and overwhelmed. I also remember feeling fragile and perplexed giving a presentation to my colleagues reflecting on my fieldwork after returning from the field for the first time. I was left with a vague and yet quite real impression of having spent months in 2015 and 2016 in a state of hopefulness mixed with uncertainty and confusion, perhaps also some light depression. I now associate those states of being with the fact that I did not know if I had done enough, and if I would ever be able to translate the myriad things I observed and experienced over the course of my fieldwork into understandings of the *more-than-individual* affective life that emerges through "alternative" interventions. I hope these notes make some sort of sense beyond self-indulgence, at the very least in terms of writing in some more affective living dimension through which I believe that many

of my thoughts, field interactions, points of analysis, (self-)critiques and arguments as presented in my thesis evolved.

### 3.4 THE MOSAIC DESIGN FOR GENERATING EXPRESSIONS WITH YOUNG PARTICIPANTS

To further facilitate youths' expressions, I combined some methods and activities within the overall ethnographic fieldwork. This "multi-method" arrangement was inspired mainly by Clark's (2011a, 2011b) articulation of a "mosaic approach". The gist of the idea is active "expression generation" with (young) participants instead of the more conventional "data extraction". My mosaic approach adopts varied methods and activities to enable an "assembly of material using several individual pieces of tiles, which together make more of a whole" (Clark, 2011a: 313; see also Morrow, 2001; Todd, 2012; Walker et al., 2012).

The rationale underpinning this "mosaic" understanding of my thesis resonates well with the ethnographic approach for working with young participants as explained above. It epistemologically accepts the partiality of knowledge already mentioned in the previous pages. A mosaic approach aims to enrich the process of "expression generation", without aiming to "triangulate" as in the sense of ensuring the "validity" of research results and to claim objectivity (Denzin, 2012; Porter, 1994). Two more important principles guide my mosaic approach. First, the emphasis is on (young) participants as responsive, creative and complex communicators and meaning-makers in their own ways. Hence, participant-friendly methods aim at creating an environment for ongoing knowledge "generation" together with the participants (Todd, 2012: 194; cf. participatory research, e.g., Cheney, 2011). This puts emphasis on my ethical and methodological responsibility in arranging adequate elicitation activities flexible to and befitting the participants and the settings for material generation. Second, instead of analyzing the data/expressions each method generated separately or emphasizing a hierarchy of methods based on their ranked importance, I view knowledge produced through such multi-methods as "an interrelated mosaic of interpretative snapshots and vignettes of particular [...] social practices *in the making*" (Latham, 2003: 2005, original italics).

The actual mosaic approach that Clark (2011a, 2011b) developed for her participants befitting her research on early childhood and learning environments

in the UK includes not only the relatively conventional interviews and observation, but also video or audio-recorded tours, storyboards and photo books. For my mosaic design, I was particularly inspired by other specific activities, procedures and techniques considered in the young-participant-friendly methods in work by Ames et al. (2010), Crivello et al. (2013), Morrow (2001) and Thomas and O’Kane (1998). Overall, I looked for methods and activities that were highly practical and that would not considerably complicate the participants’ day-to-day lives. For example, although keen on exploring visual data and working with material objects, I knew I did not want to introduce cameras and photography. Besides resource considerations and the complication regarding seeking consent of those who might appear in the photos, I chose to avoid being entangled with the many issues of exoticizing and exploiting people and images. These issues remained a problem to some degree at both centres, given the frequent charitable, touristic, volunteer and research visits. Eventually, I focused on a writing/drawing activity (in Runachay) and two elicitation/participation activities integrated into the in-depth interviews for both Runachay and CARA (see Section 3.4.1 and Appendix A). I informally enquired into the girls/mothers’ interests in my preliminary ideas related to these activities during the early period of the fieldwork. The details of these activities were then thought through and adjusted in consultation with the coordinator-*cum*-educators and (language) teachers affiliated with the centres.

### 3.4.1 Informed consent

In terms of informed consent, both organizations gave me permission to do my PhD research there. Individuals’ informed consent was obtained in written forms<sup>39</sup> before the in-depth interviews, and before commencing the notebook/diary activity. I explained to individual research participants that I was a PhD student studying social projects in Cusco for girls and young women, with the aim to understand their daily life, well-being and perspectives as target/beneficiaries of the projects. I also made it clear at the start of the session/activity that

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<sup>39</sup> I had considered including an alternative option of verbal consent in cases that the act of signing consent form would be unpleasant or stressful for some youth participants. This would have been suitable if there were potential participants with highly limited literacy or unpleasant or traumatic experiences dealing with documents and forms (e.g., in hospitals or during the forensic examinations). In practice, and in consultation with my gatekeepers, however, it was possible to seek written informed consent from all participants.

participation was voluntary and that, as participants, they would be anonymized and could choose their own pseudonyms. I also explained at length that the participants were free to withdraw their participation at any moment and to decline to answer any particular question or do any activity, without the need for justification and without any consequences.

Besides such rather formalized yet essential procedures, my prior and ongoing interactions with the girls and young women were perhaps even more important to enable the ongoing “renewal” of voluntary and informed participation (Kendrick et al., 2008: 89). By this, I mean paying attention to the interests and questions regarding aspects of my work in some, while picking up (subtle) signs of lack of interest and avoidance in others. I also mean establishing trust with the participants ahead of time. This was done through sustained interactions in my everyday participant observation during the months I was there.

Even though the two social and residential care centres are hardly carceral or mobility-restricting spaces, they are “constraining” environments to an extent comparable with schools. Furthermore, the presence of senior authoritative gatekeeping figures may have (sub)consciously pressured youths into participation in the research (Kendrick et al., 2008: 89; Todd, 2012: 193; see also Adler and Clark, 2011: 55–56). My measure to mitigate this form of pressure was thus to ensure the youths’ ease in their (non-/partial) participation through these complementary, formalized and informal consent processes. I should also mention that I did not actively recruit those who were new to the centres and who were mostly staying there short term due to a need for shelter—they were just getting orientated in the centres’ cultures and were considerably more fragile and vulnerable than the others (see also Robson, 2001: 136). Long-term residents and affiliated youths, by contrast, displayed relative confidence, ease and decision-making power in turning down initiatives or in skipping/excusing themselves from non-essential activities (e.g., doing activities with me) when they did not feel like participating.

### 3.4.2 In-depth interviews with elicitation activities

The major topics covered with both current and former resident-beneficiary girls and young mothers included anything they were willing to share with me about themselves (which mostly concerned their lives and work prior to the centres,

family relationships and descriptions of the communities where they spent their childhood); memories of first days/arrivals at the centres; current daily lives; education and training; plans and aspirations; and experiences with and opinions about the centres (including encounters with foreign visitors and volunteers). An interview guide (see Appendix B) was used for leading the interviewees, when possible, to cover and follow the sequence of the topics indicated above. Previously established rapport and knowledge about each participant allowed me in many cases to encourage them to speak their mind on the topics, observing their interests and boundaries while they talked.

For current and recent residents/beneficiaries, I included two small activities in which the youths had shown interest during our prior conversations. The purpose of these integrated activities was not only for elicitation, but also to make the interview a meaningful and interesting experience for the participants. The design of the activities was especially inspired by Thomas and O’Kane’s (1998: 343) “participatory techniques” to involve children during interviews. These researchers engaged child participants with activities making use of material objects that “enabled children who were not at all talkative to communicate their views without feeling that they were being ‘grilled’” (Thomas and O’Kane, 1998: 343).

For the first activity, the participants were invited to bring to the interview (or visualize) a maximum of five objects of their daily life that they liked or found important, knowing that I would prepare the same and share with them five objects of mine. Participants began the interview by giving meanings to those particular objects, thus starting the conversations with something they had control over and were interested in/familiar with. This, I felt, also enabled rather in-depth responses from the start, instead of short answers. At CARA, the girls/mothers showed me small handicrafts they made in volunteer-led sessions and photos of themselves and their young children. At Runachay, the diverse objects I was shown included notebooks for schoolwork, the first piece of modern clothing a girl had been given when she arrived at Runachay, a piggy bank, cell-phones, a key to the employer’s home, friendship gifts and a pillow. This activity went well beyond my initial planning to provide opportunities for the participants to dive into their needs and desires, regarding for instance (personal) development, education and encounters with volunteer(-tourists).

The second activity was a simple card-ranking activity that came mid-way through the interview, in which participants arranged cards indicating

topics/things such as “studies” (*estudios*), “work” (*trabajo*) and “family” (*familia*) into an order of their liking (Figure 3.3).<sup>40</sup> Working with the cards provided the participants a break from talking and giving answers, and it allowed me to check on the themes and questions still to be covered (see Appendix B). The ensuing discussions about the cards helped in some cases to explore relevant new agendas brought up by the participants.

To sum up, these activities have provided opportunities for young(er) participants to express themselves during the interviews in ways besides responding to the questions I formulated. Both activities were appropriately functional for the purpose of enhancing the flow, quality and young participants’ (positive) experiences of the interviews. The following chapters do not feature young(er) participants’ responses coming “directly” from these two activities. However, Runachay participants’ expressions during the individual interviews (as showcased in Chapter 4) were produced more or less organically during the interview process into which these activities were embedded. For CARA, the individual interviews with elicitation activities have generated important background information for the analysis appearing in Chapter 5. And these activities helped me significantly in building rapport with several young mothers, thus having beneficial effect on other parts of my fieldwork at CARA.

### 3.4.3 Diary/notebook

As one of the staff of Runachay, Marilu, who is also an anthropologist, once suggested to me, I fully recognized that, based on the rich Quechua oral tradition, my young participants might well prefer talking and having conversations to

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<sup>40</sup> I developed this activity based on an idea of card-ranking with children that Francien de Groot had suggested to me (personal communication, March 2014). I made a set of cards with topics and things that could be interesting or important to my young participants based on my knowledge of them and in accordance with the themes and questions included in my interview guide (see Appendix B). The topics include “studies” (*estudios*), “work” (*trabajo*), “family” (*familia*), “land” (*terreno*), “professional career” (*carrera profesional*), “money” (*dinero*), “friendship” (*amistad*), “home/house” (*casa*), “university degree” (*título universitario*), “social activities” (*actividades sociales*), “love” (*amor*), “children” (*niños*), “free time” (*tiempo libre*), “faith/religion” (*fe*), “property” (*propiedad*) and “relation” (*relación*). During the activity, participants could set aside cards that they found irrelevant. They were also given blank cards so they could add topics and things to the original set of cards. The cards added during the interviews were: “happiness” (*felicidad*), “punctuality” (*puntualidad*), “play” (*jugar*) and “fame” (*fama*).



Figure 3.3: Elicitation activity during an interview. Source: Author.



writing. Yet, I also discovered that, especially in Runachay, girls worked a lot on their schoolwork in multiple notebooks, and spent time doodling, copying song lyrics and decorating the pages with stickers. I therefore initiated a diary/notebook activity in the hope of complementing other methods that I implemented (Robson, 2001: 139; see also Ames et al., 2010; Latham, 2003; Meth, 2003; Sinvervo, 2013). The activity took place between October and December 2014. Participants were given a notebook, and I introduced a few topics with the help of hand-outs during the first three weeks. The topics included describing their weekly routines, recalling a specific day in their life, writing a letter to an (imaginary) friend or commenting on the news (see also Ames et al., 2010). At the same time, I also encouraged them not to worry about the set topics too much, but to write or draw whatever they were willing to share with me for my research.

In Runachay, I conducted this activity with the support of Edith, a coordinator who supervised the girls' daily school performances and who was pleased and enthusiastic to see extra writing opportunities for them. However, this also meant that I had to carefully navigate between Edith's expectations and the young participants' own interests and agendas. Even as I clearly communicated to Edith several times the importance of the girls' voluntary participation and the confidentiality of the content they produced, Edith's usual, relatively authoritative style of supervision and her gesture of goodwill in support of my research took over on a couple of occasions. She reminded the girls to "keep up with their commitment" and once, in my absence, gave them the impression that their "progress" on writing would be checked somehow. My only way to remedy this was to clarify, on multiple other occasions with each participant, that there was no pressure in delivering materials, and that I had Edith's personal reassurance that no one should ever read the notebooks without the owners' permission. Out of the original 20 or so participants, all of those who carried on after the first couple of pages used the notebooks in creative ways. Some wrote journals, others wrote poems, while still some others created collages of sorts with stickers and photos (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). I reviewed the content with them individually when they were available to do so (which was rather more sporadic than regular), and we returned to the content during the interviews. In the end, I gathered the photos of approximately 140 pages of materials from 12 girls' notebooks (see also Appendix A), and the notebooks remained in their own possession afterwards.

I attempted this diary/notebook activity at CARA during the same period, but it never caught on. Mainly, this was because much of the girls'/mothers' time was



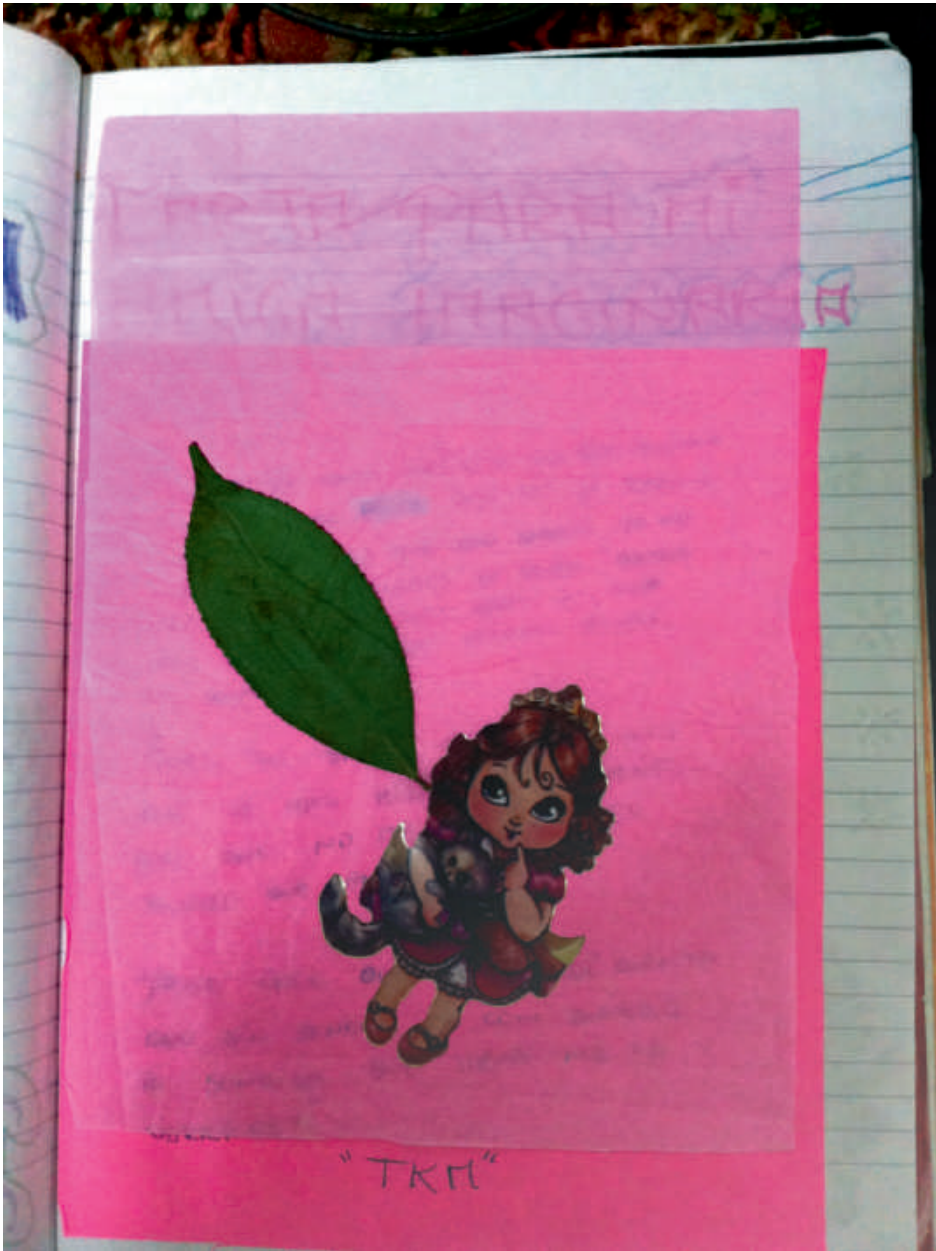


Figure 3.5: A collage from a participant's diary. Source: Author.

### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND CONTENT OF THE FOLLOWING TWO CHAPTERS

The individual interviews and group discussions were digitally recorded, transcribed and entered into the qualitative data analysis and research software Atlas.ti, along with scanned pages of fieldnotes. I created two separate projects in Atlas.ti, one for Runachay and the other for CARA. The data entered for Runachay's project included photos of the diary/notebook entries from the young participants. In general, the data analysis process was iterative, and it involved multiple times of listening to and reading the original materials and coding in Atlas.ti. I performed open coding, focusing on not only words and phrases but also participants' narratives especially in the case of individual interviews (see Chapter 5, Section 5; see also DeVault and Gross, 2007; Wiles et al., 2005). At the same time, I also coded the materials with labels based on the Berlantian affect theoretical emphasis on affective investments, attachments, relations and lived affective experiences such as emotions and embodied capacities. I will now turn to explain how Chapters 4 and 5 each builds its content based on this process of data analysis that helped me digest and reflect on my fieldwork materials.

The coding in the case of Runachay revealed the importance of growth, development and positively perceived changes in life for the resident-beneficiary girls themselves. These aspects made up the largest theme that emerged and ran through the girls' expressions related to work, studying and their family and personal situations. Through coding, I also came to see how aspects of Runachay's education-related interventions accommodated and helped fulfil resident/beneficiaries' diverse needs and desires to improve their psychosocial, emotional and material well-being while shaping their plans and aspirations of "getting ahead" in life. Based on these findings, Chapter 4 mainly addresses Runachay girls' affective investments in the promises of "getting ahead" in Cusco's urban environment through work, earning and education. It pays attention to how Runachay's school education, work placement and vocational training programmes affect the residents/beneficiaries' individual and shared capacities, statuses and feelings related to well-being and "getting ahead". It relies on these girls' own expressions to argue that these interventions affect their lives in affirmative and immanent manners that are markedly *different* from other forms of governance and social norms that exert influences in their lives. Chapter 4 thus works to unpack the enmeshed forms of governance and social norms these girls

experience, shedding light on the nuanced ways in which Runachay's education-related interventions help resist certain forms of institutional power and social norms, while drawing on or subscribing to other norms to govern and facilitate changes in the youths' welfare. This chapter showcases a diversity of participants' expressions emerging from individual interviews, the diary/notebook activity and fieldnotes.

In the case of CARA, the coding was done with a focus on CARA's involvement of volunteering and the resident girls/mothers' experiences of it. However, the Berlantian framework of affective life prompted me to attend to the residents' embedment in CARA's social and residential care environment, and to code their heterogeneous attachments, desires, feelings, capacities and relations with others including but not limited to those strictly concerning the volunteers. This way of approaching and coding the fieldwork materials has led Chapter 5 to foreground CARA residents' primary affective investments in the collective household living and in their own emotional, psychosocial and material well-being. It also highlights CARA's collective household sensibilities and institutional arrangement of volunteering, which shape the adolescent mothers' affective capacities in *more-than-individual* ways in both the immediate everyday and long-term modes of living. The chapter then discusses the different manners and capacities with which the residents tend to make sense of and respond to both desirable and problematic encounters with international volunteers in order to enhance and induce positive changes in their more-than-individual affective life. In this way, Chapter 5 presents a nuanced critique of the impacts of CARA's residential care and volunteering on the residents based on a relatively expansive understanding of the young residents' affective lives. The discussion in the chapter thus shifts conventional representations of vulnerable groups in the global South and their interactions and relationships with North-based actors such as the volunteers. In order to convey a sense of affective life as lived both individually and in shared ways, the chapter strategically features residents' group discussions and two individual interviews contextualized with biographical accounts.





## Chapter 4: Affirmative biopolitics: Social and vocational education for Quechua girls in the postcolonial “affectsphere” of Cusco, Peru<sup>41</sup>

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

*One Sunday, as we leisurely sit in the courtyard of the Runachay Social Center, 26-year-old Andrea comes to visit. One of the center’s coordinators, Edith, introduces Andrea to Trista with pride, suggesting that, as a former beneficiary of the center’s programs, she has fascinating stories to share. Andrea, now a psychology major inspired by a psychologist met at the center, dives into a long narrative. A domestic worker by day and student in the evening throughout her teens, she rejected her employer’s plan for her to follow and care for the woman’s university-bound daughter in Lima. When taunted by her employer, who said, “Why do you want to study? You’ll end up selling beans with your kids at the roadside anyways,” she remained quiet and thought to herself: “I’ll finish colegio, get vocational training and later continue with higher education. I won’t turn out that way.”*

Recent discussions in human geography illustrate the promises and challenges of exploring the intersections of childhood, youth governance, and education. While the overlapping spaces of youth/childhood and education have been studied from multiple angles (Holloway et al., 2010; Islam and Fulcher, 2016; Morrow, 2013; Smith, 2013), children’s geographers often draw on biopolitics to study school and public interventions into young lives (Evans, 2010; Gibson and Dempsey, 2015;

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Skoglund and Börjesson, 2014; Wells, 2011). In Latin America, the empirical focus has been mainly on migrant youth, working children's well-being, and youths' educational aspirations (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crivello, 2015; Punch, 2007). In this chapter, we advance the claim that, in view of the acknowledged diversity and importance of educational and social support spaces for these young lives (Berckmans et al., 2016; Gamlin et al., 2015) and considering how little the (bio)political implications of those spaces have been studied in the Latin American context (Aufseeser, 2014a; Sinervo, 2013), it is important to discuss children's and youths' experiences of these spaces in terms of "affirmative biopolitics."

We do so via a case study of the grassroots, non-profit Runachay Social Center in Cusco, Peru, that supports Quechua-speaking<sup>42</sup> girls<sup>43</sup> (aged 12–18) from rural peasant families as they grow up, work, study, live, and build an urban life in the postcolonial context of ongoing political, economic, and socio-cultural marginalization in and beyond the Peruvian Andes. Since the 1980s, Peruvian scholars have written on the entwined "myth" of education and progress that propels rural and indigenous people to "get ahead" (*salir adelante*) (Ansión, 1995; Degregori, [1986]2007). It is so commonly observed for children and youths in Peru that studies continue to evoke this discussion (Ames 2013b; Crivello 2015; Espinosa 2012). In the following pages, we thus attempt to address how the Runachay Social Center's understanding of "progress" and "getting ahead" can be read in biopolitical terms.

Foucault famously defined "biopower" as that which "intervene[s] to make live," to regularize and manage life ([1976] 2003: 248). His discussion of biopower focused on its emergence in Europe during the eighteenth century and its

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<sup>42</sup> Quechua is the most spoken indigenous language in Peru. The 2007 census shows that in the department of Cusco, 79.6% of the rural population (463,133) speak Quechua as their first language, while 69% of the urban population (585,699) speak Spanish as their first language (INEI, 2009: 95). As race is long translated into discussions of ethnicity, language, class, education, and rurality/urbanity, remaining monolingual Quechua is a primary marker of one's Indianness, often in close association with illiteracy, peasantry, and poverty (de la Cadena, 2000; García, 2004; Radcliffe, 1990).

<sup>43</sup> As their age, ethnicity, and class-mediated "girlhood" is key to both the particular historical-collective forms of marginalization and the center's interventions, we use the term "girls" to refer to the general population and when addressing the wards of the center. It is the term ("*chicas*") in which our participants most often address themselves and each other. Alternatively, we use "wards" when emphasizing that the girls live in the center's overall care and custody; "participants" when emphasizing the girls' participation in a specific program or activity of the center, or when referring to those who took part in our research.

construction of and operations on the population through state practices. Largely inspired by Foucault's original speculations, the impact of biopolitics in academia over the past two decades has been immense, with some authors claiming the emergence of a "biopolitical turn" in the social sciences and humanities (Campbell and Sitze, 2013; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2009; Lemke, 2011; Li, 2010; Minca, 2015). Notably, there has been recent scholarly interest in forms of "affirmative biopolitics" or even affirmation beyond biopolitics (see, e.g., among others, Braidotti, 2013; Esposito, 2008, 2011) in response to—in the sense of renewing, rather than negating—discussions of necropower or biopower "from above" (in Geography, see, e.g., Anderson, 2012; Hannah, 2011; Rutherford and Rutherford, 2013). Affirmative biopolitics is broadly understood in this context as a way to theorize how new/different ways of living and forms of life have the potential to transform or resist modes of dominance over, or negation of, life. Thinking in terms of affirmative biopolitics means considering the generative "force" in the so-called "politics of life," whereby the power of life may be reclaimed from governmental apparatuses.

Despite the emergence of such thoughts, children's geographies have so far largely focused on critiques of the dominating forms of biopower exercised "from above" in cases like sustainability campaigns, and food and health education. In this respect, we follow Peter Kraftl's (2015) call for children's geographers to "read for difference" and go beyond critiques of mainstream governance in order to incorporate "alternatives that involve individuals variously positioned within biopolitical and social orderings" (Kraftl, 2015: 221). Kraftl's work (2013b, 2013c, 2015) considers adult-led alternative education spaces in the United Kingdom, the extent to which they "escape the logic of neoliberalism" governing young lives, and how they "foster diverse forms of biopower from below" (2015: 233, 231). To do this, Kraftl draws from Hardt and Negri (2009) to rely on formulations of biopower as the power *of* life that resists the power "from above" *over* life. Affect plays a crucial role in this approach, intended as *the* force and collective capacity to live and (re)produce differently from the subsumption of biopower "from above" (see also Anderson, 2012).

In the following pages, we extend Kraftl's affirmative biopolitical perspective on children's geographies to discuss girls' lives at the Runachay Social Center, by arguing for the incorporation of an understanding of biopolitics and affect inspired by Lauren Berlant's work. Our aim is to adopt an affirmative biopolitical analytics to study marginalized youth in order to reveal alternative forms of governance

while considering the affective “intricacies, complexities, tensions, ambiguities and ambivalences of children and young people’s lives across both Majority and Minority World contexts” (Tisdall and Punch, 2013: 259). In bringing affect to the fore and in adopting a “Berlantian” approach, we reflect on theories linking biopower and affect while revisiting questions of subjectivity.

We have structured the rest of the chapter in six sections. First, in Section 4.2, we discuss affirmative biopolitics in relation to Berlant’s affect theory. We then describe, in Section 4.3, our case study and methodology. In the Section 4.4, we analyze how, in the context of Cusco, the center provides a space of (residential) care in relation to mainstream, historical modes of biopolitical governance relating to the concept of “getting ahead.” In the remainder of the chapter, in Section 4.5, we discuss how the center mediates domestic work, stimulating its wards to practice and “apprehend” (Ahmed, 2010: 28) such work beyond that of an exploited form of labor in order to obtain personal (and, by extension, familial) development; we also consider, in Section 4.6, how the center avails its wards to vocational training attuned to Cusco’s thriving hospitality and tourism context. We conclude in Section 4.7 with considerations on what can be learned from this case study and from the proposed analytics in terms of contemplating marginalized youths’ embodied experiences of education, work, and social reproduction-related governance.

## 4.2 CRUEL OPTIMISM, AFFECTSPHERE, AFFIRMATIVE BIOPOLITICS

Situated at the intersection of psychoanalysis, queer theory, and antiracist and subaltern studies, Berlant’s book *Cruel Optimism* (2011) foregrounds desire and embodiment, and considers, along this line, the individual subject’s relation to ways of living and to the politics of life in the ordinary everyday practices of democratic and capitalist societies. The book’s central idea is *optimism*. Rather than a feeling or experience, optimism is conceived as an *affective structure of relation* that binds and moves subjects into the world. Optimism as such emerges when subjects desire and become attached to things, feelings, practices, imageries, etc., and when this very attachment provides a sense of possibility or affirmation in (the flourishing of) life. This structure of relation becomes paradoxically *cruel* when that to which people attach actually poses a threat to or diminishes their

lives, e.g., “a scouring love [...] obsessive appetites, working for a living, patriotism” (Berlant, 2011: 25).

Crucial to our adoption of Berlant’s understanding of (bio)politics is thus this fundamental, enduring, *affirmative* relation of subjects desiring tenaciously and responding non-negatively to aspects of life and to modes of living, with all the incoherence and ambivalence that may rest in such desire. Berlant emphasizes that, from an everyday, embodied perspective, the world in which subjects find themselves is “sensed and under constant revision”—a porous, shared *affectsphere* shaped by ongoing “personal and public filtering of the situations and events” (Berlant, 2011: 4). People’s everyday optimistic attachments manifest “what’s going on and what seems possible and blocked in personal/collective life” in this affectsphere (Berlant, 2011: 4). In this way, Berlant moves away from the conventional dialectical approach to subjectivity as shaped by “structure (what is systemic in the reproduction of the world)” and “agency (what people do in everyday life)” (Berlant, 2011: 54). In recognizing political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions as “structural,” her affective approach concentrates on how subjects register, know, and respond viscerally in and to “monetized, disciplinary, and exploitative” structural conditions (Berlant, 2011: 69). Structural conditions thus become significant in how they affect subjects’ everyday optimistic attachments (Berlant, 2011: 15–16): how attachments “come to make sense or no longer make sense, yet remain powerful as they work against the flourishing of particular and collective beings” (Berlant, 2011: 13). Importantly, while structural conditions can be understood as “normative demands for bodily and psychic organization” (Berlant, 2011: 17), their “disciplining” should be analyzed in relation to

longing, memory, fantasy, grief, acting out, and sheer psychic creativity through which people constantly (consciously, unconsciously, dynamically) renegotiate the terms of reciprocity that contour their historical situation. (Berlant, 2011: 53)

In this way, Berlant offers an approach to rethinking conceptualizations of affect, subjectivity, and power. Debates have pointed out that certain existing theoretical “ontologization” (Barnett, 2008), of affect being the non-representational, autonomic force or activity “radically outside meaning and signification” (Zerilli, 2015: 269), leads to discussions that elide emotions and

(differential) subjective embodiment (Thien, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2006). It moreover severs affective experiences from “anything in the world that could possibly be symbolized or shared by others” and consequently forecloses the possibility of political resistance (Zerilli, 2015: 269). Berlant, however, suggests that affect theory can aid our understanding of the “encounter of what is sensed with what is known and what has impact in a new but also recognizable way” (Berlant, 2011: 53). It enables investigating subjects’ “irreducible specificity” (Berlant, 2011: 53) in terms of (shared) affective responses, embodied ways of knowing, and forms of intelligence in dynamics with sedimenting but non-foreclosed material histories, norms, and identities/statuses such as gender, class, sexuality, and race/ethnicity. While capable of affecting individual and collective bodies, these do not necessarily “saturate the whole of anyone’s being, psychology, way of interacting with themselves and the world, or experience of the world” (Berlant, 2011: 20).

It is within this perspective that we argue that the theorization of affect can help children’s geographers (re)consider biopolitical dominance, control, or regularization over young lives. In individual and shared attachments to and experiences of a certain practice or way of (re)production of life, for example, “forced adaptation, pleasurable variation, and threatening dissolution of life-confirming norms” (Berlant, 2011: 9) can mingle in notable or easily overlooked affective manners or registers. In order to understand how some modes or changes in biopolitical governance come to be more possible, oppressive, or desirable than others, it is thus crucial to pay attention to “what’s apprehensible in the ordinary” (Berlant, 2011: 68) and to “the spreading of symbolizations and other inexpressive but life-extending actions throughout the ordinary and its situations of living on” (Berlant, 2011: 81). Existing and potential “openings” in biopolitics are necessarily and intimately linked with subjects’ historical and everyday sensing, habituating, bargaining with, or “detachment” from certain ways and aspects of life, as well as recalibration according to new/different ones, however minor or tenuous they may appear.

What emerges here, then, is a qualitatively different analysis of biopolitics that deliberately tries to go beyond questions concerning the extent to which forms of control, regularization, administration, and management impact (or not) individuals, and especially beyond seeing biopolitical subjectivity merely as a “symptom of any mode of production’s or ideology’s damaging imprint” (Berlant, 2011: 15–16). While studies have suggested, for instance, that individuals are prompted to reproduce “neoliberal subjectivity” (Binkley, 2009; Kelly, 2006;

Ormond and Sothorn, 2012), Berlant reminds us “the leveling effect of biopower [...] is not lived a priori coherently or homogeneously” (Najafi et al., 2008). This perspective also facilitates a reconsideration of anchoring analysis on, e.g., “neoliberal logic,” neoliberal agenda(s), or formulations of biopower as “from above” or “from below” (Anderson, 2012; Kraftl, 2015; Radcliffe and Webb, 2016; Singh, 2013). These terms imply certain coherent directionality, intentionality, and mechanistic workings of power that dominate or resist, and thus can prompt an inflated affective sense of uniformity, control, and autonomy in (bio)power—sometimes at the expense of analyzing the ambivalence, contradiction, and potential immanent to biopolitical subjectivity (Berlant, 2011: Chapter 3). In the messy, mundane everyday amidst “attachment, self-continuity, and the reproduction of life,” subjects are “neither dupes to the interests of power as such nor gods of their own intention” (Berlant, 2011: 15, 105). A Berlantian approach to affirmative biopolitics would therefore incorporate questions concerning what subjects actually desire in their everyday “modes of incoherence, distractedness, and habituation” and a range of “deliberate and deliberative activity” (Berlant, 2011: 96) to crucially complement existing discussions of biopolitical governance and resistance.

#### 4.3 THE RUNACHAY SOCIAL CENTER AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

The Runachay Social Center started in 1994 in Cusco as a grassroots initiative by a retired Italian teacher and two Peruvians, one of whom—founder/coordinator Valentina—is Quechua-speaking and grew up as a domestic helper. The presence of girls and women as domestic “helpers” in well-off or lower middle-class urban families has a long, if invisible, history in Peru (Gutiérrez, 1983; Radcliffe, 1990; Santisteban, 2007). Work on the circulation of children in Andean co-parenting (*compadrazgo*) practices suggests how girls’ labor is often deemed integral to or legitimized by conventional reciprocity within familial, kinship, or social networks (Leinaweaver, 2008), and that young helpers can be even more invisible and vulnerable than adults. The center’s early activities focused on providing shelter for abused and/or trafficked girls (as young as eight years of age) working in urban households and raising awareness amongst them.

Concurrent with the emergence of a hybrid social domain in Cusco involving development aid and cooperation, international volunteering, local social work

and education sectors, and religiously inspired philanthropy (Burrai, et al. 2017; Sanborn, 2006), the center has diversified its activities in subsequent years. The general aim has in fact gradually become that of contributing to youths' "all-around development" (*desarrollo integral*) and training (*formación*), while maintaining their cultural practices and ties with their families and communities of origin. With donations, partnerships with international cooperation NGOs, and revenue generated from its guesthouse (see Sections 4.5 and 4.6), the center has been operating several programs despite ever-present financial difficulties. These programs today include an Alternative Basic Education Center<sup>44</sup> (*Centro de Educación Básica Alternativa*) and a Vocational Education Center (*Centro de Educación Técnico-Productiva*) for working youth, as well as community outreach programs mainly in the neighboring Paruro and Paucartambo provinces, in the hope that enhanced quality of education and life will reduce younger children's circulation into cities.

Meanwhile, Runachay's long-standing shelter/home (*hogar*) continues to work with families and authorities like Cusco's Family and Mixed Courts and, most recently, Peru's national child protection agency (*Unidad de Investigación Tutelar*). While during the fieldwork we observed several cases of emergency shelter, with girls soon returned to their families, most girls live in the center and may remain affiliated for years. Some do so as part of families' "survival practices" (Leinaweaver, 2008) of having children circulating between rural and urban areas, while others are placed there in cases of "moral and material abandonment" due to family poverty and other reasons.<sup>45</sup> Between 2014 and 2016, around 15 wards aged 12–18 were living in the center's *hogar*. Another 10–15 lived with employer families as part of the work placement arrangement (*colocación laboral*) discussed in the next section. All regularly attended the center's Sunday reunions and workshops, and the majority were enrolled in the abovementioned education centers. Over the past 20 years, the *hogar* claims to have hosted nearly 2,000 Quechua-speaking girls along with a small number of Aymara speakers. The center's orientation in favor of girls of peasant origin doing domestic work and its intervention in the wards' education and development are unique among at least 40 alternative care programs/organizations present in Cusco.

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<sup>44</sup> The translation appeared as "Alternative Primary Education Center" in the original publication and has been corrected to "Alternative Basic Education Center" in this version.

<sup>45</sup> See also Leinaweaver (2008) for how related guardianship investigation and legal process can subordinate and stigmatize family "survival practices" of sending children to places like Runachay.

While Berlant ultimately focuses on the decline of the good life in terms of upward mobility and social security/welfare in the post-Fordist U.S. and Europe, we suggest using her work here to study marginalized youth in pursuit of a good life in a postcolonial context (see also Byrd, 2011: Chapter 1). We are interested in particular in how “getting ahead” is manifested in young lives, “individual and group sensoria” (Berlant, 2011: 59), and ways of relating to the postcolonial affectsphere of Cusco. In considering alternative biopolitical governance, we focus on Runachay girls’ optimistic forms of attachment as influenced by the center’s interventions in education, work, and modes of (re)production.

As we have argued above, adopting a Berlantian approach to biopolitics is not a “non-representational project” in the sense that it upholds or enacts affect as non- or pre-cognitive (Mitchell and Elwood, 2012). Nor is it the goal of this chapter to single out and delineate some particular affects or their related feelings or emotions. Berlant’s evocations of the affective, the visceral, the psychic, and the intuitive are ultimately aimed at animating and politicizing actually embodied subjectivities and desires in their resolutely historical and shared conditions in order to “formulate, without closing down, *the investments and incoherence* of political subjectivity and subjectification” (Berlant, 2011: 53, our italics).

In keeping with this understanding, we feature in the analysis the girls’ varied feelings, affective practices, habits and other temporal orientations, meaning-making, and evaluation since, taken together, they reveal the incoherence, the tension, the constraint, as well as the opening, the vitality, and the sense of possibility present in the politics of life for the girls at Runachay. Our materials are generated mainly through a combination of participant-friendly interactions and facilitated ways of expression/reflection: Trista conducted seven months of ethnographic research in Cusco, divided in two periods between August 2014 and December 2015. During this time, Trista acted as a participant observer in the center’s diverse activities for approximately 40 girls affiliated with Runachay. After two months of daily rapport-building, open-ended interviews (25 minutes to three and a half hours in length) were conducted with 12 girls and four young women who previously lived in Runachay, accompanied by 11 interviews with coordinators, staff, collaborating partners, and volunteers (see Appendix A). The study was enriched by notebook/diary materials from 12 girls—approximately 140 pages of writing, drawings, and collages containing autobiographical accounts, daily happenings, memories, and stories (see Appendix A). These research practices may be considered conventionally “representational.” Yet the aim is to



rework these “representational” practices to aid our affective approach to “new alliances and relationships of power” (Mitchell and Elwood, 2012: 792). We have done so by highlighting varied forms of expression from a group of historically marginalized subjects,<sup>46</sup> and by focusing our analysis on optimistic attachments and affective capacities that “blur and refuse old boundary markers and categorizations” such as peasant girls/tourism workers. The research project has been subjected to an institutional ethics review and has incorporated advice from Peru-based researchers, educators, and a psychologist, all of whom work with children and youths in the region.

#### 4.4 THE AFFECTIVE BIOPOLITICS OF “GETTING AHEAD”

While Runachay Social Center staff have recently noted a decrease in children younger than ten years of age, a significant number of older children continue to move to urban areas to work as domestic helpers.<sup>47</sup> Runachay’s girls and coordinators commonly evoke terms like “to get ahead” (*salir adelante*) or “to make progress” (*progresar*) to make sense of migration to Cusco as strongly linked to aspirations for education and professional, salaried work. Eighteen-year-old Miriam, for instance, starts an autobiographical account in her notebook by stating: “I left my family when I was seven years old in order to make progress.”

In the city of Ayacucho, Leinaweaver (2008) has observed that a similar term, “to overcome/self-improve” (*superarse*), works as a major driving force in the lives of rural Quechua children and youths. Interpreting this as an “ideology of upward mobility and betterment” from poverty, she claims that:

To fully overcome poverty *means* that one *must* take on several social qualities—becoming educated, speaking Spanish instead of Quechua, dressing in store-bought “Western” clothing instead of woven skirts or felt hats or rubber-tire sandals [...] living in the city instead of in the *campo* [countryside]. In other words, to overcome *means* to become whiter and to shed an Indian way of life (Leinaweaver, 2008: 110, our italics).

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<sup>46</sup> We also deliberately invoke, where appropriate, accounts of a former beneficiary (Andrea) and of Founder/Coordinator Valentina that reveal biopolitical subjectivity in shared and generational formation.

<sup>47</sup> The center estimates the presence of 600,000 domestic workers in Peru, while the number of child domestic workers has been estimated to be over 110,000 (Gamlin et al., 2015).

Deploying an affirmative biopolitical reading, however, we argue that getting ahead, making progress, and improving oneself can be read as tentative articulations of a porous postcolonial affectsphere enveloping children and youths, including the girls affiliated with the Runachay Social Center. Instead of being pinned down to a set of already articulated meanings or qualities, youths are attached to a non-coherent cluster of objects, practices, meanings, and feelings linked to the notion of “getting ahead.” The question is what these attachments can tell us about how they sense, habituate, and respond to aspects of co-existing or intersecting modes of dominance, governance, intervention, and mediation including those that represent Runachay’s collective and grassroots efforts.

Formal education in Spanish and the subordination of indigenous languages, for example, have been isolated as major biopolitical, discriminatory mechanisms used against indigenous populations deemed by the state as incompatible with modern civilization (de la Cadena, 2000). In a postcolonial affectsphere influenced by violence-perpetuating regimes and forms of racist/classist political and social oppression for more than a century (Drinot, 2011; Stepputat, 2005), the appeal of formal education and Spanish fluency in Peru becomes paradoxically internalized and intensified: indigenous people consciously and unconsciously appropriate language and education in their everyday “endless motion between contestation and acquiescence” of the normatively framed “better life” in Peru’s social and political “reality” (de la Cadena, 2000: 316; see also Espinosa, 2012; García, 2003). One good example comes from Andrea, who we quoted in the introduction for having countered her employer’s vitriol with the thought: “I’ll finish *colegio*, get vocational training, and later continue with higher education. I won’t turn out that way.” This quiet mode of inner expression and affirmation as being (self-)determined and worthy of progress is but one example of Quechua girls who come to share literacy in and affective orientation towards the power and empowerment of “getting ahead.”

This optimistic attachment to “getting ahead” is *cruel* in Berlant’s sense when it diminishes the girls’ well-being and embodied capacities, or when it threatens their (individual, family, collective) lives. When choosing to write about any day in her life, 17-year-old Yudit tells about her unforgettably “saddest days” of crying out of sadness and loneliness after arriving in Cusco when “I left my grandparents and my uncles after they decided to bring me to the city to become a better person” and feeling that “something is missing in me.” Fifteen-year-old Reyna

remembers moving to Cusco with her uncle. Stating that she wished to study and improve her life, however, she soon escaped school:

Before, I couldn't speak Spanish well. I spoke Quechua. I couldn't communicate with the teachers. There was one teacher. I couldn't understand what she said, and she couldn't speak Quechua either, and so, she jabbed my head with a pen, like this [she gestures] saying: "Why don't you understand?" I decided to escape because of that, and I never went back to that school.

Without drastically changing the girls' aspirations and trajectories of "getting ahead," however, the center plays a role in resisting neglect, discrimination, and maltreatment of rural, impoverished girls and ideas about the primitiveness of their language and background. Runachay produces books in Quechua and encourages the girls to stay connected with the language and with their families, e.g., by arranging visits and stays with the families especially during school holidays. Reyna recalls arriving at Runachay and benefitting from its support, prompting an entirely different set of feelings, relations, and actions:

I owe thanks to the *hogar* because it has been so helpful. [...] If one day I become a professional, I'd say thank you to [the coordinators-*cum*-educators]. I am very grateful even if sometimes I grumble. [...] This is the place where people have really taught me things. If they sometimes correct my behavior, I think it is because they truly care about me.

Miriam, to mention another example, writes about how she endured work and study in Cusco from 7 to 10 years of age without care and affection. When introduced to Runachay:

My life changed [...] they support me morally and psychologically, and I learned to give and to receive. [...] I promise to do all I can to make them proud of me, because my dream is to enter university and become a successful professional.

It is worth further positioning Runachay in the scene of alternative care in Peru. While, for decades, the Peruvian state has neglected or even abused policies and programs targeting vulnerable groups (Aufseeser, 2014b; Ewig, 2006b;

Rousseau, 2012), some change is occurring as Peru's Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) develops alternative children and youth care. However, actions at the bureaucratic levels have been slow and, at best, partial. In the meantime, "state or philanthropic puericulture" in the country's orphanages has continued to cultivate detachment from family and social networks, "a refusal of indigenous identities," and isolation from the real world (Leinaweaver, 2008: 80, 159).

Fourteen-year-old Ruth offers a telling example of how Runachay's residential care compares with a conventional youth home. Ruth stresses the strong desire to work, earn money, and study she has had since the age of eight. She suggests that the *hogar* in which she previously stayed neither supported her studies nor permitted her to go outside, repeatedly noting how she could not "get used to" life there. Upon hearing from an acquaintance that Runachay was "a nice *hogar* [...] where we have the right to everything" from normal schooling, to work/earning, to regular contact with parents, she recalls: "I said to my mom, 'Mom, I think I want to go there. I need to go, right? Not to suffer [at the previous *hogar*].'"

Whereas thinking with "ideology" seems to consolidate and reinforce the meanings of "getting ahead," such as to accept discrimination against and subordination of "an Indian way of life" per se (Leinaweaver, 2008: 110), a Berlantian approach enables the unpacking of its unstable, historical, and continuously convoluted conditions and modes of governing and subjectification, which individuals and collectives sense, judge, and relate to in their everyday life. Through reconfiguring the highly entangled material-discursive and tangible-intangible conditions, as in speaking Quechua, going outside, studying, earning, and receiving moral guidance and psychological support, Runachay may be seen as an unusual life-confirming and life-enhancing biopower "from below" in contrast to conventional "inadequate" residential care or the lack of it. It affirms these marginalized girls' life-making and life-building orientations, arguably augmenting their ability to and aspiration regarding getting ahead, generating senses of well-being, belonging, and reciprocity. In addition, as in the case of the Quechua language and education, Runachay transforms their usual negative affective realm to some extent while offering the girls protection and care.

Yet, considering the wider postcolonial affectsphere, these forms of support still revolve around a cluster of unsurprisingly normatively shaped modes of being and practices. Runachay can thus be seen as facilitating a certain power of life "from below" precisely and paradoxically in that it provides immanent mediation

of marginalized youths' "need to maintain binding to the normal" (Berlant, 2011: 171). It is in this sense that we suggest to instead consider Runachay as enabling a micro-affectsphere through which the girls' senses and circulating imageries of "getting ahead" become reorganized, and where "it would be possible to imagine a potentialized present that does not reproduce all of the conventional collateral damage" (Berlant, 2011: 263). In the following section, we continue along this line to focus on the girls' "optimistic attachments" related to two conspicuous programs at Runachay, and the affirmative biopolitical alternatives that these reveal.

#### 4.5 THE PROMISES OF DOMESTIC WORK

*Valentina directs [12-year-old] Tania to check the drying laundry on the guesthouse terrace [...] A few minutes after, Tania comes down with a basket of folded clothes. She puts it on the garden ground and quietly slips away. Valentina starts to inspect the clothing, calling "hey Tania, come back!" as she refolds two rolls of socks and smooths a pair of creased stockings. "Look, [...] how could we give them to the tourists like this? These, we have to iron. [...] You should do this not only for the clothes sent [by the guesthouse] for washing, but also for your own clothes!" Tania watched and listened.*

The Runachay Social Center's self-declared long-term mission is to provide "tools and skills for the girls to achieve a better life for themselves." Having illustrated how we may understand such a mission as situated in a micro-affectsphere within a broader postcolonial affectsphere of "getting ahead," we now take the analysis of Runachay's program further by examining how it treats domestic work.

While incidents of exploitation, abuse, discrimination, or disregard for youths' decision-making and well-being remain prevalent (ILO, 2013), domestic work in cities like Lima and Cusco has long been seen by girls and their families as a better alternative than remaining in rural areas. In Runachay, all the wards over the minimum working age of 14 receive a work placement compatible with the schedules of their studies. A live-in arrangement in households vetted by and collaborating with the center is the norm, but some stay at the hogar while working in an employer's home. This work placement is, to an extent, consistent with the moral and affective economy of informal child work in Andean peasant or working-class households, capacitating social relatedness and participation.

Andean child work has been observed to have important pedagogical functions, inculcating diligence, responsibility, and reciprocity while allowing children to acquire practical experience and skills (Ames, 2013a). Similarly, girls living in Runachay take daily turns to clean common areas, cook, and help with chores to contribute to and participate in the *hogar*, and to learn by doing, as the above example with Tania and the laundry illustrates. Runachay's work placement can be seen as an extension along these lines, serving as a safe, supervised vehicle for learning and growth.

Crucially, Runachay reinvents domestic work as a cluster of promises for the girls themselves to approximate negotiated, multiple meanings, practices, and feelings of getting ahead. Runachay bridges informal youth labor with formalized employment, enforcing the use of work placement agreements/contracts to regularize wages,<sup>48</sup> schedules, and conditions. This places each girl in a contractual relationship as an individual subject vis-à-vis her employer. Each contribution thus also becomes commodified as an individual's labor/service specified in monetary terms, and the girls' well-being translated into the fulfillment of standardized entitlements and rights. While Runachay conveys these as straightforwardly practical measures to counter exploitation hidden in conventional informal work, an affect-informed analytic is instrumental in further detailing the optimistic attachments girls develop related to these interventions, and the messy, non-foreclosed "investments and incoherence" (Berlant, 2011: 53) of biopolitical subjectivity. In the following pages we discuss two illustrative examples of this.

#### 4.5.1 The affective pedagogy of saving

Despite the meager pay, all participants above 14 have earnings and follow a sort of wage-saving and -spending scheme that Runachay promotes, albeit with different degrees of flexibility. Reyna spent most of her initial earnings on basic personal items and secondary school expenses, and was content to have recently bought a cellphone—a luxury item popular among the youth but to be purchased only after one covers basic personal items. Eighteen-year-old Yolanda aspires to university studies: "We can spend the first salary on whatever we like. That is what Valentina has always told us. Starting from the second salary, we should save."

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<sup>48</sup> Typically 300 Peruvian *soles* monthly, about 90 US dollars.

Saving, according to Yolanda, is for studies and for “our future.” Valentina explains the scheme as a way of educating the girls to gradually become responsible, self-supporting, and even being helpful to their families:

From the second salary on, you [...] cover your basic needs, for example, soap, feminine hygiene products. [...] After a while, [...] you are responsible for all your personal items, while we [Runachay] continue to provide for others who are newly arrived and in need. [...] As time goes by, you will have to buy your own towels, pajamas, bed linens [...]. Later on, you start to save: for your studies, or for when you have problems and need money. [...] If your mother is ill, you help her. If you are ill, you help yourself. And then, on top of that, we can help you. [...] In this way, they learn to be responsible with their wages.

With such pedagogical programming, Runachay’s work placement not only facilitates that “people’s bodies and their time [...] become labor power and labor time” (Foucault, [1975]2000: 86) but now accomplishes a more profoundly transformative “investment of the body, its valorization, and the distributive management of its forces” (Foucault, 1978: 141). It normalizes and secures welfare for the girls in guiding them through a concrete hierarchy of everyday material items and activities, affirming their pursuits in urban life as an individualized and future-oriented process of self-management.

The girls are familiarized with this scheme to the degree that they frequently recite what they should save for or spend on during life-planning sessions and in everyday conversations, for instance, at lunch. Part of their collective affective life in the *hogar* also becomes mediated into an open dynamic involving (but not limited to) saving-related expectations, responsibility, aspirations, enthusiasm, pressure, comparison, sense of accomplishment, or sense of slacking off. Fourteen-year-old Silvia, for example, compares herself with girls who “hurried” to buy fancy items such as cellphones, and remarks: “I am not in a hurry to spend money. I prefer patience, saving step by step, instead of a big leap.” Yolanda has recently self-financed her university entrance exam training, for which the coordinators openly commended her on several occasions.

The attention to affective life involving embodied experiences thus reveals the complexity of Runachay’s affirmative biopolitical engagement with domestic work. As it fulfills girls’ needs, advances their pursuits, and equips them with calculative and administrative skills, it is also an affective pedagogy that recalls what Cheah

describes as the “official-national” ones for outbound Southeast Asian domestic workers, “to impart the importance of diligence, [...] and inculcate habits of frugality and saving money as future capital” (2006: 241). Since Runachay mediates the Peruvian-Andean postcolonial affectsphere, mixing precarity, peasant/capitalist meritocracy, and scenarios of domestic work exploitation (see also Drinot, 2011: 187–189), it elicits the young wards’ attachment to the very low-end service sector while “bargaining” (Berlant, 2011: Chapter 5) to invent some prospects. For the girls’ survival and life-building, it enacts a loose and somewhat “counter-social” affective training of the self—an individualist, ordinary lived response to poverty, the dearth of free and accessible public education, and the absence of general socio-economic security (cf. Wells, 2011: 22).

#### 4.5.2 Apprehending gendered work

Runachay identifies and wishes to—in founder/coordinator Valentina’s words—“re-vindicate” formalized domestic work as the only work the girls can take up prior to reaching the age of 18. While Runachay reconfigures the domestic work/home environment as controlled, protected, and viable, work outside the households is associated with a heightened “gendered/sexed” sense of danger or risk. Coordinator Edith contends:

We don’t allow them to work, for example, by making mobile phone calls,<sup>49</sup> [because] being in the street is risky due to the amount of people there. [Girls] can get sexually assaulted or even be brought into human trafficking. [...] Also, [they can]not [work] in a restaurant for the same reasons.

This sense of risk attached to work in the street is reminiscent of what has been observed in Lima of the urban middle-class views of the street being “morally polluting environment for girls, made up of very inappropriate sexual conduct” (Invernizzi, 2008: 132). Further, with its involvement in global-North funder-led campaigns against human trafficking, Runachay repeatedly alarms its wards of the danger of human trafficking and related forced (sex) labor. Girls like Yolanda partly absorb and build perceptions and habits within this micro-affectsphere.

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<sup>49</sup> A kind of vendor/petty service provider on the street.



While domestic work helped her fund much-appreciated academic training, Yolanda is actually tired of its repetitiveness:

I'd like to do something else. I am bored at work. It's boring to do the same thing all the time. I wanted other jobs, but I couldn't, because [...] I don't know... Maybe it is because I am scared to find other jobs? [...] Some say that [the traffickers] kidnap girls and put them in hotels or bars. It scares me. So... I just have to keep on working in homes.

Her explanation for not having sought other jobs here is notably made with hesitation. Intriguingly, she suggests that it is out of her own sense of fear for the lurking danger of kidnappings and forced sex labor that she maintains the tedious routine of working in homes. It is an example of what Runachay, as a micro-affectsphere, provides beyond tangible “tools and skills” for its wards to pursue a better life. The measures and narratives regarding work are affective as an intimate biopolitical “training” for girls to apprehend viable or benign gendered, class-based, and ethnicized routes to, and their rhythms of, “getting ahead,” a training in “modes of being and responding to the world that altogether constitute what gets called ‘visceral response’ and ‘intuitive intelligence’” (Berlant, 2011: 53, 164).

Studies in the Peruvian Andes and surrounding regions have shed light on multiple other types of informal, low-paid labor that poorer girls and women often perform in new tourism, urban, or mining economies (e.g., child vendors, see Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Sinervo, 2013; weavers and *sácamefotos*,<sup>50</sup> see Ypeij, 2012; and sex workers or forced laborers, see Goldstein, 2014). Runachay's affective “training” does not seem to lead girls like Yolanda to challenge or problematize mainstream stigmatization or sensationalization of these other types of gendered/sexed precarious labor. An example came one afternoon, as Trista walked with a few girls to Cusco's historical downtown. Thirteen-year-old Violeta, who was soon to begin working, made a face that manifested embarrassment and discomfort when she saw three young, shy *sácamefoto* girls in brightly colored dresses at the roadside with baby llamas. Upon being asked by Trista about this, she admitted to “disliking” the scene of girls like herself earning money in that way in the street: “people would think we are beggars.” The other gendered and ethnicized/classed bodies and their labor are, however, what the capitalist

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<sup>50</sup> Girls and women in colorful indigenous costumes posing for photos with and earning tips from tourists.

economies in Peru differentially rely on and exploit. Attending to the less explicit affective aspects thus also helps reveal some “collateral training,” limits, and “(side-)effects” of Runachay’s affirmative biopolitical interventions.

#### 4.6 THE PROMISES OF TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY WORK

*In the hotel room [serving as a classroom], students stand or sit on the bed while practicing English dialogues with each other, as if between a receptionist and a guest. The young teacher asks everyone to speak with confidence, [...] they are all tongue-tied, acting nervous and embarrassed, laughing at each other for making the awkward pronunciations and for not being able to memorize the words.*

As most wards aspire to university or vocational college education to become urban professionals, Runachay advises them about what seems accessible and realistic based on their interests, performance, and resources (mainly their own savings). Yet Runachay attempts to establish a more comprehensive “make-live”/“make-work” infrastructure that exceeds this simple provision of guidance. Since 2013, its Vocational Education Center (*CETPRO*) has offered entry-level training modules on kitchen-assistance, bartending, and hotel reception and housekeeping. Classes are available three evenings per week, compatible with work and school schedules. All wards are expected to participate in order to prepare themselves for related employment once they reach 18 years of age or to continue with more advanced training. The other, more incidental part of this “infrastructure” is linked to the guesthouse and its associated tourism agency with which Runachay attempts to tap into the ethical and responsible tourism markets in order to finance its programs. These offer the girls occasional opportunities to familiarize themselves with or run errands for guests for tips. Below, we present two ways in which Runachay’s vocational education infrastructure helps shaping the girls’ sensoria in relation to Cusco’s heavily touristed environment.

##### 4.6.1 Professional bartending and enterprising subjectivities

Unlike the abovementioned stigmatized or emphatically gendered/sexed risky work, professional bartending in Cusco has acquired positive status in past years,

affording uplifting affects owing to the upscale, cosmopolitan, and tourist-oriented nightlife and gastronomy, and the earning and professionalization opportunities for the workers. In *CETPRO*, students are taught by professional bartenders focusing on practice, certification, and support for job insertion at the end of the module as adult workers. Andrea, with whom we opened this chapter, is a success story, inspiring younger generations of girls. Having studied bartending upon finishing secondary school following on a suggestion from a foreign volunteer at Runachay (who Andrea remembers as a “tourist”), she worked in high-end bars and restaurants, gaining abundant resources and life-building momentum to finally save up and commence her university studies. With news of this grand advancement towards getting ahead, she recalls visiting Runachay: “I saw, I could sense, the great joy it brought to [Runachay’s coordinators and founders]. I felt so happy, too. I’ve shared more good news here in Runachay than with my own family.”

Yudit’s experience speaks to the effects of the Andrea-inspired training. She began doing domestic work when she was 10 years old (prior to arriving at Runachay) and describes herself as having always longed to earn money, “even if it’s just one sol.” She not only expresses interest in advanced tourism studies (discussed in the next section), but also reflects on employment immediately linked to her *CETPRO* training:

*Yudit:* Bar[tending] is the only [module] I like. Why? I’d like to work in bartending one day, because of what bartenders do. I want to be more agile, to more quickly attend the customers. [...] I want to learn more, to prepare for, one day, to be in this business...

*Trista:* In the business of bar...?

*Yudit:* Yeah, because you earn a lot.

*Trista:* How much would you earn?

Perhaps recalling that Trista participated in an evening class in which she practiced making a Machu Picchu cocktail,<sup>51</sup> Yudit replies:

*Yudit:* Let’s say, for example, you prepare a Machu Picchu cocktail, okay? Combine a tiny little bit of grenadine... and... a bit of mint syrup and orange juice, and... vodka, and stir. And, let’s say the ingredients

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<sup>51</sup> An iconic drink found in bars, nightclubs, and restaurants in Cusco.

cost five *soles*, because these are all very small amounts – an ounce or half an ounce. So, if it costs you 15 *soles* per cocktail, then you can earn very well. [...] And the later the night gets, the more drinks people order. [...] But the bad thing about it is that you work at night, from 6:00 pm, I think... until the next day at 5:00 am or 4:00 am, I guess.

*Trista:* And how much would you earn?

*Yudit:* Probably 800... 900 [Peruvian *soles*, about 244–275 US dollars].

Yudit's detailed and aspiring expression points to how the training encourages her entrepreneurial optimism, induces her "agentive, decisionistic, voluntaristic and vital" (Binkley, 2009: 62) aptitudes as well as the bodily capacities of agility and attentiveness not only in handling the beverages but also aligned with the overall, increasingly professionalizing hospitality sector in Cusco. In an affectsphere in which young domestic workers expect to encounter difficulty to eventually upgrade both their jobs and earnings (Viviano Llave, 2007; see also Wyness, 2013: 346), such biopolitical training serves as an innovative facilitator. Governmental support for the further development of the mass of adolescent workers, in contrast, remains largely at the discursive level, while in practice it has been observed to paradoxically further marginalize young people's sense of recognition and mode of living/growing up as workers (Aufseeser, 2014a).

#### 4.6.2 Precarious tourism, its aspirants, and discontents

Not all of Runachay-affiliated girls do or will become employed directly in the tourism and hospitality sector. Hence, it is all the more striking that, in the vicissitudes of Cusco's socio-economic transformation, such a training infrastructure has become Runachay's distinctive and advanced caring technology of choice for rallying the girls' capacities for personal and professional development. This choice, however, did not occur in a vacuum. The promises of tourism permeate Runachay. The director and coordinators evoke the prominent incomes and the related sense of opportunity generated around Cusco over the past two decades. Tourism and hospitality business owners and professionals (e.g., tour guides and chefs) have gained a new, elevated social status (Lawhon and Chion, 2012; Ypeij and Zoomers, 2006). In addition, domestic work yields in

Runachay's wards an embodied affinity with—and thus a convenient entry point to—several hospitality-related jobs. Tourism and hospitality-inspired aptitudes, intelligence, and yearnings are present even among younger girls who have not yet received the *CETPRO* training but who live within the micro-affectsphere of Runachay. Of the three younger participants in our study who explicitly mentioned dreams or visions for the future, two aspired to become tour guides. Twelve-year-old Bella writes in bright colors in her notebook: “In ten years, I’d like to have a car and finish my studies to become a tour guide, to travel to different places with foreigners and my family.”

Nevertheless, in Cusco, tourism has been observed to increase inequality and forms of social segregation and marginalization between tourists, investment capital, and high-end tourism operators, on the one hand, and the (rural-to-)urban poor relying on an immense pool of informal and insecure jobs, on the other (Knight et al., 2017; Steel, 2013). Our research suggests some paradoxically less “affirmative” implications of Runachay’s interventions. For one thing, *CETPRO*-educated girls experience frustration with being able to afford what further professionalization entails. Approximately a year after the interview with Yudit quoted above, one day, over lunch, she expressed concern for her diminished hope of continuing with advanced tourism studies due to lacking the finances and the English skills required. Nineteen-year-old Sherly was initially attracted to tourism but took specific interests in hotel management in *CETPRO*. She self-funded an inexpensive one-year hotel management training course while temporarily employed as a housekeeper at Runachay’s guesthouse. While enthusiastically depicting the courses in the three-year, full-time tourism program, she equally keenly calculated the excessive costs and study load that have prevented her from pursuing it thus far.

Even those who do seem to be getting ahead via the route of tourism and hospitality experience material and social segregation: Malena and her sister Cleo outperformed the rest of the wards academically and were encouraged to accept a rare state-sponsored scholarship for the prestigious Tourism Training Center run by Peru’s Ministry of Foreign Commerce and Tourism. Having recently initiated the studies, Malena was shocked when learning the staggering price of high-end dining in tourist restaurants. She also perceives and describes class- and ethnicity-based divisions between the regular alumni from “rich, well-educated families of high society” and the scholarship recipients like herself who are mostly “dark” in complexion and originally from the peasant communities around Cusco.

The examples in these two sections highlight the ambivalence inherent to Runachay's affirmative biopolitics concerning its affective attunement to tourism economies. Even if only at a small scale, Runachay normalizes tourism and hospitality as the immediate urban life-building environment where these rural Quechua girls are positively animated to "cathect with optimism" (Berlant, 2011: 184). However, it does not rid the sector of the prevalent precarity and inequality that affect the girls' experiences, including discouragement, anxiety, worries, shock, and social hierarchy-induced perceptions of inadequacy as shown above. In addition, it fosters the girls' desires of getting ahead by investing in "the normative promises of capital and intimacy under capital" (Berlant, 2011: 170)—e.g., the bonding with Runachay and intense joy Andrea appreciates with her personal entrepreneurial success. In this regard, Runachay's micro-affectsphere is closer to sustaining and expanding the general "infrastructure of the social world" rather than providing "alternatives" (Berlant, 2011: 170).

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have built on recent discussions in affirmative biopolitics and children's geographies to advocate for a Berlantian analytics in discussing biopolitical governance. Extending Kraftl's inquiry on childhood alternatives in education spaces, and adhering to Berlant's statement that to address embodiment in biopolitical terms is "only to begin a discussion, not to end it" (Berlant, 2011: 106), we have elaborated on the Berlantian approach to subjectivity and embodied experience and its importance for understanding the workings of affirmative biopolitics. Based on this, we have shown how work on everyday childhood/youth may benefit from investigating the complex minor and major, (un-/half-)conscious ways in which young lives differ from, transform, or resist control or negation of their lives, and the collective or institutional mediating forces involved. We do so by analyzing the affective life and optimistic attachments of rural Quechua girls living in an urban social center that promotes social and vocational education. Considering their relations with the broader postcolonial affectsphere and the micro-affectsphere of Runachay in which they are situated has helped us to unpack actually existing enmeshed governance. Most importantly, it reveals the biopolitical significance of an "alternative" affectsphere like that of the social center considered here.

In the problematic wider context in which scholars and policy-makers favor mainstream formal schooling and deprecate child labor in the global South (Aufseeser, 2014a; Morrow, 2013; Wyness, 2013), we have foregrounded the reality of youth domestic work and traced how Runachay affirmatively reconfigures postcolonial ways of “getting ahead” for Quechua girls relying on domestic work in Cusco. We have accordingly tried to illustrate how the girls apprehend, aspire to, and build their lives in affective bargaining with the historical material conditions and social meanings of gendered domestic work and with the dominant tourism and hospitality sector.

In terms of the intersection of childhood and youth governance and education, our affirmative biopolitical perspective has more generally contributed to examining how individual and collective educational practices are “bounded into/and [shape] wider social/economic/political processes” of postcolonial times in essentially non-foreclosed, dynamic ways (Holloway et al., 2010: 595). The domestic work program-related practices, for example, can certainly be interpreted as small-scale collective reform or resistance to mainstream marginalization, in Peru and globally, of youth (domestic) work and its educational and other values. Yet it is also worth noting how, in complex affective bargaining, our participants foster new bonds with the lower-end service economy and individualistic modes of surviving precarity in the ongoing hierarchy of gendered and ethnicized labor.

The chapter has also attempted to respond to calls for vital social protection and care for marginalized (working) youth in the global South (Gamlin et al., 2015; Islam and Fulcher, 2016; Wyness, 2013). Our case study reveals how grassroots interventions may be crucially empowering for the children and youths targeted—especially when realized in affirmative and immanent manners attentive to historical material conditions. We therefore suggest further empirical engagement with formal and informal social and educational spaces for these young people not only in Peru but more broadly in the global South. In Cusco, for example, these spaces are influenced by a significant interplay between historical and contemporary state, religious philanthropic, and other national and transnational forces at various scales of which this chapter provides only a glimpse. Finally, while it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss education in relation to indigenous politics in Peru or other parts of Latin America (see, e.g., García, 2003; Laurie and Bonnett, 2002; Radcliffe and Webb, 2016), we hope to have offered a timely and relevant angle to view Quechua youths’ life projects that can contribute to understanding related and ongoing intercultural educational struggles.







## Chapter 5: Affective life, “vulnerable” youths and international volunteering in a residential care programme in Cusco, Peru<sup>52</sup>

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature focusing on international volunteer tourism has often presented programmes and initiatives designed to support populations based in the global South as “backdrops”. These programmes and initiatives refer to orphanages, shelters, residential care, education and training, or other forms of community organization involving populations framed in policy and public discourses as “vulnerable”, “at risk”, “poor” and in need of protection, care, aid or development (Baillie Smith and Jenkins, 2017; Burrai et al., 2017; Henry and Mostafanezhad, 2019; Sin et al., 2015). Some recent work on the geographies of international volunteering has sought in particular to attend to affect, emotion and forms of embodiment on the part of the volunteers (Everingham, 2016; Frazer and Waite, 2016; Griffiths, 2015, 2018; Griffiths and Brown, 2017; cf. Crossley, 2012; Doerr and Taïeb, 2017). It has explored the “transformative potential” of volunteering in programmes and initiatives in the global South to contribute to personal (and social) change. However, this emerging body of literature remains largely focused on the experiences and perspectives of volunteers based in the global North. Little has been written on how the “vulnerable” people targeted by these programmes experience volunteering and their encounters with volunteers (cf. Sin, 2010; Sin and Minca, 2014). In this chapter, by contrast, we intend to provide an account of “affective life” focused on the perspectives and experiences of “vulnerable” youths

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at a residential care centre in Peru who are in frequent contact with volunteers from the global North. By “affective life” here we mean the emergence of feelings, affective states, capacities and relations as experienced or manifested by individuals and groups in their ongoing responses to each other as well as to their social and material environments (see Lin et al., 2018; Berlant, 2011; also Anderson, 2014). By attending to the affective life of these “vulnerable” youths, we intend to make a two-fold contribution to the geographies of development volunteering. First, we show the importance of affect theory for articulating situated struggles for well-being and “development” of vulnerable groups involved with international volunteering. Second, we provide an account of self- and shared “transformation” experienced by marginalized young people, which illustrates the limits of existing “North–South imaginaries” and individual volunteer-centric readings related to self- and social transformation (Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018: 95; see also Baillie Smith et al., 2019).

The *Centro de Atención Residencial de Adolescentes* (Residential Care Centre for Adolescents, hereafter CARA) is located in the touristic city of Cusco, Peru, and registered at the Peruvian *Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables* (Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations). In Peru, a specific institutional biopolitical regime dominates women’s reproductive health and choices of motherhood even in cases of child sexual abuse, and gendered sexual violence is historically entwined with the marginalization of rural indigenous populations (Ames et al., 2018; Boesten, 2014; Irons, 2019; Mujica, 2011; see also Section 5.3). CARA’s programme is among the very few in the country advocating for the social inclusion and empowerment of girls who have become mothers at as young as 13 years of age, often as the result of sexual abuse. Most of these girls/mothers come from Quechua-speaking peasant communities in the rural highlands of the Department of Cusco, or from families migrated to *la selva* (the jungle areas) for agricultural work. The vast majority of the girls/mothers are referred to CARA by the authorities for assistance during ongoing investigations regarding rape/sexual abuse and their family situation, except for the rare cases of young women taking shelter from domestic violence. Established in 2000, when international volunteering was not yet popularized and commercialized as a form of “tourism”, CARA in the past few years has begun to involve volunteering and tourism in its organization and in the residents’ lives, becoming a reputable “destination” in Peru’s volunteer and social tourism scene (see also Section 5.3).

In the next section, we thus start by discussing what we find are the limitations of recent affect-inflected explorations of volunteering and (self-)transformation “in the face of” vulnerable or suffering “others”. We then review existing debates on vulnerability in development and social policy and in feminist and queer work. In doing so, we approach vulnerability as something that is socio-politically shaped. We also argue for taking into consideration minor and major forms of (self-)transformation that may emerge in vulnerable people’s lives through “affectivity”—the force that “activates an embodied subject, empowering him/her to interact with others” (Braidotti, 2006: 139; see also Wylie, 2010). Building on this section, after providing more contextual information on CARA’s workings, we engage with the residents’ perspectives to discuss their encounters with volunteers in their everyday practices and shared affective life. Our focus is on how residents’ daily well-being and capacities are affected by and enhanced through various aspects of CARA’s residential care programme and volunteering carried out in that specific environment. We then focus on some individual accounts to explore the connection between the residents’ affective relations with volunteers and their long-term experience of life changes and self-transformation at CARA. The article concludes by critically reflecting on the implication of our findings for studying the “transformative potential” emerging in the transnational landscapes of development volunteering.

## 5.2 AFFECT, VULNERABILITY AND VOLUNTEERING

### 5.2.1 Affect and “transformation” in volunteering

As popular as it is contested, in the past two decades international volunteering has inspired multiple strands of research and lively scholarly discussion. Initiated within the field of tourism studies (Wearing, 2001), academic work referring to “volunteer tourism” largely mirrored the interest of tour operators in an emerging market. Interdisciplinary studies on international volunteering became influential somewhat later, including contributions from geographers drawing on critical theory and linking international volunteering to neocolonialism and neoliberalism (Guiney and Mostafanezhad, 2015; Mostafanezhad, 2014; Simpson, 2005; Vrasti, 2013). These analyses have also shed light on a global North-led volunteer tourism industry and on the proliferation of “volunteer-tourists” in the global South,

whose practices have often been critiqued for depoliticizing inequality, “development” and social struggles (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011; Zavitz and Butz, 2011). In a context characterized by a growing number of research projects on international volunteering, this timely body of critical work has drawn attention to systematic, unjust power relations related to the overall phenomenon.

Sin et al., however, in a special issue on volunteer tourism, have recently asked: “How do we critique development or neoliberalism while not being dismissive of meaningful or affective experience? How do we link the personal and the social?” (2015: 124). Everingham (2015), for example, suggests that some of the critical literature may end up reifying the very power relations it aims to unpack and inadvertently foreclose understandings, e.g., of the genuinely meaningful intercultural exchange in projects between international volunteers and “locals” based in the global South. Griffiths makes another similar appeal and suggests going beyond analyses of international volunteering dominated by concerns for all-encompassing neoliberalism: “we must also sense difference over dominance, hope over oppression and resistance over compliance” (2015: 218). Increasingly, scholarly contributions on international volunteering—most prominently from geographers—argue for the existing or potential capacity of volunteering projects and volunteers to bring about powerful processes of (self-) transformation.

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to address the diverse inroads of what is by now a well-established body of literature on international volunteering and volunteer tourism, we nonetheless intend to engage with some of the recent geographical work emphasizing certain “transformative potential” of development and aid volunteering. More specifically, diving deep into the “sensual–emotional–affectual dimensions”, geographers have lately contended that self- and social transformation may indeed emerge out of volunteering—in the sense that volunteers may come to question their own privileges and assumptions of Western superiority, and even take concrete actions to enhance the well-being of socio-economically disadvantaged others (Frazer and Waitt, 2016: 177; see also Griffiths, 2014; Zavitz and Butz, 2011). This work focuses in particular on the encounters between volunteers and communities based in the global South, and on how such transformation takes place through the embodied experiences of volunteers and the “affective capacities” (Griffiths, 2018: 117) emerging in those encounters. For instance, Griffiths and Brown (2017) have studied unskilled British undergraduate volunteers working side-by-side with villagers in a water installation project in

Northern Thailand. Working hard, while fearful of getting in the way of the residents' work, a volunteer was quoted as saying: "Why not just pay the guys to do it properly? They could have it done in half the time and it cost a few thousand pounds for the flight each you could just give to them as well" (Griffiths and Brown, 2017: 676). This volunteer was so affected by concrete bodily and emotional experience acquired *in situ* that he began to question discourses surrounding the figure of the "helping" volunteer and his own privileged position vis-à-vis the villagers. This, along with other experiences and expressions from volunteers, has convinced Griffiths and Brown that embodied volunteering experiences may indeed serve as "a site of potential transformation and transcendence of the inequalities" (Griffiths and Brown, 2017: 680). Similarly, Frazer and Waitt (2016: 186) quote Chouliaraki (2013: 23) in offering an account of an older Australian volunteer whose "imaginative capacity to feel for vulnerable strangers" and experience of empathic pain for residents living in suburban poverty in the Philippines transformed and moved him into years of fundraising action and trips to build homes for them.

Notably, the evocations of affect in such work are influenced by non-representational geographies as well as feminist, queer and antiracist theorizations of feelings and embodiment related in particular to the "affective and reparative turn" in cultural criticism (Cvetkovich, 2012b: 133; Koivunen et al., 2018: 5). The latter literature in particular has highlighted the need to consider people's affective investments in "off the radar" modes of politics in seemingly ordinary, mundane or even domestic practices and ways of being:

As we have learned to think both more modestly and more widely about what counts as politics so that it includes, for example, cultural activism, academic institutions, and everyday and domestic life, it has become important to take seriously the institutions where we live (as opposed to always feeling like politics is somewhere else out there)[.] (Cvetkovich, 2012b: 133)

Such emerging explorations of affectivity and of the transformative potential in volunteering should be commended for their attempt to recognize important affective experiences of the volunteers and for seeking to re-politicize discussions on the phenomenon accordingly. Both Frazer and Waitt (2016) and Griffiths and Brown (2017), while explicitly highlighting how volunteers may perpetuate unequal North–South power relations, take into consideration how those very

same volunteers may also experience deeply felt self-transformation. In this way, such works arguably resonate with commitments found in the overall “affective turn” to study feelings, emotions and affects “less for how they dominate, regulate or constrain individual subjects and more for the possibilities they offer for thinking (and feeling) beyond what is already known and assumed” (Pedwell and Whitehead, 2012: 117).

However, it is important to note that this emerging literature considering affect in the development volunteering context mainly “sensitises” (Anderson, 2014) readers towards a particularly circumscribed mode of (self-)transformation (cf. Cheung Judge, 2016; Doerr and Taïeb, 2017). Featured in this literature are a variety of feelings: not only empathy and hope, but also pain and even vulnerability, which are intimately linked to the volunteer sensorium during their rather momentary/periodic “touristic” experiences of life in the global South. The mode of (self-)transformation that volunteers describe in these accounts also reveals some affinity with what Fassin (2012) has famously critiqued as the “politics of compassion” (see also Mostafanezhad, 2013a). As Berlant writes with reference to social and political movements, certain forms of “compassionate recognition” and self-transformation resulting from such subjective experiences may indeed help these movements to “thrive contentiously against all sorts of privilege” (2011: 182). And yet, such emerging discussions of affect and volunteering among geographers often risk reproducing limited representations of “vulnerable others” in the global South. Ultimately, these discussions mostly emphasize the agential role and the empowerment of individual volunteers, who feel “moved enough” (Ahmed, 2004: 22) by the encounters with “others” to experience deep (self-)transformation.

It is not our intention to discredit this mode of (self-)transformation and the scholarly attention it deserves. Nevertheless, we would like to problematize such an approach centred around individual volunteers’ feelings, dispositions, capacities and relations with “vulnerable others”. The tendency to prioritize or amplify this particular version of affective life in international volunteering, in fact, leaves little space to consider other complex ways in which affect emerges *between* individuals and groups and life-enhancing “transformation” can manifest *through* seemingly mundane lived experiences embedded in particular material and historical conditions. When Frazer and Waitt (2016: 185) claim that international volunteers “evoke possibilities of imagining ‘something better’ for [the] residents” themselves, they rely again on a volunteer’s story:

[O]nce when we were building a house in the village, and just resting, and a woman came up and was giving us a cool drink, and she sat down and said, “Alan, even if you didn’t build, your being here, just being in the village, recognizing us, has given us hope”. Okay? So that’s what I think is happening, you’re giving other people hope that other people outside of their own village are watching and looking and seeing things. (Frazer and Waitt, 2016: 185)

Yet, precisely because of Alan’s claim, this story raises many unanswered questions about affect and transformation in contexts involving volunteering and development work in the global South. What forms of affective life are this unnamed woman and “other people” in the village part of? What form of “affective labour” and desires were involved in her act of quenching Western volunteers’ thirst, in her expressions of (what seems to us) encouragement and reassurance and in her “affective investment” in the presence of volunteers in the village? What kind of hopes, embodied capacities, affective relations and life-enhancing transformative potential become enhanced (or undone) by this encounter in relation to her individual history and socio-cultural circumstances?

### 5.2.2 Affective shifts: living and enduring vulnerability

What we are thus calling for is further understandings of “affective life” and a more nuanced approach to the “transformative potential” of international volunteering. In particular, we argue, after Berlant (2011), to attend to affects and transformation by investigating ordinary and lived engagements with precarity and vulnerability. Similarly, we agree with Tolia-Kelly’s forceful argument that, in evoking affects, geographers need to “think plurally about the capacities for affecting and being affected, and [...] to engage with the notion that various individual capacities are differently forged, restrained, trained and embodied” (2006: 216). In this vein, beyond critiquing Northern-actor-centred rather individualistic approaches to affective encounters and transformation, it is crucial to analyze the living conditions and affective embodiment of “vulnerable” groups in the global South involved with volunteers. We therefore believe that more in-depth and affect-informed explorations of “vulnerability” can contribute not only to debates on the role of affect in the geographies of international volunteering



but also to understandings of meaningful modes of transformation taking place in the lives of “vulnerable” groups.

Inspired by the volume *Vulnerability in Resistance* edited by Butler, Gambetti and Sabsay (2016), we are specifically referring to socio-politically shaped vulnerability in cases of structural conditions that tend to scar, weaken or dispossess lives. Such understanding of vulnerability thus implies more than the feelings and mental states related to lack of protection or exposure to harm. Critical work from fields such as social policy, education and development studies, for instance, shows how the concept of vulnerability is frequently deployed in policies and governance interventions regarding poor or “at-risk” populations, and how it regulates affective economies and power relations in which “vulnerable” people are implicated (Best, 2013). Brown (2015), for example, claims that vulnerability is the “conceptual zeitgeist” of the current time, “a vital ingredient for understanding care and social control mechanisms across local, national, regional and global contexts” (Brown, 2015: 173–174). Brown (2015) looks at how welfare services professionals working with youth in difficult circumstances in the UK distinguish between “transgressive” and “acceptable” youth behaviours, a distinction based on subtle moral, personal and gendered perceptions of those behaviours. She suggests that young individuals perceived by the professionals as “culpable” for their transgressive behaviours are considered less “vulnerable” and less “deserving” of service provision. Reflecting on policy discourses related to vulnerable youths in Australia, McLeod (2012) instead notes that vulnerability is often assumed as implying individualized behavioural, cognitive and emotional problems, or “inadequacies within the local community or family” (McLeod, 2012: 19). In the context of international aid and development, Sinervo (2013) has highlighted how aid workers may perpetuate similar categorizations, identifying and selecting “deserving” and “unworthy” individuals among Peruvian children who experience poverty and economic vulnerability (see also Kendall, 2010). Cheney’s (2010b) exemplary analysis of charity and aid programmes for “Orphan and Vulnerable Children” in Uganda points to the dire consequences for children and their families of competing to become qualified as “vulnerable”, namely the related reinforcement of a specific affective economy between “the vulnerable (child, developing nation, receiver) and the powerful (adult, industrialized nation, giver)” (Cheney, 2010b: 13).

Though in no way exhaustive, the diverse work mentioned here suggests the existence of some problematic tendencies in classifying and governing vulnerable

populations by the relevant authorities. First, the prevalent operationalizations of vulnerability tend to naturalize it, obscuring the interrelated social, political and economic conditions that shape the affective experience of “being vulnerable”. Second, policymakers and social and aid workers tend to address vulnerability through paternalism and mechanisms of control and alienation, as opposed to alternative approaches that would facilitate emotional involvement, participation and (self-)transformation for the “vulnerable”. Some critical “counter-readings” have thus challenged such operationalizations by contrasting them with the ways in which individuals themselves experience their own complex circumstances and forms of (bodily, psycho-emotional, political, socio-economic) vulnerability (Brown, 2015; Sinervo, 2013; also, Fassin and Rechtman, 2009). These readings reveal how the same individuals dispute or even appropriate official designations that identify them as “being vulnerable”. McLeod (2012) thus suggests an alternative, affirmative investment in vulnerability, recognizing its implication as a “negative attribute” often attached to certain populations, while promoting the notion’s potential to evoke common experiences in all citizens, in this way encouraging “tenderness, compassion, openness to others, softness and fragility” (McLeod, 2012: 22).

Queer and feminist scholarship, such as in Butler et al. (2016) and Koivunen et al. (2018), specifically call for more research on endurance amidst structurally conditioned vulnerability and on socio-political mobilization based on lived vulnerability. As noted by Koivunen et al. (2018: 7), the power of the notion of vulnerability lies in its difference from terms such as “marginalization” or “subordination”, as it is “keenly connected to embodiment and corporeal fragility”. We accordingly believe that research on affect related to international development volunteering may indeed dedicate more explicit attention to the lived vulnerability of the populations who constitute part of this transnational “landscape”. A good source of inspiration in this perspective is Hammami’s (2016) analysis of how Palestinian communities in the West Bank have been mobilizing the protective presence of Euro-American and Israeli activists. Trust, sense of connection and visibility—writes Hammami (2016)—have emerged through affective encounters and relations between activists and Palestinian communities, and have critically helped the latter to survive in times of extreme vulnerability. We believe that this kind of work opens up the possibility of exploring diverse affective experiences and bodily capacities in living and enduring vulnerability and of analyzing a whole range of agency not limited to protest, manifest acts of

political resistance and antagonism. Incorporating such affect-informed sensibility towards socio-politically shaped vulnerability, we suggest, may induce a sort of “affective shift” in addressing embodiment and transformation in the geographies of international volunteering (see also Hemmings, 2012). An alternative sensibility regarding vulnerability can in fact help in moving beyond the limited representations of “vulnerable” populations discussed above. It can also contribute to further explorations of transformation through affectivity, which is immanent to people’s (shared) daily and long-term needs, desires, hopes and practices when situated in the socio-political conditions that may have shaped “their” vulnerability. This is a point to which we will return in the conclusion.

### 5.3 CARA RESIDENTIAL CARE CENTRE

It has been reported that Peru has one of the highest rates of violence against women and the highest rate of registered cases of sexual violence in South America (Boesten, 2014; Mujica, 2011; UNHRC, 2015). Mujica (2011, 2015) points out that almost 80% of the victim-survivors in all reported rape and sexual abuse cases were minors, and that the vast majority of cases of sexual violence against minors were perpetrated by household members or acquaintances. Sexual violence and sexual and reproductive health, however, are sensitive topics and areas of intense political struggle in the country (Boesten, 2014; Cáceres et al., 2007; Palomino et al., 2011). Despite Peru’s rapid economic development in the past two decades and the increasing public attempts to address the persistence of sexual and gender-based violence, policy interventions and institutional reforms remain insufficient in addressing the problem (Ames et al., 2018; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; UNHCR, 2017). Victim-survivors of sexual violence in poor and rural areas are especially impacted by the lack of access to institutions and services such as the police, General Attorney/Prosecutor’s office (*Fiscalía*), forensic medical services, healthcare and social services as well as women’s emergency centres and shelters (Mujica, 2011, 2015).

CARA was founded in 2000 by Ines,<sup>53</sup> a nurse from Spain, together with several Peruvian and international volunteers. Initially, CARA was an addition to a separate children’s home dedicated to the care of infants left by young mothers. CARA’s founders soon sought to address these young mothers’ common

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<sup>53</sup> Pseudonyms are used for all research participants and individuals mentioned here.

experiences of violence and sexual abuse, poverty, social marginalization and difficult health and living conditions. They established a centre of their own to provide shelter and long-term care for adolescent mothers together with their infants, while participating regularly in campaigns in the region of Cusco against gender-based and sexual violence. Normally capable of accommodating 12–15 girls/mothers and their children at once, CARA comprises 13 employees including—in addition to the director—social educators, teachers, nursery personnel, a social worker and a psychotherapist. Its nursery also provides day care for children of former residents who choose to settle in the neighbourhood after leaving the centre. Between 2000 and 2015, CARA has hosted over 150 resident girls/mothers aged 12–18 and their young children. CARA’s multi-faceted programme focused on these young females’ long-term survival, livelihoods, motherhood and personal development is uncommon in Peru. Contrasting international calls for the de-institutionalization of children and youths’ care—and Peru’s General Law of Residential Care Centre for Children and Adolescents (Law No. 29174 of 2007), which stipulates the use of residential care centres as a temporary measure only—more than 80% of the girls/mothers opt for and remain in CARA’s residential care long-term.<sup>54</sup> The fact that residents are dependent on CARA for their well-being and livelihoods may be considered one of reasons why they tend to be overtly positive towards CARA’s institutional-collective arrangements, as will emerge in the following sections.

Besides the fact that it was founded by volunteers and that some of its operations continue to require volunteers’ labour (see Section 5.4), CARA relies on fund-raising through a network of past volunteers, donors and NGO partners in Peru as well as Spain and other European countries. Since approximately 30% of its funds arrive late each year, CARA’s financial situation is permanently precarious. The support enabled by volunteer and touristic visits therefore remains essential. Over the past 15 years, the number of international volunteers visiting the centre has increased from the initial four to five per year, to an estimated average of four to five per month. CARA’s own archive shows that most of these are short-term (three- to eight-week) visits<sup>55</sup> channelled through Spanish-language schools, intermediary tourism companies and non-profit organizations. In recent years,

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<sup>54</sup> Alternative, family-based care arrangements in Peru are primarily focused on young children and do not address the conditions of these adolescent mothers.

<sup>55</sup> The majority being women, most of these volunteers come from Spain, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands.

volunteer fees and donations have covered 10%–15% of CARA’s yearly budget, as a result of CARA’s negotiations with the intermediary, for-profit agencies. There are also yearly USA-based student groups and occasional “responsible tourism” visits, internships and long-term (three- to 12-month) volunteer placements from European NGOs and (mostly Spanish) universities. CARA’s income- and work-generating <sup>56</sup> fairtrade-certified leather workshop produces revenues notably through overseas orders and on-site purchases made by volunteers and visitors.

All the empirical material discussed in this article is the result of seven months of ethnographic research developed by the first author in two periods between 2014 and 2015, as part of a research project on youths in social and residential care in Cusco. Trista conducted participant observation in all resident and staff daily activities within CARA mentioned in Section 5.4, except for a few specific activities (e.g., psychotherapy sessions). She also attended CARA’s festivities and excursions, as well as specific events linked to the centre’s participation in community education and public gatherings. Over the months, two group discussions with residents were held, and individual interviews were conducted with five staff and 12 girls/mothers who were either current or recent residents or past beneficiaries now employed by CARA (see Appendix A). All research activities with the residents focused on their daily life, needs and desires as well as their relationships and encounters with staff, interns, volunteers and other visitors. The research methods employed were approved by our university’s ethics review board. Interviews and group discussions were conducted in Spanish, digitally recorded and transcribed, with quotations appearing in the following sections translated into English. In most of the next section, where we consider the (shared, daily) affective life in the centre and its connection with volunteering, we rely especially on data drawn from group discussions involving multiple residents. In Section 5.5, we draw on individual in-depth interviews with residents in order to consider their affective lives from a long-term perspective based on their perceptions and personal histories.

#### 5.4 EVERYDAY, SHARED AFFECTIVE LIFE AND VOLUNTEERING

In addition to legal aid and support for the girls/mothers’ and their children’s daily needs in terms of health and well-being, CARA’s residential care programme

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<sup>56</sup> The workshop employs six former residents.

prioritizes and regularizes the provision of basic education, livelihood skills and vocational training, together with opportunities for personal development and social participation. These components are deemed crucial by CARA's staff, since upon reaching the age of 18, residents must leave the centre and face immediate challenges in juggling survival and motherhood. Almost all residents previously experienced poverty combined with family difficulties, if not an abusive household environment or abandonment. For example, in 2014, six out of the thirteen residents were reported to have become mothers as a result of sexual abuse/assault by household members or acquaintances—in situations where the parents/primary caretakers did not provide adequate care and protection to prevent the abuse/assault. Four others who similarly became mothers as a result of non-consensual sex experienced extreme poverty and/or instability in their home conditions, which precluded them and their infants/young children from returning to family care despite being in contact with their families intermittently. One resident was living on the street, while another was involved in commercial sex work prior to her admission to the residential care—their family situation was unclear.<sup>57</sup> Since there is hardly any socio-economic safety net available to the girls/mothers and their young children outside CARA's residential care, the staff considers the residents' participation in educational activities and in the collective household to be essential in aiding their individual long-term capacities for survival, life-making and personal development.

Education therefore provides us here with a critical entry into CARA's daily programme, a programme conceived to address the intersectional vulnerability facing the residents' lives. Whereas 20% of the girls/mothers had little-to-no basic education upon their arrival, CARA identifies schools as the key environment in which institutional conditions contribute to the girls/mothers' experiences of social rejection, stigmatization, discrimination and other forms of maltreatment related to the disclosure of their unexpected pregnancy.<sup>58</sup> The resulting trauma from these experiences, next to multiple other practical obstacles, prevents these girls/mothers from continuing their studies during pregnancy or even returning to school afterward. Between 2000 and 2005, for instance, only one-third of the girls/mothers residing at the Centre had access to regular basic education.

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<sup>57</sup> Only one adolescent mother was taking shelter at the centre together with her infant as a temporary measure because of domestic violence.

<sup>58</sup> Other contexts include hospitals, public health posts, encounters with the police and forensic examinations.

Accordingly, not only did the unfavourable and unsupportive educational system further contribute to the girls/mothers' experiences of psycho-social vulnerability, but discrimination in and obstruction to education also exacerbate their previously existing socio-economic vulnerability. CARA staff considers such lived and multi-dimensional vulnerability—adding to experiences of abuse/mistreatment and precarity in life—as posing major challenges to many of these young mothers in their current life, impacting on their well-being, personal and social relationships, as well as their future work/employment and adult livelihood.

Accordingly, CARA's organization of educational and skill-training activities for the residents is a response towards the failure of governmental apparatuses and social/community organization to “make live” in equitable ways (Foucault, [1976]2003: 248). In concrete terms, all residents attend an Alternative Basic Education Centre (*Centro de Educación Básica Alternativa*) in the neighbourhood on Saturdays, with the aim of eventually obtaining their diplomas. During the rest of the week, they follow elaborate group schedules under staff supervision and take responsibility for the nursery, cooking and meal/nutrition planning, grocery shopping and other household chores. They also participate in educational workshops, homework tutoring, psychotherapy sessions, meetings with their social workers and collective house meetings. In addition, those over 16 years of age receive one-year vocational education at an external school. Staff dedicate a large amount of planning, fund-raising and their day-to-day work to facilitate and coordinate these activities.

The following example clearly showcases CARA's intended outcome of education and training-related routinization of the residents' everyday schedule and the particular lifestyle it advocates. Having lived at CARA for four years and after obtaining a job at a neighbourhood eatery, Yasmin recently moved out at the age of 18 with her 4-year-old son. Director Ines thus commented on Yasmin's capacities in starting an adult life as a single mother:

She moved out crying, [...] very emotional. Moving out can be scary, but [she said], “No, I'm not that scared of moving out, because I think I have everything organized. I have a job, and I already learned how to use my money.” And this is what we give them, right? That when they move out, they feel more or less secure. Now she has been away for two weeks, and... she seems fine, because the rhythm of life outside is not so different from what she used to have here. [...] She continues with the same rhythm of waking up

at 5:30 in the morning because she was already used to that. And so, it becomes easier for you outside.

However, Yasmin's mild complaint in a separate interview indicated some of the more "difficult" affects or emotional "costs" emerging with this collective household *rhythm* and the sense of security solicited. While generally content with the programme, Yasmin recalled feeling sometimes "bored" or "tired" during the last year of residence. Being the most senior in the collective household, she often helped orientate younger residents within this *rhythm* of group life, assisting them in their problems while managing her own daily activities. In contrast, living an adult life outside seemed to her relatively easy and manageable:

Well, they [CARA staff] say that when you go live outside there are many more things [to attend to] than when you are living here in the programme. But not really! *It depends on how you organize things.* [Now living outside,] I wake up and I immediately clean up my room, make my bed and get changed, [...] I make my son's breakfast and then I go to work. [...]

Yasmin here described her current household management, detailed morning routine and implied diligent lifestyle as almost natural and commonsensical. Arguably, however, her words precisely illustrate the affective orientation towards and embodiment of motherhood and adulthood that CARA intends to instil in the young mothers during the programme. Yasmin did not necessarily consciously link her morning routine and lifestyle to CARA-regularized shared living. Rather, she came to internalize these and appreciate them as "her own" way of organizing life (see also Section 5).

Such a routinized, stable rhythm of living is indeed often challenging, especially for the younger girls/mothers or those recently arrived, as they are in the process of orientating themselves in the residential care environment amidst on-going psycho-emotional vulnerability. However, with the help of the psychotherapist and the core staff, and at times relying on various therapies and educational (e.g., communication and conflict solving) workshops, the residents are offered the opportunity to live their own slow, arduous and complicated process of attending to their emotional wounds, trauma, fatigue, depression, inertia, as well as the associated cognitive, interpersonal and social relationship difficulties.



In the process of “inhabiting” these emotional and psychological intensities, which has significant consequences for the residents’ perceptions of their own well-being and self-transformation (see also Section 5.5), our participants expressed appreciation for how the volunteers enhanced CARA’s everyday atmosphere. They also expected the volunteers to contribute to the labour required in running the collective household. To further elaborate on this, we now focus on two sets of examples related to encounters with volunteers perceived by the residents as, respectively, “positive” and “negative”. Through these examples, we show how the residents make sense of and become affected by/through their encounters with the volunteers in relation to CARA’s social environment and shared daily life.

#### 5.4.1 Desired affective state and relations

With limited resources and heavy work schedules, CARA staff tends to prioritize urgent issues and the girls/mothers’ education, as well as personal and parental development. The residents hence are generally positive about the diverse on-and-off leisure activities that short-staying volunteers are often keen to organize and fund. Despite their contingent nature, activities such as sports, handicrafts, yoga, music and the rare excursion should be considered as a necessary unfolding “component” supplementing CARA’s organization and enriching the affective dimensions of life there. While we have observed joy, smiles, laughter, playfulness, hugs, friendship and intimacy emerging in these encounters, resident girls/mothers were not simply “poor but happy” (see Crossley, 2012). Neither were they merely open to “becoming affected” by volunteers (cf. Darling, 2010: 246). Residents clearly varied in their choices and preferences when it came to developing friendships and emotional intimacy with volunteers.

For example, some girls/mothers said they tended not to share their personal issues and feelings with volunteers, while others sometimes did. Liz, aged 17 and a 3-year resident, mentioned: “They [volunteers] help us sometimes when we are not doing well. We confide in them... telling them what’s happening to us.” Liz’s following account and her personal situation offered further evidence of how the residents’ encounters with volunteers depended on their broader complex affective and psychological lives as well as on their interpersonal interactions in CARA. Liz held herself to high standards and strived to demonstrate her diligence in school-

work and household tasks. Looking up to the core staff, she presented herself as a model adolescent capable of guiding other residents. It is within this particular context that Liz stressed her occasional decision to turn to volunteers as she felt “blocked by *vergüenza*” (in this case, embarrassment or shyness) in talking to the educators and psychotherapist about certain personal matters: “I see them every day and I don’t know, I feel a bit embarrassed. It’s better to tell a volunteer who I don’t see every day, and who would leave.”

Furthermore, certain CARA-cultivated sensibilities appeared to be at play in how residents apprehended, related and responded to volunteers in shared daily “sensory modes of being” (Tolia-Kelly, 2006: 215). For instance, residents revealed particular sensitivity to the volunteers’ affective state related to being “*alegre*” (cheerful, joyful, lively), especially when combined with specific volunteer-resident relationships that resonated well with CARA’s overall (pedagogical) environment. On the one hand, residents commonly evoked being “*alegre*” during informal conversations, individual interviews and group discussions, whether it was to refer to their own ideal affective states or to their positively perceived encounters with staff and international visitors. On the other hand, several residents emphasized the importance of their pedagogical relationships with their educators, or with long-term volunteers who became enlisted in the staff team. Sixteen-year-old Dalia, for example, spoke of a long-term volunteer during a group discussion: “There was a person who was a role model for me, for my future. She wasn’t a volunteer. She was my educator. [...] She helped me so much, she was like my mum. When she left, I couldn’t stop crying. Sadness (*tristeza*)...”. The residents thus appeared to be fond of, and even idolize, the volunteers who were memorably “*alegre*” and “educator-like”. In another group discussion, it was suggested that all volunteers should participate in the centre’s daily life “*con ganas*” (with enthusiasm, with a nice attitude) and not be “*pesadas*” (annoying or tiresome). Emphatically, some recall Anita as an example of a “good volunteer”:

Reveca: “[Volunteers should be] like Anita.”

Xavier:<sup>59</sup> “Anita? And why, how was she?”

Amanda: “*Alegre*... helping.”

Reveca: “She was like an educator. ... She didn’t act like a volunteer. For me, she was already an educator, because ... [in the nursery] when we were sitting around doing nothing, [...] she told us, ‘The diaper is

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<sup>59</sup> An educator-*cum*-volunteer-coordinator, here facilitating group discussions.

wet! [...] Change it!’ So, we went to change diapers, while she fed the children at the table, and we helped her. Sometimes she said, ‘Now, go wash the kids’ plates [...]’ and then some went to wash them. [...] Then sometimes when we were all in the nursery, she went to the kitchen to help out there. She was everywhere.

*Amanda:* “A very *alegre* person.”

While volunteer Anita, in this case, may appear to be “bossy” in giving constant directions to the residents, her embodiment impressed Reveca and Amanda’s as “*alegre*”. Underpinned by their orientation towards coping with shared household labour and towards learning and capacity-building, Reveca and Amanda did not simply perceive being “*alegre*” as related to the volunteer’s personality, or as an emotion elicited in the residents. Notably, they both specified being “*alegre*” in close association with the volunteer’s affective capacity to help activate the girls/mothers’ own capacities for handling different tasks. In addition, they emphasized the quasi-pedagogical relationship volunteer Anita established with them, since she enabled a particularly desirable atmosphere and a sense of companionship (“she was everywhere”). Overall, our discussion on positively perceived encounters with volunteers thus illustrates that CARA’s environment palpably affects the “flows of affectual capacities and sensitivities” in the residents’ daily lives and their relations with the volunteers (Tolia-Kelly, 2006: 215).

#### 5.4.2 Affective capacities and labour

When faced with problematic volunteer behaviour, the girls/mothers seemed to be keen to perform some “affective labour” (Clough and Halley, 2007)—they did this while attempting to harness volunteers’ labour for household tasks.<sup>60</sup> During the first month of their visit, all volunteers are required to rotate between daily morning and afternoon shifts to assist the personnel and the resident girls/mothers, especially in the kitchen and nursery. Thus, those at the initial stage of volunteering, as well as those staying for short periods, tend to perform “unskilled” care work. Such arrangements effectively release time for the residents, and maximize the energy they may dedicate to education, training,

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<sup>60</sup> Our research suggests that in their varied capacity as hosts, coordinators or supervisors, staff perform similar affective labour to orientate and train the volunteers.

personal and motherhood development. The pragmatic relevance of the volunteers' support in the on-going operation of the collective household was clearly felt during the fieldwork, especially when there were fewer volunteers around, or on days in which those who were given shifts failed to show up. Due to the absence of volunteers, workshops and activities planned for the girls/mothers were often called off or interrupted, as their help was needed in the kitchen or nursery.

Despite that most arrived enthusiastic and eager to help, short-term volunteers were often inexperienced and unprepared for the heavy care work involved and the seemingly chaotic collective household environment. In addition, also due to the language barrier, some were shy, slow or passive in their interactions with the resident girls/mothers. Others did not handle well the moments of confusion in transcultural communication. Some seemed discouraged by hours of nursery work changing diapers, cleaning and attending to the toddlers. In group discussions, while appreciative of most volunteers' contribution, the residents also complained about several frustrating incidents in which volunteers were said to "just stand there looking" instead of actively performing their tasks. Lizeth, 15 years old and a 2-year resident, suggested how to better involve volunteers:

Sure, when they [volunteers] arrive, of course they don't know what to do on their first day in the nursery. The first day they just stand there, and it depends on you: you need to explain what to do and how the nursery functions, so that they can help you. I do not think that [in this case] a volunteer would [still] not understand and would not want to help, right?

Lizeth here notably appealed to the girls/mothers as a group to empathize with the newcomer-volunteers, and suggested how they could activate and literally move these volunteers' bodies along into sharing the collective care work and the nursery's daily rhythm. The other girls/mothers subsequently acknowledged that they should indeed better assist and guide the newcomer-volunteers. Marisol, 16 years old, followed this line of discussion to reveal that once she had dealt with a volunteer who had become upset because of a moment of miscommunication:

There are some volunteers [...] you try to explain [to them what to do], they take it the wrong way. [...] For example, I had this with Ellen. On the first day, [...] I said to her: “Let’s go do this.” Since she didn’t understand me, I had to explain it to her, and I had to do it myself, and she was upset. [...] And so, I told her: “If you didn’t understand what I was saying and you get angry, you should let me know why you are angry”.

In her account of the incident, Marisol demonstrated a certain capacity in recognizing and managing the volunteer’s unexpressed emotional reaction, resorting to open communication and cooperation. As these girls/mothers reflected on the encounters with volunteers, they implicitly showed multiple underlying capacities to process frustration, to observe and engage with tense or awkward situations, to respond to others with empathy, to behave proactively and to enhance (social and household) participation. Encouraged by CARA’s residential care environment, these are capacities they nevertheless often struggled with among themselves and in interactions with their children, especially during chaotic or challenging days. Encountering volunteers in said situations and “fine-tuning” further responses (Darling, 2010: 249) thus required certain affective labour closely related to the sensibilities the residents apprehended as part of their shared affective life in the centre. All these examples—and more could have been reported—may be read as the manifestation of the residents’ agency and capacities in dealing with the volunteers and in negotiating the expectations and the obligations at CARA. We consider these negotiations and the “management” of the volunteers’ presence on the part of the residents an important demonstration of the relevance of the affective labour that is required and elicited by their lives in the centre, an affective labour that in many ways reflects their condition of vulnerability but also their overall capacity to actively engage with the support and the challenges provided by the programme.

## 5.5 LONG-TERM SELF-TRANSFORMATION AND VOLUNTEERING

In this section, we focus on the accounts of two (former) residents—Yasmin and Flor—in order to explore affective life at CARA from the long-term perspective. While in the previous section we discussed diverse ongoing encounters between CARA residents and volunteers, here we consider two residents’ particularly

personal experiences. These experiences, we argue, manifest not only the specific hopes volunteering can sometimes offer to marginalized individuals but also the potential of resident-volunteer encounters to affect and enhance the residents' perceived life changes and self-transformation in the long run. The interviews with these two residents showcase a repeated, specific set of themes—such as sense of accomplishment, self-affirmation, affinity and social connectivity. All of these themes are illustrated through Yasmin and Flor recalling incidents and encounters that occurred during their life at CARA, often with heightened emotion.

### 5.5.1 Yasmin

Yasmin, who started her interview with the account of her morning routine presented in the previous section, spoke extensively of the transformation she experienced at CARA: “In the beginning, [...] life was not like this. I’ve learned so many things here.” She then revealed that she was left by “her son’s father” to work in Cusco as a maid. Not even 14 at the time, she did not know she was pregnant:

No-one ever told me about it... I did not know these kinds of things, like sexuality. You didn’t know a thing, you see [...] no one ever told me, and my mom never studied. My mom is like, illiterate, and she never talked to me [about this]. [...] I started vomiting and vomiting, I had nausea. [...] *La señora* (the woman/employer) told me: “You are pregnant.” “No! I am not!”

This brief quote reveals the unspoken yet palpable vulnerability implied through Yasmin’s brief biography entwining her younger self abandoned in Cusco, not knowing her body’s signs of pregnancy, and being raised by an illiterate single mother. Understanding this compounded experience—of an uneducated and poor family background, and being in a vulnerable situation regarding not only one’s physical-reproductive health but also sexuality—is crucial in grasping Yasmin’s subsequent related stories conveying her sense of accomplishment over the years at CARA. Yasmin stressed that she had learned to be “a better mother”, responsible and well-organized in the collective household. She became confident and vocal in asking to change the residents’ shower schedule during “inhumanely cold” days, and she urged younger fellow girls/mothers during the house meetings:

“Do the workshops *con ganas* (with enthusiasm). If you don’t like it, say it”. In addition, she went from being nervous and scared to having successfully completed the training in the kitchen of a well-known, high-end restaurant.

There was a repeated, pronounced sense of self-affirmation in Yasmin’s interview. This was conveyed not only through reflections on her learning achievements, but also through memories of affection, strong bonding and positive personal relationships developed at CARA, including with the volunteers. These memories crystallized in particular at moments such as farewells to volunteers or her own farewell party:

There were three volunteers [...] who taught us about emotions (in emotional literacy workshops). I didn’t know that they were leaving. [...] All the girls were in tears... It was contagious. [...] I was also like, “Waah...!” [...] (The volunteers were) super fun and playful. We used to go to their workshops in such a good mood (*alegre*). [...] Elena, the volunteer, was crying, she was super emotional. [...] She gave me a bracelet. She told me: “Don’t cry, Yasmin.” “I feel the closest to you, and you are the one who has made me laugh the most.”

I had my farewell with the girls and the personnel. [...] That’s when everyone told me that, “you have helped a lot”, and people started to get teary-eyed. Liz (a resident) cried more than anyone, because I always told Liz that she gave me so much support, in everything. [...] And she made me cry, too. [...] Everyone expressed their gratitude to me, that I was a good person, always cooperative. [...] *Mami*<sup>61</sup> Ines also thanked me. She was in tears, and I had never seen her cry like that before. [...] She told me many things, that she also learned a lot from me [... saying] “I will always support you”.

### 5.5.2 Flor

Nineteen-year-old Flor, who spent two years in CARA, similarly completed her study in gastronomy and was working as a kitchen assistant at the time of the interview. Having alcoholic parents, Flor spent six years in an orphanage, and started working at age 11 in restaurants and later as a maid in Lima. During this period, she suffered psychological and physical abuse both at work and by a

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<sup>61</sup> A term to show endearment and respect.

brother. She remembered being resentful about how she was treated. Eventually, Flor moved back to her hometown, where she then found herself pregnant. She returned to the same orphanage as years before, and stayed there until she delivered her son Luis.

Perhaps implicitly attempting to compensate for her childhood experiences of inadequate familial and social relations,<sup>62</sup> Flor's narration largely focused on the social bonding and psychological support CARA provided. For instance:

The staff asks you how you're doing, if you're feeling well. [...] Also the mums. Everyone here has come from a different situation. It makes you want to get to know why each of us has come here. And be more than what you are, as you make friends with everyone here. I really like it. With the psychologist we learned [...] how to live life outside CARA.

Similarly, she appreciated the centre's emphasis on vocational training, social and job integration and economic security. In contrast, with a hint of dread, she perceived the orphanage in which she grew up as lacking support for the children in these aspects:

Well, you don't have that there [...] when you reach 18 years old there, you move out and you have nothing at all. No bed, nothing. No money either, nothing. You leave with only your clothes, just like that. [...] With this training [supported by CARA] you have already started working or doing your internship, which is already paying some money. So, when you move out you already have a small sum of money [...] you already have the training done, which is very useful outside.

Commenting on herself as previously being "extremely timid" in front of others, Flor conveyed her transformation and the positive interpersonal connections made with others at CARA, notably also with the volunteers. Her voice reflected warmth and kindness, and she often appeared to be seized by amazement:

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<sup>62</sup> See also Leinaweaver (2008) for the importance of kinship and related social networks for the survival and personal development of indigenous Andean children.



Those workshops in CARA were so helpful. [...] I've changed so much. When *Mami Ines* asked me to speak in front of the educators (at a social education meeting) [...] she said, "You can do it", and she helped me prepare for it. [...] I was a bit scared, but I breathed and breathed. Everyone was there! [She named all the educators and other staff.] But I didn't see them. I finished my speech. And they all came to congratulate me: "You did it, Flor!"

It's lovely to have the opportunity to make friends with foreigners, to chat with them. [...] That (Korean) volunteer used to help out in the nursery, and taught us to speak (Korean). [...] Once she got sick. We knew her very well already at that time, so we wanted to see how she was doing. [...] We made her some herbal tea, and asked her, "How are you feeling?" [...] She left us a photo of herself, and the photos she took of us and of our children, and also kept our photos for the memories. It was sad when she left. I don't know, my heart ached. [...] I'd love them to stay in Peru forever!

Giving the above accounts just weeks after leaving CARA, both Yasmin and Flor were still relatively well-embedded in the centre and may be considered as especially nostalgic about their life experiences and relationships formed with volunteers and others. However, we noted that, when interviewed, other older former residents who have pursued their own lives outside of residential care for much longer periods were less expressive about the volunteers. Besides the obvious individual differences, this discrepancy may have been influenced by two main factors: first, the older former residents had experienced less diversity of (and fewer) activities with volunteers during their stay; second, younger residents like Yasmin and Flor received more hospitality-orientated training, which arguably reinforced their socialization with and affective investment in the volunteers.

In any case, we found that socio-politically shaped vulnerability, while affecting both Yasmin and Flor individually and personally, was not a given attribute ingrained in individuals who may be labelled in public discourses, for instance, as "orphans" or "sexual abuse victims". Even as their conditions of marginalization in the broader socio-political environment persisted, the two young women conveyed experiences of, and capacities for, change in themselves and in how they related to others, while navigating towards viable motherhood and adult life. Their accounts also illustrated how CARA's overall environment evoked or enhanced these experiences and capacities. Notably, both Yasmin and

Flor described their emotional encounters and relationships with volunteers among other events at CARA, which engendered similarly positively perceived impacts on their psychological and emotional life. Both accounts therefore gave indication of how residents may register or make sense of their individual encounters with volunteers in ways that largely resonate with the affective states and sociality they experience over time at CARA. In other words, from the perspectives of individual residents, whose lives became entangled with volunteering on a long-term basis, volunteering did not derive its significance in isolation. Rather, its significance was closely attached to CARA's overall residential care provision affecting the residents' personal development and (self-) transformation.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

A recent tendency in the geographies of development and volunteering has been the focus on the volunteers' affective experiences in encountering "vulnerable" populations in the global South and their self-transformation. In this chapter, we have engaged with that debate by adopting a critical, affect-informed notion of vulnerability, which has allowed us to question the limited representations of "vulnerable" people typical of such literature. We have thus argued for analyzing different modalities of "affective life", by paying special attention to often-neglected individual and shared changes in affective capacities as well as to other embodied ways of responding to social and material conditions. This, we claim, has helped to produce nuanced accounts of how forms of agency and immanent change/transformation may manifest through marginalized people's lived experiences as they encounter, engage with, make sense/use of and become affected by the presence of volunteering in their lives.

In pursuing this argument, we have investigated the affective life involving volunteering that is unfolding in CARA, a residential care programme in Cusco, Peru. More specifically, we have considered a series of perspectives from residents who regularly interact with volunteers while relying on CARA's routinization of care and education in enduring long-term social, economic and psycho-emotional vulnerability. We have thus analyzed the residents' emerging daily affective states and capacities influenced by CARA's collective household responsibilities and sensibilities, and have discussed the residents' feelings and responses towards

diverse “desirable” or “problematic” volunteer practices that have enhanced (or not) their well-being. We have then focused on two individual biographies and accounts—Yasmin’s and Flor’s—in order to highlight the importance of their encounters with volunteers. Such encounters constituted part of the two young women’s overall affective experiences at CARA, contributing in several ways to forming their sense of positive (self-)transformation and their relations with others over the years. In so doing, we have first taken into consideration the programme’s organization aimed at providing a shared space for living and at enhancing the residents’ capacities for responding to conditions of vulnerability. We have then folded into our analysis the complex ways in which international volunteering is present in that specific context.

Overall, we have made a case for the literature on international volunteering to incorporate new perspectives capable of engaging with affectivity and vulnerability, as they may offer alternative understandings of (self- or shared) transformation, and of the relationships between volunteering and “vulnerable” subjects. In conclusion, our findings suggest two specific points: first, while international volunteering can be seen as having life-enhancing “transformative potential” for CARA’s residents, this potential is contingent upon both the volunteers’ practices and capacities, as well as the local institutional-collective arrangements through which volunteering takes place. Second, the actualization of this potential largely depends on the residents’ personal and shared transformation in their life-enhancing affective capacities and relations with others, something closely related to how they endure persistently marginalizing socio-political conditions.





## Chapter 6: Conclusion

My thesis starts with an argument for studying “alternative” social and development interventions in Cusco, Peru, that target some highly vulnerable and marginalized groups of young people—girls and young women. Recent critical scholarly discussions on social and development interventions in Peru have focused on critiquing state-supported, large-scale and externally driven programmes (Cookson, 2016; Jenson and Nagels, 2018; Jones et al., 2008; Molyneux and Thomson, 2011). At a time when these vulnerable young people’s daily lived realities and welfare are not directly addressed by those large programmes (see, e.g., <https://www.juntos.gob.pe>), my intention has been to expand the scope of such discussions to explore certain small and seemingly pragmatic “alternative” non-state-led interventions in terms of not only their problems but also the critical possibilities for them to bring about changes in groups of young people’s welfare. I have further argued for doing so by researching the young target populations/beneficiaries’ lived experiences of the “alternative” interventions. In the five preceding chapters, I therefore developed a Berlantian framework of “affective life” and a mosaic multi-method and ethnographic methodology guiding my seven-month-long period of fieldwork at two social and residential care organizations in Cusco. Through examining the *more-than-individual* affective life at Runachay and CARA, I showed how the young research participants as beneficiaries lived with multiple social and residential care and education related arrangements. In this concluding chapter, in Section 6.1, I address my research questions by summarizing my findings from the previous five chapters and highlight my thesis’s overall scholarly contributions. In Section 6.2, I extend some lines of thoughts that emerged in Section 6.1 to then discuss the implications my findings have for policies and social programmes for vulnerable children and youths. Finally, in Section 6.3, I point to aspects left unexplored in

this study due to time and resource constraints for future research and reflect on further conceptual and theoretical work based the framework developed in the thesis.

## 6.1 FINDINGS AND SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTION

I have formulated three specific sub-questions in order to better articulate my main research question: *What and how can analytics of “affective life” offer insights into “alternative” interventions that bring improvement to young target populations/beneficiaries’ welfare in the social and material context of Cusco?* These three sub-questions are:

1. *What theoretical innovation does “affective life” offer studies of social and development interventions and how can it be operationalized?*
2. *How does my proposed analytics of “affective life” shed light on “alternative” interventions’ responses to precarity and marginalization facing the target populations/beneficiaries through education?*
3. *How does my proposed analytics of “affective life” shed light on “alternative” interventions’ arrangements for target populations/beneficiaries’ well-being and livelihoods through the involvement of international volunteering?*

In relation to the first sub-question, I dedicated Chapters 2 and 3 to exploring the theoretical innovation of “affective life” and how it may be operationalized in studying social and development interventions.

More specifically, Chapter 2 started by explaining and contextualizing children’s and youth geographers’ conviction that young people’s views and experiences should inform all policy-making and scholarly discussions on issues related to young people’s lives and welfare. Further, I reviewed three major sets of children’s and youth geographers’ discussions in order to establish the importance for my research to take into account not only young people’s embodied, quotidian practices and affective experiences, but also their capacities to articulate the rules, power relations and issues impacting their lives. In another vein, I positioned my study in relation to work on care, educational, social and development interventions emerging from the geographies of children and youth and the geographies of development and volunteering.

Traversing all these literatures, I considered several notable ways in which recent contributions such as those from Kraftl (2015), Frazer and Waitt (2016) and Griffiths and Brown (2017) came to operationalize affect, emotion and embodiment in their own work. I critically reviewed the versions of affect theorization they drew on and flagged some limitations found in their analyses, before turning to introduce a framework of “affective life” based on Berlant’s (2011) work. This framework of “affective life” as I have developed for my thesis especially benefits from not only Berlant’s empirical focus on lives facing exploitation, precarity or vulnerability but also her “affirmative” theoretical approach to individual and shared attachments, affective investment and desires. In comparison with the other versions of affect theorization mentioned above, the concept of “affective life” is unique in its nuanced descriptive attention towards lived, individual *and* shared (“*more-than-individual*”) capacities to relate and respond to social and material factors and conditions. It is also particularly distinct in its analytical engagement with the unfolding of these capacities during the quotidian reproduction of life. I thus elaborated in Chapter 2 on the innovation “affective life” can potentially offer for studying the critical possibilities and problems of “alternative” interventions from young people’s lived perspectives and affective experiences.

Chapter 3 continued on to operationalize “affective life” for the study of “alternative” interventions for vulnerable and marginalized youths in Cusco. It detailed my decision for involving vulnerable girls and young women as principal research participants and positioned this decision clearly in relation to the methodological rationales provided by transnational and intersectional feminist as well as children and youth studies. Further incorporating insights from anthropology and literatures on affect and emotion, I then expanded on an ethnographic and “mosaic” multi-method methodology. Using this methodology, I attended to the youth participants’ more-than-verbal everyday “expressions” during the seven-month fieldwork period, in order to grasp these youths’ lived experiences of Runachay and CARA social and residential care centres’ social and development interventions. My methodological considerations were interwoven with an extensive discussion on research ethics and my own researcher positionality as well as affective experiences vis-à-vis the research participants and the field. I demonstrated accordingly my commitment to being accountable for the methodological choices, the affective encounters during the field research and all their related ethical implications—including those related to the long,



iterative process of coming to grasp affect theories and developing my eventual analysis.

My second sub-question highlights the important aspect of education when considering the problems and possibilities of small-scale, non-state-led or externally driven “alternative” interventions in Cusco targeting vulnerable youths’ lives and welfare. Chapter 4 showed how a set of analytics of “affective life” contributed to understanding Runachay Social Centre’s social and vocational education programmes for Quechua-speaking residents/beneficiaries. It did so by implementing the Berlantian analytical strategies I presented towards the end of Chapter 2. It involved first and foremost tracking and making sense of the residents/beneficiaries’ individual and shared “attachments” being situated within the broader postcolonial social and material environment of Cusco. Mainly, these meant attachments to diverse objects, practices, ideas and feelings associated with “getting ahead” and “progressing” in life. It also meant giving due consideration to the residents/beneficiaries’ embodied, personally shaped *and* Runachay-/socially shaped capacities to respond to and bargain with major, persistent life-diminishing conditions—including poverty, precarity during the rural-to-urban migration process, social marginalization, discrimination and abuse such as those experienced at schools or in the previous domestic work environment.

This chapter further accentuated how the concept of “affectsphere” must be understood as multiple, porous and formed by people’s ongoing shared “filtering” of what they sense to be happening to them in life in their world. The chapter then analyzed Runachay’s residential care, its domestic work placement and vocational education in terms of the porous “affectsphere” it helped bring into being, instead of these programmes’ “effects” or “affects” *per se*. This is because the use of “affectsphere” suggested an emphasis on the Quechua-speaking young females who were situated in, sensing, perceiving and interacting with this sphere. “Affectsphere” as a concept, then, allowed me to give in-depth attention to these young people’s own—some varied and some similar or commonly shared—perspectives and experiences within Runachay’s affectsphere. By doing so, I showed that Runachay did not impose radical changes on the residents/beneficiaries’ normatively shaped aspirations to “get ahead” through earning/saving, (higher) education and attaining the status related to stable, salaried employment and being a “professional”. Instead, Runachay activated for the residents/beneficiaries an affectsphere where the postcolonial societal affective conditioning of “getting ahead” as a discriminatory mechanism against

the thriving of Quechua-speaking and other indigenous people is mediated and partially reshaped. The harm or diminishing in the girls' individual and collective well-being shaped by broader social and material conditions were mitigated to a significant extent through the residential care and social and vocational education arrangements. Similarly, diverse life-affirming feelings, emotions, affective states, capacities and social relations and interpersonal relationships (e.g., those between the employers and the young domestic workers and those between the beneficiary youths and the coordinators-*cum*-educators) emerged or became facilitated over time. I therefore concluded that the sociality of "getting ahead" was, in this case, notably reconstituted *from within* through the unfolding/lived sphere of Runachay.

Through employing the pivotal concept of "affectsphere", Chapter 4 thus helped unpacking some of the complexity of "alternative" educational interventions and their critical possibilities. In Runachay's case, the possibilities for educational interventions to improve marginalized young lives and their welfare did not come from an outright rejection of mainstream educational practices and promises, or resistance *per se* to all the social norms that exert influences on these female youths; nor did they come from the organization/institution manifesting a well-formed or coherent ideological stand significantly divergent from and contrasting the dominant ones. Rather, Chapter 4 suggested that the possibilities for improving welfare arose from enabling a shared sphere where social relations and marginalized young people's own (often normatively shaped) needs and desires were addressed in ways that they themselves found sufficiently affirmative. The analysis clearly showed that Runachay's politics for a more liveable childhood/youth/girlhood did not and need not transcend but was rather enmeshed with the urban social and economic infrastructure of Cusco. As such, for example, it became more-or-less consciously attuned to some of the promises the tourism economies offered to its target populations-beneficiaries. As its resident-beneficiaries were encouraged to "feel out" these tourism promises, it was not fully clear whether and how Runachay's rather successful, immanent "affective bargaining" with gendered domestic work might evolve to address the other problematic social norms, hierarchies and affective conditioning impacting those beneficiaries who were in more precarious tourism and hospitality employments in Cusco.

Overall, then, these findings are most directly meaningful to children's and youth geographers' discussion on interventions in governing young people's lives and education. They reveal not only the general importance to investigate these

interventions in-depth, e.g., with the aid of ethnography, but also the particular insight on when and how interventions may pose what in Kraftl's (2015: 228) words are "morally, practically, and politically justifiable" challenges to public policy, regimes of governance, norms and mainstream practices. My findings suggest that interventions may pose significant and justifiable challenges along the lines Kraftl (2015) suggests, so long as they, first, assist young lives to endure or mitigate previously unattended forms of precarity and vulnerability and, second, contribute to the generation of a certain social sphere/atmosphere for young people to nurture or renew life-enhancing capacities and relations with the self and others.

Further, the concept of affectsphere and the Berlantian understanding of "affective life" developed in my thesis so far can contribute to literatures on the geographies of children and youth more generally. As I mentioned in the beginning of Chapter 2, scholars interested in these geographies have called for better linking the seemingly disconnected "micro-level" focus on children's embodied and immediate experiences with discussions of "structural constants" (Ansell, 2009; Tisdall and Punch, 2012). My thesis suggests that, in tracking young people's embodied, lived experiences, there can be a way to address this conceptual and theoretical issue besides the set of alternatives I reviewed in Chapter 2 (e.g., Kraftl and Horton, 2007; Mitchell and Elwood, 2012). What if we pay special attention to any unfolding affectsphere through which the wider life-damaging or life-diminishing societal affective conditioning is mediated or changed? The changes and mediation can happen in heterogeneous, minor and major ways, e.g., by shared practices, circulation of alternative sensibilities, collective action or organization, institutional intervention or even research collaborations. This approach is obviously different from treating young people's "experiences at the micro-scale" *as such*, leaving these as detached from pertinent concerns of power relations and the "wider" social, economic and political issues. Neither, however, is it the same as treating young people's experiences analytically mainly as symptoms or signs of protests that confirm/reflect the ills of larger, structural social and political forces, their pressure on and constraints of young people's "agency" (Holloway et al., 2019; see also Berlant, 2011: 284; Sedgwick, 2003: 12). In this regard, my adaptation of Berlant's theorization points to one rather distinct and potentially fruitful way to pay "due attention to enduring regimes of power, balancing research on the political potential to be otherwise with concern for ongoing vulnerability" (Holloway et al., 2019: 471)—in

full accordance with the latest articulation of a feminist and affect theories-inspired agenda for geographies of children and youth published in *Progress in Human Geography* (Holloway et al., 2019).

My third sub-question is concerned with a nuanced critique of international volunteering in “alternative” small and non-top-down social and development interventions in Cusco from an innovative perspective. Relying on the elaboration of the Berlantian framework in the previous chapters, Chapter 5 critiqued the rather individualistic analysis over-focusing on volunteers’ affective experiences and (self-)transformation in recent publications. It instead advanced attention to the *more-than-individual* dimensions of affective life emergent through the lived experiences of CARA’s residents. These residents are often framed in policy discourses, public and academic discussions as poor and vulnerable people; however, this chapter conceptualized “vulnerability” as more than a (negative) “attribute”. Instead, it is something socio-politically shaped and simultaneously “corporeal, intimate, and political” (Berlant, 2011: 16; see also Koivunen et al., 2018; McLeod, 2012). Following this vein, the chapter recognized the fact that “vulnerable” is a label often imposed on individuals and groups such as CARA’s target population/beneficiaries in unjust and alienating ways. Going a step further, it asserted the importance of attending to CARA residents’ actually lived, multi-dimensional (emotional, psychosocial and socio-economic) vulnerability, and using these residents’ individual and shared perspectives to analyze the collective-institutional arrangements of volunteering within the residential care programme.

Chapter 5 therefore carefully approached the issues and possibilities for care and development interventions drawing on international volunteering and volunteer tourism to secure vulnerable lives and improve their welfare. In CARA’s case, my analysis suggested that life-affirming and life-enhancing possibilities for victim-survivor adolescent girls/mothers were primarily produced through organizing and maintaining a relatively stable living environment and social and educational space for them. Against the backdrop of insufficient policy interventions and the lack of broader institutional reforms to address sexual violence and youth care, protection and inclusion, CARA was a space where mundane and essential needs, everyday and long-term intersectional vulnerability, and issues of multi-dimensional discrimination and poverty became addressed in shared, collective and institutional manners. In this respect, older resident-beneficiaries’ in-depth, autobiographical accounts clearly illustrated their enhanced capacities for life-making and personal development, as well as their

intense experiences of major transformation/changes in life, affection, bonding with others and sense of security, improved well-being and personal growth. The chapter also relied extensively on recent and current residents' own voices to reveal their positive affective encounters and relations established with volunteers, especially when those volunteers conformed and contributed to CARA's household organization and enriched residents' daily lives in ways resonating with the collective household sensibilities.

Detailing these critical life-affirming possibilities of CARA's "alternative" interventions involving volunteering is far from uncritically approving of/celebrating the presence of volunteers in any social and development project per se. Neither does this mean neglecting the whole complex range of effects and affects CARA's care and training have for its residents. In fact, it is precisely through the Berlantian approach that Chapter 5 was able to identify some complications and consequences that are highly important according to my research participants' perspectives and experiences. It is worth noting here that these complications have seldom been explored in previous research on other sorts of care and development organizations involving volunteering and tourism (for Cusco examples, see: Burrai et al., 2017; Sinervo, 2015). For example, in observing CARA's regularization of the daily routines and of the rhythm of a responsible, diligent lifestyle, this chapter reflected on the hard work of affective adjustments often required on the part of the residents. It also highlighted residents' agency manifested in the form of care and affective labour in order to harness volunteers' labour for housework and to manage certain less desirable volunteer-resident encounters. Last but not least, in considering Yasmin's and Flor's accounts, it touched on the complex and tricky link between some participants' overtly positive rapport with foreign volunteers and their tourism and hospitality-oriented training—marking CARA's own history and staff's choices, the dominance of tourism in Cusco, the economic imperative on these adolescent mothers as well as their capacities to respond to all these factors and conditions. Considering all these facets of *more-than-individual* affective life, I thus want to raise some attention to a certain solidarity that emerged at CARA's social space, in the sense that its environment, institutional practices and actors (including volunteers) came to support the adolescent girls/mothers' needs and struggles over the years in various ways. At the same time, I hasten to emphasize that this solidarity was not a given but messy, ever-so-precariously materialized, having required constant shared and collective labour and institutional efforts.

Since the initial planning stage of this PhD project circa 2012, literature on the geographies of development volunteering and volunteer tourism has grown exponentially, with many cutting-edge conceptual, theoretical and methodological contributions spearheaded by geographers. The affect turn in works on volunteering in the development context, as I pointed out both in Chapters 2 and 5, is a clear example of this invigorating development of events. However, there is an ongoing privileging of concerns closely related to and defined by global-North institutions and actors such as North-based development volunteers. This uneven development perhaps first and foremost indicates the pressure and opportunities related to funding from the North-based development and tourism industries, as several contributions have made clear (see, e.g., Griffiths, 2014; Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018). Nevertheless, there continues to be relatively poor incorporation of the perspectives of other regularly marginalized individuals and groups whose lives are entangled in these geographies. This problem, as I have argued, most certainly limits geographers of development and volunteering in exploring how conventionally neglected modes of politics and processes of social change may materialize through modes of intimate and social life entangled with volunteering—despite the recent affect-inflected enthusiasm about exactly that. In this thesis, I have shared a similar enthusiasm regarding affect theories and have thus made a deliberate intervention in this body of work based on my study of CARA.

Of course, the approach foregrounding target/beneficiary populations' *more-than-individual* affective life and intersectionally constituted vulnerability (Chapter 5, Section 4) can contribute to more than just nuanced investigations of cases of small-scale interventions and their involvement of North-based volunteers. In fact, the underpinning, affect-theory-informed rationale of this approach—i.e., to shed light on minor and major changes and transformation emerging in intimate and social life—has implications for broader scholarly engagements with social and development intervention policies and programmes. Besides the “affect turn” of international volunteering research, there is a series of research innovation in development geographies aimed at reworking how the North-led development sector “mobilise[s] and legitimate[s] particular knowledges, actors and authorities” transnationally (Baillie Smith and Jenkins, 2017: 953; see also Baillie Smith et al., 2019; Laurie and Baillie Smith, 2018). These works have chosen to highlight cases of global South-based development NGO activists, diaspora and South–South volunteering in order to “develop new ideas

and practices of development, care and solidarity that escape the historical ascription of agency and authority to particular places and subjectivities” (Baillie Smith et al., 2019: 19). In what ways, then, can my thesis’s findings on social and development interventions contribute to the generation of such “new ideas and practices of development, care and solidarity” (Baillie Smith et al., 2019: 19)? How do I articulate these considerations in close connection with other social and development programmes and policies impacting marginalized children and youths in Peru and elsewhere? I address these questions in the next section.

## 6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF MY FINDINGS FOR POLICY CRITIQUE AND ADVOCACY

Despite Peru’s rapid economic development especially during the past two decades, high socio-economic inequalities continue to exist. While Peru has seen the reduction of the amount of development aid from international actors because of the country’s improving economic status, there has been improvement in the Peruvian governmental provision of essential services and resources, including social services for victim-survivors of different forms of violence like sexual violence and domestic violence (Ames and Crisóstomo, 2019; Ames et al., 2018; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; UNHCR, 2017; see also Chzhen et al., 2018). However, the provision remains scarce and highly inadequate. Other latest research on Peruvian children and youths continues to argue, similarly as I do, that public policy should prioritize reaching and providing for the most marginalized and vulnerable children, considering the intersecting factors such as poverty, ethnicity, and the rural/urban divide (Young Lives, 2018: 5; see also Ames et al., 2018).

I have situated my thesis in this policy context, and I stated in the introduction chapter that I intended to engage with discussions on social protection and inclusion operations for young people besides/beyond scholars’ focus on the Peruvian state government’s policies and programmes. In this section, I thus turn to reflect on the implications of my Berlantian, ethnographic approach and empirical findings—not only for scholarly critiques of policy discourses and practices but also for producing research-backed demands for policy and programme design for marginalized Peruvian children and youths.

First, my thesis’s approach to studying vulnerable youths can hopefully encourage more attention to concrete, situated *more-than-individual* perspectives,

experiences, knowledges and actions coming from the populations who are the targets of governmental interventions. These situated knowledges and actions are indispensable for problematizing, engaging or conversing with, rethinking, transforming or rejecting various kinds of “protection” and “prevention” policies and programmes. Crucially, with my study I’d like to call for some re-consideration of scholarly critiques of “normativity”. It remains crucial to critique life-diminishing or harmful social norms enacted by or manifested through specific interventions or the broader policy regimes. Examining any interventions’ “limits and contradictions” along this line also remains an important scholarly task (Roy, 2009). Yet my thesis also argues for a complementary approach—a deep, affect-informed ethnography of target-beneficiary individuals’ and groups’ attachments to existing or changing social and cultural norms. What do these individuals and groups share, feel, desire and aspire to as “the normal way(s) of life” or the “good life” (see also Berlant 2011: 167)? Doing so is not to “celebrate” those norms or normatively shaped desires. Rather, it should open up space to analyze people’s embodied capacities to adapt and respond to social, political and material conditions, in differential, shared or *more-than-individual* ways. Such a deep ethnography, I believe, can then take us to the heart of many needs and struggles for welfare and development of young people, their families and communities in Peru and elsewhere in a different way from focusing on critiquing the normativity of policies and programmes. This is because this deep ethnography obliges us to apprehend and account for the situated and constantly unfolding shared affective forces available for pursuit of and social organization for welfare and “the good life”. This approach can thus also propel concrete and democratic debates over the moral and political obligations for governing social welfare and development.

Second, and related to this first point, detailing small-scale and multi-faceted care interventions’ critical possibilities from youths’ own experiences can inject a fresh and helpful perspective into contentious policy debates on some issues. It can also challenge governmental inaction, oversimplification or silence in others. For example, the discussion in Chapter 4 on the promises of Runachay-regulated domestic work placement provides some much-needed in-depth qualitative research alongside quantitative evidence of the effects and affects of domestic work for children and youths situated in their specific local and national contexts (see Gamlin et al., 2015). It attests to the inadequacy if not the danger of a contemporary international policy discourse geared solely towards “preventing”, “inspecting” and “eliminating” child labour—at the expense of a nuanced and



contextually grounded discussion of the best interests of young people who work in Peru and other countries (for an example of this discourse in action, see ILAB, 2018; see also Aufseeser et al., 2018; Thangaraj, 2019). My findings are in agreement with some other scholarly work (Aufseeser et al., 2018; Gamlin et al., 2015) to unambiguously support young domestic workers' stable access to quality education, vocational training and familial, social and community support networks. My discussion of Runachay's both pragmatic and creative employment path facilitation schemes, for example, further enriches child domestic work policy discussions. These schemes are shown to be meaningful to and valuable for the working young girls and women themselves in many ways. Meanwhile, I have also pointed out the schemes' reliance on the tourism and hospitality sectors and its less "affirmative" implications for the youths (Chapter 4, Section 6). These findings and considerations speak directly to the state's policy agenda for children and youths in domestic and other types of work (see, e.g., MIMP 2012a: Chapter IV) and should inform concrete and thoughtful governmental commitments and investments.

For another example, I would like to turn to social protection and inclusion of adolescent mothers in poverty and without adequate care and support, among whom there are victim-survivors of sexual abuse or assault. There is ongoing difficulty with, if not lack of, policymaking will and synergy, which severely inhibit better development of policies and programmes for sexual and reproductive health and rights, against sexual and domestic violence and for the social support and inclusion of marginalized adolescent mothers (see also Ames and Crisóstomo, 2019; Ames et al., 2018; Boesten, 2014; Goldstein, 2014; Luttrell-Rowland, 2012; Panepinto, 2018). Meanwhile, other recent research findings on adolescent pregnancy and motherhood in different regions in Peru indicate that young mothers often experience mental health problems, social stigma and exclusion, prolonged poverty, difficulty in pursuing education and employment, resource dependence on partners and families and even domestic violence (Sánchez, 2018; Tavera et al., 2015). CARA's long-term and localized social organization for many seemingly mundane aspects of the adolescent mothers' lives shows ongoing, situated experiments and struggles for girls' and young women's (rights to) care, health and well-being, protection, socialization, education, childcare and viable livelihoods. Drawing on such already existing experiments and struggles can do more than complement recent policy recommendations coming out of large(r)-scale research on the phenomenon of adolescent pregnancy and motherhood more

generally (Sánchez, 2018; Távora et al., 2015). For example, examination of how CARA's programme attends to residents' multiply shaped vulnerability vis-à-vis school education helps raise the alarm about various existing institutional obstacles to education. It also clearly illustrates a need to include topics such as vocational education and childcare into policy recommendations on education and adolescent motherhood, complementing the current foci, such as scholarship arrangements, completion of secondary education and the provision of sexual education (see, e.g., Sánchez, 2018). In these ways, foregrounding existing experiments and struggles can contribute to evidence-based policy design for social as well as community support and institutional reforms in order to improve young mothers' access to education, childcare, social networks and livelihood options.

### 6.3 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Due to time and resource constraints during the PhD project, there are several aspects immediately related to the Cusco-based small-scale interventions outlined by my thesis that I have not been able to explore in-depth. These aspects nonetheless deserve future research, as I believe that they can potentially enrich understandings of the more-than-individual affective life influenced by these social, care and development interventions for children and youths. Three major aspects for potential further research in this regard are discussed below before I point to other directions of research beyond the context of Cusco, Peru.

First, further empirical research can attend to the legal support operations of the two social and residential care organizations for their resident-beneficiary youths. I have chosen in my thesis to especially focus on the centres' educational operations for young people and their involvement with volunteering and tourism situated in the urban environment of Cusco. However, the major aspect of legal support within the centres' social and residential care operations was also at play for the affectspheres they facilitated and the protection, promotion or disregard or compromise of their resident-beneficiaries' welfare. My fieldwork material provided some clues as to how the two centres' workers trod difficult territories of legal support for youths having experienced abuse and non-consensual sex. CARA, for example, assisted and managed youths' cases of seeking legal and social justice while mediating the impacts of governmental agencies' investigation and case administration on the adolescent

mothers during the often long drawn-out processes (see also Panepinto, 2018). Such practices often involved negotiating with the practices, ethos and interests of other differentially involved organizations and professionals. Without doubt, to discuss this aspect of the centres' operations and include the youths' perspectives on this will open up a whole complex array of delicate issues that demand special attention in future fieldwork as well as careful analysis.

Second, as I mentioned in the previous chapters, besides the residential care-related programmes focused on in my thesis, both the Runachay centre and CARA have other related social or community outreach programmes. How do these other programmes contribute to the changing and ongoing unfolding affectspheres where young people, their families and communities find themselves situated? In what ways are these other programmes connected to the ones discussed in Chapters 4 and 5? For instance, in the case of Runachay's international NGO partner-funded community outreach programmes, how have these other programmes reshaped the sociality of "getting ahead" for children and families based in other, rural parts of the Cusco region? Besides, for almost two decades, Runachay rented studios to produce radio programmes on various topics including women's and workers' rights and social and political issues. Its original target audience were young people working in homes. A further study could focus on the sort of affectsphere the radio broadcast has brought into being over the past years. In this case, more in-depth methodological attention to the young audience's sensory experiences could help to explore the *more-than-individual* affective life emerging through the audience tuning to and interacting with this medium of communication and socialization.

Third, more case studies of affective life at other similar or comparable social and residential care organizations in Cusco for children and youths can be carried out based on the Berlantian analytics my thesis has developed. Doing so can help to grasp other young people's similar or varied experiences and struggles for well-being and development. It can also contribute to identifying the heterogeneity in or synergy among these different organizations' operations. Beyond a focus on individual organizations that provide services to young people, more empirical research can aim to explore the collective organizing among some of these social and residential care organizations and their workers in recent years. During my fieldwork, I witnessed a few collective events such as a march against gender-based violence on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women and local and international network-building and campaigning for social and community education. Both CARA and Runachay took part in these events.

The latter collective organizing for social and community education seemed to be a mode of social, care and education interventions that was closely related to and facilitative of, and yet distinct from, individual organizations' first-line services and programmes for children and youths. It is important to consider how this development may have influenced the sociality of the local sector of social and residential care and the affective lives of its workers and residents/beneficiaries.

In addition to these three major aspects closely linked to the Cusco cases, I see some more conceptual and theoretical work that will be timely and worth exploration based on my thesis's affect-inspired discussions. Several latest discussions of affective life in human geography, for example, explicitly incorporate and innovate other concepts from Berlant's (2011) work in order to analyze people's lived responses to political-economic changes and high-profile "geopolitical events" such as Brexit (see, e.g., Anderson et al., 2019a, 2019b; see also Fannin et al.'s [2018] review, in *Dialogues in Human Geography*, of Anderson's [2014] work). This is an indication of the wealth of conceptual resources that Berlant's framework can offer for discussions of affect and forms of life spanning over a wide variety of topics and empirical cases. In particular, I think, such resources should contribute to further studying of life-enhancing sociality that is not collective, communal or public *per se*. I am here referring to the kind of sociality related to what Berlant calls the "intimate publics" (see Berlant, 2011: 226–227; cf. Cloke and Conradson, 2018). How does that sociality come about in/through shared spaces, relations and embodied capacities? How are individuals and groups involved (differentially)? Major questions along this line include if and how socio-politically shaped vulnerability becomes lived, shared and reshaped due to a certain sociality among different actors or members from varied communities. A potentially productive way of approaching the spheres and spaces of life-enhancing sociality will be to elaborate on the forms of affective and immaterial labour involved (Boris and Parreñas, 2010; Clough and Halley, 2007; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003; Hardt, 1999; Hardt and Negri, 2000, 2004; Righi, 2011). What is the value of the labour contributing to those spaces—or how does that value become (de)valued, and by whom (Hardt and Negri, 2009; Massumi, 2018)? An important question is also how researchers may relate to, *know* and in so doing potentially *affect* the value of the labour, the spaces and social life thereof. Addressing these questions may require further articulating and experimenting with not only the norms and methodologies for researching sociality but also the affective investments in different kinds of sociality.



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## Appendix A – Overview of diary/notebook and interview participants

Pseudonyms are used for all individuals mentioned in the following overview.

Diary/notebook activity in Runachay						
#	Name	Age	Language	Number of pages	Participation in interview	
1	Bella	13	Spanish	8	No	
2	Cleo	17	Spanish	7	Yes*	
3	Delia	13	Spanish	11	Yes*	
4	Erica	13	Spanish	14	No	
5	Heidy	14	Spanish	9	No	
6	Malena	18	Spanish	8	Yes*	
7	Miriam	18	Spanish	19	Yes*	
8	Reyna	15	Spanish	13	Yes*	
9	Silvia	14	Spanish	14	Yes*	
10	Violeta	13	Spanish	16	No	
11	Yolanda	18	Spanish	8	Yes*	
12	Yudit	17	Spanish	9	Yes*	
Interviews with Runachay resident-beneficiaries						
#	Date	Name	Age	Language	Interview length	Note
1	01-11-14	Beatriz	16	Spanish	1 hour 9 minutes	-
2	02-11-14	Delia*	13	Spanish	56 minutes	-
3	02-11-14; 15-12-14	Ruth	14	Spanish	49 minutes; 36 minutes	Interview interrupted on the first occasion and completed at a later time
4	08-11-14	Yolanda*	18	Spanish	1 hour 24 minutes	-
5	09-11-14	Silvia*	14	Spanish	1 hour 37 minutes	-
6	09-11-14; 16-11-14; 21-11-15	Malena*	18	Spanish	1 hour 56 minutes; 39 minutes; 48 minutes	Interview interrupted on the first occasion and completed at a later time; follow-up

						interview in 2015
7	09-11-14	Katiana	15	Spanish	1 hour 39 minutes	-
8	13-11-14	Sherly	19	Spanish	1 hour 48 minutes	-
9	16-11-14	Miriam*	18	Spanish	48 minutes	-
10	16-11-14	Yudit*	17	Spanish	1 hour 3 minutes	-
11	07-12-14; 15-11-15	Cleo*	17	Spanish	1 hour 27 minutes; 28 minutes	Follow-up interview in 2015
12	14-12-14	Reyna*	15	Spanish	1 hour	-
13	30-12-14	Julia	29	Spanish	1 hour 11 minutes	Former resident, current radio presenter at Runachay
14	06-1-15	Maira	23	Spanish	1 hour 11 minutes	Former resident, current employee of Runachay's tourism agency
15	06-1-15	Wayra	24	Spanish	52 minutes	Former resident, current employee of Runachay's guest house
16	15-11-15	Andrea	26	Spanish	50 minutes	Former resident
<b>Interviews with CARA resident-beneficiaries</b>						
#	Date	Name	Age	Language	Interview length	Note
1	07-11-14	Ruby	16	Spanish	1 hour 12 minutes	-
2	11-11-14; 05-1-15	Liz	17	Spanish	48 minutes; 30 minutes	Interview interrupted on the first occasion and completed at a later time
3	11-11-14	Camila	15	Spanish	46 minutes	-
4	12-11-14;	Rosmary	17	Spanish	41 minutes;	Interview interrupted on

	14-11-14				26 minutes	the first occasion and completed at a later time
5	10-12-14	Ariana	17	Spanish	1 hour 10 minutes	-
6	22-12-14	Felicitas	19	Spanish	40 minutes	Former resident, current employee of CARA leather workshop
7	23-12-14	Patricia	28	Spanish	2.5-3 hours (Recorder problems, interview summary in written form)	Former resident, current educator of CARA
8	04-1-15	Flor	19	Spanish	1 hour 13 minutes	Former resident
9	05-1-15	Vanesa	23	Spanish	46 minutes	Former resident, current employee of CARA leather workshop
10	07-1-15	Yasmin	18	Spanish	1 hour 33 minutes	Former resident
11	07-1-15	Ana	23	Spanish	39 minutes	Former resident, current employee of CARA leather workshop
12	13-1-15	Stefani	24	Spanish	34 minutes	Former resident, current employee of CARA leather workshop
Group discussions with CARA resident-beneficiaries						
#	Date	Participants (age)		Language	Length of discussion	Note
1	23-11-15	Dalia (16), Liz (17), Lizeth (15) and Marisol (16)		Spanish	50 minutes	Discussion facilitated by Xavier
2	23-11-15	Amanda (17), Celia (15), Reveca (16), Rossy (14) and Sofia (15)		Spanish	35 minutes	Discussion facilitated by Xavier

<b>Interviews with Runachay staff, volunteers and partner organizations</b>						
#	Date	Name	Role/position (type of partner organization, if applicable)	Language	Interview length	Note
1	30-10-14	Paul	Director	Spanish	-	Exploratory pilot interview, unrecorded
2	31-12-14	Valentina	Founder and coordinator	Spanish	58 minutes	-
3	08-1-15	Edith	Coordinator and educator	Spanish	1 hour 30 minutes	-
4	18-11-15	Victor	Employee of Runachay's tourism agency	Spanish	-	Informal interview, unrecorded
5	23-10-14	Agnese	Volunteer	Spanish	57 minutes	-
6	16-11-15	Mina	Intern	Spanish	25 minutes	-
7	24-11-15	Danila & Francesco	Donors and volunteers	Spanish	1 hour 25 minutes	-
8	11-9-14	Ivonne	Coordinator (community education partner organization)	Spanish	-	Informal interview, unrecorded
9	10-11-15	Mario	Delegate (international cooperation organization)	Spanish	47 minutes	-
10	18-11-15	Marienne	Programme officer (international cooperation organization)	Spanish	-	Informal interview, unrecorded
<b>Interviews with CARA staff, volunteers and interns and partner organizations</b>						
#	Date	Name	Role/position (type of partner organization, if applicable)	Language	Interview length	Note
1	14-10-14	Luis	Founder, coordinator, psychotherapist	Spanish	-	Exploratory pilot interview, unrecorded
2	09-12-14	Ines	Founder and director	Spanish	2 hours 42 minutes	-

3	09-1-15	Alba	Educator and coordinator	Spanish	1 hour 4 minutes	-
4	20-11-15	Xavier	Educator, coordinator of volunteers and ex-volunteer	Spanish	1 hour 12 minutes	-
5	25-11-15	Susanna	Educator and ex-volunteer	Spanish	1 hour 19 minutes	-
6	08-1-15	Flor de Maria	Employee of CARA leather workshop	Spanish	47 minutes	-
7	28-10-14	Marine	Volunteer	Spanish	1 hour 11 minutes	-
8	05-11-14	Emma	Volunteer	English	53 minutes	-
9	20-12-14	Elisa	Volunteer	Spanish	1 hour 4 minutes	-
10	06-1-15	Carlos	Coordinator (Student travel and volunteer tourism operator)	Spanish	27 minutes	-
11	14-1-15	Milagros	Coordinator (Spanish-language school and volunteer tourism operator)	Spanish	-	Participant did not wish to be recorded. Interview summary in written form.
12	14-1-15	Katherine	Tour guide (responsible tourism operator)	Spanish	1 hour 9 minutes	-

**Unrecorded informal interviews with six international volunteering/volunteer tourism/internship sending organizations in the Netherlands**

#	Date	Name	Role/position (type of organization)	Language	Place of interview	Note
1	27-3-13	Jan	Youth coach/mentor (non-profit organization)	English	Den Bosch	-
2	15-1-14	Chantal	Programme coordinator (commercial operator)	English	-	Phone interview
3	17-1-14	Bart	Volunteer and Latin America	English and	-	Email communications

			region specialist (non-profit organization)	Dutch		
4	22-1-14	Leontine	Travel advisor (commercial operator)	English	-	Phone interview
5	04-2-14	Sandra	Project leader (non-profit organization)	English	-	Phone interview
6	29-7-14	Andres	Director (commercial operator)	English	Den Haag	-

## Appendix B – Interview guide: Runachay and CARA resident-beneficiary youths

Themes	Examples of questions and notes
Explain the interview activity, gain informed consent and permission to record interview	
Conversation icebreaker: 1 <sup>st</sup> elicitation activity	
Sharing of personal biographical information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you tell me a little bit (more) about yourself? Who are you? How would you describe yourself?</li> <li>✓ name</li> <li>✓ age</li> <li>✓ places and communities of origin</li> <li>✓ schooling</li> <li>✓ family background and household relationships</li> </ul> <p>By the time of the interview, the basic information about the participant is already obtained. The first part of the interview will be used to reconfirm the information and to explore personal biography. I will introduce myself and share some personal information with the participant, too.</p> <p>A participant who feels quite comfortable of talking can immediately start sharing her life history (which can help to cover the next two to three groups of themes as well).</p>
Current life, stay in CARA/Runachay and daily practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How are you doing?</li> <li>• How have you been recently?</li> <li>• What daily and weekly routines do you have? Any special events?</li> <li>• (What about your child? Can you tell me a bit about her/him? How is she/he doing?)</li> <li>• What do you (like to) do when you are not studying/working/doing your household chores or helping others out with their chores?</li> </ul>

<p>Life history, major events in life and changes, including experiences of Runachay/CARA</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How did you arrive at Runachay/CARA?</li> <li>• Were there any changes in your life after you arrived at Runachay/CARA? What were the changes?</li> <li>• What was your life like before CARA/Runachay?</li> <li>• What was the place/village/town where you lived before like? What do you think of the place/village/town?</li> </ul>
<p>Desires, needs and aspirations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How are you doing?</li> <li>• What do you like or dislike about your life?</li> <li>• What do you feel about your health and your current status?</li> <li>• If you could ask for three things in your life now, what would they be?</li> <li>• What things are important to you in your life?</li> <li>• What kind of person would you like to be? Who do you admire?</li> <li>• What talents or qualities do you have? What would you like to have?</li> <li>• What are your plans?</li> <li>• What would you like to do in the future?</li> <li>• Do you like your study/training?</li> <li>• What motivates you the most in your study/training?</li> <li>• Is there anything about your study/training that you are not sure about or that you have problems with?</li> <li>• What do you think you will be doing some years from now? How will life be like?</li> <li>• (How is your child doing? Is there anything you think she/he needs at the moment?)</li> <li>• (What would you like for your child? What kind of person would you like her/him to become? What will she/he be doing in 5 or 10 years?)</li> </ul>
<p>2<sup>nd</sup> elicitation activity (at this point or whenever it is appropriate)</p>	



Views and feelings about Runachay/CARA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you think of CARA/Runachay in general? What do you like or dislike about it? What do you feel about being here? What about its programmes, activities and the spaces it provides? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ own room and recreational area</li> <li>✓ legal support</li> <li>✓ psychologist and counselling/orientation workshops</li> <li>✓ tutoring and classes</li> <li>✓ support for alternative basic education</li> <li>✓ vocational training</li> <li>✓ work/employment (if applicable)</li> <li>✓ nursery/day care (if applicable)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• What do you think of the coordinator(s), staff and the organization? How are the coordinator(s) and staff like?</li> <li>• What do you think of the other chicas/mamás? What are they like?</li> <li>• Is there any funding, financial and other kind of support from other people or organizations that you know of? What do you feel about the funding/support?</li> <li>• Are there rules in Runachay/CARA? What are the rules, and what do you think of or feel about them? If you can change or add any rule, what would it be?</li> </ul>
Views and feelings about volunteers and visitors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you think of the volunteers/visitors that come to Runachay/CARA? What do they do in Runachay/CARA? Why do you think they are here?</li> <li>• Which volunteers or interns do you remember most, and why? What were they like?</li> <li>• How did the foreigners/volunteers/visitors/interns know about the projects?</li> <li>• What advice or suggestions do you have for foreigners/volunteers/visitors/interns when they are in Runachay/CARA?</li> </ul>
Views on Cusco and the wider social environments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Why did you move to Cusco? How did you come to Cusco? What do you think of Cusco?)</li> <li>• What do you know about Cusco/the neighbourhood where you are now? How is it living here?</li> </ul>

End of interview	Ask the participant if she has any questions or comments about a particular theme/question and if she has any questions about my research. Ask for her general opinion of the interview (including the setup). Thank her.
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## Summary

In this thesis, I use the term “alternative interventions” to address specific non-state-led and multi-faceted welfare and inclusion operations in Cusco, Peru, that intervene in situations of precarity and vulnerability through promoting young people’s long-term well-being, development and livelihoods. These “alternative” interventions are small-scale and locally based even as they draw on resources internationally and involve non-local actors. Instead of examining large-scale, Peruvian state-led programmes, or voices of dissent towards those programmes, my thesis aims to understand groups of vulnerable and marginalized people’s experiences of the “alternative interventions” set up relative to them. My thesis draws on the literature on affect and embodiment in and beyond human geography in order to develop a set of analytics—i.e., tools, strategies or ways of doing analysis and the underlying rationale—for studying young people’s lived and affective experiences of two non-governmental social and residential care centres in Cusco, Peru.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of critical scholarly literatures on the welfare of marginalized young populations in Peru. In this chapter, I contend that it is both scholarly and societally relevant to produce—besides critiques of the state power and structural conditions impacting the population—knowledge about any existing “alternative” interventions and modes of social organization that support or facilitate changes in the welfare of vulnerable and marginalized groups.

Chapter 2 develops a robust approach to examining the lived and affective experiences of marginalized youths faced with interventions through critically reviewing literatures on children’s and youth geographies and on the geographies of development volunteering. I identify the theoretical and analytical issues at stake in using insights from these literatures for the purpose of my thesis research. I then introduce Berlant’s (2011) affect theory and develop a Berlant-inspired

analytics of “affective life” that allows me to address the limitations in geographers’ discussions on young people’s lives and welfare and on social organization and development interventions influencing their welfare.

In Chapter 3, I construct a methodology inspired by a variety of methodological discussions across geographical, anthropological, feminist, and childhood and youth research. Drawing on these methodological discussions, I detail the practical, methodological and ethical considerations involved in my seven-month-long ethnographic study of the affective life at two non-governmental social and residential care centres, Runachay and CARA, in Cusco, Peru. The chapter also presents my multi-method approach to Runachay and CARA resident-beneficiaries’ “expressions” during the fieldwork and my positionality working with the young participants.

Chapter 4 seeks to understand the operations of Runachay’s politics of childhood/youth through social and vocational education in light of other existing structural forces and forms of power influencing the lives of these young people in Cusco’s social contexts. This chapter looks at the nuanced ways in which Runachay’s resident-beneficiaries individually and collectively feel about, make sense of and respond to Runachay’s facilitation of their well-being and their aspirations. In so doing, the chapter analyzes how Runachay mediates the precarity in Cusco’s urban economies faced by the girls in their rural-to-urban migration. It shows how the centre intervenes in the ordinary conditions in Cusco, and in Peru more generally, that shape Quechua-speaking girls’ domestic labour, their schooling and future employment. The analysis in this chapter critically unpacks the “alternative” workings of Runachay’s interventions, which are grounded in and materialized through the quotidian.

Chapter 5 performs critiques of affect-inflected literature in the geographies of development and volunteering. This chapter argues for development geographers to pay attention to the affective life—the feelings, desires, affective states and capacities that emerge among the populations relying on development aid who are often represented as “poor” or “vulnerable” in public discourses and in writings on development volunteering. This chapter examines the “affective life” at CARA, a popular destination in Cusco for international volunteering. CARA has as its principal function the provision of residential care to adolescent mothers who are either survivors of rape or sexual abuse, or who lack family and community support for managing early pregnancy and motherhood. The chapter considers how the residents rely on CARA’s institutional-collective arrangements

as they respond to socio-politically shaped vulnerability in everyday and long-term modes of living. In light of CARA's collective household environment and the sensibilities it promotes among its residents, the chapter shows that the involvement of international volunteers affects residents' capacities for living on and (self-)transformation in complex and sometimes problematic ways.

Chapter 6 provides a review of the discussions emerging from the preceding chapters. Based on this review, I highlight my thesis's contribution not only to the scholarly discussion on social and educational interventions in young people's lives but also to literatures on the geographies of children and youth more generally. I also reflect on my intervention in the "affect turn" of the geographies of development volunteering and volunteer tourism. Chapter 6 then reflects on the implications of Berlantian deep ethnography for social and development policy critique and advocacy. I conclude my thesis in Chapter 6 by laying out aspects of the Cusco cases for further research as well as by formulating other conceptual and theoretical issues worth exploring using the Berlantian framework developed in my thesis.



## Resumen

En la presente tesis doctoral, el término “medidas alternativas” se utiliza para explicar determinadas medidas no estatales, multidimensionales, de inclusión y bienestar social en la ciudad de Cusco (Perú). Se trata de medidas de intervención pensadas para combatir situaciones de precariedad y vulnerabilidad social, a través de promover, a largo plazo, el bienestar, desarrollo, y esperanza de vida en la población joven. Estas medidas “alternativas” se desarrollan localmente y a pequeña escala, a pesar de sostenerse gracias a recursos internacionales e implicar a actores no locales.

En lugar de examinar programas estatales impulsados a gran escala por el gobierno peruano, o analizar las voces críticas en relación a estos mismos programas, el objetivo de mi tesis es el de comprender la experiencia de la población más marginal y vulnerable con respecto al desarrollo de las mencionadas medidas alternativas.

Esta tesis se basa en la amplia literatura existente sobre el afecto (*affect*) y sobre el proceso de in-corporación (*embodiment*), partiendo desde y llegando más allá del campo de la geografía humana. El objetivo es desarrollar, a través de un análisis situado, varias herramientas, estrategias y métodos analíticos-lógicos para comprender las vivencias (experiencias y afectos) de la población joven en relación a la apertura de dos centros sociales no gubernamentales, de cuidado y bienestar, en la ciudad de Cusco (Perú).

El primer capítulo ofrece una perspectiva general de la literatura crítica en torno al bienestar de la población marginal joven en Perú. Se defiende aquí la importancia de dar a conocer las medidas alternativas de intervención, y las formas de organización social que promueven o facilitan cambios en el bienestar de los grupos marginales y que viven situaciones de vulnerabilidad. El conocimiento de estas medidas es importante tanto a nivel académico como social,



más allá de las críticas al poder del estado y al impacto que las condiciones estructurales existentes tengan en la población.

En el segundo capítulo se desarrolla un sólido método para analizar las experiencias afectivas vividas por la juventud marginada que interactúa con las intervenciones. Para ello, se revisan de manera crítica los estudios realizados sobre las geografías de la infancia y juventud, así como sobre las geografías del voluntariado para el desarrollo. A través de los conocimientos obtenidos de estos estudios para el propósito de esta tesis, se identifican también los desafíos teóricos y analíticos en cuestión. Introducimos entonces la teoría de Berlant sobre el afecto (2011) y desarrollamos un análisis sobre la “vida afectiva” inspirado en su teoría. Esto nos permite abordar las limitaciones que los geógrafos tienen a la hora de discutir sobre la vida de la población joven, así como sobre la organización social y las medidas de desarrollo que influyen en su bienestar.

En el tercer capítulo se construye una metodología inspirada en una variedad de debates dentro de los campos de la geografía, la antropología, el feminismo, y los estudios de infancia y juventud. A partir de estas discusiones metodológicas, se detallan las consideraciones prácticas, metodológicas y éticas obtenidas de los siete meses de estudio etnográfico sobre la vida afectiva en dos centros sociales no gubernamentales, dedicados al cuidado y bienestar de sus residentes: Runachay y CARA, en Cusco (Perú). En este capítulo también presentamos el enfoque multimetodológico en torno a las “expresiones” de las residentes de Runachay y CARA durante el trabajo de campo, así como el posicionamiento de la investigadora al trabajar con las participantes jóvenes.

En el cuarto capítulo se examinan las políticas de infancia y juventud de Runachay a través de la educación social y vocacional, teniendo en cuenta otros factores estructurales y formas de poder que, en el contexto social de Cusco, también influyen en la vida de estas jóvenes. El capítulo observa también los matices en la manera de sentir, percibir y reaccionar por parte de las residentes de Runachay, tanto colectiva como individualmente, ante las medidas para facilitar su bienestar y sus aspiraciones. Para ello, se analiza cómo Runachay dirime la precariedad en la economía urbana de Cusco que afrontan las muchachas en el contexto de su flujo migratorio desde las zonas rurales. Esto nos sirve como ejemplo de la intervención del centro sobre las condiciones habituales de vida de las muchachas hablantes del quechua en el ámbito del trabajo doméstico, escolar, y laboral (tanto a nivel local en Cusco, como a nivel nacional en Perú). El análisis

de este capítulo revela críticamente lo “alternativo” de las medidas de intervención de Runachay, basadas y materializadas en lo cotidiano.

En el capítulo quinto proponemos una crítica hacia la literatura imbuida por la afectividad en las geografías del desarrollo y voluntariado. Argumentamos que los geógrafos del desarrollo deberían prestar más atención a la vida afectiva—sentimientos, deseos, estados de afectividad y capacidades que emergen entre las poblaciones dependientes de la ayuda al desarrollo, con frecuencia representados como “pobres” o “desvalidos” tanto en los discursos oficiales como en los estudios sobre el desarrollo del voluntariado. En este capítulo también se examina la “vida afectiva” en CARA, destino popular en Cusco para el voluntariado internacional. CARA tiene como principal función facilitar un hogar a madres adolescentes que, o bien han sido víctimas de una violación o abuso sexual, o bien carecen de apoyo familiar para hacerse cargo tanto del embarazo como de la maternidad. Consideramos también cómo las residentes confían en la organización institucional y colectiva de CARA mientras encaran su vulnerabilidad sociopolítica en la vida diaria y a largo plazo. Teniendo en cuenta el entorno colectivo-familiar de CARA y los valores que promueve entre sus residentes, en este capítulo también mostramos de qué maneras complejas y problemáticas, la participación de voluntarios internacionales afecta a la capacidad de las residentes para continuar con sus vidas y transformarlas.

El capítulo sexto facilita una revisión del debate que emerge de los capítulos anteriores. Basándonos en esta revisión, señalamos la contribución de la tesis doctoral no solo para el debate académico sobre la intervención en las vidas de las jóvenes en los campos sociales y educativos, sino que también para los estudios de la infancia y juventud en general.

Este capítulo final propone una reflexión también sobre la contribución de esta tesis dentro del “giro afectivo” de las geografías del voluntariado para el desarrollo y de turismo de voluntariado. También se analizan las implicaciones de la etnografía inspirada por la teoría de Berlant y en relación a la crítica y defensa de las políticas sociales y de desarrollo. Por último, en las conclusiones se identifican aspectos de los casos observados en Cusco para una posterior investigación y se formulan aquellos problemas teórico-conceptuales en el marco del trabajo inspirado por la teoría de Berlant que merece la pena explorar más adelante.





**Chih-Chen Trista Lin**  
**Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)**  
**Completed Training and Supervision Plan**



Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
<b>A) Project related competences</b>			
PhD proposal writing	WASS/GEO	2013	3
Leisure, tourism and environment: Concepts and approaches (GEO-30306)	GEO	2014	6
Ethnographies on the move of people in queer, gender and feminist studies	LOVA-ISS	2015	3
Posthuman ethics in the Anthropocene	Utrecht University	2017	2
<b>B) General research related competences</b>			
Introduction course	WASS	2013	1
Interactive workshop on proposal writing	Wageningen in'to languages	2013	0.1
Leisure, tourism and environment: Qualitative research methodologies (GEO-30806 qualitative section)	GEO	2014	3
Methodology of fieldwork	CERES	2014	2
International fieldwork advanced training workshop	Newcastle University	2014	0.5
Critique rather than criticism – Foundations and implications of affirmative methodologies	Aarhus University	2016	3
<b>C) Career related competences/personal development</b>			
Invited guest lectures in 'Welfare, women and globalization' (OGMV08012)	Utrecht University	2013, 2015	1
Dutch language course	Babel Institute and Volksuniversiteit Utrecht	2013-2014	3
Student supervision and teaching (XTO-80312, XTO-21806, GEO-30306, GEO-30806, GEO-80436)	GEO	2014-2017	3
Coordination of 'GEO Visiting Professor scheme' and 'Landscape Conversations'	GEO	2015-2017	1.5
Wageningen Geography Lectures	GEO	2013-2017	1
<i>'The spatialization of care in the case of volunteer tourism for Dutch youth in projects with Latin American children and youth'</i>	BISR Postgraduate Conference, Birkbeck, University of London	2014	0.6
<i>'Re-examining spaces of volunteer tourism in Cusco, Peru'</i>	OLA 25 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Seminar, OLA-CEDLA	2014	0.6

<i>'Dwelling (in)to transition: Adolescent mothers' emotional longings in a residential care center in Peru'</i>	5 <sup>th</sup> Int. and Interdisciplinary Conference on Emotional Geographies, The University of Edinburgh	2014	0.6
<i>'Shampoo, bed sheets, cell phones and saving up for studies: A social project for rural girls as domestic workers in Cusco, Peru'</i>	RGS-IBG Annual International Conference, University of Exeter	2015	0.6
<i>'Affirmative biopolitics and a grassroots, non-profit social centre for rural Quechua girls in Cusco, Peru'</i>	5 <sup>th</sup> European Conference on Politics and Gender, University of Lausanne	2017	0.6
<i>'"Just" motherhood? – The gender, sexual and (re)productive politics in a residential care centre for young mothers' wellbeing and development'</i>	CSPS International Conference 'The Value of Life', Wageningen University	2017	0.6
<i>'A feminist affirmative critique of volunteer tourism studies, affect and social transformation'</i>	RGS-IBG Annual International Conference, The British Royal Geographical Society, London	2017	0.6
<b>Total</b>			<b>37.3</b>

\*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load

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