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HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN A PASTORAL COMMUNITY IN
THE CENTRAL PERUVIAN HIGHLANDS: A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

BY

CAROLYN IVEY

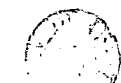
A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology

University of Durham

June 1985

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by Carolyn Ivey

ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is the study of a pastoral community in its regional context. The research was undertaken in 1979-1980 in the peasant community of Tomas in the central highlands of Peru. It focussed on four main areas: the domestic economy, levels of cash income and expenditure, the historical context and the networks involved in the wool economy.

The body of theory which has been used in the present work concerns peasant economy and its relationship with capitalist development. The concepts of economic activity fields and linkage analysis have been employed to form a framework for the analysis of the economic role of the household and its relationship with the peasant community and the regional economy.

The research was undertaken by means of general participant observation and open-ended interviews with members of the community. In addition, a detailed study of the economies of 20 households was made through the medium of questionnaires on domestic production and consumption. Wider

economic networks were followed up in order to investigate the relationships which all households have with the regional economy. Finally, historical depth was given to the research through the collection of personal life histories and case studies, as well as by the investigation of local, regional and national archives.

The main conclusions of the thesis concern the recent orientation of domestic economy in Tomas. The commoditisation of pastoral products over many years has meant that almost all households have had long-term involvement in the cash economy. Lately, too, the diversification of the domestic economy in the face of communal and ecological constraints on pastoralism has led, for a growing number of households, to a decreasing reliance on communally controlled resources and a greater involvement in the wider regional economy. These tendencies indicate that, despite their physical isolation, the pastoralists of Tomas are fully integrated into the national economy of Peru.

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DECLARATION

I declare that no part of this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university.

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PART ONE : THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aims and objectives

The objective of this thesis is to analyse the organisation of social and economic relations within and beyond the pastoral community of Tomas in the Yauyos region of central Peru. Its primary aims are: 1. to analyse production and consumption in a rural economy based on pastoralism and mining in terms of its wider regional context; 2. to study the relationship between individual households and the community, with its implications of conflict and fragmentation within the local economy; and 3. to determine the extent of differentiation and diversification within a peasant economy, and to discover the ways in which the penetration of capitalism has altered the meaning and functioning of non-capitalist forms of economic organisation.

The central argument of the thesis will be directed at certain problems extant in the local economy: the reasons behind the reluctance of pastoralists to modernise or invest in their enterprises, and the preferential tendency of both the wealthy and the poor to move out of



agriculture and into trade, education and professional employment, on the one hand, or wage labour on the other. In other words, what is the motivation behind the accelerating rate of migration from the rural areas and into the mining centres and cities?

Recent work on pastoralism has shown the great extent of this type of economy in parts of the Andes and its importance in terms of other agricultural economies, as well as the large scale markets for wool and meat. However, because of the concentration of many works on the southern sector of the highlands, and the frequent emphasis on the so-called "traditional" aspects of pastoral populations, little work has been directed towards wool and meat production in their wider regional context and, especially in relation to the capitalist market economy which is now dominant in many parts of the Peruvian Andes.

Work published on the Mantaro valley has created a broad-based image of the area as a region with an agricultural base and a thriving market economy which has been greatly influenced by mining. No such widespread study has been made of the Yauyos region. Its small size and the limitations of its agricultural and mining production have restricted research interest in the area to a small number of local studies and two wider surveys.

Capitalist relations of exchange are generalised in most areas of the highlands and, whilst the degree of integration into the capitalist mode of production varies according to location and local economy, there is nowhere where capitalism has not had some effect. Where non-capitalist relations persist, they may be largely based on the need to gain access to scarce labour and goods within the confines of a constrained economy.

Moreover, they do not indicate the conservatism of the peasantry or resistance to the intrusion of capitalism, but are frequently exploited by wealthier groups in the manipulation of the local labour force.

The importance of regional analysis as a tool in the study of peasant economy has been acknowledged by a growing number of writers. Furthermore, it has been emphasised that such a perspective must include the organisation of production as well as distribution in order to avoid an over-centralised view of region. Thus regional analysis must start with local level organisation and, building on the integration of various activity fields into domestic economic strategies, go on to investigate the networks which relate individual households into the regional sphere.

In recent years it has also been established that, in the Andean context, it is essential to understand the interaction between the peasant household and higher level units of organisation. While the household is the basic unit of economic organisation and decision making, groups of households and larger institutionalised associations, modify individual strategies. Thus, in the present context, the study of the household economy must be balanced by an investigation into the interaction of individual households in the wider communal sphere.

Finally, it should be emphasised that any study of the development of local and regional economies and the formation of class interests must involve the historical context. Only through an understanding of historical contingency as well as current trends can the peasant economy be understood as an element in the larger economic process.

1.2. La Santisima Trinidad de Tomas

The locality and larger region which is under investigation straddles the watershed of the Western Cordillera of the Andes almost due east of Lima. The comunidad campesina¹ which forms the localised centre of the investigation is called La Santisima Trinidad de Tomas (generally known simply as Tomas). Situated on the road which connects the Mnataro valley with Lima via Yauyos and Canete, it is 110 kilometres form the city of Huancayo, while the journey to Lima is over 320 kilometres.

Tomas was recognised as a comunidad indigena (the name was later changed to comunidad campesina) in 1927 and has retained much of its communal organisation since that time. It has very little private land (a few arable plots in the locality of the village) and by far the largest part of its resources remain formally under the control of the communal authorities. The village of Tomas itself is the capital (or villa) of the district of the same name, which includes the "daughter" village (or annex) of Huancachi. The total population of the district was given in the 1981 national census as 1788 inhabitants. Of this total, 599 live in the community of Huancachi and the remaining 1189 are resident in Tomas, and are dispersed between the village and the puna (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1981).² The community counts with a kindergarten, primary and secondary schools as well as the local offices of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal (NEC).³

The community's lands, which form a rough triangle on the border of the Department of Lima, support limited arable farming and a large population of mostly wool-bearing animals. It occupies some 30,000 hectares in the highest part of the Cordillera and the run-off from its lands flows both



1. Tunshupallpa: the mountains surrounding the village of Tomas

east into the Amazon basin and west into the Pacific. Administratively Tomas is a district of the Province of Yauyos which, in turn is located in the Department of Lima. Economically, the majority of its links connect it with the Mantaro valley.

The community's principal economic base is pastoralism based on herds of sheep, alpacas and llamas as well as smaller numbers of cattle and goats. The puna zone, which extends to well over 29,000 hectares, provides grazing for large herds of sheep, alpacas and llamas as well as cattle, horses and donkeys in small numbers. There is also arable farming, but on a very limited scale. The arable zone which lies at below 4000 metres above sea level, covers an area of little more than 200 hectares of steeply terraced and unirrigated fields or chacras which line the banks of the two rivers that flow through the lower part of the community's lands and unite in the village. The only crops grown are potatoes and other Andean tubers, broad beans, and small quantities of quinoa and wheat.

Within the community's boundaries there are a number of small, privately owned mines extracting lead, copper and zinc. Those residents of the community who are not involved in agriculture, or unable to make their living through it alone, find work in these mines or in the large state owned mine of Yauricocha, which lies about fifteen kilometres beyond the community's boundaries. Other income sources for households resident in the community are largely confined to professional occupations in the schools and government offices, trade, craft production based on wool and a small number of service activities (mostly to service the population of teachers and mine workers who come to live in the village on a temporary basis).

Largely because of its close involvement in the mining economy Tomas is well served with transport links to both Lima and Huancayo. The main Lima-Canete-Huancayo road runs through the community's puna and the village itself, bringing mine trucks and private cars as well as two bus services - one from Lima and the other from Huancayo - through the village at regular intervals. There is also a rail link, built by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, to transport metal ores from Yauriocha between Chaucha in the community's puna and Pachacayo, a junction on the main railway which links Lima to Huancayo. However, with the building of a concentrator at Chumpe, only five kilometres from the mine and the construction of the road, its use has declined greatly.

Tomas' links with the Yauyos region are largely restricted to its political connections. The community is reliant on the provincial government in Yauyos for help in times of crisis and the settlement of disputes. When thefts have to be investigated, or recalcitrant comuneros brought into line, the communal authorities must apply to Yauyos for the assistance of the Guardia Civil (police). The mayor of Yauyos is sometimes called in to lay foundation stones on new projects, or honour ceremonies and the community's school teachers must go to the town every month to collect their wages. However, Yauyos is a small town, with little commercial activity. Although in its lower reaches the Canete valley is an important agricultural zone, the narrow valleys high up in the river's ravine produce little surplus and, what it does, is usually sent directly to Lima.

The Mantaro valley has become one of the country's most important agricultural production zones, supplying Lima with large volumes of vegetable and animal products. The city of Huancayo has also become an

important commercial centre, attracting produce from the surrounding areas for many miles around (Roberts 1976). It is therefore to Huancayo that wool and meat traders from Tomas most often travel to sell their wares, and from there that the majority of consumer goods are brought to supply the households of the community.

The community's historical links with trade and mining have had a marked effect on the population. The main products of the puna are wool and meat, with milk being produced on a much smaller scale. The bulk of all these products is, of necessity, sold or bartered to supply the household with other foodstuffs and manufactured goods essential for its reproduction. Even in the village, arable produce is too restricted to allow any household to be self-sufficient. On the other hand, the existence of many mines in the locality has led to the involvement of the community in mining at least since the early colonial period.

Over the past four centuries Tomas has developed in the shadow of two great export economies: minerals and wool. As a result, trade, transport (based in the past largely on the community's herds of llamas and mules) and mining have had a profound effect on the population, both economically and culturally.

The setting

The two environments - village and puna - present two very different life styles which, whilst they remain fundamentally dependent upon one another, are difficult to reconcile in practical terms. For instance, a household which is able to sustain itself on the basis of its herds often finds little time to visit the village, or interest in its life,

especially since it may be as much as two days' journey away. On the other hand, a household which is either forced through lack of animals, or chooses, to diversify its economy, or a man who has political ambitions, are obliged to spend considerable periods away from their estancias, thus jeopardising the production of their herds. In the past the polarization which resulted from this separation was not marked. Most households depended on their herds for their livelihoods and the majority of their time was spent with them in the puna. The village was deserted for much of the year. In recent years, though, changes in the wider economy, have meant that, for certain households, the opportunities which the village offers often make it far more attractive than the puna.

The village settlement, which is situated in the extreme southwest of the community's lands in the ravine of a tributary of the Canete river, is remote from many of the pastoral zones. The valley around the village supports what little arable production - potatoes, Andean tubers and broad beans - is possible at this altitude. Above the village itself, there are two small, privately-owned mines. However, there is no other industry beyond the work of a few full-time weavers and some single women who knit woollen clothing for the miners and teachers resident in the village. And yet the village supports a sizeable population, part of it consisting of temporary residents, down from the puna for business reasons, and the remainder making up a more or less permanent population of traders, teachers, school children, some of their mothers and government employees, as well as retired people and some single women.

Much of the village's activity centres upon the community's schools - kindergarten, primary and secondary schools - which all the children from the village and the puna, as well as the secondary school children from

from Huancachi, are expected to attend. There is a total of some 340 in all three schools. Their numbers in the village are supplemented by a considerable population of parents, teachers and employees of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal (NEC), which together constitute the educational sector of the population.

The two mines close to the village provide employment for some 45 men of whom 31 are Tomasinos. The remainder are immigrants from other villages in the locality, the Mantaro valley and further afield. Although the work which they offer is poorly paid in comparison with the large scale Yauricocha mine, they do provide employment for men who have no other viable source of income. Indeed, mine labour represents the most important means through which Tomasinos without viable herds can make their living.⁴ Whilst long-term migrants may move on to the bigger mines of Cerro de Pasco, Oroya or Morococha, many prefer to stay in or near Tomas, while their families tend their herds and fields.

The village is also the principal residence of many of the community's traders. Fifteen out of the total of 25 shops are located in the village and, although they are not permanent residents, most of the wool and meat traders spend part of their time there. In fact, the village is the centre for much of the community's commercial activity. Besides the day-to-day trade of the general goods stores and the bakery, there is a once-weekly sale of meat in the village and once or twice weekly visits of vegetable sellers coming from Huancayo and the Canete valley. Some of the households in the puna within easy reach of the village come down at regular intervals to buy bread, vegetables, kerosene and dry goods from the traders. While the wholesale trade in wool and meat is almost entirely restricted to the puna, it is in the bars and streets of the

village that information often changes hands and deals are struck.

Thus, in spite of its limited production base, the village is occupied and relatively busy for much of the year. This contrasts with other pastoral villages, as well as with Tomas itself as little as forty years ago.⁵ Moreover, its residents have succeeded in implementing numerous infrastructural improvements over recent years which make Tomas one of the most "progressive" communities in the Yauyos area. These have included the installation of running water and electricity and the construction of new municipal and school buildings, as well as the opening of the NEC, the kindergarten and the secondary school.

Main characteristics of life in Tomas

The village, therefore, appears to be very much the hub of the community: the centre for political decision making, for much commercial activity and the place to which all households with children must eventually come to bring them to school. And, in spite of the fact that the vast majority of the community's productive resources are located in the puna and that most of the trade in animal products takes place there, the traders themselves have strong connections with the village. They tend to be the owners of the best houses and are frequently the holders of political office. In many cases it is they who have been behind communal projects; their skill, knowledge and motivation have been put to use in convincing government agencies of Tomas' needs and rights, as well as in persuading community members to cooperate in their efforts to sustain the community's, and particularly the urban settlement's, advancement.

The life of the pastoralist, on the other hand, is both hard and

monotonous. Although the pastoralists of Tomas are not amongst the poorest of peasants, the constraints which their environment, as well as those which the community itself, impose on the expansion of the herding economy, encourage those with surplus capital to diversify into external activities. In addition, the herding regime, with its light labour requirements and the wide geographic dispersal of the population, tends to foster attitudes of strong independence and self-interest amongst the herdsmen. Whilst there is a degree of cooperation between related households, especially in the distribution of the herds of different species into the grazing zones most suited to them, many households manage the day-to-day care of the herds under their control independently. And, although those households sharing a single estancia, may watch over each others animals during periods of absence, there is an inbuilt degree of competition between them for the grazing which they share. Frequent conflicts erupt, leading to the periodic relocation of the households occupying an estancia. In addition, because of their remoteness from the village and the fact that the schemes of the village residents who largely control communal interests, offer puna dwellers little advantage, there is a degree of hostility between the two zones.

The ownership of the majority of animals is in private hands, with the basic unit of production being the household. Many puna dwelling households devote themselves entirely to the care of their livestock and the elaboration of animal products (principally woollen goods). Since there is no other means of agricultural livelihood in the puna, a household may have to provide for all its needs through the sale or barter of animal products. Thus, in spite of their general independence as producers, the restricted nature of puna produce make all pastoral

households dependent both on barter, and the regional market for wool and meat, to supply their needs.

Although many of the puna households consist of independent herdsmen, there is also a proportion of shepherds amongst them. Shepherd households, which usually have their own herds, are responsible for the animals of households which are not permanently resident in the puna. These latter may be long-term migrants to the mines or cities, households permanently resident in the village (as in the case of teachers), or they may be traders who travel continuously between Huancayo, the puna and the village.

The type of contract between herd owner and shepherd household varies with individual cases: some shepherds are immigrants on fixed contracts, some are young Tomasino households trying to establish a viable herd of their own and some are close relatives, caring for the herds of an absent family member. In accordance with the specific terms of contract, payment may take the form of a fixed annual salary, an allowance for each animal tended, a half share of the offspring, or a combination of any of these. Whilst it is clear that, in the cases of some long term shepherds, they may actually own larger numbers of animals than their employers, in many cases the shepherd-herd owner relation points up the existence of a considerable degree of economic differentiation within the community. In addition, the absence of considerable numbers of comuneros from the puna is an indication of growing economic diversity.

Over the past fifty years, with the expansion of commercial activity centred on Lima and Huancayo, the extension of communications systems and the country's increasing commitment to education, new hopes as well as

opportunities have presented themselves to those Tomasinos with the capital to diversify their domestic economy. Because much of the trade in which all puna households are involved is carried out in cash, those wealthier households who wish to diversify their economies, do not usually suffer from a shortage of easily convertible capital assets. As a result, not only has there been a decline in the maximum numbers of animals held by single households as animals are sold off to finance education or alternative economic ventures, but many of the wealthiest and best educated members of the community have left their herds in the care of shepherds and migrated to other parts of the country.

Whilst it is undeniable that there is a considerable degree of economic differentiation within the community, in no way could the majority of its members be classed as "the poorest of peasants" (Matos Mar 1982:82). Moreover, such differentiation as exists does not form the main basis for the conflicts which arise within the community. While it is primarily the wealthier households which are involved in trade, education and migration and who live in the village or even outside the community, those who live in the puna are not the poorest households. Those with inadequate herds cannot sustain an independent pastoral way of life and are obliged to work as shepherds or, more often, to seek work in the mines. The conflicts which arise over communal issues are often founded on the different aspirations of puna and village dwellers. Those in the puna are committed to independent herding and their needs relate to the quality and extent of the land which they are able to graze and the number and condition of their animals. They are largely independent, having no desire for the improvement of the village, and may not see the community as anything more than an impediment to their domestic economy. On the

other hand, village dwellers see themselves as concerned for the well being of the community and determined to improve living standards in the village. In their view the puna residents are negligent of their communal obligations and bent only on their own personal advancement.

Despite the attitudes of the village dwellers, those who remain in the puna sustain a lifestyle which, each day, seems harder and more isolated. Although they are not generally the poorest, they tend to be the least educated members of the population, since education frequently makes a person unfit for the life of the herdsman. Moreover, they are neglected by the government's rural development schemes. The government has channelled almost all its efforts in improving pastoralism into the creation of community cooperatives, which have received both financial assistance and access to high quality breeding stock. Programmes of education for pastoralists have always been sporadic and, while recent research interest in the alpaca may be of future use to the herders of Tomas, they have little faith in government agents such as the veterinary technician (sectorista) who makes regular, if infrequent, calls to the community. Moreover, the community itself has displayed little interest in the improvement of its pastoral sector. Although Tomas is noted for its improvement schemes, these have nearly all been carried out in the village, to the neglect of its main productive base in the puna. Even the two cooperative herding enterprises which it has established with government grants, now supply cash for the improvement of the village, which is a place where pastoralists seldom visit and in which many of them have little interest.

The urban population, which includes the majority of those holding political office, is conscious of the needs of the village and

enthusiastic to have them satisfied. Those in political office, who are frequently also traders who depend on the village for much of their livelihoods, are the vociferous exponents of the "advancement" of the community. Although few comuneros are without animals and all are confronted with the same constraints to their pastoral economies, those who have diversified into other fields, are no longer so dependent upon the productivity of their herds. Also, they tend to be better educated and better informed about husbandry techniques than puna residents. Some of the wealthiest pastoralists have been in a position to buy pedigree breeding stock, while others spend considerable amounts of cash on medications and vaccines which they buy in Huancayo. However, because of the lack of control over animal movements, such actions often have limited effects on the quality of livestock. Moreover, because the community's interest is so firmly rooted in the development of the village, individual proposals for improvements in the puna, such as fencing, the rotation of pastures or the rehabilitation of old irrigation systems, have never been carried out. Thus the individual pastoralist household, faced with the impossibility of making major improvements to its stock on the communally held pasture, is frequently obliged to rely primarily on the lore of pastoralism passed on to it by its parents in the knowledge that it will at least ensure it an adequate living in a remote and hostile environment.

Whilst the preceding paragraphs can in no way be said to constitute a complete view of Tomas' economic and social structure, they do attempt to highlight certain areas of discontinuity and potential conflict within the community which will be analysed in this thesis. However, up to now we have been looking at an economy which relies almost exclusively on

export monoculture in isolation from its markets and without an understanding of the way in which this particular situation has come into being over time. Consequently, we have highlighted the results of the larger economic process without the development of an understanding as to how it operates in this context, and the extent to which local action has stimulated or altered its affects on Tomas. In order to understand the situation in Tomas as outlined above, it is therefore necessary to look at the community in both its regional and historical contexts.

The regional context

Tomas' regional situation is somewhat ambiguous. It is situated on the watershed of the Western Cordillera of the Andes and has relations with two valley regions. On the west lies the region of Yauyos, whose rivers run into the Canete which empties into the Pacific and on the east is the Mantaro intermontane valley region: a river whose waters empty into the Amazon.

Since the times of the reducciones in 1569 Tomas has been politically included in the Canete valley: first under the system of encomiendas and later as a part of the province of Yauyos.⁶ All its political links remain with Yauyos and with the department of Lima. Its petitions are delivered to the provincial authorities there and, each month, its teachers are obliged to make the precarious journey to the provincial capital for their pay. Yet Tomas has few economic linkages with Yauyos, nor with the Canete valley. Although the "members of Tomas ayllu", exchanged rights in grazing lands for rights in arable lands with neighbouring ayllus in the eighteenth century, there are no crop surpluses currently produced in the upper Canete valley which could

provide the basis for barter with the wool producing households of Tomas. While there is a small weekly market in the hamlet of Tinco some ten kilometres down the valley at which some Tomasino traders buy vegetables for resale in the community, and two or three itinerant vegetable sellers visit the community each week with the produce of the Canete valley, the town of Yauyos is rural in comparison with Huancayo, and Lima is some 320 kilometres distant from Tomas. All these factors restrict Tomas' economic links with the inhabitants on this side of the watershed.

There is no historical documentation of the early relations between Tomas and the Mantaro valley. However, since Tomas is unable to obtain arable produce through barter with its neighbours in the Upper Canete valley, it is to the Mantaro and the montana (or high jungle) beyond it that people travel to exchange their woollen goods and meat for maize and other grains - and have done so for as long as living memory extends. Traders from Tomas make the trip to Huancayo to sell wool and meat from the community's herds and bring back foodstuffs, kerosene and clothing. All the community's wool is sold in Huancayo and, while one of the community's meat traders considered Lima to be amongst his markets, Huancayo is far more important for all trade both to and from the community.

Thus, although most of the pastoral communities further down the ravine of the Canete river send their wool directly to the Lima market, in the case of Tomas, much of whose puna lies on the Mantaro side of the watershed, it is simply more practicable to send wool the 100 kilometres to Huancayo than over 300 to Lima. The logic of its economic affiliations have outweighed political pressure to include it in a region of which it is not an integral part, and so it remains on the watershed in a

metaphorical as well as a literal sense.

The history of Tomas has been one of a continuous struggle to establish and maintain its rights to lands in the puna. The long-running series of disputes with neighbouring communities and haciendas, with mines both on its land and nearby, and even between factions of the community itself, have resulted in a strong sense of communal identity which is expounded by those most concerned with the community's advancement (i.e. principally those town-dwelling comuneros who have been involved in infrastructural projects within the community). In fact, Tomasinos are known as being a proud people by the members of neighbouring communities. Their love of horses, their access to wide extensions of puna and their victories over the haciendas, their neighbours and even the Agrarian Reform, have made them the subject of some envy in other communities.⁷

In spite of the strength of their communal identity, though, the composition of the population has changed frequently over the period since the Spanish conquest. On the one hand there have been repeated influxes of labourers to work the mines in the locality while, on the other, the settlement has been all but emptied on a number of occasions following natural disasters. Its pastoral and mining economy has meant that the transport of goods by pack animals has been a feature of the people's livelihood over this period. Transport and mine labour have undoubtedly had a considerable effect on people's awareness of industrial development in the wider regional and national contexts, as well as on their attitudes to their life style in comparison with those which they have seen in other places. Moreover, in recent years, with the development of a labour market and increasing emphasis being placed on the importance of education, the rate of out-migration, both temporary

and permanent, has accelerated alongside the growing realisation of the limitations of the life of the herdsman.

The economy of Tomas cannot therefore be understood, either today or in the past, without considering the twin influences of mining and the wool trade upon it. There have been various studies of the historical effects of the mining economy on the communities of the central highlands (Bonilla, H 1974a; Yepes 1974; De Wind 1977; Laite 1978), as well as a small number on the relations between local pastoral economies in the southern highlands and the national and international wool market (Appleby 1976; Orlove 1977). But Tomas has developed over the past centuries in the shadow of both these important export economies. It is, thus, inevitable that their cycles of growth and decline have affected both the choice of economic strategy within the household and feelings of solidarity in the community as a whole.

The development of the export market for wool and the advent of a national market for woollen manufactures have contributed to the increased market valuation of wool and thus stimulated production. Although early data on the destination of wool produced in Tomas are not available, as early as the sixteenth century European sheep were distributed to communities in the Yauyos region by the corregidor Davila Brizeno (1965). In the early part of the present century the large number of sheep being kept on the community's pasture, as well as personal recollections, confirm the community's involvement in the wool trade at that time. Although the expansion of haciendas, both within and on the borders of the community during the early part of this century threatened the survival of the community's pastoral households, the collapse of the wool market in the 1920's and the subsequent decline in the strength of

haciendas which culminated in the community's gains from the Agrarian Reform of 1969, assured the survival of pastoral production in Tomas. Today, whilst its viability is still threatened by changes in the international price of wool, as well as by its decapitalisation by wealthier individual households, pastoralism remains the only secure foundation for the economy. Herds are, as several Tomasinos pointed out, Un respaldo, "a piggy-bank", on which they can always fall back in times of economic constraint.⁸

The effects of the mining economy on Tomas have been more diverse and remain more complex to assess. Although it is obvious that the presence of mines in the area has attracted people to Tomas despite the evident natural disadvantages of its situation, the long-term effects of mine labour on the population have not been uniform. The small mines operating in the region have not been capable of providing the stable source of employment which those of Cerro de Pasco and Huancavelica did for other nearby communities in the central highlands (Bonilla, H 1974a). The early history of the Yauricocha mine is unknown, but during the present century it has only provided sporadic employment. Moreover, the pastoral economy, unlike that of arable farming, does not allow seasonal migration. In Tomas, migration has tended to be restricted to young men who have left the community for longer periods, with the intention of returning with the cash to purchase the animals and thus form a herd of their own. Whilst in the past, many of these men returned, with or without the cash to buy a herd, in recent years, many of those who have taken up employment in the mines, have not returned.

The relations of the community as a whole with the mines on and near its lands have remained contradictory. On the one hand mines damage the

community's lands and roads and pollute its grazing and its rivers, while Tomas earns little revenue from them. On the other, the communal authorities have always seen the nearby mines as a source of technical and material assistance in their projects, as well as providing employment for some comuneros. The minutes of communal assemblies are quite capable of containing the condemnation of a particular mine for damage of Tomas' lands in one paragraph and a petition to the same mine owners for help in reconstruction after floods in another (Actas de la Comunidad de Tomas 1974).

In summary, then, the village now appears to be the political and social hub of the community. It is the centre for education, communal action and much of the community's trade. In addition, a great deal of communal cash and labour has been invested in the improvement of village facilities.

Village dwellers, while they acknowledge the importance of the puna and almost certainly own some livestock themselves, have little affection for the bulk of the puna population. Although many of them glorify the life of the puna and their devotion to their animals, few actually spend much time there. They may no longer carry out the rituals appropriate to herding (such as the herranza or animal fertility and marking ritual) and, for many of them, the sale of their wool on the market is considered less trouble and more profitable than barter. They see the pastoralists as only interested in their own livelihood and unconcerned for the progress of the community. If they employ shepherds, they probably mistrust them, blaming them secretly, if not openly, for the loss of their animals attributed to predation or theft.

Pastoralists who reside in the puna spurn the life of the village in the

ravine where they say that there is "no sun and no space", in favour of the wide open punas and the difficult life of herding. Aware of their impotence to improve the state of pastoralism on communal lands owing to the village's control of political and economic resources and suspicious of outside agencies, they remain strongly independent and resistant to change.

It is these constraints imposed on the pastoral economy which have led many wealthier households to divert their main interests away from their animals and into trade and the education of their children. Such a situation has led to the increasing outmigration of the wealthier and best-educated members of the community and the progressive deterioration of pastoralism. This situation is broadly parallel to that documented as having happened in the agricultural community of Mito, which Hernen Castillo describes as "the orphan of its illustrious children" (Castillo 1964).

The disjunction which appears between the life of the puna and that of the village, and the ambitions of those who live in these two vastly different environments can be viewed both through the historical and geographical contexts in which the community has developed. These wider temporal and spatial effects may be summarised in the following three points. In the first place, the community's ability to maintain its control over a considerable tract of well-watered puna grazing has given it the means to establish a relatively wealthy economy. Secondly, Tomas' relative closeness to the dynamic market region of the Mantaro valley has meant, not only intensive involvement in the market for wool and meat, but also a concomitant decline in the importance of barter with a valley with such highly capitalised agriculture. Thirdly, the community's

involvement in mining and transport has provided many households with cash earnings as well as giving many people first-hand experience of the wider regional and national economies. As a result the population of Tomas is well informed, fairly wealthy and market orientated. The community as an administrative unit shows great ability in making use of government schemes and playing its political cards to its own advantage.

1.3. Methodology

In order to gain access to the type of data which would be appropriate to the study outlined in the first part of this chapter I have employed historical, anthropological and sociological research methods.

I made a thorough study of many of the documents found in the community's archives, including minutes of communal meetings, letters to the community authorities and documentation of government schemes (the majority of which documents date from the 1940's). I also examined a number of old legal documents describing disputes over boundaries and rights of access to grazing lands which date from the eighteenth century. In the Lima archives I sought all sources of colonial and post-colonial documentation on the province of Yauyos as well as historical data on mining in the Tomas region.

I spent almost a year in Tomas, during which time I used the village as my residential base. Because of the difficulties of accommodation in the puna, I restricted my contacts with this zone largely to one day trips,

travelling on foot, by horse and, sometimes, motorised transport. Because of the vast extension of the community's puna and the poor access to much of it, the majority of my contacts were with people living in the zones closest to the village. However, I also found it possible to locate certain of my puna-dwelling informants during their trips to the village, and even in Huancayo and Lima.

In the course of the year I made monthly trips to Huancayo in order to buy supplies, to type and reproduce questionnaires and to talk with friends and colleagues about my work. I was also able, at these times, to follow up some of the leads suggested by information obtained in Tomas, and thus to carry out the groundwork for the later research which I did in that city.

These trips also enabled me to work on the photographs which formed an important aspect of my study. I took two cameras with me to the field, as well as supplies of film, chemicals and equipment, which made it possible for me to make extensive use of photography in my work. Not only was it possible for me to pay my informants for their help with photographs of their families, it also enabled me to build up an extensive photographic record of life in the community during the time in which I was there. Some of these photographs appear in the present thesis.

In Tomas, besides general participant observation which took me to shearings and fiestas, the ceremonies for the inauguration of electricity and the patios of weavers to share in the experiences of life in Tomas, I employed more formalised techniques of information gathering using informants. I conducted a census of the majority of households (this could not be completed because of the size of the puna and the reluctance

of some comuneros to attend village events or cooperate with my work), as well as a detailed study of the production and consumption of a small sample of comunero households, using a series of written questionnaires.

The production questionnaire, which was filled in during two sessions with the head of the household, included sections on the ownership of animals, labour used, inputs and productivity, of pastoralism and agriculture. It also had sections which related to other income sources in which the household members were involved. The final section included a small number of questions on the informant's personal attitudes to life in Tomas. The consumption questionnaire, which was usually completed with the woman of the household, consisted of a list of all the basic foodstuffs and domestic goods usually purchased by households in Tomas. It also included space for details of bulk purchases, rents and payments to peones. Two of these latter questionnaires were completed, one in June and the other in September 1980. Data from these questionnaires are used to substantiate the arguments in the chapters on the household economy and they are reproduced in full in the Appendix.

Using largely members from the same households, I also employed informal interviews and the recording of life histories to obtain both an historical perspective and information on attitudes which might be pertinent to my investigation. In addition I made detailed case studies of the economic organisation of two households and followed some of the trading links through to the markets of Huancayo.

Expanding my research into the regional context, I conducted informal interviews with representatives of Alpaca Peru, Incolana, some of the neighbouring cooperative herding enterprises (SAIS), the wool factories

of Huancayo and Lima and several of the owners of wool warehouses in Huancayo. I observed the conduct of wool collection, purchase and sale in the Huancayo markets and undertook a questionnaire with persons involved in wool transactions. I also spent some time investigating the organisation of the mines which have close links through wage labour and/or the occupation of communal territory, in an effort to create a fuller picture of the types of interaction which the community has had with these important local sources of both employment and conflict.

From these many sources I have been able to construct an ample and multi-stranded picture of the local and regional economy of Tomas. It is this which constitutes the bulk of the remainder of the thesis.

The work is divided into three sections. The first, which includes this introduction, deals with what I have called The Problem. It sets out the basic theoretical and empirical debates that underpin the data which are presented in the latter parts of the thesis. Thus Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical debate on regional analysis, the study of household and community in the Andes and the debate on the penetration of capitalism into peasant society. Chapter 3 considers some of the recent work on the two regions between which Tomas is located: the Mantaro and Upper Canete (Yauyos) valleys, as well as describing some of the work which has appeared on pastoralism in the Andes.

Part Two deals with historical data. Chapter 4 is concerned with the historical background to the economies of wool and mining. It also presents a brief history of the rise of the city of Huancayo as a regional market centre. Chapter 5 deals specifically with the history of the community of Tomas since the seventeenth century, its relation to the

mining economy of the locality and its social and economic status in the middle of the present century.

The third section sets out the field data gathered during the periods which I spent in Tomas and Huancayo. Chapter 6 makes a general ecological and economic description of puna and village in Tomas, detailing the community's agricultural resources and outlining the alternative activity fields in which comuneros commonly engage. It notes how the different economic strategies employed by individual households affect their residence patterns and the ways in which these have changed over recent years.

Chapters 7 and 8 entail a detailed description of the household economy in the community. Aggregate data on the various economic activity fields, the linkages which they have with other areas, and the advantages, benefits and constraints which they present to the households which employ them, are the subject of the first of these two chapters. The second describes the numerous ways in which individual households combine such activities in their efforts to create viable livelihood strategies, whether for survival or expansion. It presents detailed case studies and data on production and consumption in order to analyse the organisation of the domestic economy and to point up its reliance on cash and consumer goods.

Chapter 9 shows how the community acts as a constraining factor on the economies of individual households and illustrates the types of tensions and conflicts which arise from the interaction of household and community interests. It also shows that, since the community organisation is dominated by a particular sector of the population, conflicts are often

related to problems of economic differentiation and the various aims and aspirations of households within the community, rather than to an opposition between certain households and the "community" as a collectivity.

Chapter 10 relates the household to its wider regional environment through the networks which are established within specific activity fields. Through a detailed study of the networks which relate wool production to the regional and national economies via traders and wool dealers in Tomas and Huancayo, the importance which the regional economy has for the community is emphasised.

Throughout all these chapters emphasis is placed on the role of change in the local and regional economies. Data from earlier in the present century is presented wherever it is available, and each chapter ends with a section dealing specifically with the changing trends of social and economic behavior in Tomas. Finally, in Chapter 11 the data discussed in the previous chapters is drawn together to present a conclusion to the thesis.

NOTES

1. Or "peasant community", whose creation and significance is described in greater detail in the next chapter. A full list of those Spanish and Quechua terms used throughout the thesis appears in the Glossary.
2. It should be noted that this figure includes all persons resident in the community, thus incorporating immigrant mine workers, teachers and other non-comunero residents.
3. The term Nucleo Educativo Comunal was originally applied to large neighbourhood schools in urban areas. In the rural context, it is a status given to one of a number of small village schools which makes it the administrative centre for the whole group.
4. As far as could be ascertained from informants or other sources, the community has no history of temporary migration in search of employment in other industries. This compares with the neighbouring community of Hauncaya some of whose population migrates to the haciendas of the lower Canete valley to work (De la Cadena 1980).

5. Webster (1973) and Flores (1977) also describe the villages of pastoralists as being unoccupied for much of the year.
6. For a fuller discussion of the historical origins of Tomas' political position see Chapter 5 of the present thesis.
7. Horses are generally considered to be symbols of prestige in the Andes and Tomasinos are very fond of showing them off as such at horse races and in feats of horsemanship such as the jala pato. A saying in Huancaya, the community on Tomas' northwest boundary, runs that "En Tomas hay caballos, pero no hay sol" ("In Tomas there are horses, but no sun."): a reference to the deep ravine in which the village is built and which only enjoys the sun between eight and three o'clock each day. (Personal communication from Maris Soledad De la Cadena.)
8. This point has also been made about other groups of pastoralists by Custred (1974:257).

CHAPTER 2 : THEORETICAL THEMES

Introduction

As has been outlined in the introduction, the present study aims to look at a local wool producing economy of a community in the central Peruvian highlands within the context of its larger regional environment. The present chapter sets out my theoretical perspective and deals with past and present work on the local and regional economy by focusing on those areas of theoretical debate pertinent to the data presented in the thesis. The chapter is divided into three main sections: the first deals with the current debate on regional analysis, while the second concentrates on the importance of social and economic relations between households within peasant communities, and the third discusses the role which capitalist relations of production play in Andean peasant society.

Over recent years there has been a deepening interest in anthropological and sociological studies in the relation between regional economies, household and community studies, and the role which capitalism plays in the peasant economy. All of these fields of knowledge have passed through a number of intellectual phases which have brought them continually closer to each other, so that they now offer an effective framework for the study of economic relations in a peasant society. In broadest terms,

the ways in which these three theoretical areas unite to form such a coherent framework are described in the paragraphs which follow.

The importance of regional analysis as a necessary aspect of theoretical discussions of development has long been recognised. While its earliest forms originated in spatially oriented geographical concepts which centred on markets and the flows of goods between them and outlying areas, more recent work has evolved a broader approach focused on the relations involved in production, though not to the exclusion of distribution. Such a viewpoint demands that a regional perspective move away from the consideration of market centres as the only hub of a regional economy, and into the study of production, small-scale trade and local level organisation through the perspective of "activity fields". The study of the "linkages" which unite different activity fields allows the researcher to expand his study into the regional perspective and thus to gain a clearer understanding of the ways in which development occurs.

At the local level, recent research into the organisation of production has focused on the household, groups of households and larger organisational units such as the community. These, in turn, have been shown to be related to the region through the medium of specific activity fields. On the one hand the debate has concerned the determination of the minimal productive unit. This was originally specified as the community, but in more recent work the role of the household, groups of households and other social networks at the household level in the control of production as well as consumption has been more clearly understood.

Another important aspect of the debate on social organisation and production in peasant society has concentrated on the extent to which

capitalist relations of production have penetrated the so-called "traditional", non- or pre-capitalist, peasant community. One group of researchers has maintained the resistance of peasant communities, based on reciprocal relations and patterns of social interaction, to what they see as the destructive influences of capitalist penetration. Alternatively, other work has shown how, far from resisting capitalism, individual peasants and entrepreneurs in such communities frequently embrace cash-based labour and market relations and manipulate them to their own advantage.

The three sections which follow entail a more detailed survey of the ways in which the research and theoretical debates in these three areas have developed. The critical evaluation of the positions taken by various writers, both through reference to other works and in terms of my own experience, will be used to construct a framework for the data which will be presented in the latter part of the thesis.

2.1. The development of regional analysis

The central theme of this section is a survey of some of the most widely used models put forward in the study of regional formations. I shall, however, preface that discussion with a summary of the arguments both for and against the basic tenets of dependency theory and the analysis of development in terms of "world system" which, to a great extent, have constituted the thesis to which recent regional models have become the antithesis. In spite of their rejection of many of its basic aspects,

though, such models have retained much of the general perspective adopted by dependency theory.

Dependency theory

Dependency theory, which Carol Smith includes under the general heading of "world system theory" (Smith, C 1982),¹ was first popularised by Andre Gunder Frank. He rejected the "dualist" interpretation of the nature of underdeveloped nations which was expounded by modernisation theory (Frank 1967). Dualistic theory maintains that there are two completely separate economic sectors in under-developed countries. One, which is linked to the world economy, is dominated by capitalist relations of labour and trade, whilst the other, which remains isolated, relies on traditional relations. Frank maintains that there remain no isolated sectors in such an economy which capitalism has not penetrated and changed. All sectors are closely articulated with the metropolitan power by political and social as well as economic ties of dependency. This situation, he argues, in fact facilitates the extraction of surplus at each level of dependency. It also leads to alliances between respective groups of the bourgeoisie and a consequent increase in polarisation between dominant and subjugated groups at each level.

Rather, Frank describes the dependent nature of the relations existing between "metropolitan" nations of the industrialised West and the "satellite" nations of the so-called Third or Developing World as being based on the exploitation of the latter by the former. The theory, set out in a much abbreviated form, maintains that the underdeveloped state in which Third World countries find themselves is not a natural stage of their transformation towards developed states, but a result of their

contact with the industrialised nations which dominated them. In other words, domination was the means by which economic surpluses were extracted from such countries and that, over time, this led to their underdevelopment. He saw the dependent relationship between metropolitan and satellite nations as replicated at all other levels of economic interaction down to the local level. Thus, while the metropolitan nation exploited the satellite one, so within the satellite, "metropolitan" cities exploited smaller provincial ones which, in their turn, exploited the countryside, and so on.

Whilst there is general agreement over the major part of Frank's argument, other writers, including Laclau (1971), criticise his failure to define what he means by "capitalism". Frank sees dependency in terms of unequal relations of trade and does not include production in his image of exploitation. As a result, he is able to assert that Latin America has been capitalist since the earliest period of colonialism. However, as Laclau points out, this assertion ignores the fact that, at that time no country in Europe was dominated by a capitalist mode of production and was not therefore, according to Marx, a capitalist economy. What Frank is in fact referring to - according to Laclau - in the case of the colonisation of Latin America, is mercantile expansionism, and not the spread of capitalism as a mode of production.

The fact that there is evidence of the existence of innumerable situations in which non-capitalist relations of both labour and trade exist and continue to thrive offers tangible proof of the fallacy of Frank's proposition. In fact, as Laclau states:

"In regions with dense indigenous populations - Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, or Guatemala - the direct producers were not despoiled of their ownership of the means of production, while extra-economic

coercion to maximise various systems of labour service....was progressively intensified. In the West Indies, the economy was based on a mode of production constituted by slave labour, while in the mining areas there developed disguised forms of slavery and other types of forced labour which bore not the slightest resemblance to the formation of a capitalist proletariat." (ibid.:30)

Other recent writers on dependency reject Frank's rather simple view of the supremacy of capitalism in the relations between metropolitan and satellite nations (such as the work of Cotler and Dos Santos, discussed in Long 1975). They have also attempted to introduce more complex models to explain metropolitan-satellite relations, which will allow for greater local-level flexibility and interaction. However, their continuing emphasis on the exploitative aspects of the relationship between dominant and subordinate sectors have restricted the potential for the analysis of relations within or between the various sectors at the local level.² It is this inability of dependency theory to address local variation and adaptation to capitalist penetration - adaptation which may ultimately affect the success of both government directed and private schemes to capitalise production in the countryside - which has challenged recent writers to seek alternative levels of analysis capable of interpreting such phenomena.

In fact, what clearly arises from the works of writers on dependency, including those of both Frank and Laclau, is that no over-arching theory can account for the ways in which capitalist and non- or pre-capitalist forms of production are combined at the local level. Rather, each locality generates its own form of such interaction based on locally important social and economic factors. Thus, they argue that it is impossible to study the relationship between nations or other large scale entities outside of an understanding of local factors which are present

in individual regional economies.

Regional analysis

Regional analysis, whose importance for the study of the integration of local level economic and social situations into wider spheres of activity was first proposed in the mid-seventies, is now widely accepted as a relevant analytical tool amongst writers on Latin America. Whilst the general principle is of admitted relevance, though, its definition has become an area of discussion over the past ten years. In order to be able to make use of such a perspective, I shall therefore outline some of the current debates on regional analysis in order to establish the criteria on which my own particular concept is based.

In early works (Smith, C 1976), which were dominated by the original geographer's spatial attitude towards region, there was a predominant interest in the role of the circulation of goods and relations of trade which bore a marked resemblance to the shortcomings of Frank's dependency theory. Grounded firmly in the theory of "central places", "dendritic marketing systems" and "locational analysis", such analyses tended to minimise the importance of the role which the control of the means of production plays in the extraction of surplus. Whilst Smith notes that "production variables are not ignored but are placed within a regional economic framework where the critical variable is the mode of exchange" (Smith, C 1976, II:310), in a later paper, she feels obliged to remark that she may have previously been guilty of implying that surplus is extracted through market monopoly. Rather, she goes on to emphasise that "Surplus is extracted in dendritic marketing systems because these systems foster differential growth in productive capacity" (Smith, C

1982:321).

One of the germinal themes underlying much regional analysis is "the focus on the pattern of hierarchical relationships that develops between places within a region" (Long and Roberts 1984:6) which goes under the general heading of "central place theory". According to this theory, as set out by Smith (1976), the spatial organisation of a locality and the placement of its markets are determined by market competition. Thus a town or village will become a market centre for a given area of producers and consumers, only as its position allows it to compete with other similar urban centres. Certain urban centres, because of their position, access to transport links or production zones, are best placed to become "central places". To them merchants and wealthier farmers flock to trade. They become political and social as well as economic centres, attracting migration from outlying areas. Around them smaller centres trade in less expensive, everyday goods, in an hierarchical system which assures the provision of purchasers of produce and suppliers of consumer goods at an economic rate to all areas of the countryside.

Although this theory has a certain conceptual use, it has several failings which lead researchers to a biased view of regional organisation. In the first place, as Long and Roberts note, this theory lends itself to an understanding of social and economic inequalities within a region as being based entirely upon inequalities in access to marketing and credit facilities. They go on to note that, according to this view, "The region itself tends to be defined in terms of a major marketing centre and its sphere of influence" (Long and Roberts 1984:6). Such an attitude gives an over-simplified view of regional organisation and has led to many of the mistakes in emphasis and interpretation made

by both researchers and governmental agencies.

In her later work Smith criticises her own model on the grounds that it neglects the class dynamics of regional structures. Because it takes a purely economic and static view of the organisation of a given region, it is not capable of accounting for the existence of conflicting interests amongst groups of merchants, agriculturalists and industrialists competing for labour or markets within the region. Moreover, Long and Roberts emphasise that such interests are inevitably redefined over time as new opportunities, often created by changes in the national or international market, become available to certain sectors of the population. A static view of regional organisation, based on a purely spatial concept, is unable to cope with the "many different interests (involved which produce an) historically contingent rather than logically necessary outcome" (Smith, C 1982:339: her emphasis).

This continuing emphasis on the supreme importance of markets and circulation of goods seems to have been a factor in the work of many of the principal exponents of the regional model in its early stages. Long and Roberts note that, because of their reliance on this theory, their original research proposal "concentrated excessively on systems of exchange and distribution as key factors in shaping relationships between social groups and in determining the development of local communities. In the course of the research, we became convinced that not only did our analysis require greater historical depth, but that it was more useful to focus on production and, in particular, on the regional system of production that had evolved in this area in order to understand both past and present developments" (Long and Roberts 1984:5). I now propose to go on to discuss the role which Long and Roberts see production and the

historical dimension playing in the study of class struggle and the development of regional economies.

In the introduction to their work on regional analysis Long and Roberts emphasise the importance of the study of the dynamics of regional structure through production because "in areas affected by the rapid expansion of export production, the dominant force for change in local economies has been the requirements which this production has had for labour, land and necessary infrastructure" (ibid.:8). The ability of certain groups of the peasantry to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the introduction or expansion of production for export - through buying up suitable land or employing more labour - ultimately leads to changes in the social structure of the locality. Thus a full picture of the changes involved in the expansion of the economy into the capitalist sphere is unlikely to be revealed by a study of exchange and distribution practices which pays no attention to evolving forms of organisation of production.

However, Long and Roberts go on to emphasise that "A system of production approach is not sufficient to understand the variety of regional systems without taking into account the particular historical context in which "regions" emerged" (ibid.:242). Since neither the world market nor local class interests can be looked upon as static, these forces, operating over time, create the individual circumstances which model regional identities. Using Appleby's (1976) and Orlove's (1977)³ data on the regional wool economies of Puno and Sicuani respectively, they note how the different periods in which these two groups of wool producers were incorporated into the export economy affected the ability of large land owners to control production. In Puno, which entered production for

export relatively early, wealthy land owners were able to monopolise production and influence the growth of urban centres, concentrating commerce in the largest of them. In Sicuani, on the other hand, development came somewhat later when a strong central government prevented the monopolisation of resources by the wealthy so that small scale production flourished, as did independent entrepreneurs.

Linkage analysis

Several theories have been formulated in an effort to describe the ways in which regional identities are formed and changed. One of these is Hirschman's (1977) generalised linkage approach which, although he did not have a clear regional focus as such, describes the way in which systems of production and consumption affect social organisation. He describes the linkage concept, which is based on the idea of the production of "staples", as "an attempt to discover in detail how "one thing leads to another" through the requirements and influence of the staple, from transportation facilities and settlement patterns to the establishment of new economic activities" (ibid:72). He describes how the system of production entailed by each staple generates "backward" linkages to its resource base, in terms of raw materials and labour, and "forward" ones to its distribution networks and markets. Furthermore, he maintained that new systems of production create new class interests and may lead to conflicts between those committed to old and new groups of producers.

Long and Roberts emphasise that it is "the particular system of production and not the inherent production characteristics" which is at issue (1984:241). In other words, the same crops can be produced under

very different systems of production and it is this which "acquires its specific characteristics from the socio-political context in which it evolves" (ibid.). Thus they emphasise that they "prefer to identify and differentiate regions by reference to the systems of linkages that develop over time between dominant forms of production and the settlements, social groups and economic enterprises within their zones of influence." (ibid.:236)

They also note that

"This approach is interesting for developing a regional analysis since it implies that within the general framework of the expansion of capitalism one can identify variation in the nature of regional economic and political development consequent upon differences in the labour, capital and technical requirements of particular processes of production" (ibid.:241)

Ecological and technical variables as well as the socio-political ones surrounding the production of a given staple affect the organisation of production and consequent regional identity. Thus mines in highland Peru are frequently remote from populated agricultural areas and must generate linkages with peasant farming areas from which they can obtain both labour and foodstuffs at considerable distances from themselves. Alternatively, tropical export crops, grown in agriculturally rich zones, have smaller areas of catchment for foodstuffs, if not always for labour (Long and Roberts 1984).

On the other hand, the physical nature of the staple being produced affects the ways in which it can be transported and marketed. Heavy metal ores with low unit value require high levels of investment for extraction and concentration processes in order to make them suitable for transport. In such a situation only large-scale operators, including state organisations, have the capacity to undertake production and trade in

such goods. Other goods such as coffee or wool which are easily prepared for sale and light to transport make it possible for small scale producers, traders and acopiadores (collectors) to enter the capitalist market.

Economic Activity Fields

It is the continuing tendency to visualise a regional economy in terms of a spatial arrangement which frequently stands in the way of a more meaningful comprehension of "economic space". In her development of a methodological approach to the study of agrarian society, Vincent emphasises the necessity of formulating a "three-fold research design (which) advocates that "intensive observation" be complemented by the abstraction and analysis of "activity fields" and the vigorous use of "historical material"" (1977:57). Whilst the study of historical data is made through the collection of individual life histories and the scrutiny of records and old documents, that of activity fields "focuses specifically upon the frequency and sequency of social and economic acitivity within a rural setting" (ibid.).

It is important to distinguish these separate "activity fields" within a population in order that a "contextual dimension" may be ascribed to differentiation based on economic criteria. In this way the various economic sectors of a population may be analysed separately and their characteristics then superimposed upon each other to construct "an approximately realistic description of a multidimensional social reality" (ibid.:63).

Thus it may be seen that a study of a regional economy can be made far

more adaptable to the individuality of local circumstances by abandoning the pure geographer's spatial model of region and adopting instead one which considers the relationships between particular economic activity fields within a locality and examines the linkages which are generated between them. These will take a number of different forms dependent upon the particular activity fields under discussion. Where those involved in the peasant economy are concerned, backward linkages will be with the peasant household, the community and their productive resources, while forward linkages will relate them to other households, adjacent productive regions and to markets. The overlay of those activity fields and linkage systems apparent within a locality upon each other will thus generate a more meaningful model of a regional economy.

To facilitate such a study it is clearly necessary to start with the minimal production units involved in the economy. In the case of the peasant economy of Peru these have been most usually considered to be, on the one hand, households and groups of households and, on the other, communities. The next section of this chapter will therefore consider the development of theoretical approaches in these areas.

2.2. The study of community and household in the Andes

This section considers the developments made through research into the role of the community and the household in the study of the peasantry in Peru. It notes how interest in the community has changed from a conception of it as a relic of the past in which strong cohesive forces

have enabled its members to withstand encroachments from outside, through the concept of the "closed corporate community" advanced by Wolf (1955), to recent work which considers the ways in which it is changing and being manipulated by certain sectors of its membership (Grondin 1978: Winder 1978).

On the other hand, investigations into the social and economic role of the household make the point that the community has only a limited role to play in the organisation of the production and distribution of resources. The household and, more particularly, groups of households, fulfill these roles: only through the study of the types of organisation and relationships involved in such groupings can the details of the organisation of production be discovered. Certain of the arguments will form an introduction to the next section which is concerned with the effects of the expansion of capitalism on the organisation of the peasant economy in the Andes. Finally, the relationship between community and household - one which involves conflict as well as cooperation - will be discussed as an introduction to the analytical perspective employed in the thesis.

The community

The first decades of the present century saw the Mexican and Russian revolutions and an upsurge of international socialism. In Peru, where the construction of the railway network and increasing involvement in the international capitalist market was bringing commodity production to many remote rural areas, this current of radical thought found expression in indigenismo. Suddenly the despised "indian" in his "traditional" community came to represent the true heritage of the Andean world. The

Inca state, which was now seen as having been brutally destroyed by the avarice of the Spanish invaders, was seen as a primitive Utopia, founded on socialism and guided by principals of communal welfare.⁵

The peasant community became the focus of both intellectual and political attention and, during the 1920's, several writers (Mariátegui 1928; Saenz 1933; Castro Pozo 1969) described its communal nature which they saw as directly grounded in its pre-colonial past.⁶ "Indigenismo" was a call for the recognition of the true place of the indian in Peruvian society and a return to his communal way of life. Notwithstanding that side of its political ideology which actually had little to do with the plight of the indian population,⁷ the movement served as a catalyst in persuading the government to introduce laws for the protection of communal rights. Thus the 1920 constitution included provisions for the legal recognition of the rights of comunidades indigenas, later known as comunidades campesinas.

Over the next half century interest in the nature and development of these comunidades has been maintained as a part of the discussion of the role of the peasantry within the context of the wider capitalist economy. However, early interest in the peasantry remained largely under the influence of indigenismo, whilst another somewhat similar strand of thought came from writers of the "culturalist" and dependency schools of thought. Such works emphasise the cohesive nature of the community, its internal organisation and its resistance to change. This attitude is largely based on the tendency of earlier writers to view the community as a territorially discrete and isolated entity, much as the concept of "tribe" had been treated in other parts of the world. Thus Redfield (1956) describes the peasant community as a culturally-based "integral

entity", while Wolf (1955) describes it as the "closed corporate peasant community". In both cases the community maintains its identity through its ability to resist external influences and control individual accumulation based on communal resources. However, recent evidence suggests that such an image of the community rarely, if ever, applies to those in the Peruvian Andes (Long and Roberts 1978; Yambert 1980).

Matos Mar writes that the peasant community has three fundamental characteristics. These are: the control of a physical territory; the maintenance of a communal form for their exploitation; and the preservation of sociocultural features which are defined by certain criteria as being indigenous or traditional. Although he makes a detailed discussion of the effects which increasing involvement in the market for goods and labour are having on communities, he continues to emphasise the perpetual struggle made by some communities to retain their communal aspects. Thus he notes that "Although change and development appear to be general tendencies some communities, at the same time as they experience important economic transformations, maintain the validity of their communal matrix." (Matos Mar 1982:211)

This image of the community as the main force in the organisation of production with a strong cohesive ideology struggling to resist the destructive forces of the penetration of capitalism, has recently been disputed (Guillet 1980; Smith, G 1979; Orlove and Custred 1980; Long and Roberts 1978). Some of these writers have emphasised the importance of economic differentiation within peasant communities and the ways in which the wealthier community members manipulate communal institutions for their own benefit. In his description of the recent evolution of two agricultural peasant communities in the Mantaro valley, Winder (1978)

demonstrates how limited the role of the community has become in its ability to organise projects for the communal good and equalise the distribution of its resources amongst its member households. Economic differentiation based on access to private lands within the community has led to the formation of a class of wealthy farmers who control the access which other community members have to communal resources. The ability of such wealthy community members to make use of political power both within and outside the community has made it possible for them to secure the funds and infrastructure which will benefit their own economies, either through the communal machinery or simply in by-passing it. The community thus assumes on the role of casual employer and support for the poorest households. In his conclusions on the role of the community in the cases which he has studied Winder writes that

"The comunidad is seen as an organisation representing a minority of village heads of household and having a negligible impact on the lives of the great majority of villagers. It has been concerned principally with the mobilization of labour for public works projects. Frequently these projects do not satisfy the "felt needs" of the members; as the burden of work and the benefits have been unevenly spread, it has become increasingly difficult to mobilise voluntary labour." (ibid.:232)

The over-emphasis which has been placed on the role of the community in the organisation of its resources has become a major topic for debate in itself since the Peruvian Agrarian Reform of 1969 whose legislation was based very largely on the version of peasant reality proposed by "indigenista" writers. In a discussion of the shortcomings of the Agrarian Reform, Long (1983) points out the gross oversimplifications presented by the dichotomisation of Peruvian peasant society into haciendas and communities. In describing the organisation of the community he states that "Although some degree of communal organisation for allocating land plots and water may exist, it forms only part of the

internal social structure of the village; it is really the household or a group of related households that is crucial for the management of productive resources and for economic decision-making, not the community as such" (ibid.:7).

The household

The study of the household as the fundamental element of peasant society is not new,⁸ however the understanding of the role which individual households and groups of them play has recently become a central debate in the study of peasant economy. Whilst community based studies have suffered from a lack of understanding of economic processes, of economic differentiation and the importance of non-agricultural work, early studies directed at the level of the individual household have tended to focus on household production strategies through which a Marxist approach to economic differentiation has been advanced (De la Cadena 1982). Such studies have tended to underestimate the importance of the types of relationships which develop between households enabling them to make the best use of the resources (mainly land and labour) which they control.

Models of intra- and inter-household cooperation

Recently researchers' interest has been focused on the various ways in which households cooperate in their efforts to establish viable economic strategies. On the one hand, writers such as Brush and Webster have examined the types of inter- and intra-household cooperation which operate within the confines of communal agriculture. In this way they have attempted to show how households establish and utilise relationships through which they are able to maintain self-sufficiency in spite of

their restricted access to agricultural resources or labour (Webster 1973; Brush 1977). Long and Dandler (1980), on the other, have presented a model of inter-household cooperation which illustrates the ways in which households reach outside the bounds of the community and its resources in order to create viable livelihoods for themselves.

In his study of Uchucmarca in the Northern Sierra of Peru, Brush, while stressing the virtual self-sufficiency of the community as a whole, notes that most households have relative shortages of land and labour and that, in order to compensate for this, they engage in relations with other households. One of the major mechanisms which he describes is sociedad: an exchange of access to land for labour. Thus families with remote plots and lacking the labour within the household to cultivate them, arrange their cultivation with another household - most often one of kinsmen - which provides the labour.

Webster also describes a community which controls resources dispersed over a large vertical distance. However, in this case, the need of the labour of more than one nuclear family unit to carry out all the activities necessary for production is met by the later dispersal of the nuclear family into new households. Because a young couple is not in a position to live independently until their oldest children are capable of herding alone, they must remain resident with their parents as members of the household labour force until such a time. The power which the parental generation exerts over its children is demonstrated by its control not only over land and animals, but also over ritual property belonging to the family, the conduct of rituals and even over the organisation of the Catholic marriage of their children which finally marks their separation from the parental household.

Gavin Smith's (1984) model of confederated household organisation describes how relations which had previously been based on equivalent exchanges of labour or agricultural goods between independent households on a local basis have more recently come to involve urban migrants who are in a position to offer quite different exchanges. Thus kin or even non-kin will exchange agricultural for manufactured goods, or the household remaining in the countryside will cultivate the others' land or care for its animals in return for a share of the harvest.

Long's (1979) detailed description of the "multiple enterprise" established by an extended family group clearly shows the complex ways in which a group of households is able to utilise their labour and other resources to the full through the operation of a cluster of activities. The utilisation of networks based on relations of real or fictive kinship enables such households to operate in several separate localities and to extend or contract the separate spheres of their activity with reference to a clearly established economic rationale.

In such analyses, whilst the relationships between households are viewed as an important aspect of the functioning of social and economic relations, the management role of the individual household remains central to its organisation. Such approaches, instead of viewing the economy through the medium of a larger unit (e.g. the community, ayllu or barrio) which is comprised of undifferentiated households, sees the management role of the household as central and deals with external relations through a system of networks. Thus Orlove and Custred write about "building from the bottom up" (1980:34) and see relations between households as forming networks that connect the individual household to larger groupings which may be corporate, as in the case of the community

or the hacienda, or may not. Using a similar approach Long defines the types of relations which he considers to be important. These are, "labour, commodity and capital flows and the types of government services and agencies that interconnect localities within an area." He goes on to say that "Such an analysis would allow for the fact that actions by the peasants, regional elite, capitalist enterprise or the state may influence the structural forms that emerge" (Long 1983:10).

In his discussion of rural migration, Wood proposes a model for the analysis of livelihood strategies and presents the interaction between the household and its environment in schematic form (1981). The model illustrates the way in which households employ the resources that they have at their disposal (i.e. labour power, raw materials and capital goods) in order to satisfy their consumption needs and secure the reproduction of the household. It also shows how the household's total economic strategy involves it in a complex set of relations with other groups, both within and beyond the locality. Thus wage labour, the need for hired labour, and the necessity of selling domestic product, involve the household in more-or-less extensive relations with others. Such a view coincides with that of writers like Gavin Smith, Orlove and Custred, although this model extends the relations beyond the bounds of production and thus further into the regional economic sphere. And, although it fails to include reciprocal relations of trade and labour, which are frequently important aspects of the domestic economy in Andean Peru, the model clearly illustrates the circulation of goods and labour in a capitalised economy, and indicates the points of surplus extraction and the areas of interaction between the household and outside interests. As such it represents a meaningful expression of the process of production

and reproduction in the peasant economy.

Recent works, such as those of Wood, Long and Gavin Smith, indicate the insufficiency of concentrating on the analysis of any one level of peasant society. Neither the community, nor the peasant household in isolation can offer an explanation of the development of social relations as seen through the interplay of decisions and constraints operating on the various levels of the economy. It is therefore necessary, in any comprehensive study of a regional economy, to study the dynamic process of development in the relations of conflict and cooperation both within and between the various levels of economic organisation.

Moreover, such an analysis points up the importance of the role which the penetration of capital plays in production at the household and community levels, as well as in the formation of economic linkages. In this context it becomes necessary to investigate the role of capitalist relations of labour and trade within these spheres, and to develop an understanding of the role which they play in the growth of economic differentiation between individual households.

2.3. The study of reciprocity and capitalist involvement in the peasant economy

Insights into the role which capitalist development plays in the peasant economy and the extent to which capitalist forms of production and exchange displace, or coexist with, so-called pre-capitalist forms, offer important insights into the ways in which the economy at the local level

operates in terms of its larger regional setting. In this context a debate has arisen which, on one hand, describes the relative impermeability of peasants to capitalism, and on the other, their ready acceptance of many of its aspects.

The theory of reciprocity

The argument that peasant society has a certain degree of stability which enables it to resist internal differentiation and thus fend off the encroachments of the capitalist markets for goods and labour has formed the centre of a growing debate on the status of the peasantry in the Third World. It has opened up several specific areas of discussion, some of which relate particularly to the Andean context and will be the focus of the present section.

One of the principal arguments has considered the degree of receptivity which peasant society has towards involvement in the capitalist economy. The arguments surrounding this issue concern, on the one hand, the mechanisms and extent of internal differentiation based on unequal access to productive resources and, on the other, the ability of communal organisation to contain the individualistic tendencies of its members. Whilst certain writers have insisted on the essentially cohesive and "traditional" nature of the Andean community (Alberti and Mayer 1974; Matos Mar 1982; Golte 1980), other researchers have argued that, lacking the means of their own reproduction, the majority of peasants in the Andes cannot be examined in isolation from the capitalist mode of production (Deere and De Janvry 1979; Campana and Rivera 1979; Sanchez 1982). Thus, while the writers of the first group ultimately imply the essentially egalitarian nature of Andean peasant society which make equal

exchanges possible, those of the second group emphasise that, whilst such forms of labour recruitment and trade remain important in some areas, they are frequently examples of disguised forms of exploitation based on unequal exchange (Smith, G 1979).

However, such a debate cannot avoid the problems which it constantly encounters in its attempts to make comparisons between entirely different types of peasant economies. The imposition of arbitrary categories into some works and the imprecise use of terms such as "peasant" and "petty commodity producer" by others (Smith, G 1979) make their attempts to generalise from specific data imprecise. Whilst the debate over the definition of the peasantry has long been set aside in favour of more specific and relevant considerations of the organisation of peasant economies in confrontation with capitalism, such failure to define the limits of the argument simply call the validity of such study into question (Friedman 1980).

Much of the data which is used to reinforce the argument of the resistance of the Andean peasant community to outside encroachment concerns the persistence of reciprocal relations in the exchange of labour and goods. Such studies are broadly based on Murra's (1972) model of "verticality" which was originally formulated to explain certain aspects of economic organisation in pre-hispanic times, but has subsequently been used to describe systems of "reciprocal" exchanges in modern Andean communities (Alberti and Mayer 1974). According to the original model vast Inca and pre-Inca kingdoms as well as smaller ethnic groups occupied a series of ecological floors and, through the organisation of inter-zonal exchanges, were able to supply themselves

with goods from all the production zones under their control.

In studies of current society, such relations are described as taking a number of forms which vary from highly formalised "festive" exchanges involving large numbers of labourers, to close and enduring individual ties between two households (Brush 1977; Bolton and Mayer 1977). In most cases, it is argued, these exchanges are broadly based on relations of kinship, whether real or fictive with the closest and least closely calculated relations being created between the closest kin. Moreover, such relations, because of their durability and usefulness for both parties of the exchange, have important social as well as economic meanings for the partners. However, critics of such studies of reciprocal relations emphasise that they are usually described either at the level of the community or as taking place between relatively undifferentiated households.

Moreover, according to some writers the exchange of labour and goods in a complementary way is seen as more than simply an economic strategy; it is a vital aspect of society whose ideology has permeated all levels of Andean thought (Alberti and Mayer 1974). Thus while Murra's original thesis was based on data referring to the Incaic period, it has been used to convey the image of the persistence of reciprocal relations in the face of external pressure generated by the capitalist mode of production. In a paper on the reciprocal exchange of labour in the central highlands, Mayer notes that

"Throughout history forms of exchange have been modified and adapted to make them more practical; internal necessity and even external pressures have forced the inhabitants of the Andean area to defend, restrict and reduce the scale of their operations. At the same time it has been necessary to adapt and integrate the new economic institutions imposed by the Spanish with the ancient forms of reciprocity and redistribution which were the basis of native

economic organisation."(1974:38)

Harris (1982) adopts a similar point of view in her study of the vertical economy of the Laymi of Bolivia when she focuses on the reciprocal nature of the majority of relations of labour and trade which this ethnic group employs. She emphasises the importance of inter-household and inter-zonal cooperation which makes it possible for all households, even if they own no land in a given zone, to have access to its produce and maintain close networks with other households which reside there. She also stresses the resistance which she found the Laymis have to money: they only use it in specified ways and avoid its generalised circulation. The ming'a, she notes, has not become a means of recruiting wage labourers and links with the local mines are restricted to necessary trade. When Laymis are forced to seek work outside their community, they travel to the agricultural zones to the west of their locality where they are paid in produce rather than cash for their labour. However, whilst this ethnic group appears to present a united front in the face of the intrusions of capitalism, Harris does note that there is a certain percentage of households who, because of their access to a larger labour force, are able to cultivate in both the agricultural zones, whilst the majority are restricted to one. Although she qualifies this statement with descriptions of the heavier obligations to disperse their wealth which such households experience, it would appear that there is some degree of differentiation in the community which would bear further investigation. Moreover, while she is emphatic that cash has no place in the essentially Laymi economy, she appears to assume that the absence of cash assures the survival of an egalitarian communal life when she writes that "the dissolving effects of cash on the Laymi economy are at present restricted" (ibid.:88). However,

it is debatable that cash alone is the focus for differentiation between households which, she notes, are becoming increasingly individualised through their relationship with the mining centres.

Capitalist expansion and the relocation of reciprocity

Sanchez notes that such works appear to be suggesting a form of dualism which places capitalist and reciprocal forms of labour and trade in competition. Such an approach, he stresses, uses superficial indicators such as non-monetary exchange and individual needs as definitive of economic systems. In other words they "appear to derive the socio-economic process from the interaction of two structural entities, rather than from the class struggle" (Sanchez 1982:161).

In opposition to the image of the peasant community described by writers such as Mayer, Fonseca and Alberti, other authors have viewed the role of reciprocal and communal forms of exchange as features of the diverse forms which the penetration of capitalism has taken in Andean society, rather than as a symbol of the society's resistance to it. Thus Gavin Smith (1979) argues that, reciprocal relations of labour have become distorted through their continual use within the context of the wider capitalist economy and now, in actual fact, disguise the exploitation of labour by richer peasants. And Sanchez' work takes the view that reciprocal relations of trade and labour are not evidence of the persistence of a specific economy; rather their continued existence operates as a means of legitimising the role of the capitalist relations which now dominate the economy of Andean peasantries (Sanchez 1982).

Whilst such writers concede the role which social relations play in the

management of labour and trade through reciprocity,⁹ they emphasise those aspects of its organisation which make its functioning feasible within a constrained economy. Thus various writers (e.g. Guillet 1980; Sanchez 1982) have described reciprocal relations as functioning in three major ways which are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. First, certain writers see them as representing important means of recruiting labour in the face of a chronic scarcity of cash. It is argued that, where sufficient cash is available, wage labour is used because it is both more convenient and flexible than the cumbersome relations involved in reciprocal exchanges. As such the use of reciprocal forms of labour recruitment constitute a vital part of the survival of the peasantry in the face of restricted access to cash and production resources. Secondly, these writers point out that the existence of reciprocal relations does not exclude the possibility of economic differentiation in peasant society since, as noted above, they may be used on unequal terms. Thirdly they stress that, far from being a means by which "traditional" Andean society is able to resist the encroachments of capitalism, reciprocal relations are just one example of the pre-capitalist forms of production which are exploited in an effort to lower the real cost of wages (Meillassoux 1972; Campana and Rivera 1979; Guillet 1980). Sanchez writes that "The process of differentiation which enlarges the gap between poor and rich peasants and their general exclusion from real control of land and production, are the forces responsible for the persistence of such forms of exchange and of beliefs in the ideology of kinship and reciprocity" (1982:183). Or, in a similar vein, Guillet writes that "familial labour, reciprocal labour, and contractual labour paid in kind are elements of a pattern of exploitation of labour necessary for the accumulation of a surplus in the core countries. Like the capitalist

entrepreneur, the peasant is similarly beset with a cash problem; in both cases, the solution is to intensify labour and keep remuneration low at the same time" (1980:165).

Because they do not treat peasant society as isolated from the wider economy, or reciprocal relations as an indication of resistance to capitalist expansion, writers such as Smith, Guillet and Sanchez emphasise the importance of tracing the developments of the peasant economy within the context of change in the national and international situation. Smith describes how the people of the community of Huasicancha were involved in widespread trade, wage labour in a nearby mine and service tenancy relations with a neighbouring hacienda before the turn of the century, despite their remote location. He goes on to stress the point that "Changes in the structure of Peruvian capitalism modified existing production relations among petty producers" (1979:306). Moreover, since emphasis is placed on the ways in which such relationships develop over time, these writers also place importance on the study of the historical perspective. Thus Smith writes that "the important task is not to conduct a synchronic survey of quantitative differences in wealth, but rather to attempt to reconstruct the historical development of the productive process which gives rise to specific class oppositions" (ibid.:287).¹⁰

Petty commodity production and peasantry

Whilst such works shed an interesting light on the developing relationship between certain groups of rural agriculturalists and the wider economic and political spheres, they frequently make general statements about very different types of economy. The heterogeneity of

the "peasantry" has been remarked upon by many writers (Samaniego 1974). In his otherwise admirable study of a peasant community in the Central Andes, Smith uses the terms "peasant" and "petty commodity producer" as synonymous. In this he appears to follow the work of certain writers who have attempted to replace the former with the latter. However "petty commodity production" is a term from the field of political economy and has a precise definition (Friedman 1980).¹¹ In an article which attempts to draw a clear line between the two categories, Friedman writes that "'simple commodity production' identifies a class of combined labourers and property owners within a capitalist economy..." "Peasant" household reproduction involves important communal and/or class relations which limit the penetration of commodity relations into the productive process" (1980:162). She goes on to specify the process through which the reproduction of the peasant household may (or may not) become increasingly commoditised until "It becomes an enterprise, whose relations to outsiders progressively take the form of buying, selling and competition. The end point of commoditisation is simple commodity production" (ibid.:163). Hobsbawm (1973) also suggested two ideal types of peasants placed at the poles of a continuum along which all other types of peasants could be placed. As Samaniego (1974) notes, though, the acceptance of such a model assumes that peasant society follows one line of development. Moreover, such simplistic models also exclude groups who are often considered to be marginal to the peasantry, such as craftsmen, traders and pastoralists.

This last group, who are of special importance in the present study, fall between the shafts of many descriptions of the peasant economy and have, as a result, frequently been ignored in peasant studies. While they are

agriculturalists who depend upon a localised land base, they frequently live in dispersed settlements and are often transhumant. Moreover, because they rely upon the produce of their animals, they are constrained to exchange or sell it in order to obtain the foodstuffs and other goods which they need to survive. With the expansion of the international market for wool into Peru in the last century, many of them, even in the remotest parts of the puna were drawn into the cash economy and in certain areas now rely heavily upon it. Often, as a result of the extent of such involvement they may be amongst the poorest or the wealthiest of peasants in the Andes. On the other hand, they often form the uppermost tier in the bartered exchanges which have been vital to the survival of certain households in the Andes for hundreds of years and which, in spite of the spread of capitalist relations of production and exchange, retain an important role to this day.

It is therefore important, when considering the role which capitalist relations of production and exchange play in rural Andean society, to emphasise that true capitalist organisation is unusual as far as labour relations are concerned. Whereas it is common to find the commoditisation of agricultural products and close involvement in market relations, completely capitalised relations of labour are rare amongst the peasantry. Thus the tendency amongst certain writers (e.g. Mallon 1983) to include peasants in a fully capitalised mode of production misinterprets the role which capitalist relations play in the majority of peasant households. In contrast Bernstein (1977) describes the increasing "degree to which the reproduction cycle (of the peasant household) is realized through the production and exchange of commodities (as the) intensification of commodity relations" (ibid.:168).

This comparison is borne out by works such as that of Figueroa's (1984) quantitative study of peasant production and consumption in southern Peru. In this work he shows that an average of only 51% of a household's consumption is based on subsistence crops and products, with the remainder resulting from trade (38%) and wage labour (11%). On the other hand, he describes how labour for agricultural tasks within the community is secured through reciprocal relations, payments and kind and money. And, even where payments for labour are made in cash, he notes that "the non-monetary component (is) estimated equal in value to the monetary one when evaluated at market prices" (ibid.:65).

2.4. Theoretical perspective: linkages and networks

The theoretical debates which have been presented in the preceding sections have been chosen as the basis for the formation of a theoretical framework in the present study because, in their different ways, they each focus on the processes of development in peasant society. An understanding of the role played by activity fields, and the linkages which they have with, on the one hand, households and communities and, on the other, markets, facilitates the generation of a regional model capable of encompassing the dynamics of change at all levels of the social and economic order.

Thus, although the three foregoing sections have dealt with what may be considered as three previously separate debates, the interconnections between them have become clear over the course of the discussion. In the

first section the development of the debate on regional analysis was discussed. The dependency debate has shown the crucial relevance of local factors in the development of the relations between nations. Moreover it was argued that an understanding of the development of such relations is impossible without giving due consideration to their historical development.

Awareness of the individuality and complexity of regions has further directed attention away from a rigid spatial and market oriented interpretation of region towards more flexible models which describe the operation of production and distribution based at the local level. As a result, it is now clear that specific economic activity fields and the linkages between them are vital aspects in the establishment of regional identities. Moreover, such linkages can be traced back to basic resources and forward into distribution and markets. Over time, changes in one such field result in changes in others: a fact which unites them into a common path of historical development.

The second section dealt with the ways in which peasant households operate as social and economic units and the importance of cooperation between them. Whilst certain writers have maintained the coherence and continuation of the comunidad campesina or peasant community as the basic unit of social and economic organisation in the Andes, others have stressed its constraining role on the expansionist tendencies of individual households. Thus, it has been shown how households establish networks of social relations with others which allow them to transcend the restrictions of economic, ecological and communal constraints in their efforts to create viable livelihood strategies for themselves. Their actions involve them in a complex network of relations which

operate between households at the local and regional levels, as well as linking them to a variable number of activity fields.

In section three the continuation of non-capitalist relations of production in the peasant economy was shown to depend, not on the extent to which so-called "traditional" social and economic relations have survived the onslaught of capitalism, but on a number of factors both internal and external to the local economy. Thus access to cash, the availability of labour, and the state of the wider regional and national markets have been shown to directly affect the reliance which peasants place on capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production and distribution. As such the balance between reciprocal and capitalist relations in a given locality is not static, nor is there a single line of development from the former to the latter. Rather the balance between the two is a response to the existence of particular social and economic factors and must, therefore, be viewed historically.

In summary, it may be said that in any peasant society a number of economic activity fields are operational. Their demands for resources in terms of raw materials and labour create backward linkages with other activity fields, while the need for channels of distribution and market outlets form the basis of forward linkages. In its search for a viable livelihood strategy the peasant household frequently finds itself constrained to engage in a number of activity fields which link it to the wider economy and to other households and groups within the locality and region. In this context the community operates to constrain the activities of its member households, acting as a major factor in the diversification of the household economy. An understanding of the operation of the domestic economy and the relation between the community

and individual households is, therefore, most clearly developed first, through a concise analysis of the activity fields operational within a locality and the linkages between them. And secondly, through a study of the networks which exist between households and which enable them to employ complex economic strategies in their pursuit of viable livelihoods. Furthermore, the fact that individual households operate in a number of different fields means that the strategies which they employ are highly adaptable and social change is dynamic. This vision of the social and economic organisation of the household is very different to that proposed by a community-based perspective, which tends to produce a rather static model of the household.

NOTES

1. In this context Smith includes dependency theory with the work of Wallerstein, Baran, Laclau and Meillassoux.
2. For a full description of the types of models and arguments used in this paragraph see Long (1975).
3. For a fuller description of both these works see Chapter 3 of the present work.
4. It is to be supposed that Long and Roberts are referring only to such dominant enterprises as mining and plantations in this quote since, in the case of wool production, the dominant enterprise is the hinterland.
5. This description is based on Yambert (1980)
6. Recent works (Winder 1978; Yambert 1980; Matos Mar 1982) have located the origin of the community firmly in the Inca ayllu and Toledo's policy of forming reducciones whereby the dispersed pre-colonial population was concentrated into nucleated settlements to facilitate its control and taxation. However, since Winder records the number of reducciones as totalling 614, whilst Matos Mar notes the existence of some 2338 peasant communities in 1969, some other explanation would seem to be necessary for the bulk of present day communities. In fact, the community which forms the localised centre of the current thesis, had its population removed to a neighbouring town under Toledo's decree and the lands were subsequently repopulated by mine workers. Yet the community was one of the first to be recognised (in 1927) and had no difficulty in convincing the government of its communal nature in spite of its mestizo population.
7. Yambert writes that "by making the Indian the essence of national

reality, a support of the Indian became an attack on existing economic and political structures. "Indigenismo" took on political functions independent of the social reality to which it referred. Rising middle classes used it to undermine the political authority of the traditional elites." (1980:69).

8. Chayanov first emphasised the central role of the household in the peasant economy in 1925 (Chayanov 1966).

9. See, for example, Guillet (1980) "The rationality of labour recruitment decisions involves the evaluation of social, as well as material, costs"(p157) and Smith, G (1979) "the parameters of social relations defined by confederations create severe constraints on the development of specifically capitalist relations of production" (p305).

10. See also Deere and De Janvry (1979:28) and Guillet (1980:165).

11. For examples of its more precise use see Long and Richardson (1978).

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH OF RELEVANCE TO THE THESIS

Introduction

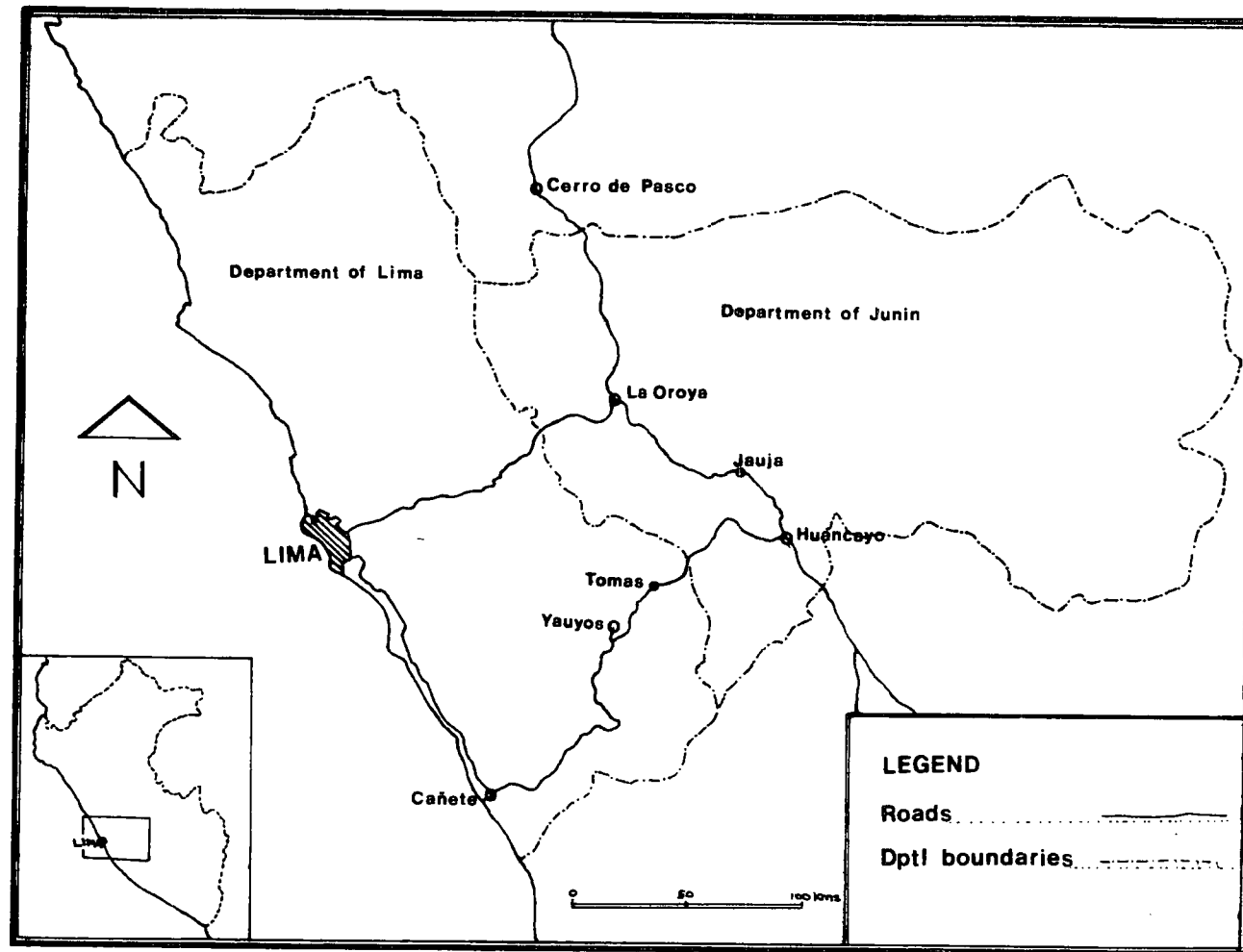
Whilst the previous chapter discussed a number of the theoretical issues which will be pertinent to the data presented in the body of the thesis, it remains to consider some of the recent works which relate specifically to the regional and local economies under examination. These will be the subject of the present chapter. In the first two sections research into the regional economies of two valleys in the central highlands - the Mantaro and the Cañete - will be discussed, while the third deals with the study of pastoralism and the economic organisation of peasant populations based in the puna.

As a region the central highlands, and particularly the Mantaro valley, has been the subject of numerous studies since the 1940's. The agricultural lands around the Mantaro valley have been the base for considerable economic diversity and subject to a degree of dynamism unsurpassed in the Peruvian Andes. In agrarian terms, the lands are rich and the valley wide, covering some 50,000 hectares and producing considerable quantities of surplus in recent years to supply the urban markets of Lima and other cities. The valley is also close to the large

mining complexes of Cerro de Pasco and La Oroya, which have provided both markets for produce and sources of employment for those with insufficient agricultural means. Thus, although the majority of research has centred on the peasant economy, the effects of the economies of mining and commercial agriculture, with the consequent improvements of communications networks and increases in the scale of the cash economy, have also been important areas of investigation in the region. Also in this context, the development of urban centres - most notably the city of Huancayo - has been the subject of study by certain researchers (this, however, will be the subject of discussion in the next chapter which deals with the historical background to the study). Indeed, the variety of responses and rate of change obvious in rural areas, as well as the urban centres of the region, have provided valuable sources of information in studies of the peasant economy and its response to capitalist influences.

In contrast to the Mantaro valley, other parts of the central highlands have not experienced so great a range of economic change, nor have they been subject to extensive study. Such is the case of the Yauyos area which lies to the southwest of the Mantaro valley on the Lima side of the Andean watershed (see Map 1) and which is the subject of the second section of this chapter. Restricted agricultural resources, difficult communications, and small and inaccessible mines, have left the region very much as a backwater in comparison to the Mantaro. And whilst for the latter there is ample evidence of detailed study, for the former, such data are restricted and extremely fragmentary.

Pastoralism in the Andes has received only scant attention in comparison with that devoted to agricultural¹ economies in the area. Over recent



Map 1. The departments of Lima and Junin

years, though, an increasing volume of research has accumulated as the importance of this sector of the peasant economy has been realised. However, concentration on some of the more remote communities in the southern highlands, as well as a predisposition to view pastoralists as isolated from the mainstream of Peruvian life, have tended to produce studies which deal with the so-called "traditional" aspects of such populations, including indigenous pastoral terminology, belief systems and ritual. Where the economy has been the subject of research, very often the commoditised aspects of production and exchange have been glossed over so as to create the image of a community which shuns capitalist values and relies on the ancient lore of its forefathers: and this in spite of the fact that, for the vast majority of such people, whose produce must be exchanged in order to supply the basics of everyday life, the sale of wool and meat has been commonplace for generations. Such studies, as well as a small number of recent works which have attempted to deal with the role which the national and international markets do, in fact, play in the economy of pastoralists, will be the subject of the third section of the chapter.

3.1. Recent studies of the Mantaro region

The central highlands is one of the most studied regions of Peru in modern times. Its agricultural wealth, its market links with Lima and its involvement with the economy of mining have fueled its rapid development and been the subject of numerous articles and books on the culture and economy of the valley. As early as 1945, the Smithsonian Institute in

Washington funded a wide-ranging study on the region (Tschopik 1947). Whilst the work resulted in a great deal of valuable data, some of which has formed the basis of later work, the most interesting ideas to emerge concerned the realisation of the extent of internal differentiation and social and economic change which was apparent in the communities studied as compared with those of the south of Peru (Escobar 1973). Moreover the studies noted that these changes were largely internally generated, rather than being the result of outside influence. The area of most marked change, it was noted, was the Mantaro valley (ibid.).

Arguedas' work on the Mantaro valley (1957) also regards it as different from, and more dynamic than, other regions of the Peruvian sierra. He puts its uniqueness down to the nature of its involvement in the history of the conquest of Peru by the Spanish. Because the Huanca inhabitants of the Mantaro valley allied themselves with the Spanish against the Inca, Arguedas argues that the conquerors left their local economy very much intact. As a result haciendas did not overtake the regional economy which was left to develop unhindered, making the Mantaro one of the most dynamic and individual regions in Peru.

Long and Roberts criticise Arguedas' view of the Mantaro as unique because it has remained relatively untouched by the hacienda. On the contrary, they point out that the region has been subject to the constraints imposed by several haciendas which developed on the southern borders of the valley. In place of such an assumption, they emphasise the importance of the mines of Cerro de Pasco and Huancavelica and the important markets of Lima as being fundamental factors in the rapid development of the region's economy (Long and Roberts 1978).

The work of Long and Roberts is at the hub of current research in the Mantaro region. While Long has especially concentrated on the organisation of the household economy, the role of entrepreneurs, the development of transport and trading networks and the effects of Peru's agrarian reform on rural villages (Long 1975; 1978; 1983; etc), Roberts has taken an urban perspective of change and the study of the development of Huancayo as his special area of interest (Roberts 1973; 1976; 1978). For all the writers on the Mantaro, though, whether they are studying agricultural or industrial development, the pivotal point of their argument is the nature of change at the local level and how this is affected by - and may affect - wider socioeconomic changes.²

This image of the peasantry of the Mantaro region as being subject to continuing change and highly differentiated is clearly drawn by Long and Roberts's book Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru. The editors emphasise the degree to which the region has been integrated into the national and international economy. In the early period much of this integration was based on investment in extractive industries such as mining which had few direct links with the countryside around them. However, the wages earned by mine labourers were commonly invested in agriculture, commerce and transport in the areas from which the miners originated (Long and Roberts 1978).³ In discussing the work of certain of their contributors they also note that "the level of political activity and sophistication described show how misleading it is to characterise highland Peru as "traditional" or politically backward prior to the coming of the railway, modern roads and large-scale capitalist enterprise" (ibid.:36).

Samaniego's paper in the same volume describes the emergence of what he

terms the "independent farmer" in the Mantaro region at the turn of the century.⁴ Using case material from the district of Chupaca which, at the turn of the century, included a large number of subordinate towns and villages and a considerable area of land, he describes the process by which the different populations within the district separated themselves from the town of Chupaca in an effort to establish their own independent economies. The main force behind such moves for independence was invariably the group of independent farmers who stood to benefit most from the opportunity to control their own lands and exploit the poorer households within their communities free from the political and economic exploitation of the capital. Whilst attempts at secession were instigated prior to the turn of the century, they were only successful after the introduction of wage labour in mines and plantations had given the villages the security which they needed in their struggle against the hegemony of the urban elite. As rural villages became increasingly integrated into the capitalist economy "households began to liberate themselves from the local exploitation based on tied labour and entered into capitalist relations of exploitation" (Samaniego 1978:53).

Alberti and Sanchez (1974) show a similar process of separation as it happened in the district of Mito, close to Chupaca, at the turn of the century. In this case the authors argue that the loss of the large proportion of its agricultural land led to a decline in the prosperity of the town and the outmigration of a considerable percentage of the population. Rather than remain in the town and attempt to wrest a living from their depleted agricultural resources, people preferred to sell up and move permanently to Huancayo "which offered a favourable climate for non-traditional economic activities" (ibid.:58-9). The authors also note

that a sector of the populations of the highland villages which had seceded from the capital was forced to migrate - but that in their case such movement was temporary and based on the need to supplement a living on the meagre resources of their lands.

Whilst making the point that the residents of the town were wealthy and those of the highland villages were poor, Alberti and Sanchez also emphasise the racial separateness of the two populations. Alternatively, Samaniego argues that, while the residents of newly created comunidades indigenas were legally supposed to be "indians", in the case of Chupaca at least, they were not. Such populations took on indian identity in order to benefit from the protection afforded to the indigenous population by the law. As he notes, "Villages in the Chupaca zone only formed themselves into comunidades indigenas after they had reached a point of marked social and economic differentiation: the comunidad represented an alliance among its various economic and social segments in opposition to external groups" (ibid.57).⁵

Samaniego describes how the independent farmers of the town of Ahuac made use of the creation of the new district and its communal institutions. Through political pressure to extend and improve the irrigation system in the village with the use of communal labour, one sector of independent farmers co-opted the labour of their fellows in order to improve their own lands. In another case, by taking over the cultivation of church lands and the marketing of its produce, they were not only able to improve the quality of their life in the urban area by public works, but also to indebt a sector of the poorer comunero households to themselves because of the latter's inability to pay for fiestas which had previously been financed largely out of earnings from church lands.

Other contributors to Long and Roberts' volume also point to ways in which the wealthier households in certain valley communities have used communal resources to their own advantage, and the effects which such manipulation has had on communal solidarity (Solano, Winder, Long and Sanchez in Long and Roberts 1978). Grondin, in his paper on Muquiyauyo in the same volume, shows how, in an extreme case, the capitalist penetration of communal resources can lead to the individualisation of household interests and the actual impoverishment of the community as an entity. He describes how a prestigious project undertaken by one of the valley's most "progressive" communities became the instrument through which certain households gained access to community funds and unpaid labour.

Muquiyauyo is a community which has had the reputation of being progressive since the turn of the century. Poor in agricultural resources, its population has had a long history of migration to work in the mines of Cerro de Pasco. The community decided on the installation of a hydroelectric plant as early as 1918 and it was completed in 1921. Whilst it was originally proposed as a solution to the problems of lack of employment in the community as well as a source of income to it through the sale of power to nearby Jauja, only the latter use was made of the plant. Local needs were not fulfilled, and the introduction of industry into a village with a growing population and starved of agricultural resources, was never undertaken. The reasons which Grondin gives for this was the predominance, in decision making areas of the plant's administration, of wealthier agriculturalists as well as professionals, businessmen and craftsmen from the community who stood to benefit most from the improvement of communal facilities, particularly

education, and had little to gain from the general improvement of the local economy.

The result of the income from the sale of power to Jauja was the completion of numerous infrastructural projects within the community. Many of these - which included cooperation in the construction of a national university in the city of Huancayo - would, Grondin argues, have been undertaken by the national government in other circumstances through the taxation of the richer sections of the population. The plant was thus used to serve the interests of the wealthier households in the community at the expense of the poor who were expected to make equal contributions to the works undertaken in terms of labour and materials. In addition, during the course of its operation by the communal authorities, the plant supplied individual household budgets through wages paid to its employees as well as through the fraudulent activities of certain of them. Grondin concludes that, rather than increasing the prosperity of the mass of the population, the plant only served to accentuate differentiation between households and led to the greater fragmentation of the community as an entity. As a result, when the national and regional governments moved to break the community's control over so vital a resource, it was unable to combat their power.

The manner in which mining enterprise, and the Cerro de Pasco Corporation in particular, have affected the lives both of those who worked as miners and those who lived in close proximity to mine centres, has been studied by a number of writers on the central highlands (Bonilla, H 1974a; Yepes 1974; Fisher 1977; Campana and Rivera 1979; Laite 1978). Much of this work points up a number of socio-economic changes which occurred in the

peasant communities as a direct result of their involvement in the mine-based economy. These fall into three major categories which are associated with the forms of labour recruitment and the types of capital investment in the mines themselves and are: 1. the gradual formation of a proletarian labour force, but with continued links to the agricultural economy of their natal villages; 2. the increasing capitalisation of the peasant economy and differentiation between households, largely as a result of the introduction of mine wages into local relations of production and exchange; and 3. the politicisation of large sectors of the peasant population as a result of both contact with trades unions in the mines, and the pressure placed on peasant agriculture by direct ecological damage from mining activity.

The major mining complex adjacent to the Mantaro region is that of the mines of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Whilst a more detailed discussion of its early labour relations will be made at a later point in the present work, it is relevant to note at this point that the mines relied heavily on the system of enganche (literally "hook") by which peasants from the surrounding areas were encouraged to come and work in the mines for cash wages, and then held there through indebtedness to the mining company (Bonilla, H 1974a; Fisher 1977). The main sources of such labour were the neighbouring provinces of Jauja, Huancayo, Tarma and Concepcion: in other words the Mantaro region. And it is on this area that the mines' major effects were felt.

In order to obtain a more stable labour force the mine was eventually obliged to offer greatly increased wages and better conditions of employment to its workers. In the 1930's wages were increased by 25-30% and by 1970, wage rates were five times higher than those in other

though less than in commerce industrial sectors (Bonilla, H 1974a; De Wind 1975: although the workers still fell into the category of "cheap" labour in global terms). These workers, unlike their predecessors employed under the enganche system, stayed at the mine for several years, and sometimes for their whole working lives, often retiring to urban centres such as Huancayo, rather than to their natal communities. Some did not return to agriculture, but took up trade or some other intermediary activity based on the skills as well as the cash which they had obtained during their period in the mines (De Wind 1977). In most cases, however, their relationship with their communities was not completely broken, with some returning to invest their mine wages in agriculture, and others maintaining a long-term, but less direct, link with their holdings through their relatives.

As a result of their absence from their communities and their consequent inability to fulfill many of their labour obligations to their fellow comuneros, de Wind argues that there was a breakdown in the pre-capitalist forms of labour recruitment in agriculture. Consequently, mine labourers substituted payments in cash for their own labour, thus introducing capitalist relations of labour and trade into their communities. Other writers have documented a decline in the scale of agricultural investment resulting from the preference of many returning migrants to invest their capital in non-agricultural activities, and also to invest in activities outside the community (Campana and Rivera 1978). The major effect of these changes in the village economy has been increasing differentiation between individual households based, not as previously on access to agricultural resources, but on other income sources. Moreover, the household economy has become increasingly diverse, with those households with access to cash seeking a variety of means of

investment, thus spreading the risks involved in production (Long and Roberts 1978).

The politicisation of the peasantry in the Mantaro region has been brought about by two major consequences of the mine-based economy. In the first place, those workers who had spent time in the mines and been associated with the mine workers' struggle for fair wages and conditions as well as the political activities of the trades unions, returned to their villages with a far wider view of the national reality of Peru than many of those who had not migrated could expect to hold. These people were often at the spearhead of unrest as is evidenced by their active role in the wave of land invasions in the 1960's (Bonilla, H 1974a). Secondly, a number of writers have recorded the history of the damage caused by the smoke from the refinery at La Oroya and the political and economic results of subsequent litigations by both haciendas and communities whose lands were affected. The damage was caused by waste products in the form of smoke which contained large quantities of arsenic, lead, bismuth and sulphur dioxide, expelled from the Oroya refinery completed in 1922. A large sector of the lands downwind of the refinery was affected, with animals dying and crops rendered unsuitable for human consumption. While it has been argued that the gross negligence which allowed such a poorly designed system to be installed resulted from the desire of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation to release labour for their mines and to force down the price of agricultural lands which they subsequently bought up, it also caused many neighbouring communities to take a solidary stand in opposition to the Corporation and brought about the early recognition of many of them (Rivera 1976; Laite 1978; Campana and Rivera 1979).

Mallon's (1983) comprehensive and informative study of economic development in the Yanamarca valley emphasises the importance of the penetration of capitalist relations in the central highlands. Through a detailed historical perspective she demonstrates how the self-sufficiency of the peasant household has been eroded by the expansion of the commercial economy in the period since the late eighteenth century. Whilst she emphasises the resilience of the peasant household to this erosion, she argues that "Intensive commercialisation, however, could challenge village or household self-sufficiency by advancing internal differentiation, and over the long run this could erode the noncapitalist cycle of the peasant family economy" (ibid.:337). Thus, although the household maintained its self-sufficiency throughout the nineteenth century, the introduction of foreign capital in the early twentieth century led to the rapid expansion of capitalist enterprise in the central highlands which finally brought about what Mallon considers to be the proletarianisation of the peasant household.

Like writers such as Long, Roberts, Winder and Grondin, Mallon thus sees the peasant community as increasingly dominated by certain powerful minorities within its organisation, with differentiation becoming an increasingly important aspect of the local economy. However, Mallon makes the point that the degree of differentiation has now developed to the point of class formation within communal populations. Whilst she admits that the peculiar situation existing in the central highlands has precluded the existence of ^g "non-peasant bourgeoisie" in the countryside, she argues that those wealthy entrepreneurs amongst the peasants themselves now constitute a bourgeoisie within the community.

However, while she describes what she sees as class formation in a

community in the Yanamarca valley, it would be an over-generalisation to say that the economy of the central highlands is characterised by class divisions. In the majority of cases presented by the writers whom she criticises, the scale of economic differentiation and the conditions of exploitation have not reached the point, nor do they correspond to a scale upon which the wealthy and the poor can be described as "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat". And, although there is potential for the existence of small numbers of completely proletarianised "peasants" in the central highlands, the emergence of classes can only really be considered to occur over a number of successive generations. It would thus appear that the use of such a term is more properly restricted to considerations at the wider regional and urban levels of social and economic organisation.

In conclusion then, works on the Mantaro may be seen to present the picture of a highly dynamic region in which capitalist relations have been shown to affect, to some degree, the lives of all the region's inhabitants. However, to reiterate the point made in the previous chapter, it is important to distinguish between capitalist relations of production and commoditisation in the peasant economy. On the one hand it was emphasised that capitalisation is rarely complete in productive relations within the peasantry. On the other, though, as the data presented in this section have shown, the importance of the mining economy, the expansion of road and rail links connecting the highlands to industrial areas and the coast, and the consequent expansion of commerce, have created an environment in which the opportunities for individual economic progress have been great. As a result, there has been a marked expansion of capitalised trade amongst those sectors of the rural

population most able to take advantage of them. And increasing commoditisation has invariably led to greater economic differentiation and the domination of communal organisations by certain powerful groups within the peasantry.

3.2. Recent studies of the Yauyos region

In contrast to the type of extensive study carried out in the Mantaro valley, the province of Yauyos has received scant attention from researchers, nor does it lend itself to such intensive study. Unlike the Mantaro, whose wide and rich agricultural valley has made it one of the most productive regions of Peru, and whose involvement in trade and the economy of mining has given it a dynamism found in no other part of the highlands, the communities on the valley of the Canete river have scarce agricultural resources and rely for much of their trade on markets beyond the region.

There have been a few studies carried out, largely by a group of Peruvian anthropologists, on individual communities in various parts of the valley (Matos Mar 1951; Mayer 1977; Fonseca 1978) and an agrarian survey of the valley has been published by Mayer and Fonseca (1979). However, such works are isolated and do not allow the formation of a wider impression of the area as a region in any way comparable to the studies mentioned on the Mantaro valley. The following paragraphs entail a survey of these works as a means of showing the ways in which the present study may contribute to a fuller understanding of the Yauyos

region.

One of the earliest sources of sociological data on the communities of Yauyos comes not from anthropological or sociological research, but from Yachaywasi, a journal created and largely written by the teachers of the province. Between the 1940's and 1960's they published news and articles on the life and progress of the people of the villages in which they taught and lived. In their early numbers they ran a series on the districts in which they taught, including Tomas and many of its neighbours. However, much of the content consisted of news of local interest with particular reference to the problems of schooling the widely dispersed population.⁶

In 1951 Jose Matos Mar published a study on the basis of fieldwork which he had undertaken in the largely pastoral community of Tupe (Matos Mar 1951). He considers the expansion of pastoral activities in Tupe since the 1930's and the ways in which they have altered other aspects of life in the community. However, because this particular work is one of the earliest undertaken into a pastoral society in Peru, and since it mentions little of the location of the community within the Yauyos region, it will be considered more fully in the next section which describes current research into pastoralism in the Peruvian Andes.

Between 1974 and 1975 Enrique Mayer and Cesar Fonseca undertook a far broader study of the communities of the Canete valley. This work, which was undertaken as a response to mapping carried out by the Oficina Nacional de Evaluacion de Recursos Naturales (ONERN 1970), was an attempt to create a comprehensive picture of the communities of the valley. This is the first study which has made any attempt to treat the

river system as a region, even in ecological terms. However, simply by undertaking such a massive task on the basis of scant previous research, they have only been able to construct a very superficial image of the economy of the area. Moreover, while a river valley may logically be viewed as a regional economy from the ecological point of view, it is arguable that the Canete valley in any way conforms to the regional models described in chapter one of this thesis. The project's outcomes have thus been restricted to a small number of specific community studies and a highly generalised work on the agrarian systems of the whole valley.

Mayer's 1977 study, based on his fieldwork in the community of Laraos, concerns changes in land tenure resulting from the rise and fall of political groups within the community. At the turn of the present century a group of "free thinkers", led by a single well-educated Laraoino who returned to his natal community, set about reforming its political, religious, economic and educational institutions. They set up what Mayer describes as "the best school in the region" (Mayer 1977: 17), as well as undermining the power of the church and the established political authorities in the community. They also initiated the privatisation of agricultural lands with the intention of expanding production for the regional market. Subsequent to the departure of their leader, the "free thinkers" who had broken the power of the church and the local authorities and had control over the schools and the political machinery, were in a position to further their own economic interests.⁷ This situation resulted in the increasing concentration of land into the hands of a minority of wealthy households. Mayer notes that, in the puna, privatisation actually resulted in the formation of a number of "virtual

haciendas" on the community's vast puna.

During the 1950's the rise of a mining elite based in the newly reopened mines of Yauricocha challenged the control of this group and, through legal action, were able to restore the communal institutions which had been largely eroded by them. Under the Agrarian Reform, though, Mayer notes that their rights to benefit from communal resources were withdrawn and thus, those who fought for the return to communality are no longer in a position to benefit from it.

Whilst this paper clearly shows how political power groups are able to alter the organisation of the economy, it does assume the egalitarian distribution of resources prior to the date with which it is concerned. For instance, considering the great extent of puna grazing over which the community has control, it avoids the issue of its concentration in relatively few hands even during the last century. In fact, by ignoring the importance of what constitute 95% of the community's productive base (ibid.:5), the paper suffers from problems similar to many others describing societies with substantial pastoral bases which will be discussed in the next section.

Fonseca's (1978) short paper on changes in the organisation of production in the neighbouring community of Huantan, suffers from the same tendency to assume the existence of egalitarian distribution of land prior to the introduction of production for the regional market. He also takes the view of the community assumed by the "indigenista" writers, treating it as a cohesive unit based on an ideology of redistribution and egalitarianism. While the community struggled to maintain its egalitarian structure, outside influences forced it ever more into the sphere of

capitalist production and the concentration of resources into a few hands.

In his attempts to generalise on the basis of specific data, Fonseca's analysis also suffers from problems which characterise many of the findings of Mayer and Fonseca's later joint work on the whole Canete valley (1979). This work, which admits the shortcomings of its restricted research base, has sought out generalised rules of communal organisation and shows a picture of communal harmony and progress. Whilst the authors mention such divisive influences as economic differentiation, production for external markets and out-migration, they tend to avoid drawing any conclusions about such trends, summarising their findings by saying that "communal agriculture is amply dynamic and responds to the needs of the nation" (ibid.:9).

Moreover, although their study claims to include the economic organisation of the whole productive area of the valley, it fails in large part to consider the importance of pastoral activities for certain of the communities.⁸ In the brief reference which they make to pastoral activities they presume, like so many other authors, that pastoralism is a subsidiary activity to arable farming.

One interesting study which has emerged from the work led by Mayer and Fonseca in the Yauyos region is the thesis of De la Cadena (1980) on the household economy in three communities in Yauyos. The first of these, Tupe, is the pastoral and arable community studied by Matos Mar in 1951, while the second, Putinza, is a community largely dependent upon the commercial production of apples and pears, and the third, Huancaya, relies for much of its subsistence upon puna ranges on which the

comuneros graze herds of sheep and a few head of cattle.

Whilst this study provides interesting and detailed economic data in its comparison of these three communities, it suffers from several failings which make it ponderous and unenlightening reading through much of its bulk. In the first place, its largely statistical approach disregards descriptive data and the type of cultural information which would give a wider meaning to its economic conclusions. By failing to identify individual actors it ignores the basis of internal differentiation and the conflicts which are consequent upon such differential access to communally held resources.⁹ Secondly, whilst it appears to produce a large quantity of valuable statistical data to substantiate its conclusions, the use of a sample which cannot be considered statistically significant, undermines their validity, and the failure to back the data with descriptive writing thus becomes an even more prominent shortcoming. Thirdly, in spite of dealing with at least two out of three communities with a heavy reliance on pastoral activities, the study prefers to reduce all pastoral resources to an arable base line, thus ignoring the importance of certain aspects of the pastoral economy, particularly the effects of a large cash income on the household economy.

Finally, whilst the study deals briefly with the existence of external exchange and the role of intermediaries in the three communities, it fails to give much insight into their wider relations within the regional economy. Once again the lack of insight into the role of the individual actor makes it impossible to evaluate the importance of the communities' wider regional involvement which, since all are heavily dependent upon at least one cash crop, must be considerable for the majority of households. Thus, following the work of the earlier writers in the Yauyos region, De

la Cadena emphasises the isolated and "traditional" aspects of the communities which she studies, whilst she devotes little space to their role within the capitalist economy or the wider regional perspective.

The study of the Yauyos region, based as it is on the work of so few researchers, can thus be seen to be far more restricted than that which has emerged for the Mantaro valley. In addition, since these writers have all come from the same school, basing their ideas on the "traditional" image of the Andean community expounded by the "indigenista" movement, the studies have tended to follow a similar line and reach similar conclusions. Most importantly in the context of the present study, they have almost unanimously neglected the role of pastoralism in their descriptions of the economies of the valley.

3.3. Studies of pastoralism in the Andean puna

The Andean region is now recognised as one of the major pastoral areas of the world whose herding communities are comparable with those of the Middle East and parts of Africa. However, because of the late recognition of this fact, the number of studies of pastoral societies is necessarily limited. Also, many writers describing the lives of peoples whose livelihoods are jointly dependent upon pastoral and arable farming in the Andes, have tended to skate over the importance of the pastoral sector in both economic and cultural terms. Webster notes that "perhaps because of the dogma that pastoralism is nowhere significant, (ethnographies) are liable to have overlooked the degree to which herding may be a key

enterprise and influence upon social organisation" (Webster 1973:117. See also Flores 1977). Much of this failure in peasant studies may also be attributed to the greater ease of studying and quantifying arable farming because of its measurable land base. Yet another problem arises over the intensive contact which the majority of pastoral societies have with trade and the cash economy which appears to make their position as "peasants" to some extent ambiguous. Thus, while peasants are largely considered to be subsistence agriculturalists who consume much of what they produce, pastoralists often rely heavily on the sale or exchange of their animal products in order to obtain the basic necessities of life.¹⁰

Over recent years, though, a growing number of studies of Andean pastoralists have been written. Among the first and best known writers is Jorge Flores Ochoa, whose work is based on research amongst the pastoralists of Paratia, near Puno, in southern Peru. Other writers have more recently added to the body of studies available on pastoralism, some concentrating on the ritual aspects of herding, particularly of alpacas (See, for instance, articles published in Allpanchis, 8: 1975 (Cusco)), while others have investigated the trade networks which pastoralists maintain (Custred 1974; Conchas 1975; Casaverde 1977). However, almost all studies of pastoralism which have been written to date relate to communities located in a restricted area of the southern provinces of Peru. Thus, many of the traits which they find are in common but, because the area which they discuss is considered one of the poorest and most remote sectors of the Andes, the communities are very different from the type of dynamic pastoralists which are the subject of Ossio's (1980) thesis.

Only one study exists on pastoralism in the Mantaro valley. It is the

work of Gavin Smith and is based on his research in the community of Huasicancha (1975). However, since it deals mostly with the origins and extent of migration from the community, it deals only briefly with the economy of pastoralism.

In addition to the anthropological and sociological studies which I shall discuss in greater detail later in the present section, the extreme character of the puna environment has also made it ^{the} subject of a number of studies which attempt to describe human and animal adaptation to high altitude and consequent low energy levels. Earlier biological studies of physical adaptation to high altitude have given way to research into cultural adaptations to the low energy levels of the puna. Thus, in his thesis "Human adaptation to a high Andean energy flow system" (1972), Thomas remarks on how the uncomplicated and clearly defined character of man's relation to the puna ecosystem makes Andean pastoral societies ideal subjects for the study of the environmental constraints placed on human populations and the ways in which cultural as well as biological adaptation maximises human as well as agricultural potential. He details the ways in which a community of pastoralists (in this case Nunoa, in the department of Puno), dependent almost exclusively on the products of their herds, are able to maintain a viable lifestyle in such an apparently inhospitable environment.¹¹ The major adaptations which Thomas cites to the low energy levels extant in the puna are: a livelihood based on agricultural resources, most notably native animals, which are energy efficient at high altitude; systems of interzonal exchanges through which pastoralists can gain access to foodstuffs with greater calorific value; a division of labour which relies heavily of the energy of children (whose lower energy requirements make their use in simple but active

herding tasks more efficient); and the utilisation of long periods each day in sedentary tasks, such as spinning and weaving. Thomas considers pastoralism to be a life style highly adapted to the puna environment, outside of which human populations would find life at such great altitudes impossible to sustain.

The populations of domestic animals native to the puna have also been the subject of recent studies. While Old World species such as sheep and cattle have received a great deal of attention from researchers in the past, little research had been carried out into the needs, problems and potential of indigenous herds, largely because of the low estimation of the commercial value of their products. Over the past twenty years, however, as their importance, both in terms of local population survival and their potential use in other marginal habitats, has been more widely realised, an increasing number of studies have been carried out.

Work by such writers as Wing (1975) have shown the antiquity of the domestication of native cameloids (Lama glama and Lama pacos), as well as the other Andean domestic species, the guinea pig (Cavia sp) and the dog (Canis domestica, which was introduced with human populations in the pre-Christian era). She records the date of first domestication of cameloids to be as early as 6000 years B.C.

Theoretical interest has been balanced by an increasing awareness of the need for practical improvements in the control of breeding to improve the productivity of the species, husbandry techniques and commercialisation of the products. In 1962 the Peruvian government, in agreement with the FAO, created the Instituto Veterinario de Investigaciones Tropicales y de Altura (IVITA) based at San Marcos University in Lima. On the basis of

research at La Rayda, near Cuzco, one of IVITA's three research stations, the institute has made significant contributions to current knowledge of cameloid biology (IDRC 1983). In addition, in 1975, following the problems encountered by the Agrarian Reform in its attempts to rationalise pastoralism on the basis of cooperative enterprises, it created Alpaca Peru and Incolana to act as commercial outlets for the wool of alpacas and sheep respectively.¹²

Research into the llama and alpaca has attempted to reveal biological explanations for the most prevalent problems entailed in cameloid herding: the low fertility amongst alpacas, the animal's fragility and susceptibility to such diseases as pneumonia and septicaemia, as well as to improve its productivity through selective breeding programmes. In addition, attempts are being made to improve the level of veterinary skill amongst pastoralists through programmes of education organised by Alpaca Peru and the introduction of veterinary technicians to carry out programmes of inoculation and dipping.

Although the importance of pastoral animals in the Andes was reported upon as early as 1885,¹³ and Miskin indicated the possibility of the existence of purely pastoral communities in the 1940's (Miskin 1946), it is only over the last two decades when writers such as Orlove, Custred, Ossio and, most especially, Flores have made detailed descriptions of pastoral societies, that pastoralism has been recognised as a viable lifestyle in the Andes. However, the earliest detailed study which I have been able to locate is that of Tupe carried out by Matos Mar and published in 1951.

In the period up to 1934 Tupe was a community whose economy relied largely on agriculture, whilst it rented out its puna grazing to puneros who came from several neighbouring communities. However, at that time the puneros made an attempt to claim the lands as their own and the community responded by evicting them by violent means, taking over the land and distributing their animals among the comuneros. In 1951, when Matos wrote his paper, the Tupinos were keeping alpacas and sheep in the puna as well as cattle, goats, pigs and horses in the lower quebrada lands which surround their arable zone.¹⁴ The community continued in its ownership of these pastures whose rental to comuneros, and a few non-comuneros, constituted its major income each year.

The study gives considerable detail of the techniques of herding, such as the construction of houses and corrals, methods of slaughter and the fiestas which are important to the pastoralist. However, detail of the social organisation of herding is sparse, making it impossible to understand the dynamics of economic organisation. Although Matos indicates that children take much of the responsibility for herding and that this gives rise to considerable absenteeism from the community's schools, he gives very little other detail of labour organisation. He also deals with what he terms the rental of pasture to second parties in cases where the renter is unable to care for his own animals. The data which he uses to substantiate this point, though, appear to be evidence of a class of shepherds, rather than of sub-renters. The study also contains innumerable descriptions of domestic processes such as weaving, cheese-making and even a few recipes, but the overall impression of the economy is fragmented.

Although he makes scant reference to the larger regional context, Matos

does give some detail of the trade relations in which Tupinos are involved. Much of the wool from their sheep and alpacas is sold either on the spot to wool traders who come from Huancayo, or else taken to Chongos Bajo where they sell it to the agency of the "La Andina" textile factory.¹⁵ Meat they reserve for their own use, although many households may accumulate 30-40 head of animals to drive to the slaughter houses of Canete and Lima. He notes that this trade was more extensive 25 years previously, with Tupinos travelling to Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica to buy the animals to transport to Lima. Such travel gave them the chance to transcend their narrow lives in Tupe and develop contacts with other groups. However he gives no reasons for the decline in the scope of this trade over recent years, though it is possibly in part the result of the larger numbers of animals which they now control in the community.

Puna households are also involved in the barter of their animal produce. Throughout the year they make up to five trips to the Mantaro valley, the montana, the yungas and Huancavelica to trade their weavings, charqui and particularly wool for maize, barley, fruit, alcohol and chuno. He also notes that it is common for Tupinos to take their produce to the fair in Hunacayo or to the montana for "barter or sale", though he does not elaborate this point. In fact, he notes several important aspects of the economy of the Tupinos which are reliant on the cash economy. Coca, as well as rice, noodles, sugar and dyes are bought for cash in Huancayo. In this respect the Tupinos see their herds as a source of cash, while their arable production serves entirely for consumption.

In all, Matos has collected some interesting and useful data on the community of Tupe, but his fragmented description of its economic

organisation does not allow the formation of a coherent image of its functioning. For instance, he writes that pastoralism is a secondary occupation for Tupinos, but fails to describe how its two forms - in the puna and the quebradas - are articulated with agriculture. Also he omits to explain the relation between those puna-based households whose economy is primarily based on herding and those of the lower agricultural zones who rely on the herding of cattle and goats as well as crop production.

Rather than noting the strength of the community's relations with the larger region he emphasises its remoteness, in spite of its closeness to Lima. He spends considerable effort and space in his description of the religious fiestas which are associated with the pastoral economy of Tupe. In his description of the herranza or festival of fertility for the cattle and other large animals he notes that "for an ethnologist this pastoral fiesta is interesting because, through it, it is possible to see clearly the persistence of ancient cultural elements" (ibid.:34). Thus, while he stresses that Tupinos see their herds as a capital reserve which gives them access to manufactured goods and allows them to survive sudden or large calls on their domestic economy, Matos, like so many authors who wrote later of pastoralism, sees the pastoralist - even if he has only recently become such - as a survival of "traditional" Andean culture.

Flores' (1979) description of the pastoralism of Paratia is one of the earliest studies of a group of herding communities. The area in which he undertook his research lies west of Puno and has an average altitude of some 4300 metres above sea level. Because the land does not drop below 4000 metres the Paratians have no access to arable lands and rely entirely on their herds of alpacas and llamas, as well as sheep on the lower slopes and a few cattle and horses. The largely rural population¹⁶

lives in scattered settlements of stone built huts or estancias, which act as their main residences. They also build isolated huts which they occupy occasionally when they move with their herds' seasonal migrations in search of pasture, and most households own houses in the town of Paratia itself. The estancia houses are built in sheltered areas, usually in sight of other houses and, where several are built together, a school may be constructed amongst them. However, because of what Flores describes as the "low" levels of labour required for herding during much of the year, each household acts independently of its neighbours, with children taking the major part of the responsibility for herding the animals, while the women occupy themselves with spinning and weaving and the men undertake trips for the sale and barter of animal products to supply the household with vegetable products and other necessary items. Only during shearing time does a larger labour force become necessary. However, Flores does not give details of the nature of the labour force employed, only writing that everyone in the "family" joins in the fiesta associated with the shearing. Indeed the lack of any detailed description of the organisation of production and the role of kinship and other relations in securing economic, political or social needs makes an understanding of the herding process and the bases for differentiation and change difficult to assess.

Paratians' inability to practise arable farming means that they must rely entirely on the produce of their herds for their subsistence. In such cases pastoralists are heavily dependent upon bartered exchanges of their produce for arable foodstuffs and the sale of wool and meat on the open market. Thus much of the men's time is occupied with making long and arduous trips to the lowlands where they can obtain grains and fruit.

Like other pastoral groups, they engage not only in the direct barter of their own produce for arable goods, but also act as intermediaries. On certain of their trips they first barter their woollen goods, meat, fat and hides for pottery objects which they then exchange in other regions of the department of Puno for the arable produce which they need. Thus, they become intermediaries, travelling for much of the year and dealing in diverse products.

It is also probable that the sale of wool is an important aspect of their household economy since, as Flores remarks, they seldom barter raw wool. However, he does not deal with this side of their economy and gives little importance to the role which money plays in their lives, giving the impression of a group of isolated communities whose involvement in the market economy is marginal. Moreover his lengthy descriptions of physical culture (e.g. house construction, clothing and techniques of weaving), his discussions of local practices of birth, child rearing, marriage and burial and the emphasis which he places on ritual aspects of life in Paratia, give the impression of a conservative population, little interested in the dynamism of modern life in Peru. Whilst this is undoubtedly true to a certain extent, the existence of nearby mines, railways and markets as well as the people's involvement in trade and transport make it inevitable that there is a degree of change in Paratian society which Flores fails to describe. His general discussion of a material culture which avoids analytical foci on processes of cooperation and conflict and the bases of internal differentiation, make it difficult to visualise Paratia as anything but a static relic of an isolated past.

Other studies of pastoralism in the southern highlands have tended to have many characteristics in common with Flores and to come to rather

similar conclusions. There is great emphasis placed on the ritual life of pastoralists on the one hand, and on the traditional avenues of trade on the other. Yet the importance of pastoralists as arrieros (drivers of beasts of burden) and their role as intermediaries is described by almost all authors writing about the so-called "traditional" systems of barter in which pastoralists are inevitably involved (Custred 1974; Conchas 1975; Wallis 1978). Despite statements such as that made by Custred, which describes "contacts with the national market" as representing "without a shadow of doubt, the most important and frequent mechanism (of trade)" (Custred 1974:260), the lack of detailed description of the importance of the sale of animal products, particularly wool, on the national market, gives what can only be viewed as a skewed image of the lives of pastoralists in the Andes.

A small number of recent works have attempted to take a very different view of the pastoral economy in the Andes. In his doctoral dissertation, Ossio (1979) has made a study of a community of pastoralists, some of whom have a profound interest in the commercialisation of their produce. Orlove (1977) and Appleby (1976) have both written of the regional wool economy of southern Peru and the way in which the small producer is linked with the larger regional, national and international markets for wool. The following paragraphs will look at this other side to the study of pastoralism.

In contrast to the studies based on high altitude pastoralism in the southern highlands, Ossio's work deals with a community whose economy relies heavily on cattle raising in lower puna ranges and alfalfa fields. Andamarca in the department of Ayacucho is a comunidad campesina with a

mixed indian and mestizo population. It has access to extensive puna grazing (87,000 hectares) as well as a considerable area of agricultural lands (2000 hectares). The majority of households have interests in both pastoralism and agriculture and must move constantly between the various zones in fulfilment of the many productive tasks associated with their herds and crops. As a result, Ossio notes that production requires the "joint participation of a group of individuals larger than that which can be mustered by the nuclear family alone" (1979:8). Branches of a single extended family often cooperate in herding their animals in one place, sharing routine care on a rotation basis so as to free other family members for labour in agricultural tasks. Indeed, he notes that pastoral activities are timed around more exacting agricultural tasks so as to minimise clashes in the demand for labour.

While most of the products of agriculture - maize, barley, wheat, beans and Andean tubers - are used primarily for domestic consumption, alfalfa, which is grown on privately owned, irrigated fields is used for the fattening of cattle for the market. And although the majority of households own cattle, it is the mestizos who monopolise the alfalfa fields and the meat trade which is based on them. They represent the more dynamic sector of the population - having greater contacts with the national economy, occupying the majority of political positions in the community and overseeing the conduct of public works. The indians' trade, on the other hand, is restricted to the commercialisation of cheese, charqui and some woollen goods. However, since the primary product of pastoralism is now meat and not wool, with llamas being preferred to alpacas and sheep because of their greater body weight, the scale of this commerce is restricted and profits are small. Ossio adds that the indians

are not, in any case, "interested" in capital accumulation and their economy is largely based on subsistence activities. In order to earn cash they are often employed as peones by mestizos to care for cattle grazing in the alfalfa fields and develop relations of dependency, formalised by compadrazgo (co-parenthood), with mestizo families.

Ossio's description can thus be seen to be very different from that of the other writers on pastoralism described above. Ossio describes the community as being "quite open to the national society and very much influenced by it" (ibid.:13), although it is considered to be conservative by members of surrounding communities.¹⁷ It shows the pastoral economy to be dynamic and closely related to the demands of the market. Whilst in this case it is the meat trade which has given rise to the widest involvement in production exclusively for sale, the two studies of the regional wool economy in the southern highlands which will now be discussed, indicate that such an attitude to production may also be a factor with wool producers.

In the initial chapters of his book, Orlove makes a brief study of the history of the wool economy, both in terms of the development of western industrialised society and the colonial and post-colonial role of Peru within the context of the expansion of world capitalism. An understanding of the articulation of rural areas such as the highlands of southern Peru into this expansion sheds interesting light on its integration within the world economic system and shows how the lives of peasant producers in the Andes have come to be directly linked with those of textile workers in the north of England in the last century, and with the fashion-conscious inhabitants of New York, London and Paris in recent years. Thus Orlove

affirms the impossibility of understanding the economic and social lives of wool producers outside of their dependence upon the pricing systems of the international wool market and the health of the world economy in general.

Avoiding the theory of dependency and modernisation paradigm which, he argues, offer "weak generalisations about the uniform nature of the process of transformation" (Orlove 1977:12), Orlove has chosen instead to use a regional level of analysis, similar to that used by Carol Smith (1976). He also employs the idea of "sectors" as the basic units of the regional economy. These he defines as "the sets of all units engaged in the same activity...Thus peasant households, wholesale trading firms and mines are examples of sectors" (Orlove 1977:33). Through the study of interaction between the sectors involved in the wool economy (i.e. producers, intermediaries and users), he attempts to highlight the political and economic elements operating within the wool economy and thus offer a meaningful insight into the regional economy of the Sicuani region.

In spite of the large amount of detailed information which his study includes, though, it has a number of serious shortcomings which restrict its wider usefulness. In the first place, although he emphasises the importance of "process" in the sectoral model which he employs, he deals with the sectors of the production and distribution network in general terms, treating them as typologies rather than groups and classes of real people who react to opportunities and changes in the real world. While he makes brief reference to differentiation within the sectors and conflict between them, nowhere does he use the kind of substantive data which would give dynamism to his description or analysis. The study thus



remains a thumbnail sketch of a trading system rather than a detailed analysis of a regional economy.

Second, his regional perspective, while it appears to be carefully defined, employs such general characteristics that it all but loses its credibility. Thus he writes that "different activities and institutions may define regions differently along these variables (i.e. internal organisation, boundedness and external links). Hence an area can (possess) varying degrees of "regioness". In practice the application of these criteria is not often problematic" (ibid.:65). So, in the case which he is considering the fact that Sicuani has political and economic ties with two different cities is noted, but not considered to be of significance. Thus, by selecting the criteria which define a chosen region, Orlove implies that a region is whatever the research demands that it should be.

Despite the criticisms of his analytical method and his avoidance of the role of the actor, Orlove's study does point up several important aspects of the pastoral economy which most of the previous writers have avoided in their concentration on the local and "traditional" aspects of herding economies. In the first place he emphasises the degree to which the wool economy has changed southern Peru. He notes how the coming of the railway to the area in the late eighteenth century changed the patterns of trade throughout the region and brought a previously isolated area of the highlands into the mainstream of commercial activity and created Sicuani as "the centre of commercial activity, the key node in a distribution network transporting goods from different zones" (ibid.:74).¹⁸

Appleby's (1976) short work on the wool economy in the Puno region comes

to many conclusions similar to those of Orlove. Regarding the scale of wool exports and the effects which these have had on the pastoral population he notes that between 1835 and 1892, Peru's exports in wool rose from 3000 quintales of sheep wool to 66,000 of both sheep wool and alpaca fibre, of which 90% came from the southern region.¹⁹ Such increases in the sale of wool for export and later the home market, inevitably led to the increasing involvement of pastoralists in the cash economy and the decline of bartered exchanges for agricultural goods. Thus, in recent years, rather than being confined to the dependence which they previously had on lowland agriculturalists, pastoralists frequently have the choice as to whether to sell their wool and meat or to barter it. Just as the increasing involvement of agriculturalists in the open market has often made them more reluctant to barter their produce, so, in the case of pastoralists, Appleby notes that a return to barter is a response to declines in world prices paid for wool rather than resistance to the cash economy per se.

The image of pastoral societies drawn by Orlove and Appleby give a very different impression of the extent to which such populations are integrated into the market and the national life of the country than that suggested by the studies of writers such as Flores and Matos Mar. However, it would appear that there is a measure of contradiction in the life of pastoralists in the high puna. Living as they do in such remote areas, with no amenities at hand and suffering the harsh puna climate and the loneliness of their isolation, they are often reluctant to change their ways or introduce new ideas into the techniques of animal husbandry which they have used for generations. They may be unwilling to change the division of labour involved in herding which would be a necessary part of

sending their children to school. Yet these people have often been involved for generations in the market for wool, meat and live animals. Although the barter of their goods may play an important role in the organisation of their economies, they are often themselves traders, exchanging the goods which they obtain in one zone for others, and possibly using cash in the process. They are well aware of the cash value of the things which they barter as well as that of the goods which they sell and buy on the market. Their extensive travel in such trips and their frequent experience as arrieros or professional carriers means that they are well aware of the realities of national Peruvian life which goes on so far from their estancias.

NOTES

1. In spite of the fact that, in terms of a dictionary definition, "agriculture" includes "cultivating land and rearing crops and livestock" (Collins English Dictionary 1979 edition - my emphasis), this definition applies more concisely to lowland herding based on cultivated grazing. Because of its greater grammatical adaptability I have, therefore, chosen to use the term "agriculture" and its derivatives to denote what might properly be called "arable farming", as the companion to the term "pastoralism" throughout the present work.
2. The works of this type which concern the latter part of this section will be Alberti and Sanchez 1974, Bonilla, H 1974a, De Wind 1975, Samaniego 1978, Winder 1978, Grondin 1978, Laite 1978, Solano 1978.
3. However, Campana and Rivera (1979) point out that much of the investment of mine wages is made into non-agricultural activities which are largely focused outside of the local economy.
4. Samaniego describes "independent farmers" as those "who had sufficient land or animals to produce a surplus for the market and who used part of this surplus to reinvest in land or animals. Apart from the intensive use of their own household labour, this group made use of hired labour obtained for a a cash wage or in exchange for a share of the crops" (1979:47).
5. Laite (1978:87) also notes the pragmatic nature of the concept of community.
6. A series was run during 1944 entitled "The reality of the educational problem in the district of Tomas". It dealt largely with the reluctance

of parents to send their children away from their work as shepherds in the puna to attend the village's schools, and noted that even when they were sent, they were poorly cared for, undernourished and fled back to the punas towards the end of each week when the food they had been given ran out. This article will be dealt with in greater detail later in the present thesis (Yachaywasi, No 27, 1944).

7. Although Mayer blames much of the later concentrations on the duplicity of his followers, it is interesting to note that, on leaving Laroas, the founder of the movement "Lived in Lima for many years making himself rich, and then went on to Buenos Aires where he became a millionaire" (ibid.:17). The type of expansionism which he describes is reminiscent of that described as occurring in the Mantaro valley by writers such as Samaniego, Grondin and Winder (in Long and Roberts 1978) whose work was reviewed in the previous section.

8. Indeed Tomas, which is one of the largest communities in the valley in both geographical and animal holding terms, is never once mentioned in the text of the study. This is perhaps the result of its almost complete failure to conform with any of the generalised statements which the authors make about the economic organisation of the valley.

9. In one case the author actually states that internal differentiation, while it exists, is not schismatic (p116).

10. On this point Webster appears to consider pastoralists as a category independent of the peasantry when they possess sufficient lands in successive crop and pasture zones to enable them to live without recourse to the barter or sale of their produce (ibid.:129). However, this type of pastoral economy, which he attributes to the ceja de montana ("eyebrow of the mountain") habitat is rare, with the majority of pastoral economies relying heavily on vegetable produce from arable communities in lower production zones. The types of pastoral economy will be discussed later in the present section.

11. The inhospitability of the puna which appears so evident to outsiders, is not obvious to the pastoralist who may consider it both healthier and ritually more pure than lower altitudes. Thus the sick, both human and animal, frequently return to the puna to recover their strength (Webster 1973).

12. For a discussion of the problems encountered by the Agrarian Reform in the rationalisation of pastoralism, see Gomez Rodriguez 1977: 242-255 and Roberts and Samaniego 1978: 241-263).

13. By Von Tschudi, "La llama" Mesa Redonda de Ciencias Pre-historicas y Antropologicas, Vol 1: 123-138, 1969. Instituto Riva Aguerro. Seminario de Antropologia, Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, Lima, referred to in Flores 1977:31.

14. The distribution of these animals is not made clear, and it seems probable that sheep are kept in both zones according to the time of year.

15. These data relate to the late 1940's. It is unlikely that the factory still continues this practice since its scale of production has declined considerably.

16. The rural population totals some 1477 men and women, with 187 living in "urban" settlements (Flores 1979:33).

17. In this context Ossio remarks that much time and money is spent on fiestas and magical beliefs. Indeed, the entry of mestizos into the population was originally facilitated by the sale to them of the irrigated lands on which they grow alfalfa when the members of the community needed cash to support religious cargoes.

18. To a great extent this development of a previously unimportant town

into a marketing centre parallels that of Huancayo in the central highlands, although the railway in that case was built to benefit the mines rather than the wool trade.

19. A quintal is equivalent to approximately 100lbs.

PART TWO : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 4 : HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE REGION

Introduction

The need to establish an historical depth was detailed in Chapter 2 which dealt with the theoretical perspective that is to be employed as a framework for the data presented in the body of the thesis. Without it, it has been noted, no study of the local and regional economy is capable of demonstrating the dynamism inherent in the relations of production and exchange which give form to the processes of class formation and conflict.

As noted in the Introduction to the thesis, Part Two deals with an historical survey of those areas most pertinent to the current study. The present chapter deals with the general historical background to the study, while the next one sets out the available data on the history of the locality of Tomas.

The first two sections of this chapter entail a survey of the development of the wool economy in Peru since the times of the Incas, through the

colonial period, up to the present day. They detail the marked changes which the role and importance of wool has undergone during this period. From being a material used to manufacture garments of great ceremonial significance in the times of the Incas, wool was transformed into a trade good in the growing colonial market system. Over the past century, moreover, with the development of the international market for wool, its role in the economy of the pastoralist can no longer be understood outside of the position which it commands on the world market.

Section three involves a brief survey of mining production in the central highlands. It shows how, following the Spaniard's early discoveries of rich deposits of precious metals, which were extracted using primitive technology, more recent exploitation has depended upon far greater investments of technology and cash to extract the less accessible and valuable ores. In the present century the Cerro de Pasco Corporation has been the largest and most important company formed in order to extract copper from the mountains of the central highlands, and a study of mining in the region since the turn of the century is, in effect, a description of the history of this one corporation. Not only the mines of Cerro de Pasco and Morococha, to the north of the Mantaro valley, but also the largest of those in Yauyos - Yauricocha - have been under the ownership of this U.S.-owned company. Its relations with the populations of peasant producers through the expansion of opportunities for wage labourers, and the intensification of agricultural production to supply the growing markets of the mine settlements will be the main subject of this survey.

Following on from the historical study of mining in the central highlands close to the Mantaro valley, section four considers the development of

the city of Huancayo. This settlement grew from a small market town during the nineteenth century, to be a booming frontier town in the 1930's and a thriving commercial centre with a population of 125,000 in the 1970's. Its expansion, thanks largely to its strategic position on the railway built by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, and the progressive attitudes of its population of small farmers, was achieved at the expense of the old regional capital, Jauja, which declined from being an important market and political centre at the turn of the century, to little more than a quiet farming town today.

These broad-based studies are intended as a general introduction to the economic and political setting in which the present-day data on the region was collected. In combination with the information presented in Chapter Five on aspects of the local history of the community of Tomas, the present chapter offers an historical perspective through which the changes and continuities evident in the data set out in Part Three may be viewed.

4.1. The history of wool in the Peruvian economy

In the following two sections the role which wool and woollen cloth has played in the economy, politics and culture of Peru is described. Although the first paragraphs concerning the role of wool during the Inca and colonial periods are brief and fairly general, drawing data from sources in various parts of Peru and Bolivia, the final paragraphs on the post-colonial period and, most particularly, the last century will be

more specific, relating to export production in the southern and central highlands. However, although the central highlands is the area which most concerns the present study, the small scale nature of wool production in this area has meant that far more data are available for the southern highlands.

Early history: the Inca and Colonial Periods

Although both cotton and woollen cloth have been found in coastal graves which date from as early as 2500 B.C., it was not until the times of the Inca conquest that cloth, and especially woollen cloth was given a vital role as a symbol of religious, political and economic significance at every level of society. Its importance has been clearly documented by Murra in his article "Cloth and its functions in the Inca state" (1962).

On conquest all lands and herds were confiscated so that none of the conquered peoples had free access to land or animal produce, and they became dependent upon the state for access to them. The Incas established communities of colonists called mitimae whose responsibility it was to tend the herds in the punas or grow coca in the high jungle, and who formed part of the "vertical economy" which Murra describes as being so much an essential part of Inca state organisation (Murra 1972).

Agricultural labour on the lands of the Sun and the weaving of cloth for the warehouses of the state constituted the main tribute of the mass of the Andean population to the Incas. These obligations gave the conquered people the right to continue to plant and harvest their own crops on ayllu lands and to wool or cotton from community stocks for the manufacture of clothing and other essential goods (Murra 1962). It has

been argued that, by appearing to be giving the people access to land and cloth in exchange for their labour in the fields, the Inca managed to create the impression of a "reciprocal" bond between state and people which disguised the exploitative nature of their domination.¹

Like other aspects of pre-Inca life exploited and extended by the Inca to sustain their growing state, cloth came to play a vital role in the state religion and ideology as well as maintaining the fiction of a reciprocal bond between state and people. The cloth which was offered in tribute, as well as finer pieces woven by specialists, had a significance which went far beyond its usefulness at both the state and village levels. The very finest cloth was burned in state sacrifices, exchanged on the sealing of armistices, or given by the Inca as rewards for loyalty.

At the village level, too, cloth was a symbol of status and the giving of it indicated specific relations between people at religious rituals, rites of passage and other ceremonies. Indeed, Murra describes it as "the main ceremonial good and, on a personal level, the preferred gift, highlighting all crisis points in the life cycle and providing otherwise unavailable insights into the reciprocal relations of kinfolk" (1962:712).

The Spanish conquistadores initially took on many of the methods which the Inca had used to control the indian population and extract a surplus. In many cases they maintained the system of local chiefs whom they manipulated to act as intermediaries in their contact with the people. They also continued the tribute system of the Incas, but without ever perceiving the complexity of the ideological framework within which the extraction of surplus was couched. Thus they demanded that the indians

supply the actual produce of their labour in tribute. The people working in the fields had to sow their own seed and deliver up the harvest to the colonial administration and weavers had to supply their own wool as well as the labour of spinning, dyeing and weaving.

Shortly after the conquest, though, a number of new policies introduced by successive viceroys resulted in dramatic changes in the country's internal economy and the stimulation of capitalist relations of exchange. The first of these was the demand for a growing percentage of tribute in gold, which obliged the indians to sell their labour or produce on the market for cash. Second was the fragmentation of many large communities, caused by Toledo's reducciones of 1567. This law was introduced in an effort to control the population and make the extraction of tribute more simple, as well as to protect the indians from the excesses of some Spanish landlords. It obliged indians living in dispersed settlements to move into Spanish-style villages, and restricted the area of land around such a settlement to which the population had access, thus liberating vast tracts of land for the growing Spanish population in many areas. It resulted in the fragmentation of large communities which had previously spanned several ecological zones that gave them access to a wide range of agricultural produce, thus forcing the people to trade for or buy the goods which they no longer had a right to as members of such "vertical archipelagos" (Murra 1972).

But perhaps the most important factor in the development of mercantile relations was the growth of markets for labour and agricultural produce caused by the expansion of the mines in the highlands. Larson (1972) discusses the central importance of the mining centres to the colonial economy: "the growth of the mining industry had a fundamental influence

on the economic formation of the colonial society. The mining sector generated a high level of demand for capital, agricultural commodities and labour...The proximity of a mining complex was fundamental in the structuring of an internal market economy, characterised by regional specialisation and long-distance, overland trade" (ibid.:1)

One aspect of the colonial economy which grew largely out of the mining sector and had wide-ranging effects on the indian labour force, the Spanish elites and the metropolitan economy, was the development of the obrajes or textiles workshops. Initially they grew out of the need for cloth in the mines, since the Spanish textile industry could not cope with its demands for both clothing and sacks for ore. They employed indian labour under the same system as that which was used to work the mines. Both types of enterprise were in the hands of private individuals and the labour was obtained through petition to the colonial government.²

The obrajes initially employed traditional weaving techniques, merely concentrating them under one roof and, although they later used European style looms, they at no time represented a mechanised industry. They employed large numbers of indian workers in conditions which were frequently appalling (Roel 1970).³ Many of them were started on wool producing haciendas where almost the whole population, women and children included, worked in some capacity for the obraje. They produced rough clothing and sacks for the mines and also, during the early period, for export to Spain itself, on whose economy they were a continual blight.

Although they were created out of necessity, their expansion was largely the result of a short-sighted policy decision made by Carlos II in 1552. Fearing the possibility of rampant inflation in Spain caused by the vast

quantities of gold imported from the colonies, he prohibited the export to South America of any kind of woven, spun or primary materials for textile production. This embargo, coupled with a favourable political climate, facilitated the export of such goods from South America to Spain, and this in turn contributed to the collapse of the Spanish textile industry (Roel 1970).

From the sixteenth up until the late eighteenth century, when the obrajes were finally put out of business by a combination of shortages of labour, their primitive technology and competition from British and other European cloth, continuous attempts were made by Spain to restrict and finally to eradicate them. The failure of legal sanctions was due at first to the power of the obraje owners and later, when their survival was becoming more difficult, to differences between the written laws decreed in Spain and the actuality in Peru (Silva Santisteban 1964). In spite of their continuously dubious position as enterprises, though, Silva Santisteban notes that "the obrajes spread with such profusion that they came to constitute the principal industry of the colony, representing at the same time, the first phase of capitalist production" (ibid.:160).

During the eighteenth century falling production in the mines due to shortages of labour which resulted from the catastrophic decline in the indian population (Wachtel 1977), the low levels of technology available in Peru at that time and the consequent exhaustion of available ores, led to an inexorable decline in the whole colonial economy. In continuous efforts to support their dwindling income the provincial elites resorted to all means at their disposal to extract greater surpluses from the hard-pressed indian population.⁴ However, without the market produced by

the mines, commercial agricultural production declined, as did the production of cloth from the obrajes. As a result of the reduction of commercial activity, the circulation of cash receded to the highest levels of society and coercive merchant practices and corruption increased accordingly (Larson 1978).

During the eighteenth century in Europe, Britain was developing as the foremost world power, both politically and economically. It ^{had been} the British navy which routed the Spanish Armada at Trafalgar ^{in 1558} and ended Spain's mobility as a trading nation. And it was British merchants who, seeing the potential of the Latin American colonies and hearing the tales of their great wealth, started to undermine Spain's hegemony in her American colonies.

Britain's position as a trading partner with Latin America had been assured in 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht allowed her to bring up to 500 tons of merchandise, as well as negro slaves, across the south Atlantic. However, until the middle of the century and the raising of the barriers to free trade in Latin America, her main mercantile interest in the area was through contraband. It was not until Spanish trade with her colonies had been seriously interrupted by the situation in Europe that the supply of Latin American markets by the British became a possibility whose value was increased by Britain's ownership of key positions en route, such as the Antilles. From this time onwards British commercial interest in Latin America was assured. The Spanish colonies increasingly provided essential markets for British goods, particularly textiles, which were being produced in growing quantities as a result of the industrial revolution in Europe. Peru became one of Britain's most important markets for

textiles as well as providing sources of raw materials for the British industry, a situation which brought widespread ruin to the craft production of many outlying areas of the country. Heraclio Bonilla writes that "the massive introduction of English merchandise, fundamentally cotton and woollen textiles, into the regional markets of Peru completely destroyed the vestiges of colonial artisanry" (Bonilla, H 1967-8:161).

Peru's economic debility made it quite impossible for her to balance the growing trade deficit which she had with Europe, and particularly with Britain.⁵ In fact the economic hold which Britain had on Peru was such that their relationship became one of neo-colonial domination on the part of Britain without the necessity of political intervention (Bonilla and Spalding 1972). It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with new technology and British investment, that industrial production started to increase again (Bonilla, H 1967-8). Agriculture was also in decline. Unlike Mexico, an export economy had never been developed in this sector, most of the produce having been sent to the mines of Potosi and Huancavelica or to the cities. With the loss of production in mining, therefore, there was a corresponding drop in agricultural production.

In the face of such recessions in both agriculture and mining, the export capability of Peru at the time of independence was limited to the sale of quinine, dyes, hides and, most particularly, wool. It was the areas which sustained these export economies which became the most dynamic regions of Peru and the first enclaves of modern commercial capitalism (ibid.). "Cortex Peruvianus" and dyes came mostly from southern Peru and Bolivia, while hides, leather and particularly wool came from the region around Lampa, Puno and Cuzco, so that the export economy was almost entirely

centred on the interior and south of the country.

The most important long-term component of this trade was the wool of sheep and alpacas which was exported starting shortly after the conclusion of the wars of independence and was used to supply the weaving industry of Lancashire (Spalding 1975). In Peruvian terms this export was so important that "the economy of southern Peru ... was based fundamentally on the exploitation and exportation of wool" (Bonilla, H 1977:4) and it was the third export in value throughout the whole of the nineteenth century.

Despite the international nature of the nineteenth century wool trade, the production base remained very much as it had been for many years: changes were of scale, not technique. Since the time prior to the Inca conquest, the southern highlands had been involved in the production of textiles which were frequently traded for agricultural produce from other regions. In the new phase of the wool economy, for the first time wool was being exported in large quantities as a raw material and, furthermore, as a capital good. Yet, for some years, the increasing commercialisation of the wool trade had little effect on the animal husbandry techniques or land tenure of the region. Although there were a certain number of wool haciendas, until well into the wool boom their owners had neither the political power nor the economic incentive to enable them to expand and rationalise their operations, and production remained very much in the hands of small producers: a situation which resulted largely from the weakness of the national government and the actual conditions which prevailed in the local wool markets at that time.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century wool was traded at a

series of great fairs, the most important of which was held annually at the town of Vilques near lake Titicaca. Each year people came from thousands of miles away to exchange mules (from northern Argentina), aguardiente and cane alcohol (from the Peruvian coast) and European manufactured goods for raw wool. Because of the lack of adequate transport or communications, all business had to be transacted in person with prices fixed on the spot. Thus, dealing tended to be small-scale and, because there was no advantage in terms of efficiency in large scale enterprises, big landowners could not command any more than their share of the market (Spalding 1975. Also in Long and Roberts 1984).

Much of the inefficiency in pastoral haciendas during the nineteenth century related to centuries-old herding practices which hacendados lacked the political power to eradicate. There was no fencing on the punas, which meant that lands were grazed in common by the herds of the haciendas, their huacchilleros or shepherds⁶ and adjacent communities. This made selective breeding difficult and disease control almost impossible. In addition, the pastures were frequently overgrazed and systems of pasture rotation could not be effectively introduced. The hacendados were unable to increase their control over the pastoral economy largely because of the continuing weakness of the central government and the lack of a strong militia which would be able to back any repressive measures which they might impose on their employees and neighbours by the threat of physical force. Thus the factors^t which allowed the greater polarisation of wealth and the large-scale formation of haciendas in the highlands emanated from political as well as economic changes which occurred during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The war with Chile in 1883 destroyed much of the agricultural infrastructure of the highlands. Many hacienda owners bore the brunt of the costs of raising the national army to fight the Chileans and, with the uproar and internal strife which resulted from the invasion of much of Peru by Chilean armies, large areas of agricultural land were laid waste and many haciendas were plundered. With the return to normality after the war, not only had Peru's national consciousness been awakened, but a new and far stronger central government had emerged, which had the power to enforce the demands of its elites in their efforts to establish their control over the country's major sources of wealth and power.

During this period, too, the development of a more efficient transport system favoured the dominance of the newly emergent coastal elites. In the 1870's the South Peruvian Railroad was constructed to connect the southern highlands with the coast and thus facilitate trade (Spalding 1975).⁷ This meant the demise of the highland fairs since export houses, rather than sending their representatives to distant parts, were able to set up wholesale warehouses in the provincial capitals which then became the centres for the establishment of alliances between the exporters and those hacendados who could gain political power within the cities.

These new circumstances made it possible for the hacendados to consolidate their position as powerful landowners. With the help of a newly powerful army and civilian force, they expropriated lands from small landholders and peasant communities. During the period 1870-1915 hacienda numbers in the southern and central highlands grew dramatically.⁸ This expansion onto the lands of the peasant population gave rise to its increasing marginalisation, forcing large sectors of the labour force onto the market for wage labour. However, it did not

increase the quantity of wool which was sold on the open market. Continuing poor animal husbandry techniques, repeated land invasions and animal thefts by peasants deprived of their livelihoods, meant that the expansion of the haciendas resulted only in the concentration of the wealth from the wool export economy into fewer hands, not in any rationalisation of productivity (Spalding 1975).

The expanding haciendas concentrated their pastoral efforts on sheep, leaving the herding of alpacas to the peasants who still controlled much of the highest lands which were unsuitable for sheep rearing. Although Appleby argues that this was largely due to the greater marketability of sheep wool over alpaca fibre (Appleby 1976), Thorpe and Bertram (1978) draw attention to the existence of an established market for alpaca fibre in the 1830's, while sheep wool was not exported in bulk until the 1850's.

4.2. The development of wool production in the twentieth century

The wool boom continued into the present century, with world prices reaching a peak during the First World War. However, with the start of the worldwide recession, in 1920 the great wool bonanza was at an end. This had considerable effects on the economic organisation of both large and small producers, who no longer saw a future in the sale of their produce. For the large investor, the slump brought to an end programmes of livestock improvement and technification which had been inspired by the experimental station started up by the British merchantile firm of

Duncan Fox in the central highlands. In 1905, they had bought the Atocsayo hacienda and had introduced systems of fencing, selective breeding and disease control. However, the slump came before many of the subsequent programmes had been brought into effect (Thorpe and Bertram 1978). On the other hand, the effect on the small producer was to drive him away from the market. His first tactic was to withhold his clip until, hopefully, the market price improved. However, Appleby (1976) also reports that many probably returned to the systems of bartered exchanges which they had used prior to their involvement in the open market. On the side of the merchants of the southern highlands, the collapse led to the consolidation of the many small firms of intermediaries, and their concentration along the railway line (ibid.).

Throughout this period, and even up to the present day, English woollen mills have remained the principal markets for Peruvian wool production, in spite of growing competition from other European countries, the United States and Japan. The case of the rise in the price of alpaca shows up an interesting side of this changing market. During the early period of its export, because of its fineness, its major uses had been for light-weight suitings. However, during the Korean War, the United States Air Force employed it as a lining in the manufacture of their pilots jackets for insulation. The subsequent high levels of demand for the fibre pushed world prices up considerably. When synthetic fibres were found which could replace alpaca, it found new uses in luxury suitings and, more recently, as a highly sought after wool for so-called "ethnic" clothing (Orlove 1977).

Over the first decades of the present century the polarisation of production continued with the expansion of haciendas throughout the

central and southern highlands. With the fall in prices after World War I, there was less incentive for hacendados to maintain their exclusion of peasant animals from pasturing on their lands. However, the struggle between the hacendados and the peasant communities continued until the expropriation of hacienda lands under the 1969 Agrarian Reform: a situation which was highlighted by the establishment and spread of the vast Cerro de Pasco Corporation haciendas in the central highlands. The expansion, which will be described more fully in the next section, is a remarkable example of the type of power which big business held in the countryside.

Although such expansions led to years of litigation, during the 1960's increasing unrest led to a series of land invasions, when peasants occupied the lands which they claimed had been taken from them by avaricious hacendados over the previous 70 years. This situation of growing tension and conflict was at least partly defused by the Agrarian Reform of 1969, introduced by the military government of General Velasco.

Under the Reform large areas of agricultural land were expropriated and turned into cooperative enterprises which were to be owned and worked by the peasants who had previously been employed on them. Thus on the coast the reform created Cooperativas Agrarias de Produccion (CAP)⁹ out of the highly capitalised sugar haciendas. In the highlands, where production remained based largely on non-capitalist relations, an intermediate form of cooperative, the Sociedad Agricola de Interes Social (SAIS)¹⁰ was formed.

The philosophical arguments which played an important role in the creation of the SAIS were very much rooted in indigenismo and in the

hacienda-community opposition which it presented. Such ideas, Roberts and Samaniego argue, are based on the misconception of the role of the hacendado as directly exploitative of his workers¹¹ and of the community as a basically egalitarian organisation struggling to survive in the face of the expansionist tendencies of the big haciendas. The SAIS were thus created out of the large pastoral haciendas of the highlands as well as the peasant communities which surrounded them. Many of these latter had been in direct dispute with the haciendas on their borders over land invasions and the theft of stock. However, such lands were not returned and, since the formation of workers cooperatives out of the hacienda lands meant that the hacienda as a production unit would remain intact, the reform did not lead to any redistribution of land within the SAIS and the lives of the majority of pastoralists remained largely unchanged (Gomez 1977).

The SAIS therefore consist of two separate and largely independent units: the production cooperative based on the lands of the ex-hacienda and the surrounding communities, who do not have rights in the cooperative's lands, but benefit from investment and technification programmes as well as receiving a share of the cooperative's annual profits.

The production cooperatives use the labour of the shepherds who had previously been the employees of the hacienda in the care of their herds. These households have to contribute a certain number of days labour, for which they are paid, as well as cooperating in the labour of faenas and shearing, in exchange for the right to pasture their herds on the lands of the cooperative. Although the system under which they work is similar to that under the haciendas, many complain that they are worse off now and that the wages which they receive are insufficient. Moreover,

although the reform attempted to turn the cooperatives into capitalist enterprises by eliminating the huaccho herds, they were unable to do so because of pressure from their members. And, although a ceiling of 150 sheep or equivalent in other animals has been placed on these herds, there is still a considerable degree of economic differentiation between individual shepherds, with the wealthier households involving themselves in commerce, whilst those without sufficient herds remain dependent upon systems of barter with lowland villages.

The most important of these enterprises is the SAIS Tupac Amaru which covers an area of some 392,000 hectares in six provinces. It includes 16 communities and 13 ex-haciendas which had been the property of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Its lands border on the northern and western boundaries of the community of Tomas, although the latter, having already received lands from the Agrarian Reform, was not included, and now has few relations with it.¹²

The Agrarian Reform has also attempted to intervene in the commerce of wool through the creation of the government sponsored commercial and infrastructural agencies, Alpaca Peru and Incolana. However, these have had only a restricted effect on the commercialisation of wool, capturing 40% of the Arequipa market in 1976 (Gomez 1977).

Although the wool of the member communities is frequently marketed with that of the cooperative's production and thus commands a better price (since the stock of the SAIS is "improved"), as mentioned previously, the system of production of the member communities has been little altered by their participation in the SAIS. The profits which such communities receive for their part in the organisation of the SAIS are small and are

largely used in infrastructural improvements to the community, such as the construction of new school rooms, bridges and dipping pens. The SAIS also provides such communities with other services such as improved medical facilities and school advisors. But, as has been argued by a number of writers,¹³ such projects invariably give more benefit to the wealthier rather than the poorer comunero households.

Several other factors serve to undermine the efficiency of the SAIS and provide the basis for conflict within it. First, since the organisation of production and development comes largely from the managerial staff of the cooperative or from its technical advisors, many of whom were employees of the hacienda prior to the reform, the role of the cooperatives' general assemblies, at which all parties to the SAIS are represented, is seriously undermined. Second, in many cases the distribution of dividends between the workers and the member communities is unequal and, since all SAIS have massive debts both to the ex-hacendado for the land and to the government for the stock which they were allocated, dividends are only a fraction of the actual profits.¹⁴ Such uneven participation in the management and profits of the SAIS leads not only to open disputes about the distribution of profits, but also to land invasions by both parties and a general apathy for the goals of the cooperative movement by many members.¹⁵

Although it was the Reform's intention that the communities would gradually be incorporated into the cooperative model established by the production cooperatives, it is becoming increasingly evident that such schemes will never be implemented since they conflict with the economic interests of certain groups of comuneros. On the one hand, the wealthy households in the communities are loath to become involved in measures

which may lead to their having to give up any of the advantages which they currently enjoy. On the other, poor households are ill informed about the activities of the SAIS and are, in any case, heavily involved in economic relations with their wealthier relatives. In fact Roberts and Samaniego (1978) argue that the problems faced by the SAIS are not the result of their "economic backwardness", but relate directly to the involvement of many comuneros in capitalist economic relations which have diverted their main interest away from their "traditional" pastoral livelihood and into the mainstream of modern Peruvian life.

The effects of the Agrarian Reform on other pastoral communities, not included in such cooperatives, has been even more restricted. Only 300 out of the total of 4000 arable and pastoral communities have received any direct benefits from the reform (Mejia 1977). Big haciendas were given the opportunity to parcel out their lands until they were under the size of the maximum ceiling for agricultural holdings and many others found ways of avoiding expropriation.¹⁶ Although some communities did manage to reclaim the lands which they had lost over the years of hacienda expansion, many others received little or no benefit. It is clear from the way in which the Reform was undertaken, that the government's main aims were to protect private property and to create a strong class of modernised middle peasants in the countryside, thus diffusing the growing unrest underlying localised conflicts and union actions. At the same time its intention was to redirect a portion of the country's wealth into its growing industrial sector. Thus, by expropriating the large landholdings and obliging the peasants to pay for the lands they received, the government not only protected the wealth of the elite groups, it also attempted (though unsuccessfully) to redirect

the cash so liberated from agriculture into the nation's urban and industrial expansion (Zaldivar 1974).

4.3. History of mining in the central highlands

Whilst it is evident from the quantities of gold used by the Incas that mining was extensive in Peru and Bolivia prior to the Spanish conquest, we only have data on the organisation of production from the early colonial period. One of the prime aims of Pizarro's exploration of the west coast of South America was to search for the fabled "El Dorado", and it is not surprising that minerals - and, most important, gold and silver - constituted the principal export from the colony.

The country's other key resource, in the eyes of the Spaniards, was the labour necessary to work the mines which were opened or re-opened in Upper and Lower Peru (present Peru and Bolivia) in the years following the conquest. In fact, Toledo's reducciones de indias in 1567 involved the organisation of the indian population into nucleated settlements precisely for the purpose of the extraction of tribute in goods and labour (Roel 1970). Although mitayos also worked in the obrajes, haciendas, on civil and military construction, in services and transport, by far the most important aspect of the mit'a was that in the mines. Since the encomiendas in the immediate vicinity of Potosi could not provide the labour necessary for the exploitation of the vast quantities of silver present in the deposits, Toledo created the mining mit'a for all the eighteen provinces throughout Upper and Lower Peru (Larson 1978).¹⁷

Although Potosi was by far the largest producer of silver¹⁸ and consumer of labour, various other mines in Upper Peru, and the vast mercury deposits of Huancavelica in Lower Peru, depended upon a considerable number of mitayo labourers.¹⁹ In fact Heraclio Bonilla notes that at the turn of the nineteenth century the mitayos demanded by mineral production accounted for some 25% of the working population of male indians (Bonilla in Fisher 1977).

In contrast to Huancavelica, Cerro de Pasco, which was among the most important mines at the end of the colonial period, never counted with a supply of mitayo labourers. In spite of the efforts of the viceroy Osorno in 1796 to have a total of sixty mitayos sent to work the Yancancha deposits in Cerro de Pasco, local resistance prevented the scheme from ever being carried out. Thus, although the settlements of Cerro de Pasco counted with a total population of nearly five thousand inhabitants who were in some way associated with the mines, this population was made up of independent peasant workers and, as a result of continuing labour shortages, the earliest examples of workers under the enganche system (Bonilla, H 1974a and in Fisher 1977).²⁰

Fisher marks the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as the apogee of both silver and mercury mining in Peru. This was due in large part to the incredibly rich deposits of gold and silver ores extracted during the first fifty years (up to 50% silver content in some cases) as well as the abundance of virtually free labour to work the seams. However, both the exhaustion of the richest ores and the catastrophic declines in the population experienced throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Wachtel 1977; Larson 1978),²¹ affected production. Yields declined until, in the eighteenth century, because the low levels

of technology still used in colonial Peru could no longer produce a profit, the majority of mines fell into disuse. They were not re-opened until, in the late nineteenth century, British investors with greatly improved technologies moved in to take the place of the Spaniards.

The Cerro de Pasco Corporation

Whilst it is not my intention to give a detailed history of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, nor of mining in the Mantaro region in the present century,²² it is important, at this stage, to place the spread of capitalist relations of labour and trade in the region and the effects which this had on agricultural communities, within the context of industrial expansion. In consequence, the following paragraphs will consider the formation and expansion of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's operations, the construction of the railway between the region and Lima, the effects of the pollution from the La Oroya refinery on local agriculture, and changes in labour relations within the Corporation which led to the increasing proletarianisation of its labour force.

The Cerro de Pasco Corporation was created in 1902 by a group of American business people, all previously involved in mining enterprise in Peru, and who had been informed of the potential of the mines in the area of Cerro de Pasco for copper production (Yepes 1974).²³ The newly formed Corporation started to buy up small mines from a large number of previous owners, most of whom were of Peruvian or British origin. In the years up to 1935 it expanded its ownership of mineral deposits to include 70% of those in the locality of Cerro de Pasco as well as Morococha, Casapalca and Yauricocha (ibid.).

However the Corporation did not start the exploration of the area. Prior to its formation there had been a considerable amount of investment interest in both Cerro de Pasco itself and La Oroya, some 130 kilometres away (Yepes 1974; Laite 1978). As early as 1893 the Peruvian Corporation had completed the construction of the "Central Railway" from Lima to La Oroya. The railway not only created La Oroya as an important trading centre from the northern and southern highlands as well as the jungle (Laite 1978), it also connected Casapalca, Morococha and Yauli, the three most important mining deposits in production at the time, with the world market (Yepes 1974). However, the Cerro de Pasco Corporation extended the railway to include all its major mines, thus considerably reducing transport costs. In 1904 it built a line from La Oroya to Cerro de Pasco and in 1908 the main line was extended to the city of Huancayo. In 1945 a link was completed between Pachacayo and Yauricocha, thus incorporating Cerro de Pasco Corporation's most distant mine into its transport system. The terminal station, close to the Yauricocha mine, is located at Chaucha in the lands of the community of Tomas. This system of railways not only considerably reduced the costs of transporting mineral ores and facilitated the movement of workers between population centres and the mine settlements; it also greatly increased the scale of commercial activity between the mines, Lima and Huancayo, proving to be a prime factor in the development of the latter as a commercial centre (Alberti and Sanchez 1974; Roberts 1976).

By the 1920's, so considerable was the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's mineral production from its many deposits that the capacity of the two existing smelters at Tinyahuarco (near Cerro de Pasco) and Casapalca was insufficient (Yepes 1974). Also, as a result of a sharp drop in world

copper prices in 1920 it became necessary for the Corporation to improve refinery techniques and reduce transport costs (Laite 1978). A new refinery was thus built in La Oroya, going into production in November 1922. By the first months of 1923 it became obvious that smoke and fumes from the refinery were having a serious affect on the rich agricultural areas down the Mantaro valley. Crops were destroyed and animals started to die. People, too were affected by the ash which "fell like rain, causing skin irritation and hair loss" (Laite 1978:84).

The smoke carried large quantities of arsenic, lead, bismuth and sulphur dioxide, all of which took their toll on plant and animal communities over a wide area. Because the "high walls of the Mantaro River valley acted as a flue conserving the concentration of sulphur dioxide for long distances" (ibid.:84), crops as far as 25 kilometres away from La Oroya were totally destroyed.

As a result of the extensive damage caused to their agricultural production, both haciendas and communities brought law suits against the Corporation. Due to its unpopularity in the country at the time,²⁴ the Corporation realised that it would be very difficult as well as costly for it to win any of the suits which had been brought against it. Instead it took the course of purchasing large areas of pasture land and their animal stocks from the haciendas affected, accumulating thirteen haciendas (the majority of which had been the property the Sociedad Ganadera de Junin) and more than a quarter of a million hectares in the period up to 1930. It also undertook the installation^{of} a filtration system into its La Oroya refinery which not only reduced the damage to surrounding lands, but also enabled the plant to extract considerable quantities of lead and bismuth to compensate for the falling copper

content of the ores which it was mining at that date (Laite 1978).

Because of the inalienable nature of community lands, however, the Corporation had to make different compensation arrangements with those whose lands had been damaged by the pollution. However, while some communities acted in concert, seeking government recognition of their communal status in an effort to present a united front, other community members actually denied the communal character of their lands on the basis that individual settlements with the Corporation would be more profitable than community-wide ones. In the case of the community of La Oroya, where land had been damaged so severely that it was declared totally useless, certain comuneros attempted to prove that ownership of the community's lands was private, so that they were able to make individual claims for damage. As a result, the Corporation was obliged to purchase other lands on which to resettle those comuneros who wished to continue in agriculture. Others were compensated in cash with payments lasting over a period of twenty years to cover continuing damage which it was thought that the refinery would cause. Many of these subsequently left agriculture and started to engage in trade activities in the mine centre (ibid.).

The Corporation's policy of buying up affected hacienda lands was not purely based on altruism. From its own experiments it knew that, with careful treatment, many of the animals affected by the smoke would recover. In addition, much of the land which was purchased by the Corporation turned out to be far less seriously damaged than had been imagined. On the basis of its land purchases the Cerro de Pasco Corporation was able, over the succeeding years, to establish the country's largest and most profitable hacienda. It introduced new breeds

of sheep and improved grazing techniques and veterinary care. On the basis of the production of these agricultural lands it was able, not only to establish another link with the international market (through wool sale), but also to reduce the cost of its labour force by producing low cost meat and other foodstuffs for sale in its mining centres (Rivera 1976).

In fact, certain writers have argued that the Corporation knew in advance what the effects of the pollution from the refinery at La Oroya would be (Rivera 1976; Laite 1978). Its installation at the head of the river valley overlooking one of Peru's richest and most populous agricultural zones was, they argue, undertaken in the knowledge of the extent of devastation which would result and the area which it would affect.²⁵ In other words, the damage caused by the plant was intentional and had two main purposes. In the first place it lowered the price which the Corporation had to pay for hacienda lands on which it subsequently based a large percentage of its profits. Second, by displacing a large part of the peasant population from its agricultural base, both in the communities and the haciendas, it hoped to be able to supply its own needs for a proletarianised labour force which came to be its mainstay in subsequent years.

Whilst it has been noted that in the early decades of the present century the Cerro de Pasco Corporation relied most heavily on enganche labour conscripted from the communities of the Mantaro valley, in later years such a system became incapable of satisfying the industry's needs.²⁶ In the first place the increasing technification of the industry meant that fewer and better trained employees were needed in many tasks. The investment necessary for such training meant that the short term

contracts secured by the enganche system were no longer profitable. Second, because of increasing labour opportunities in the Mantaro valley and the Huancayo region in particular, it was no longer so easy for enganchedores to secure the labour of men who could find other, more profitable and less dangerous means of earning a cash income.

As a result of these changes in the regional and national economy, the mines have been obliged to seek a more dependable labour force through wage increases. In recent years, then, mining has become a stable form of employment for a small sector of the population, with many men staying in the mines for a number of years, or even until they retire. Their long-term absence from their natal communities and familiarity with the life of the mine centres, has often led such men to move to the city on their retirement.

In most cases, though, the relationship which mine workers have with their communities is not completely broken. Even while they are absent, many maintain longstanding links with their holdings through their relatives. And some do return to agriculture, while others take up trade or other intermediary activities based on the skills, as well as the cash, which they have obtained during their period in the mines.

Moreover such wage labourers are able to contribute both cash and political expertise to their communities. Since they are not present to fulfill their obligations to the community, they have often become anualistas, who contribute in cash form rather than labour to community projects. In this manner they retain rights in communal resources which they rent out, or exploit with the help of relatives living in the community. Migrant clubs may also make frequent cash contributions, as

well as offering technical expertise to help with projects in their communities of origin.²⁷ Whilst their role within the communal organisation remains ambiguous their effect on its development is often marked.

Following the 1969 Agrarian Reform in Peru and the nationalisation of all the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's assets, both agricultural and mineral, there have been a number of changes in the organisation of labour and production on hacienda lands as well as in the new mining organisation (Centromin-Peru). However, whilst the latter is now formally under worker control, its organisation still bears a strong resemblance to that of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, with Peruvian engineers taking the roles of their American predecessors. Although working conditions for miners and their families have improved beyond measure in the recent period, much of that improvement was carried out by the old Corporation. Moreover, Centromin's relations with neighbouring communities do not appear to be a great deal better than those of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, with continuing suits for compensation being brought against the new company for pollution damage to grazing lands and water courses.

On the other hand, as was noted in the previous section, the position of the Corporation's ex-hacienda has changed considerably following the reform, by the formation of the SAIS Tupac Amaru from its lands. Although this was an attempt by the Agrarian Reform to satisfy the claims of those communities which had lost lands to the Corporation's haciendas, whilst maintaining its high rates of productivity through the use of many of the Corporation's own husbandry systems, it has been largely unsuccessful. The size of the debts which the SAIS incurred for the purchase of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's lands and the divisiveness of the many

interest groups involved in it, have meant that, while it still survives at the present time, like many other of the Agrarian Reform's cooperative ventures, it has serious political and economic problems.

4.4. The development of Huancayo as a regional centre²⁸

Since the turn of the century, largely as a response to fundamental changes in the regional economy, Huancayo has arisen from being a small settlement of agriculturalists, to be the most important commercial centre in the Central Sierra. Its position on the railway which links Lima to the central highlands, as well as to the uplands of Huancavelica and its access to the productive jungle regions to the east, have made it the focus of trade from agricultural zones throughout the region and the supply centre for the mines as well as the capital city. However, prior to the twentieth century, when the region's economy was based almost entirely on agriculture, the neighbouring city of Jauja held the position of political and commercial capital of the Mantaro valley.

Jauja's predominance was based on its proximity to the Yanamarca valley, where the region's haciendas were located. The power of the elite resident in the city was largely based upon their control over the peasant population of the communities and the haciendas, both of which groups owed labour services to them. This, in addition to their control of politics and the educational facilities in the city, ensured their political and economic supremacy in the region. The city was thus the political as well as the market centre for the agricultural population of

the surrounding zones. However poor communications severely restricted its contacts with the coast and, although until the early part of the present century it was the major exporter of wool to Lima, much of the local trade was based on barter. The principal role of Jaujinos in trade was their control of transport which, until the advent of the railway, was undertaken by mule (Alberti and Sanchez 1974).

The first blows to the supremacy of Jauja fell during the wars of independence when Huancayo became an important military garrison, in which period the now famous weekly fair had its origin. Subsequently, the whole southern part of the valley was separated from Jauja by the creation of the province of Huancayo and, in 1864, by the establishment of the city of Huancayo as the provincial capital. The city's regional hegemony was finally broken during the Pacific War with Chile, when the land-owning elites resident there found themselves financing a large part of the cost of the defending armies and, subsequently, when their lands suffered serious depredations from the occupying armies (ibid.).

The creation of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation in 1902 undermined the agricultural bases of power and wealth among the elite as well as channeling a proportion of the peasant work force into wage labour. The new direction taken by the regional economy led to the accelerating development of the regional market to match the growth of the mine-based work force as well as increases in the amount of cash in circulation in many rural areas. In terms of the development of the city of Huancayo itself, one of the most important factors was the Corporation's construction of part of the Central Railway, whose standard gauge section terminated in the city. A further narrow gauge section was built to connect Lima with the city of Huancavelica, making Huancayo an important

change-over point between the two lines. The railway not only facilitated the transport of men and goods between the mines of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation and the agricultural zones of the Mantaro valley, it also connected Huancayo with the ever-expanding markets of Lima itself. Thus the stage was set for the explosive growth of the city of Huancayo which grew from a small town of some 5000 souls in 1931 to a city of 125,000 in 1974.

Although Huancayo's massive expansion occurred largely during the present century, many of the characteristics which facilitated its growth were present long before that time. The early military importance of the town which gave rise to the introduction of the weekly fair has already been mentioned. Before continuing to discuss the more recent trends in its expansion it is necessary to note several inherent characteristics which predisposed the city to its role as commercial centre of a large area of the central highlands.

Huancayo's location at the southern end of the Mantaro valley meant that, not only was it relatively remote from the hacienda-dominated economy of the Yanamarca valley, it was also ideally situated as a market centre for many of the surrounding agricultural regions. Besides its location on the major trading route to the southern highlands and the cities of Huancavelica, Ayacucho and Cuzco (which are located in the major wool producing areas of the country), it also had easy access to areas of montana or high jungle and the pastoral highlands of the valley itself.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the relative absence of haciendas and the existence of large numbers of small-scale farms in the southern valley had also made the area around Huancayo a prosperous

agricultural zone capable of marketing surpluses locally. The degree of prosperity had brought with it both internal differentiation amongst the peasant producers and a degree of economic diversity with specialisations in craft activities and even into small-scale mining, on the basis of which some families were able to make their fortunes (Samaniego 1974).

The rapid expansion of Huancayo's commercial importance came after the turn of the century, however, when the infrastructural and technological needs of the mining industry and the increasing flow of cash from mine wages were coupled with the construction of the road and rail networks to Lima and throughout the region, causing the city's potential to be more fully realised. The regional urban system developed as a result of market forces and was not reliant on political or administrative regulation. The new elites who established themselves in the city came from Lima or outside of Peru. They moved to Huancayo specifically for the purpose of establishing branches of international banks, importing businesses and "agencies" for import firms which supplied the mines in the region. As a result, the city's commercial base was never reliant on the local economic structure and, unlike "traditionally" established colonial cities, it had no marked effect on agriculture. In spite of the great potential of the Lima markets which stimulated the expansion of commercial agriculture, the risks of high altitude farming are such that there was little incentive for the newly established elites to transfer their capital into farming. As a result there has been little conflict of interests between the foreign elites and the local farming population.

The result of such commercialisation on the basis of small-scale production has been the development of what Samaniego has called the "independent farmer"²⁹ in the Mantaro valley. Mine wages were often used

for the modernisation of agriculture which, in many of the most fertile valley areas, was given over entirely to cash crop production. Although the mines absorbed much of the expanding agricultural production in the earlier years, later increased demand also came from the Lima market whose traditional coastal suppliers were converting their lands to the production of sugar and cotton for export. Huancayo thus became the central market for the export of foodstuffs to the mines and the coast and the import of manufactured goods from Lima and beyond.

Over the same period Huancayo also became the most important centre for the collection of wool for local use as well as for export. In the period following the Pacific War when Jauja's economy was largely in ruins, an attempt to revitalise the city through the introduction of an economy based on the import of foreign and coastal goods and the export of valley produce, had been undertaken by a number of foreign nationals. Their main export, at that time of poor communications, was wool, and Jauja maintained her virtual monopoly of wool exports from the central highlands until after the turn of the present century. However, being based on a favourable set of external circumstances rather than any expansion of productive capacity or demand, the city's trading prowess was fragile and, with the depression of the 1930's, it was quickly destroyed. In the period after that, while Jauja still retained a certain importance in the wool market, Huancayo cornered much of the trade and, in the period between 1930 and 1960, was the base for several large textile factories based on locally produced wool (Alberti and Sanchez 1974).

By the 1930's Huancayo was very much a "frontier" town with a booming commercial economy which was heavily dependent upon its role as a centre

for the trans-shipment of goods between the highlands, the jungles and the coast. Its streets were unpaved, its buildings in a constant state of construction or demolition and its population largely unruly. Only its foreign elites gave it an air of refinement, and they never became fully integrated into the local society or economy. Indeed, when increasing import substitution brought about the decline of the power of foreign monopolies on trade, they started to diversify their businesses into many fields. True to their earlier form, though, their enterprises remained highly speculative and restricted to those fields which involved them in minimal contact with the local economy.³⁰ Their involvement was invariably short-term, entailing little capital investment and high profit margins.

One of the most important of the industries to be developed by members of the elite was that of textile manufacture described in detail by Roberts (1976). In the 1940's there were four big textile factories in Huancayo producing goods for local consumption from locally produced wools. They employed a considerable work force but failed to stimulate permanent migration into Huancayo from the surrounding countryside. Rather, their employees would either take weekday lodging in the city, returning to their home villages at the weekend or, when bus services became more widespread, would simply commute to work each day.

This lack of commitment by either side of the productive process has been characteristic of Huancayo's economy and meant that, when these factories went into decline as a result of competition from more efficient coastal manufacturers in the 1960's, there was little opposition to the laying off of large numbers of employees. Indeed, for several years the factory owners had encouraged employees and other local people to set up small

scale textile workshops. In their effort to increase supplies of raw materials and stimulate the market they supplied these new enterprises with machinery and cheap materials. Thus they paved the way for the take over of the role of large-scale textile industry by domestic workshops which were in a better position to respond to fluctuations in local demand.

The decline of large scale industry in Huancayo was not accompanied by a decline in the urban population because the labour force of the factories, if it had not been resident outside the city, became involved in domestic industries. Nor did the economy of the city atrophy during this period. The low profit margins which such enterprises were able to sustain because of their use of household labour and avoidance of government controls,³¹ made their long-term survival possible. Such an emphasis on the small-scale and on flexibility has made Huancayo a city in which, as Roberts points out "you can get anything done, or made, at short notice and reasonable cost" (Roberts 1976:89) Furthermore the expansion of Huancayo has continued as the city has been almost literally taken over by its surrounding area. People migrate to Huancayo in order to expand and diversify their community-based economies, not in search of work. Moreover, the population is, in large part, temporary. In time many individuals or households move on in search of further economic opportunities. As a result of these developments "The village and city....become inter-related as complementary locations permitting the local survival of a population on activities which, by themselves, would not be sufficient for subsistence" (ibid.:93). And the area as a whole "retains a vitality and an unpredictability which makes it a significant source of unanticipated developments - socially and politically for the

nation's development" (ibid.:96).

NOTES

1. For a fuller description of these arguments see Godelier 1976 and Wachtel 1977.
2. The administration itself benefitted from the allocation of such labour tribute - which was levied on the indians in addition to tribute in goods or cash - in the form of taxes which it demanded from the land and mine owners against the indians which they employed. This form of labour tribute (the mit'a) was the single most important source of cash for the state in the early colonial period.
3. They were often worse treated than the negro slaves beside whom they worked, since the latter had cost their owners their purchase price, whilst indian labour was "free" (Roel 1970).
4. One such measure was the repartiento de efectivos through which indians were forced into buying unwanted, and sometimes completely useless, goods - mules, clothing, coca and some European manufactures. It became an increasingly important aspect of the economy, benefitting the colonial administration by the sale of the potentially lucrative official posts through which the repartimento was organised.
5. France also provided considerable quantities of goods to the Peruvian market, though these were largely for ostentatious consumption by the economically powerful urban elites.
6. For a description of the role of the herds of haucchilleros in hacienda organisation see Martinez Alier (1973).
7. For a detailed description of the importance of the railway for the development of the wool economy see Appleby (1976) and Orlove (1977).
8. For specific details on their spread in the southern highlands, see Spalding (1975). Thorpe and Bertram (1978) also give a more general description of the expansion of haciendas within the context of the wool boom.
9. Agricultural Production Cooperatives. For a fuller description of the organisation of these see Zaldivar (1974).
10. Agricultural Social Interest Society. For fuller descriptions of this types of organisation see Zaldivar (1974); Gomez Rodriguez (1977); Mejia (1977); Roberts and Sameniego (1978), which have formed the basis for the arguments presented in this section.
11. Writers such as Martinez Alier have been instrumental in the formation of an image of the shepherd and the peasant as grossly exploited by hacienda owners (1973).
12. Further information on the SAIS Tupac Amaru can be found in Althaus (1975) and Rivera (1976).
13. On this subject see, for instance, Long and Roberts (1978), including articles by Grondin, Samaniego, Winder and the editors themselves.
14. Gomez, writing of SAIS in the southern highlands, records this inequality as being in favour of the cooperative workers (1977), while Roberts and Samaniego, describing the organisation of the SAIS Cahuide in

the central highlands, write that the villages receive a greater share of the profits than the workers (1978).

15. During the 1980 parliamentary election campaign, which was undertaken as a part of the return to civilian rule after the twelve years of military government, the members of several of the central highland's big SAIS made vociferous complaints about the inequality and inefficiency of the cooperative organisation in the highlands.

16. The "floor" for expropriation of arable land was put at 150-200 hectares on the coast and 15-330 in the highlands although, in pastoral zones, the limits are on animals rather than land itself and were set at from 5000-20,000 sheep or equivalents in other animals. See Zaldivar (1974).

17. Under this system each province had to provide the labour of one seventh part of its men between the ages of 18 and 50 to work in the mines for a period of one year.

18. In 1776 Potosi was producing some 40.6% of the total of silver exported from the colony (Fisher 1977).

19. According to Fisher, while thirteen provinces were selected by Toledo to send workers to Huancavelica, in the eighteenth century ten of these were sending monetary compensation in their place (Fisher 1977).

20. Enganche which is literally translated as "hook", is a system through which men are enticed to take up work in a particular industrial or agricultural organisation through the payment of advance wages. In many cases these may be used to pay off debts or to sponsor fiestas. Once at the mine the enganchado frequently finds it difficult to leave because low wage levels and other covert systems of exploitation, prevent him from paying back his original debt.

21. Watchel describes a fall from some eight million in 1530 to 1.3 million (80%) by 1590 due to disease and war, as well as the unsupportable working conditions in the mines and obrajes.

22. For fuller descriptions of the history of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, see Bonilla, H (1974a), Yepes (1974), De Wind (1975), Rivera (1976) and Laite (1978), on which the data in this section is based.

23. At this time, shortly after the discovery of electricity, the market for copper was expanding rapidly, while that for silver, which had previously been the major product of Peruvian mining, had sharply declined (Yepes 1974).

24. For details of political situation behind its unpopularity see Laite (1978).

25. Laite (1978) notes that as early as 1919 they introduced stocks of sheep, cattle and horses on recently purchased haciendas around the refinery for the specific purpose of observing the effects of the smoke on their health.

26. The Cerro de Pasco Corporation's reliance on enganche lasted until the middle of the present century. Its use was necessary because of the reluctance of peasants to leave their agricultural holdings to work in the mines (Bonilla, H 1974a). Because they were working only to fulfill specific obligations (such as the sponsoring of a fiesta), such workers remained heavily dependent upon their agricultural economy as the major source of their livelihood, thus decreasing the real cost of labour to the mine owners (Bonilla, H 1974a; De Wind 1975). However, despite the low cost of the labour which they produced, they were not satisfactory in creating a stable labour force. Peasants so conscripted would only leave their land during the slack part of the agricultural cycle, returning, even if their debts were unpaid, for the harvest. Moreover, as other

opportunities for wage labour in the Mantaro valley were opened up, the enganche ceased to be effective (Bonilla, H 1974a).

27. For a fuller description of the relationship which urban migrant clubs have with their natal villages, see Altamirano (1980).

28. Where not otherwise indicated, the information on which this chapter is based comes from the work of Bryan Roberts on Huancayo (1976 and 1978).

29. See note 4, Chapter 3, for a definition of "independent farmer".

30. For instance, the businesses of timber and transport, both of which closely link their owners with the small-scale, local economy, remained in the hands of Huancayo-born families (Roberts 1976).

31. Under government legislation industries employing less than ten people do not have to fulfill welfare and tax obligations. Moreover the creation of the Comunidad Industrial by the military government in 1968 meant that half a company's profits had to be set aside in a fund which would enable the employees to purchase half the company's shares. Again, this only applied to businesses employing more than ten people (Roberts 1976).

CHAPTER 5 : ASPECTS OF THE LOCAL HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY OF TOMAS

Introduction

This chapter presents such data on the history of the community of Tomas, its involvement in the region and the economies of wool and mining, as were available to me. The first section concerns the history of the community during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such evidence arises almost exclusively from the legal documentation of disputes in which the community was involved over its rights to pasture and the maintenance of its long boundary in the puna. Although the documents were drawn up purely as evidence in such struggles, they also shed some light on other organisational and economic aspects of the community during this period.

The second section deals with the history of mining in the locality of Tomas and relates to the data presented in the previous chapter on mining in ^{the} central highlands. While information on these small mines is incomplete, it demonstrates the importance of mining close to the community, both in terms of the opportunities which it has offered for wage labour and the problems that it has caused in political, economic and environmental terms.

The third section, which is based largely on a number of articles published in the journal of the teachers of Yauyos, describes the community of Tomas as it was in the 1940's. It notes the close involvement which the majority of households had with pastoralism, the limitations of the local economy and reluctance which they felt about changes that they were being expected to make in their lives (most notably by bringing their children to school). Whilst this section may appear as a somewhat isolated view of the past life of the community, its description of the period before much of the recent accelerating change had taken place, offers an interesting perspective on the nature of that change. It also acts as an introduction to the information arising from the 1940's which is presented at various points later in the field data.

The fourth section presents some more recent data regarding Tomas' relations with its regional environment in Yauyos. It deals with the most recent events surrounding the problems of land disputes with neighbouring haciendas and communities. It also shows the cooperative and competitive relations which Tomas has, at various times, had with communities in the region, specifically in relation to the construction of the Lima-Huancayo-Canete road and the installation of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal (NEC) for North Yauyos.

Although it is impossible to create a full picture of the history of a population which has sparse documentation, the four sections do offer certain insights into the background to present-day life in Tomas. The more detailed information available on the community's recent history which is presented in the latter sections, viewed within the context of its long-term antecedents as they are presented in section one, indicates

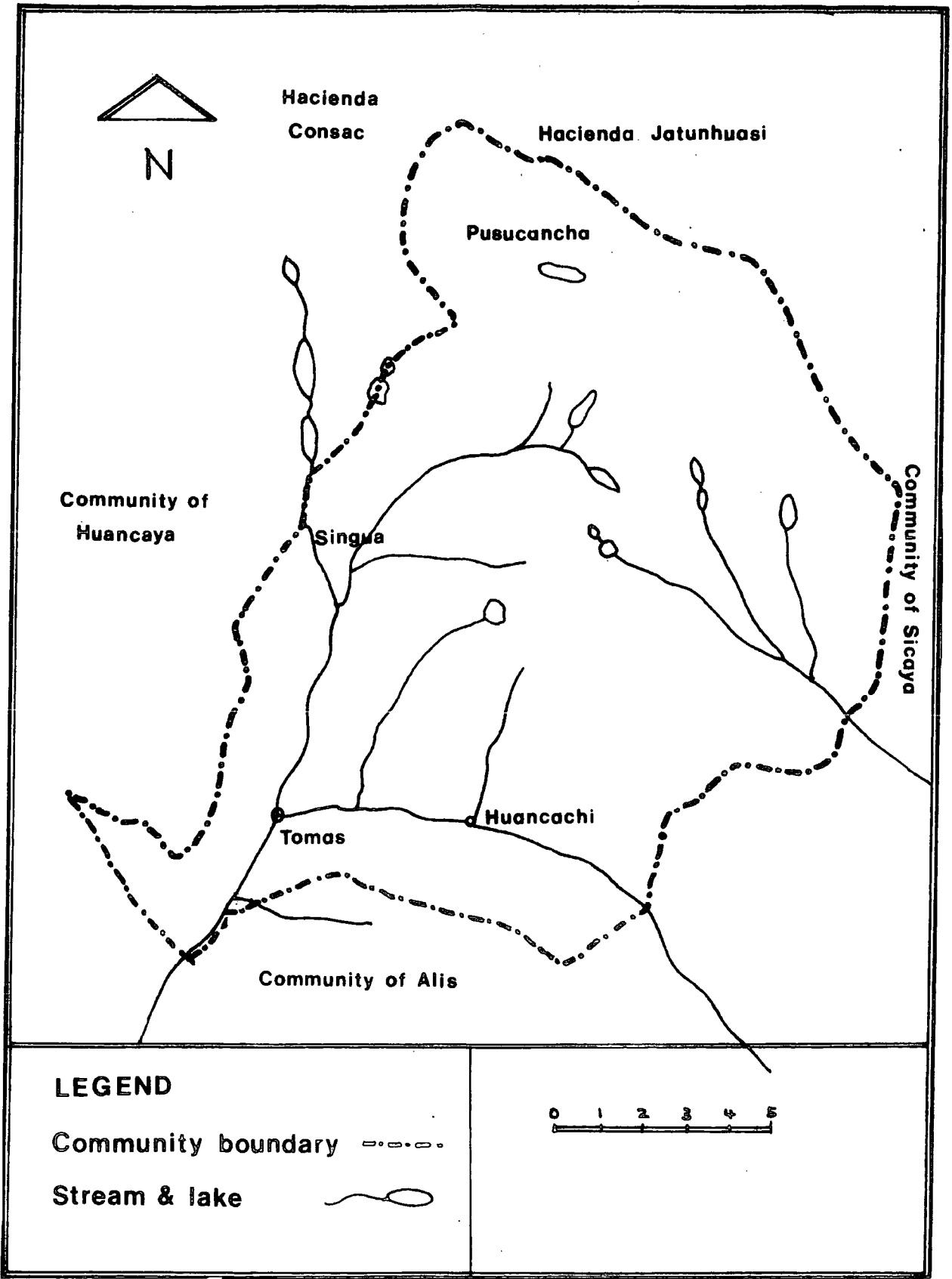
the direction of certain enduring trends apparent in the community and its population over recent years.

5.1. The struggle for land

Although the documentation of Tomas' history is scarce and sporadic, copies of legal documents which relate to land disputes do provide certain insights into the community's historical bases during the colonial and republican periods.¹ In the first place the number and type of litigations concerning the ownership of the community's pastures demonstrate how early the inhabitants of the settlement were involved in efforts to establish their identity and maintain the integrity of their territory. Secondly, the documents give indications of the community's culture, economy and of population mobility during the colonial period. Thirdly, they point out the existence of considerable economic differentiation within the population during the nineteenth century.²

When he was in Jauja in 1534 Pizarro divided the region of Yauyos³ into five encomiendas. Two of these, Mancos y Laraos and Atun Yauyos, constitute the present-day province of Yauyos, whilst the remainder now belong to Huarochiri. Mancos y Laraos, which extended from the valley of Lunahuana in the sub-tropical zone to the Andean watershed, included the lands and population of what is now the community called La Santisima Trinidad de Tomas (Davila Brizeno 1965).

In 1567 the viceroy Toledo introduced his policy of reducciones under which the indigenous population was aggregated into villages based on the



Map 2. The community of Tomas in relation to surrounding communities and haciendas (based on map drawn up in 1912)

Spanish model of a church built on a plaza, with streets radiating out from it. The corrigedor of Yauyos, Davila Brizeno, created 39 such villages out of the 200 Inca settlements under his control. Eleven of these were in Mancos y Laraos (ibid.).

The inhabitants of the settlement of Tomas were removed to Santiago de Vitis, some seven kilometres away as the crow flies. The removal of the population and the subsequent introduction of mine workers to work the small but rich mineral deposits of Tataraco, proved to be a cause of many disputes during the following centuries. It is the litigation documents of these disputes which provide much of the information about the community's history in the early part of the conquest, as it is described in the following paragraphs.

Although the documentation does not make clear how the immigrant mine workers first established their claim to the pasture of the village, it is clear that, by the eighteenth century, a bitter dispute had arisen between them and Tomas' previous residents, who are referred to as the members of "Tomas Ayllu in Vitis".⁴ Between 1712 and 1761 a series of litigations were undertaken by the members of "Tomas ayllu in Vitis" and the foresteros resident in the valley settlement which has subsequently become the community's urban centre. The disputes concerned the allocation of rights to graze livestock and to rent the pastures above the settlement, which both groups were claiming as theirs "since antiquity". In 1718 these lands were formally delimited and attributed to the residents of the mine settlement. A later outbreak of the dispute, though, resulted in a finding in favour of Tomas ayllu and finally in the division of the pasture between the two groups. Although it is not known exactly how this division was made, it appears that the major part of the

pasture finally held by the members of Tomas ayllu were those which had been rented out by them to the successive hacendados of Jatunhuasi, an hacienda on the community's eastern boundary, and that the proceeds from this rental were used to pay their tribute obligations. Moreover, it seems that the opposition between the two populations finally became an opposition between the two villages of Tomas and Vitis. The association of the members of Tomas ayllu with their new home is most clearly indicated by the fact that, in 1761, when the final dispute between the two populations is recorded as having taken place, the members of Tomas ayllu were simultaneously disputing with the neighbouring village of Huancaya over the lands rented to Jatunhuasi and that, in this dispute, they referred to themselves as the people of Vitis. Although Tomas ayllu existed as an entity capable of carrying on a litigation over Jatunhuasi into the nineteenth century, in 1850 it lost its rights over its pasturelands in Tomas when a new boundary run was made which attributed them to Huancaya.

The consequences of this protracted dispute were not limited to relations between the two populations, but ramified into disputes over pasture and rent with the neighbouring haciendas of Consac and Jatunhuasi, as well as with the community of Huancaya, which is the capital of the district of which Vitis forms a part.

The rental of a proportion of the puna lands to the hacienda Jatunhuasi by the members of Tomas ayllu had been a cause for conflict with successive hacendados at least since the eighteenth century. However, it was in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when the highland haciendas entered a phase of marked expansion as a result of increasing involvement in the international wool market (Spalding 1975) that the

hacienda became a real threat to Tomas' pasturelands. After a century of relative truce, in 1849 a dispute over an area of pasture in the eastern sector of the community marked the beginning of a series of expropriations and invasions which characterised relations with the hacienda until its sequestration by the Agrarian Reform in 1969.

The litigation with both haciendas had, since the early part of the century, brought the community into direct conflict with the Cerro de Pasco Corporation which had control over them after the 1920's.⁵ The dispute principally concerned a tract of land in the north of the community known as Pusucancha and Anascancha which had been unlawfully rented to to hacienda Jatunhuasi in the late nineteenth century by the Vivas family (this situation is discussed in greater detail later in the section). Following a boundary run conducted at the turn of the century, in which Anascancha was ascribed to the hacienda Consac, the community spent more than sixty years in trying to regain possession of this section of pasture, as well as defending adjacent pastures against the continual erosion of its boundaries by the haciendas.

The community's struggle to maintain its integrity has not been restricted to external threats. In fact the most bitter and protracted litigation in its history resulted from the establishment of an hacienda within the community's pasture lands by a member of the community itself (although his origins were actually as a descendant of the members of Tomas ayllu in Vitis). According to community documents, the foundation of the hacienda was based on an agreement made between Juan Evangelista Vivas and the community authorities in 1802 for a tract of land called Singua in the puna about ten kilometres from the village of Tomas

itself.⁶

Following his death his son, Juan de Dios, consolidated the hacienda in 1850 by making a further arrangement with the community over the litigation in which it was involved with the hacienda Jatunhuasi. Under the terms of this agreement the community conceded that, if Juan de Dios obtained the eighteenth century maps and documents which were missing at that time, and carried through the litigation with the hacienda on behalf of the community, it would cede the disputed lands to him and his heirs in perpetuity.

For more than a century the Vivas family maintained the hacienda on a considerable proportion of Tomas' lands. In 1864 they were employing twelve Tomasinos for the 1600 sheep and 160 llamas which they kept on the land at the time. The remaining population of the community was restricted to the use of the higher and less favourable pastures to the north and extreme west of the community. This pasture included Anascancha and Pusucancha, which subsequently came under threat from the Hacienda Consac as a result of duplicity on behalf of the Vivas family. In addition they were charged tolls to bring their animals through any part of the hacienda - which they were obliged to do to bring them to the village - and animals which strayed onto hacienda lands were liable to confiscation pending the payment of fines.

During the Pacific War the Chileans stole much of the hacienda's livestock and the remaining family members retired to Jauja. They subsequently rented a sector of the puna to the hacienda Consac. However, the lands which they rented, Anascancha and Pusucancha, were not legally part of the hacienda and the community of Tomas requested a boundary run

in an attempt to regain their pastures. As a result of the run Anascancha was ascribed to the hacienda Consac and it was not until the 1960's that the community was able to regain this sector of its pastures.

In 1910 the community embarked on litigation with the heirs of the Vivas family who were by then largely resident in Jauja and Yauyos. Confronted with the possibility of a lengthy and expensive litigation, the family sold its interest in the hacienda to a powerful Yauyino, Pedro Antonio Tupino. In 1917 the community took Tupino to court in a litigation which continued until 1942 when the high court in Lima nullified the sale of the community's lands by the Vivas family to Tupino.

Although this case is significant in showing the persistence with which the community was capable of maintaining a struggle against such an invasion of its territorial integrity, it also points up the extent of economic differentiation which existed within the community in the early nineteenth century. Although no documentation is available on Josef Vivas, the father of Juan Evangelista, beyond his participation in various litigations over pasture on the part of Tomas ayllu in Vitis, he was obviously a figure of some political importance. The ability of his son to establish an hacienda on a sector of Tomas' most favourable lands remains unexplained, but quite possibly relates to his wealth whose vast extent was indicated in his will dated 1833. In this he left his wife and six surviving children, besides the hacienda in Singua, lands in Sicaya and Taupa, three mines in Tomas, eight negro slaves and household goods which included "plata elaborada de casa" (household silver) (Testamento de Juan Evangelista Vivas 1833).

Early historical bases of economy

While the members of Tomas ayllu in Vitis and the occupants of the mine in Tomas itself were disputing with each other and their neighbours over the right to graze animals on, or to rent, the community's pasture lands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they remained very much under the control of the colonial administration. They were subject to the labour and tribute obligations exacted from much of the native population during the colonial period, and were obliged to manipulate their own agricultural economy to supply the demands of the Spanish ruling class.

The pre-colonial population which was transferred to Vitis came under the mit'a obligations of Lima and Canete, which they fulfilled by working in the Tambo (inn) at Julca, by repairing roads, agricultural labour on the haciendas of Canete and in the transportation of goods by mule and llama. It is probable that they were also obliged to maintain such transport animals alongside any other animals which they kept for household use and consumption. In 1712, besides these labour obligations, the 25 tributaries of Tomas ayllu argued that they depended on the rents which they obtained from their ownership of pasture to pay their tribute obligations and the mit'a obligations of nine tributaries who were missing from the village. Moreover, at that time, they stated that their pasturelands were occupied not only by their animals, those of the hacienda Jatunhuasi and the church, but also by the ayllus of Cochas and Vitis with whom they exchanged rights in arable lands, since they had none of the latter.

The residents of the mine settlement in Tomas were claimed by the members

of Tomas ayllu, to be "indians gathered from various parts in the above mentioned settlement and mine who suppose themselves to be indigenous to the ancient and ruined village of Tomas" and who were therefore free from mit'a obligations.⁷ Furthermore, they were declared as foresteros in a visita made to the settlement by the Fiscal Protector General in 1746. However, the population of the mine settlement maintained their claims to be related by descent and marriage to members of the original population and declared that their labour in the mines of Tataraco was in fulfilment of their mit'a obligations. Moreover, they protested that the members of Tomas ayllu were fugitives who did not contribute to the church in Tomas and yet benefitted from the rental of the puna lands, and that the loss of these lands had made it impossible for them to pay their religious obligations without recourse to labour "in other parts".

Whilst the arguments of both parties shed light on the nature of their obligations and resources during this period, they also indicate the early date at which population mobility became an important factor in Tomas' history. In fact, since the date of the reducciones in the sixteenth century, the population has remained mobile largely as a response to economic opportunity. Yet, while the opportunities of labour offered by the community's numerous mines have frequently drawn people to live in the village, the population has, on a number of occasions, been almost completely decimated by a succession of natural disasters.

During the eighteenth century the members of Tomas ayllu based their claim that the miners resident in Tomas were foresteros on the fact that in 1708 the "ancient settlement" had been destroyed by a flood.⁸ The remaining population fled to Junin and, according to them, the village had remained unoccupied since that time. In fact it was maintained on one

occasion that the original reduccion was made because "the siting of the village was unsafe, not only because of its continual destruction caused by rock falls from the mountains, but also because of its being on the banks of the river which could be the cause of serious accidents, especially to children." During the nineteenth century the village was destroyed no less than three times by fire, largely because all the houses were straw thatched and the village subject to strong winds which run down the ravine. The last occurred in 1880 when 80% of the buildings as well as all the community's documents were destroyed. After this fire at least, a large part of the population migrated, this time to Laraos and Vitis, as well as to coastal towns and Junin.

Thus, in spite of the community's existence from an early date, it seems that its population has never been stable. Indeed, despite their claims to the contrary, it is probable that almost the whole of the community's population of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consisted of migrants who came to work the mines of Tataraco. Amongst the family names of tributaries recorded as living in the mine settlement in 1746 there is only one which appears more than once, which would suggest the presence of a number of members of the same family, in spite of the fact that only six men admitted to being foresteros who had married into the population. Moreover, only five out of a total of 25 names then present still exist in the community today.

Although these data are sporadic and give only brief glimpses of the life and economy of the population of Tomas in the colonial and post-colonial periods, they do illuminate several important points about the community's historical background. In the first place it is not a community created

through the reducciones, nor is it the result of an Inca ayllu;⁹ it originated as a mine settlement. Its population has not been indigenous since the removal of the original population under the system of reducciones, and has changed in composition several times since that date. Whilst the resident population relied on mine labour for much of its livelihood, it also kept animals in the punas which were herded by shepherds. These probably provided meat and wool for domestic consumption and for trade with agricultural villages in the Mantaro. However, it is also probable that the population kept beasts of burden, most likely llamas and a few mules, for the transport of mineral ores from the mines. The population thus presents itself as being highly mobile and aware of the life beyond the small mine settlement and the remote puna ranges of Tomas. The repeated successes which it has enjoyed in its struggles to maintain its pasture lands, both with outsiders and Tomasinos, indicates the tenacity of the communal organisation throughout the whole colonial and post-colonial period.

5.2. The history of mining in the locality of Tomas

Although there are innumerable mineral deposits in the north Yauyos region, these are almost entirely small in size and their presence has not called for the kind of large-scale development to which those of Cerro de Pasco or Huancavelica gave rise. In the immediate vicinity of Tomas, however, there are two sizeable mines, as well as a large number of small deposits, some of which are thought to have been worked in the Inca period, which gave the settlement the name of "Tomas pueblo mineral"

in previous times (Bonilla, C 1973:72). Indeed, as mentioned in the previous section, the removal of the native population to Vitis in the reducciones and the land's subsequent resettlement with free mine workers, formed the basis of the present community.

The effects which mine labour and transport activities have had on the domestic economy and community organisation in Tomas have therefore been fundamental to the direction of the community's development, both in terms of its pastoralism and its general orientation within the regional economies of Yauyos and the Mantaro valley. It is the intention of the present section to sketch the outline of mining in the area around Tomas in order to provide a framework for references made to these mining operations later in the thesis.

There are two major mines now operating in the vicinity of the community of Tomas: Yauricocha which, in the past, contained rich gold and silver ores, but now produces mainly copper, with lead, zinc and silver as subsidiary products, and Gran Bretana, in which zinc, lead and manganese have been mined. Other deposits such as those of Negro Bueno, which produced considerable quantities of coal for the Cerro de Pasco Corporation earlier in the century, are currently closed.

Yauricocha, which stands some fifteen kilometres beyond the community boundary and was at one time the property of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, is now in the hands of Centromin, the nationalised mining company, while Gran Bretana, on its northern boundary, has always been under private ownership. There are also two small, privately owned, mines on the edge of the village itself, and a variable number of claims throughout the community's territory.

Because of communal legislation which gives peasant communities ownership of the surface of the land, without rights in the mineral wealth which may lie under it, Tomas gains little benefit from these mines with the exception of nominal rents which it receives for the land which they occupy.¹⁰ On the other hand, the community frequently suffers from the many forms of pollution which they cause to its grasslands and water courses as well as damage to its roads and bridges. The history of Tomas' relations with mining in the locality is, therefore, a hotchpotch of disputes and confrontations as well as requests for help. To understand its significance, it is necessary to note the development of the major mines in the area.

Yauricocha¹¹

Although the Yauricocha mines were probably worked in the colonial period, there are no records of their exploitation until 1862 when the existence of extremely rich ores in the mines was noted by the geologist Raimundi (1874-1965). The earliest attempts to mine copper date from the turn of the present century, when eight claims were staked. These were subsequently bought up by two separate concerns: Frank Klepto, an American engineer who had supervised the construction of the refinery at Tinyahuarco, and a local partnership, N.J. Larke, Calle and Michulich. These two companies entered a protracted dispute over the ownership of certain of the properties which prevented them from ever being able to exploit the reserves fully. Following a period during which the claims held by Larke, Calle and Michulich passed into the hands of the Peruvian Copper and Smelting Company, Backus and Johnson, a subsidiary of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, bought up the claims from all the disputing

parties in 1927.

The Cerro de Pasco Corporation's commitment to the mine was only slowly realised, however. The Corporation used the least expensive and most labour intensive technology in the development of the mine and its infrastructure. The road which they built from Yauricocha to their rail link with Oroya in Pachacayo, took three years to build and employed considerable amounts of local labour. During this period the Corporation continued to employ men as well as some 2000 llamas and 50 mules in the transport of ores and imported goods, much as their predecessors had done. Many of these transportistas came from Tomas, which had some five and a half thousand llamas in 1927 ("Cuadro Estadístico de las Comunidades Indígenas del Departamento de Lima: 1926-7"). Notwithstanding the scale of its investment in the mine and the discovery of rich copper ores, Yauricocha was closed in 1932, due to the collapse in the world price of copper during the depression.

In 1938, when the copper deposits in its other mines were becoming depleted, the Corporation returned to Yauricocha. New exploration revealed rich ore deposits some 200 metres below the surface which made the construction of a railway link with La Oroya economically feasible. However, even in the construction of this, the techniques used were still based on the intensive use of labour and the work took five years. It employed between 500 and 2000 local labourers, dependent on the time of the agricultural year. Due to the precipitous nature of the terrain around the mines, the railhead was built at Chaucha, some 80 kilometres from Oroya and on land rented from the community of Tomas and some 16 kilometres from the mine. In order to connect the railway to the mine an

aerial cableway was constructed. Indeed, the infrastructural work necessary to make the mine profitable was such that it did not go into production until 1948. The cableway was in use until 1966 when a concentrator was built in Chumpe, some eight kilometres from the mine. In 1974, as a result of the nationalisation programme undertaken by the Agrarian Reform, the mines of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation were taken over by the state and incorporated into the newly formed Centromin-Peru.

Throughout the history of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, its relations with the community of Tomas have been characterised by both conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, disputes have arisen over a series of pollution incidents, ranging from the damage to the community's pasture by the fumes from Oroya during the 1920's and 1930's¹² to the continuing contamination of the river Tinco which flows from the Yauricocha lake and was, at one time, the main water supply in Tomas.¹³ Other disputes arose over the occupation of Tomas' pasture by the haciendas which the Corporation bought up as a result of the Oroya refinery contamination. On the other hand the company's mines, and most particularly Yauricocha, have been a considerable source of employment for those young Tomasino men who do not have the animals to make a viable living from pastoralism. In 1980, when Yauricocha was employing a total of 1150 mine labourers and surface workers, some 44 of these were Tomasinos. So ambiguous are the relations between the community and the mine owners that, in 1972, at the same time that the community was making complaints to the Cerro de Pasco over the contamination of its water by waste coming from the Yauricocha mine, and demanding the installation of a clean water supply to part of the village, it was petitioning the company for several articles of equipment, including a disused hydroelectric generator "because of the

good relations between Tomas and Yauricocha" (Actas 1972).

Gran Bretana

The mine Gran Bretana No9, which is located in the northern sector of the community's pasture, is operated on a far smaller scale than that of Yauricocha and, because of its great distance from the village, it has had relatively little to do with the community. Although it was also worked in the colonial period, the most recent period of exploitation started when a claim was staked for it in 1950 by a company which was ostensibly Peruvian owned, but was actually financed and managed by a Japanese concern. The workings were originally for manganese but, in 1970, when it was taken over by the present Peruvian owners, extraction was turned over to zinc and a little lead.

Its relations with Tomas, from whom it rents the land for its encampment, have remained remote over the years of its occupation. The principal areas of conflict have, like those of Yauricocha, largely concerned the contamination of pasture and water,¹⁴ as well as the overflowing of its operations into lands which it has not been designated. On the other hand, although an agreement exists which specifies that it must give precedent to Tomasinos in job allocation, because of its remoteness, only four community members were employed there in 1980 out of a total work force of 318 men.

The mine's lack of interest in, and knowledge of, the community was highlighted by a long-running dispute as to whether it owed its rent and its allegiance to Tomas and the province of Yauyos at all, or to the neighbouring community of San Jose de Q'ero, which stands in the province

of Concepcion. The dispute is first mentioned in communal archives in 1972 when a claim was made to the sub-prefect of Lima that the mine was in Yauyos and not Concepcion. After several years in which it paid its rent to Q'ero and even, on at least one occasion, sent Christmas presents to the authorities there, in 1980 the provincial authorities met with those from Tomas in the mine settlement and formally ratified Tomas' ownership of the lands. However, since the mine workings do straddle the provincial as well as the communal boundaries, it is to be expected that further disputes will ensue.

The mines of Dinamarca and other small claims

Because of the wealth of mineral in the bedrock of Tomas, over the years innumerable small mines have been opened to exploit seams of the ores of silver, lead, copper, zinc and manganese, as well as coal. These deposits have been claimed and worked for short periods and then disused when market prices declined or cash ran out. Between 1975 and 1980 fifty claims were staked on mineral deposits within the boundaries of the community. Although many of them have not been taken up, or do not yield sufficient ore, it is clear that a few Tomasinos, as well as a larger number of outsiders, do make money from them.¹⁵ In 1978-80 there were two substantial small mines being worked in the valley above Tomas, as well as one in the lands of its annex, Huancachi. There are also several small mines, largely of coal, being worked in the puna - some of them by Tomasinos who have grazing rights over the land in which the deposits are located.¹⁶

The two mines close to the village employ far larger numbers of Tomasinos than any of the others in the community. They are both owned by Huancayo

businessmen who have the capital to use expensive equipment such as compressors in their production. The older of the two, which dates from at least the 1940's, employs 37 men, of whom 23 are Tomasinos, while the other, which was only opened in Christmas 1979, employs only eight men, all of them Tomasinos. They both extract silver, lead and zinc, transporting the ore to Huancayo for concentration and sale by a firm of intermediaries. The larger and older of the two mines produces some 7000 metric tonnes per annum.¹⁷

The problems which Tomas has experienced with these small mines are similar to those of the larger mines, although they have been exacerbated by the mines' proximity to the village and their siting on the roadside. The community has complained about the contamination of its only remaining water supply, both by human and mineral wastes. It claims that the mines are using its roads and bridges for the transport of its ores, causing them damage, and that animals are frightened by the noise of the compressors which they must pass close by on their way to the village. Another major problem has been the disposal of the waste rock which is removed from the mines. Since the two mines are perched on the sides of the ravine with no easily accessible tipping sites, they have resorted to tipping the waste rock down the ravine side, where it approaches ever closer to the river. The community fears not only the contamination of the river by minerals, but also the possibility of a rock fall which would dam the river and, in the rainy season, could threaten the village with disaster.

Continuous petitions to the mine owners have only slowly yielded results. Finally the companies agreed to carry their waste down below the village and spread it on the road to provide a new (if rough) surface. On the

other hand, although plans for piping water for the community's use from above the mine, for removing dangerous chemicals from the roadside and providing latrines for workers, have been proposed to the companies, they have not so far taken any action on these matters.

5.3. The economy of Tomas in the mid-twentieth century

In 1941 an article on the community of Tomas appeared in the journal produced by the teachers of Yauyos, Yachaywasi (1941). At that time the community and its annex, Huancachi,¹⁸ counted with a population of 1200 people, in both urban and rural areas. The magazine describes life in Tomas as having

"two aspects: that of the puna dotted in places with small permanent shacks, without basic comforts and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, in which the people live out a sedentary existence attending to their personal needs (and) reliant entirely on Nature. Their main occupation is herding and domestic work. And that of the village, which counts with better living conditions, where the population is dedicated to domestic tasks of low productivity, such as spinning and weaving and the routine work in small fields. Occasional fiestas such as birthdays and "cortapelo" (first hair cutting), offer a few diversions to brighten their monotonous days" (Yachaywasi 1941:24).

Besides pastoralism and agriculture on a small scale, the article listed mining, the weaving of woollen goods for domestic use and barter, transport and small-scale trade as the community's only economic activities. Although there are innumerable small mineral deposits throughout Tomas' lands, the article reports that few were being exploited, and that working mines were in the hands of outsiders. In only a handful of cases did Tomasinos have access to small coal deposits located in some parts of the puna. Although there is little information

on migration or labour outside the community, there is a reference to both married and unmarried men, as well as some young women working on the roads which were being constructed to the Yauricocha mine. There was no mine labour, since the mine had not yet been reopened at this time.

Transport was considered to be the most important subsidiary activity and consisted of the baja (bringing down) of minerals by llama from the mines to the railhead at Pachacayo and the transport of other goods from the commercial centres of Jauja, Huancayo and Lima to the villages in the region of Tomas. Although there were only five shops in the community, as compared with 29 in 1980, trade was as vital to the survival of the community then as it is now. Its importance is confirmed by information from a woman now living in Tomas. She told me of the business of her uncle, Simon Ruiz, who was the most important trader in Tomas at about the time of the Yachaywasi article. He brought merchandise by train and llama from the towns of the Mantaro and even Lima to supply his shop in Tomas. In spite of the length of the journey and the problems involved in transporting large quantities of goods by llama, she reported that, at that time "we did not lack for anything, not even a hairpin." The Yachaywasi article records such shops as supplying cotton and other fabrics, tableware, medicines, shoes, hats and alcohol; in other words those goods which were not accessible through barter or domestic production at that time.

The produce of their herds, whilst it was widely sold on the open market, still at that time, supplied many domestic needs as well as providing the basis for extensive barter in the Mantaro valley and the adjacent high jungles of the Satipo region. Large quantities of cloth were woven to be sewn into clothing for both men and women. Each household also made all

the equipment which it used in the herding, many of its other domestic needs (such as blankets, ponchos and shawls), and considerable quantities of woollen sacks for use and barter. Both wool and live animals were sold to traders but, although it is impossible to estimate the percentage of the total clip which was sold in proportion to that which was used for weaving, it seems likely that considerably more wool is sold today, in view of the greatly decreased amount of homespun clothing which is now produced and the decline in the importance of barter.

Besides its consideration of the basic facts of the economic life of Tomas, the Yachaywasi article also emphasises the problems which the community faces in view of its restricted agricultural base, its remoteness and the dispersal of its population. For instance it draws attention to the fact that, in previous times the community counted with a complex ceremonial life which included many fiestas. "As many as three or four fiestas followed each other without an interval." At the time of writing, however, the authors noted that only Christmas was celebrated with any great investment of time or expense. Although they offered no explanation for such changes, they were written as part of a description of the general malaise of the community: a fact which was born out by the problem of school attendance, remarked upon in this article and elaborated in a second one written in 1944.

In 1941 the community had only a single primary school which was based in the village. The importance of children's labour in pastoralism ¹⁹ has always made their attendance at school a difficult matter for the school authorities to enforce with such a widely dispersed population. Whilst the article notes that there were some Tomasinos attending secondary schools and involved in further education in other places, it emphasises

the disinterest shown by parents and "even the actual children of school age" (Yachaywasi 1944:24) in education. Not only did many children not attend school on a regular basis but, even when they did, they were neglected by their parents who remained in the punas with their animals. Since many families did not own houses in the village,²⁰ the children were lodged with relatives or neighbours and were left to fend for themselves. They arrived for school dirty, dishevelled and frequently infested with fleas and lice. As a result of the small quantities of food which their parents gave them, many of them set off back to their puna homes when their supplies ran out towards the end of the week.

Over the intervening decades Tomas has spent a great deal of effort in establishing itself as an important educational centre in the locality. In 1980, it counted with a kindergarten, primary and secondary schools and the local offices of the NEC. Pupils attending the secondary school come from Huancachi as well as Tomas and, in certain sectors of the community great emphasis is placed on education.²¹ However, for many of the pastoralists resident in the puna, school is still an intrusion into the division of labour of their herding. In other cases comuneros working outside the community, prefer to send their children to schools elsewhere (in the mines of Yauricocha, for instance). In order for the community to maintain its high profile in education in the locality, it must maintain school attendance. As a result, the problem of non-attendance remains as serious for the community today as it was in 1941.

5.4. Recent history of Tomas' relations with the Yauyos region

In the earlier discussions of the history of Tomas since the Spanish conquest, the way in which Tomas has developed a powerful cohesive image in the face of external threats to its sovereignty was emphasised. The continued existence of such collective strength has been borne out in recent times through its relations with neighbouring communities and haciendas, government agencies and mines in the region. Over recent years Tomas has had repeated cause for alliance and conflict with all its neighbours, and the ways in which it has manipulated its relations with them sheds an interesting light on the community's collective sense of identity. Moreover the fluidity of its population at least since the times of the reducciones has been an important factor in the community's political and social behaviour. The introduction of new households, either on a temporary or permanent basis, as well as the community's long-term involvement in transport and trade, have led to the continuous introduction of new ideas and attitudes based on movements in the wider political sphere.

The issues surrounding the formation of a collective sheep farm on community lands, for instance, involve many examples of the ways in which the community has capitalised on its own position and the weaknesses of its neighbours. The major issue which arose over the formation of the sheep cooperative was that of the ownership of a tract of some 4000 hectares of land in the north of the community called Anascancha. In the 1950's this land was ostensibly the property of the hacienda Consac, then owned by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. However, it was the subject of a dispute between Tomas and the Corporation which had lasted since the

turn of the century when the lands had been part of those rented to the hacienda by the Vivas family. When the community of Tomas demanded a boundary run in an attempt to regain these lands, Anascancha was declared the property of the hacienda (Bonilla, C 1975).

The dispute over Anascancha continued alongside many others with the Corporation. They culminated in the early 1960's when the community claimed that "for a long time the livestock division of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation has been systematically infiltrating our lands which border with the livestock haciendas of Consac and Jatunhuasi, property of the above-mentioned Corporation" (Actas 1961).

In 1961 a commission for the defence of the lands of Anascancha was formed by the community and, in spite of the fact that the Direccion General de Asuntos Indigenas at this time took the part of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, the community initiated litigation to secure the return of their lands. The maps and documents which had been used in the Vivas and other disputes were sought, bribes were paid to archive librarians and, for the time, good relations with neighbouring Huancaya were encouraged, so that all efforts could be put into the struggle with the giant American corporation.

During the 1960's there was a wave of invasions of hacienda lands by peasants throughout the highlands. By this time also the claim which the Cerro de Pasco Corporation had over its lands had been seriously undermined by the growing threat of expropriation by the Agrarian Reform: a situation which inspired the comuneros of Tomas to attempt to regain their pastures through litigation. Basing their claim on their need for land on which to establish a sheep cooperative, the community again

applied for the return of the lands of Anascancha. In December 1963, another boundary run was made which returned Anascancha to Tomas, basing its decision on the evidence of Inca and eighteenth century maps which the community still had in its possession.

In January 1964, the community opened its Granja Comunal de Ovejas on the lands of Anascancha and neighbouring Pusucancha. In later years it went on to use the grazing needs of this cooperative and its desire to start one based on alpaca breeding as justification for its claim to further tracts of hacienda lands and, in 1975, a second claim for 6000 hectares of land then belonging to the hacienda Jatunhuasi was lodged with the Reform Agraria.

As a result of its early success in its claim for hacienda lands, Tomas found itself in an ambiguous position when the 1968 Agrarian Reform started to expropriate hacienda lands in the region. The government's plan was to collectivise all the lands of large haciendas in the area - most of which were the property of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. In conjunction with surrounding communities, which had claims on their lands, these haciendas were then turned into Sociedades Agricolas de Interes Social (SAIS). The hacienda Consac became part of the SAIS Tupac Amaru, a cooperative which included the communities of Huancaya and Tanta, adjacent to Tomas, as well as 14 more on the Huancayo side of the watershed. The hacienda Jatunhuasi was transformed into the Empresa Cooperativa de Shucuy. Tomas was thus surrounded on its northern borders by collectivised agricultural enterprises but, because it had already secured lands through the Agrarian Reform, it was not eligible to join such cooperative ventures and thus remained independent. Its concession to the cooperativist ideal was the foundation, in 1974, of its own alpaca

cooperative.

Moreover, its position outside the programme of collectivisation did not go uncriticised by the Agrarian Reform. In 1968 Tomas was obliged to put its case for the possession of hacienda lands to the members of the Agrarian Reform at Tarma. In a communique to the community the council at Tarma stated that "it is unjust that the community of Tomas is in occupation of lands belonging to the Reform" (Actas 1968). However, after presenting their case, the delegation from Tomas went on to request further lands from the hacienda Consac when it came to be expropriated because of their own shortage of land and the problems arising from "a demographic explosion".

Inter-community relations

Tomas has maintained an independent stance with neighbouring communities which, non-Tomasinos claim, is based on pride. While it has joined with them when a collective struggle against stronger powers made it necessary, it has just as readily fought with them over boundaries and access to political and economic ascendancy. Thus, the communities along the valley of the Canete river joined together to fight for, and to build, the road which links them to the coast, to Lima and to Huancayo. However, they have competed directly with each other over their shared boundaries and the location of such important offices as those of the NEC for the 32 schools of North Yauyos.

i. the Lima-Huancayo-Canete Road

The communities of North Yauyos had to work together, both politically

and manually, in their efforts to complete the construction of the road which joins many of them to the city. Under the programme to industrialise Peru, the government of General Leguia proposed the construction of a road to connect Lima to Huancayo via Canete and Yauyos in 1924. In 1930 its construction, which had by then reached Catahuasi in the province of Canete, was abandoned due to lack of finance.

The road building programme was rejuvenated under the Benavides government in its efforts to supply Lima with fresh milk and vegetables. However, work on this particular road took it only as far as Yauyos: this section was opened in 1944 by President Prado. In the department of Junin the intensification of coal mining by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation in the region of Negro Bueno, had already prompted the construction of a road to the north eastern boundary of Tomas. Only that section which traversed the community and ran on down the Canete valley to Yauyos was left unmade.

Throughout the 1950's and early sixties, the communities along the route continued to work on the road, and to petition the government for funds to complete the work. Due entirely to their efforts, it was completed in 1967. However, the final route through Tomas was not the one which most favoured the community. Rather than crossing the community's puna and travelling down the valley of the river Singua, the route taken travels through the eastern section of Tomas' puna and then on to Tinco and Huancachi, before it branches at the base of the Yauricocha mountain. One of the roads then goes on to the mine, while the other re-enters Tomas' territory and runs into the village. Thus less of the community's puna is traversed by the road than would have been the case if the other route had been chosen. However, the decision was one on the part of the

national government, which had more interest in the requirements of the mining industry than those of an isolated pastoral community.

ii. Nucleo Educativo Comunal

In contrast to this example of joint action, Tomas finds itself in constant competition with its neighbours in North Yauyos in its efforts to gain political advantages. One recent example of such a struggle has been that which it had with other communities in the locality over the installation of the NEC for the province. Although Alis, some 10 kilometres away, had been considered the likely centre for the NEC since 1972, Tomas' constant petitioning of the provincial administration in Yauyos, led to its designation as the base in 1974. In a letter to the community the Provincial Association of Yauyos wrote that this was "truly a great conquest which marks the beginning of a new era of achievement for the progress of Tomas in particular and Yauyos in general" (Actas 1975).

In October 1975 the NEC was installed in Tomas and, in spite of the considerable costs of the fitting out of its offices and the necessary festivities to the population,²² the community was determined to maintain its right to possess such a prestigious facility. Even in 1978, when an attempt was made to move the NEC to the neighbouring community of Laraos, vigorous opposition from Tomas prevented its loss.

In summary, it appears that Tomas has nearly always managed to use its position as a community and the current political situation to the full in its recent dealings with such powerful companies as the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, Centromin and government agencies, playing off its own

exploitation against the advantages which it has been able to gain from its neighbours. And, whilst it remains politically dependent upon the local government in Yauyos, in many cases it has been able to bypass their authority and make use of its wider affiliations to capitalist enterprises in the locality and to the national government in Lima. Although it has, from time to time, allied itself with other communities in the locality, its "pride" and its fierce protection of its lengthy boundaries, have kept it apart from them in all but the most necessary circumstances.

NOTES

1. Evidence of pre-Inca settlement in the valley region of Tomas comes from the ruins of a group of circular stone structures built on the hillside above the present day village as well as other sites scattered throughout the valley. It is said that the valley was occupied by groups of warlike peoples who lived in fortified settlements on its sides and made their living by hunting and fishing. Despite the number of pre-Inca sites in this area, though, no systematic excavation which would reveal their origin has been undertaken. The Inca Pachakutec invaded the area of the Yauyos who eventually submitted, after a long struggle, to the worship of the Sun.
2. A number of documents, as well as the Actas of the community's general assemblies have been used in the writing of this section. These include "Testimonio de la posesion dada al comun del pueblo de Tomas por el Teniente General de la provincia de Yauyos Don Juan de Arvisu en el ano 1718"; "Copia del expediente antigua con relacion a la creacion del pueblo de la Santisima Trinidad de Tomas en el ano 1797"; "Testamento de Don Evangelista Vivas, ano 1833" and other untitled documents. Other sources include an article which appeared in Yachaywasi in 1941 and which will form the central source of the next section, the thesis of a native Tomasino, Ciro Dionisio Bonilla (1973) and Davila Brizeno (1965).
3. The name "Yauyos" was that of the warlike people who inhabited the region when the Spanish arrived.
4. Although all lands outside of a distance of one league from an indian reduccion were officially liberated for the use of Spanish settlers, in the early colonial period the lack of interest in much of this land meant that indians were frequently able to continue to use their lands (Spalding 1975).
5. It bought Consac as part of the haciendas of the Sociedad Ganadero del

Centro in 1925, following the damage to puna lands by its Oroya smelter, whilst it rented Jatunhuasi from the Colegio Santa Isabel in Huancayo (Rivera 1976).

6. According to Ciro Bonilla (1973), in 1802 Juan Evangelista Vivas requested a tract of pastureland from Tomas "with the object of expanding his herding and creating work for the men of the community, offering advance payment. At that time the Municipal Agent of the village was one Don Tomas Vivas, who intervened in the dealings. Two bottles of aguardiente and several arrobas of coca served to change the extension of land, which was centred on the place named "Nuestra Senora Santisima Purisima de Singua", on which site he built an hacienda house, with straw roof and adjacent corrals, which are still visible today" (Bonilla, C 1975:102).

7. Several writers have noted how, faced with the increasing burdens of the mit'a imposed by their Spanish masters, people fled to become foresteros or free men. These were freely employed by such mines as that of Tataraco in Tomas. See, for instance Larson (1978), Wachtel (1977).

8. Floods are not infrequent events in the village because of its position deep in the ravine of the river Singua with rocky peaks towering over 1000 metres above it. Huacos or rock falls from these mountains sometimes block the course of the river, causing flooding when they are washed away, which is potentially catastrophic for the village when the river is in spate. One such flood occurred in 1974.

9. This contrasts with the view of several writers of the origins of the "community" in the Andes as coming from these two major sources. See note 6, Chapter 2.

10. Chaucha, in Tomas' puna, was rented to the Cerro de Pasco Corporation for the construction of the railhead linking Yauricocha with its other mines in La Oroya, in 1948. Siria, 2 kilometres outside of Tomas village, was rented to them in 1952 for the construction of an engineers' encampment. Although the various contracts which were arranged over the years for the rental of these lands are complex, it appears that, in 1979, some 10,000 (£6.60) and 15,000 (£10) soles were paid for the two encampments under terms of a contract which had been negotiated in 1966.

11. The data in this section are based on de Wind 1975 and Yepes 1974, as well as various Centromin publications.

12. In 1941 the Cerro de Pasco Corporation paid damages of s/.3409.17 (£154.37) to Tomas for damage caused by smoke from the Oroya refinery in the years 1933-40 (Actas de la Comunidad de Tomas 1941).

13. In 1947 all the rivers in Tomas were described as containing abundant trout (Rivas 1947). In recent years, the river Tinco has been so contaminated that it is unfit even for washing or crop irrigation, while the river Singua which joins it in the village of Tomas is also suffering pollution from the Dinamarca mines.

14. Although the Gran Bretana management deny that they cause damage to the lands or waters of the community, since the water courses which they pollute run into Concepcion and not Yauyos, in 1966 the community was awarded s/.6000 (8.24) for damage between 1952 and 1965 to pasture of the community's sheep cooperative whose grazing surrounds the mine settlement.

15. One Tomasino made a point of emphasising his status as a "poor peasant" to me and then went on to explain that, although he kept animals on his estancia, he did not rely on them for his livelihood, since he and his sons exploited a mine which stood on his grazing land. The claim for this mine, which contained copper and other minerals, was staked in 1953

and has been worked by the family ever since.

16. In 1975, for example, Eugenio Hinojosa made a claim for a coal mine which stands on his estancia. This he works with peones, while his son, Guy, transports the coal to various factories in Huancayo. The animals which are kept on the estancia are largely the property of Guy, as is the coal business. Yet he is not a comunero, nor does he ever visit or have anything to do with the community.

17. This compares with over 550,000 from Yauricocha, and 240,000 from Gran Bretana.

18. Huancachi was separated from Tomas in 1921. They were both created as comunidades indigenas in 1927. In 1941 it had an extension of 5311 hectares and 250 inhabitants, compared with the 26,509 hectares then pertaining to Tomas which had nearly 500 inhabitants. Whilst the village of Huancachi is located in a wider part of the river valley than Tomas and, therefore, has a greater spread of agricultural lands, it has a very restricted area of puna. In 1981 most of its population of almost 600 was resident in the village. Tomas keeps good relations with its annex, with many of their households being related through kinship.

19. See Webster (1973), Custred (1977) and Flores (1979) for discussions of the division of labour in pastoralism.

20. Two thirds of the school children came from families without such residences. In 1957 the community tried to remedy the shortage of urban accommodation by opening up fresh areas of land within the urban area for house building.

21. This attitude ties in with that discussed by Winder, Roberts and Samaniego, Long, etc in Long and Roberts 1978, in which wealthier families are moving away from their involvement in agricultural activities in their effort to diversify their economies. Many such families spend considerable sums of money on the education of their children.

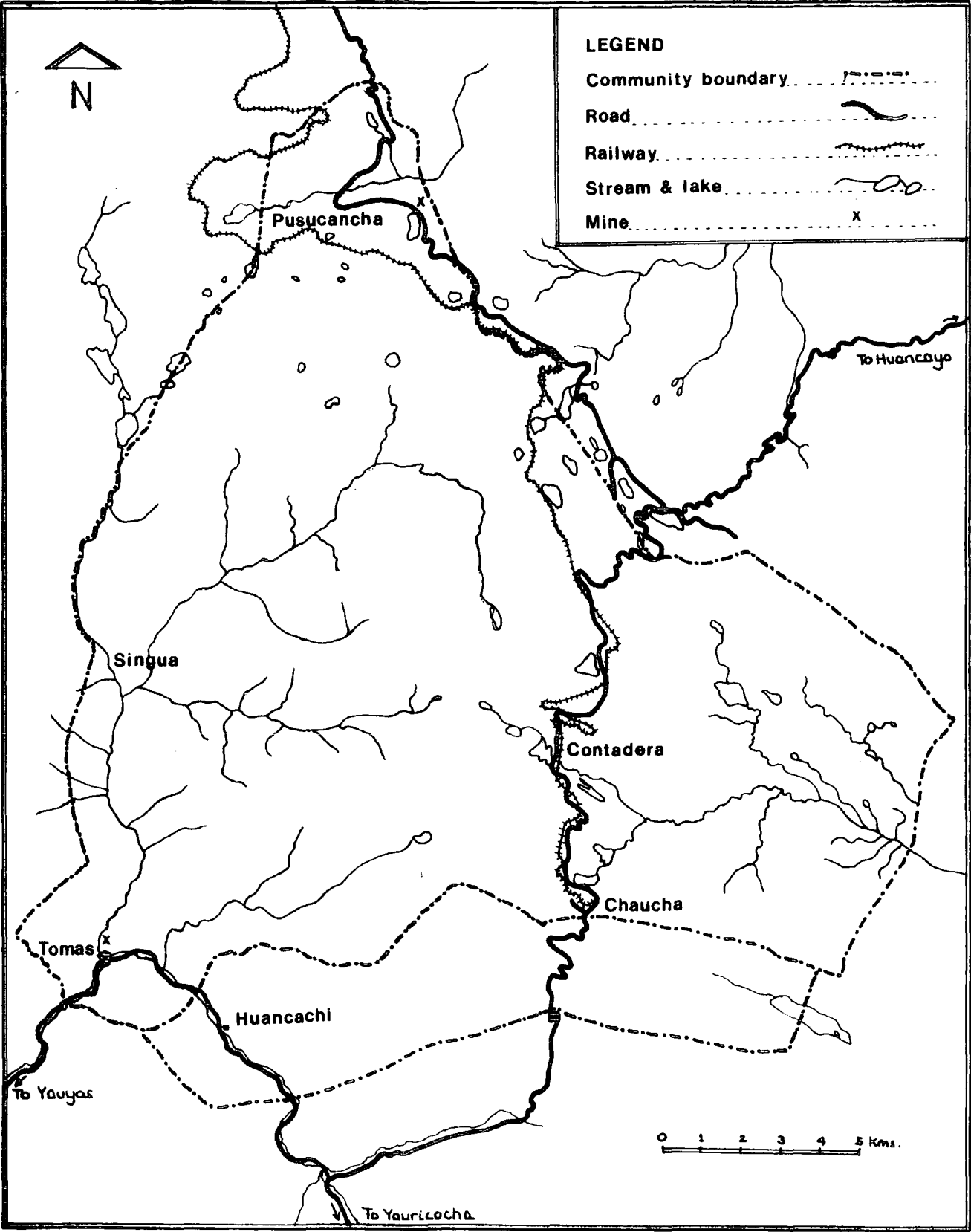
22. The furnishings for the NEC offices cost s/.100,000 (£1137.00) from community funds and each comunero was obliged to pay s/.100 towards the festivities.

PART THREE : FIELD STUDY

CHAPTER 6 : RESOURCE BASE

Introduction

The community of Tomas lies at latitude 4.19S and longitude 86.47W, in the province of Yauyos, department of Lima, Peru. It is one of the most northerly communities of the Canete riverine system, with much of its land lying on the Mantaro side of the watershed (see Map 3). Its lands include a large area of high moorland or puna (over 4000 metres above sea level) and a very limited arable zone of terraced fields along the ravines of the two rivers which run north-south and east-west along the borders of the community to meet in the village. The puna grasslands support a widely dispersed population of pastoralists, herding sheep, alpacas and cattle. The village, which is situated at the extreme south-west of the community's lands, has a population of teachers and children, traders and retired people, as well as a floating population of pastoralists down from their estancias. The rugged, high-altitude environment of the puna is typical of other wool-producing areas of Andean Peru and Bolivia¹ and, while it is important to consider



Map 3. The community of Tomas

environment as a constraining rather than determining element in economic organisation, the great limitations of such a harsh region are clear. Nevertheless, the continued use of the puna over the past centuries and the disputes which have arisen over its ownership, are sufficient proof of its capacity to support a limited, though relatively wealthy, pastoral population, despite the restrictions of its productive output and its remoteness from markets.

As an introduction to the succeeding chapters which will consider the community's social and economic organisation and its wider relations within the regional economy, this chapter maps out the productive and economic resources which contribute to the maintenance of that local economy and the limitations imposed upon it by them. The present section consists of a general description of the community's position in relation to nearby markets, mines and cities as well as the types of communications it has with them. The second describes the ecology and resources - including livestock - which are found in the puna and which constitute the community's main productive base, while the third does the same for the valley zone and village. In the fourth section, the relation between puna and valley and transhumant residence patterns as they relate to the two social and economic contexts are outlined, while the final one takes an overview of changes which have occurred in the utilisation of these resources over the past forty years.

The community of Tomas covers an area of 32,031 hectares, of which some 29,000 are puna pasturelands, while 200 hectares are useful for agriculture² and the remainder consists of rocky outcrops and other barren lands. With the exception of the village and arable zones, all

these lands lie above 4000 metres above sea level, in places going up to 5000 metres. According to the classification described by Custred (1977:60), Tomas lies entirely in the puna, with the upper pastoral zone comprising puna alta. The arable and urban zones lie in the puna baja, whose upper limit is that of the production of potatoes and cereals, whilst its lower limit is that of the production of maize (ibid.:76). Because of this distribution of lands, the community is able to supply itself with all the wool, meat and other animal products which it needs and a good proportion of its potatoes, but it lacks lands in any of the lower arable zones and must, therefore, exchange its produce for maize and other grains.³

The community is well supplied with water and, besides the two rivers described earlier in the section, there are some fifteen lakes as well as innumerable springs and streams which feed into both the Canete and Mantaro riverine systems. Although many of these are seasonally dry, the puna is reasonably well supplied with water, a fact which makes a more or less sedentary form of pastoralism possible.

The community lies in the area of puna humeda according to Custred's classification (1977:58). For the years 1970-1973 average rainfall is given as 790.7mm, the humidity as 64%, and the average daily temperature as 11.4° C (Bonilla, C 1973:18). However, because of its great altitude, the lack of cloud cover during the winter leads to temperature inversion during the night, causing severe frosts in the puna and the upper agricultural zones. Thus temperatures of approximately 25° C in the day time, drop to well below freezing at night.⁴

The population of the community consists largely of native Tomasinos, as

well as a variable number of teachers and miners who are not native to the community. People born in the community, as well as those married in, have the right of membership to it, and consequent rights to the use of communal resources. However, within the membership there are four different categories of comunero which define the specific rights and obligations of the individual or household concerned. Male heads of households, or comuneros proper, are entitled to use community lands for their animals and their crops, to its water and the facilities which exist within the village. On the other hand, they are obliged to attend communal assemblies every two months, to pay taxes for their use of pastoral and arable land, to work faenas on communal projects, to fulfill communal and religious⁵ cargoes when required to do so, and to bring their children to the community's schools. The second category is that of comunera - or single female household head. Their obligations vary only slightly from those of comuneros, in so far as women are not expected to fulfill political cargoes, though they do undertake religious ones. Nor do they supply so much labour in faenas, with the consequence that the fines which they incur if they fail to appear for work are less than those of absent men. The third category is that of comunero or comunera inactivo. These are elderly members who are no longer expected to fulfill their political or labour obligations to the community, although they still have full rights to use its resources for which they must pay. The final group are comuneros anualistas. These are people who, whilst they still keep animals or cultivate fields on community lands, work outside its boundaries and are not, therefore, in a position to fulfill political and labour obligations to it. They are expected to pay an anualidad or annual subscription which covers their use of communal resources and the cost of the labour lost to the faena through their absence.

Politically, the community is organised by two levels of officials. In the first place there are the members of the Junta Directiva or Community Council, who are elected every two years by the membership. Their role is in the conduct of the community's day-to-day business, the organisation of the bi-monthly assemblies of the whole membership as well as that of communal work or faenas, and the collection of taxes from all those who benefit from the community's resources. In the second place there are the alcalde (mayor) and the gobernador (governor) who are appointed by the government, and whose job it is to mediate between the community membership and the national government. Their duties include the registration of births, marriages and deaths, the mediation of disputes and the conduct of minor judicial procedures within the community.

In the 1981 census the population of the district of Tomas, which includes the communities of Tomas and its annex Huancachi, was given as 1788 men, women and children in a total of 456 households. Of these, 599 people in some 139 households can be ascribed to Huancachi, leaving 319 households, and a population of 1189 in the community of Tomas. However, these data include all residents of the community. By way of comparison, the 1979 list of comuneros gives a total of 181 full community members resident in Tomas (including 32 comuneras, and 21 comuneros inactivos, though excluding 50 anualistas).

The most recent data which I have on occupational distribution comes from a government agricultural census carried out in 1976. According to this, the principal occupation of the comunero population is pastoralism, with 139 (56%) out of a total of 250 comuneros owning animals in 1976 (Ministerio de Agricultura 1976). This compares with 78 (31%) who were cultivating crops and 51 (33%) who had no animals or crops (this figure

is rather high because the census data includes anualistas, many of whom have little agricultural involvement in the community). Small numbers of comuneros engage in day labour in the fields or the estancias of their neighbours, and there are also a number of shepherd households which undertake the fulltime care of the herds of absent pastoralists. In addition, although nearly all native Tomasinos learn to work wool at an early age, small number of both men and women take up spinning, weaving and knitting as a means of earning small amounts of cash.

Table 1. Total of households engaging in pastoralism and agriculture in 1976

Agricultural interests	No. of households	%

Households:		
with animals only	90	36.0
with animals & crops	49	19.6
with crops only	29	11.6
without crops/animals	82	32.8
Totals	250	100

Source: Ministerio de Agricultura (1976)

Because of the community's remoteness, and the limitations of its agricultural production, trade is an important secondary activity for many pastoral households, and a primary economic source for a few. Mine labour constitutes the most important non-agricultural activity in the community, and is taken up by comuneros and outsiders alike. In addition a small number of professional posts exist in the community - mostly for teachers in the village's three schools - although these posts are largely occupied by outsiders.

The community is linked to the cities of Huancayo (110 kilometres away)

and Lima (320 kilometres away) by the Lima-Huancayo-Canete trunk road which was completed in 1967. There is a daily bus service from Huancayo and one three times a week from Lima which carries the community's mail. There is also a railway line which runs from Pachacayo, near Huancayo, to Chaucha, the terminus in the highlands of Tomas, some 13 kilometres away from the village. The railway, which was originally built to carry mineral ore from the Yauricocha mine to the concentrator in La Oroya, has not fulfilled this function since the building of a concentrator in Chumpe, eight kilometres from Yauricocha in 1966, and the increased use of road transport. Now only two trains run on the line each day, carrying goods and equipment for the mine. In its early days, before the construction of the road, it carried passengers and was the main supply route for goods coming into Tomas, but few Tomasinos make use of it now.

Apart from the road and rail links which the community has with the mines and cities, transport is entirely restricted to narrow, and sometimes precipitous, llama trails which criss-cross the vast puna and run down to the valleys. Although their use is more restricted now, they were much used in previous times and link not only the many estancias in the puna itself, but also give access to neighbouring communities and the adjacent Mantaro and Canete valleys. For this reason, most households still keep riding horses and many have at least a small number of llamas on which they transport goods over the puna and down to the village. Some also prefer to use them on the longer trips which they make to barter wool and other animal products for grains in the Mantaro valley and the high jungle beyond.

5.1. Puna Ecology and Livestock

The frigid puna is a severe environment for the raising of even such hardy animals as alpacas and sheep. While the daytime temperature during the dry winter can reach 25⁰, as soon as the shade reaches a place, the temperature drops markedly. And on winter nights the puna is the victim of severe frosts which kill both young and newly sheared animals alike. In the rainy summer season, while the temperature range is moderated, blizzards of driving snow and sleet continually threaten the shearing, since the wool, if wet, cannot be stored and must be sold on the spot.

For the most part the pasture is rolling treeless grasslands interspersed with rocky outcrops and well supplied with springs, streams and lakes, though many of them are seasonally dry. In certain areas marshy pools or bofedales⁶ provide a more reliable source of water and better grazing. Such areas are particularly favoured by alpacas which thrive best in damp pastures (Palacios 1977). However, they are also breeding grounds for the intestinal and hepatic parasites which plague the herds and have led to considerable mortality in certain areas of the puna.

There are very few trees in the puna which resembles an open moorland or "steppe", with dramatic rocky outcrops. The type of vegetation prevalent in the puna has been described in detail by a number of writers interested in pastoralism (Custred 1977; Orlove 1977; Flores 1979). Here it is only necessary to note that the dominant pasture grasses are all forms known locally as ichu (which is scientifically subdivided under three genera: Stipa, Festuca and Calamagrostis). They are all stiff, coarse "bunch grasses" which grow to only 30 centimetres in height, but have the capacity to withstand the extremes of climate in the puna. They



2. Alpacas moving through sleet in the puna
3. Chosa in the puna at Singua Chico

also conserve water in the area around their roots which makes possible the survival of small grasses and forbs around their bases. Other puna plants include low cactus, mosses and lichens and other typical steppe vegetation. Most of these are not eaten by livestock, while some of them are poisonous and may be eaten in times of severe shortage.

Wild animal species inhabiting the puna include viscachas (Lagidium peruanum), a native rodent, foxes (Ducyion inca) and, in the remoter parts, vicunas (Lama viguna) and pumas (Felis concolor). There are also numerous species of birds including ducks, partridge, hawks and condors. Although they may be in direct competition for pasture, some of these animals, such as vicunas, ducks and viscachas, are useful in that they may be hunted for their food value or other uses.⁷ Others prey directly on the herds, particularly on young and feeble individuals.

Variations in altitude, incline and geology mean that the carrying capacity of the land is not uniform throughout the puna. Sheep are always grazed on lower pastures, since they suffer from more disease at higher altitudes, while alpacas thrive best in the highest zones. Also, animals which are pastured in some of the rockier areas suffer from both poorer grazing and greater risk of accident and predation than do those in the valley bottoms and bofedal pastures. Such rocky areas, which are common in the southwest zone of the puna, where the ravine of the fast-flowing rivers Singua and Tinco have cut into the moorland surface, are particularly dangerous to cattle which, unlike sheep and alpacas, are poorly suited to the puna.

Local topographical variations can also enhance or reduce the effect of the harsh puna climate, with frosts, winds and summer storms being more

severe in higher zones and those exposed to prevailing winds. The occurrence of nightly frosts in winter (April to September) and driving sleet and snow in summer (October to March) pose a threat to the lives of both newly born lambs and recently sheared adults. Being native species, more closely adapted to the harsh puna environment, alpacas and llamas lamb during the rainy season when the grazing is most plentiful and temperatures are not extreme. Sheep, however, being animals from temperate climates, rely on changes of day length to prompt the start of oestrus. In the absence of this stimulus and without specialised husbandry techniques, they lamb throughout the year, so that losses are inevitable during winter frosts and when grazing is poor.⁸ Pastoralists try to minimise their losses by shearing during the period of most favourable weather. Most households shear their sheep in February or March and their alpacas, which are more delicate, during April when the worst of the rains have past. Only those households which are forced by the urgent need for cash do so at other times of the year.

Climate and topography can therefore be seen to play an important role in the level of success which individual households experience in the maintenance of their herds and location is, thus, an important factor in determining the distribution of estancias over the puna. However, the importance of access to roads and the proximity of the village can, in many cases, override purely environmental considerations.⁹ Whilst an optimum used by the SAIS Tupac Amaru for high grade stock is one "sheep unit" per hectare,¹⁰ in Tomas there are approximately two low grade animals per hectare. This suggests that Tomas pasture is slightly, though not heavily, over-grazed. However, since most households wish to live not only in the most suitable environment, but also close to the Huancayo

road or to the village itself, there is, in fact, chronic over-grazing in many of the most populous regions. On the other hand, because few households are willing to stay in the more remote of the community's lands, these pastures are frequently under-utilised and subject to invasions by neighbouring communities.¹¹

Estancia Location and Occupation

The grazing areas are sub-divided into estancias. There are some 66 estancias in Tomas, with an average size of some 400-450 hectares, although some of the more remote ones command far greater extensions. However, because there is no fencing in the puna, only customary boundaries separate the grazing lands of individual estancias.

The residential centre of each estancia is, in many cases, a small hamlet, which may be the home of anything from one to ten individual households, with an average of two. The households of each hamlet share the rights to the estancia's grazing and water in common, although the management of herds, and majority of productive activities, as well as the rituals pertaining to pastoralism (most notably the herranza or ceremony for fertility and marking of the herds) are conducted by each household individually.

The main unit of both residence and, to a great extent, production in the puna is the nuclear family-based household. Each household group, which may consist of parents and young children with, perhaps, an aged parent or unmarried sibling, occupies a group of huts or chosas, and corrals from which it manages its herds. These are often low, rustic constructions made of stone and thatched with reeds. Two or three such

huts frequently border a small patio which is closed on the remaining sides by high walls which provide protection from the weather as well as from straying animals. Such groups of chosas may be located within one or two hundred metres of their neighbours or be strung out along the bed of a stream.

All lands in the puna are communally owned and their use is allocated to comunero households at the discretion of the communal assembly. This not only means that request for more or better lands are met at the community's discretion, but also that households may be moved for the convenience of the community as a whole¹² or even as punishment for anti-social behavior on the part of an individual or household. However, such an extreme sanction is only used on rare occasions when the community's anger can find no other outlet, though the threat of it is quite frequent.¹³

In the following paragraphs data collected from the community's Libro Agropecuario (Communal Pastoral Census) and from other census and genealogical data will be used to show how the occupation of estancias has developed over the past eighteen years. The Pastoral Census, which records details of animal holding and estancia occupation for each comunero household, is completed every four or five years. As a result there is a fairly continuous record of estancia occupation since 1961. Although these data are incomplete and are, in any case, far too extensive to be included in full in the present work, they have enabled me to make a number of observations with regard to the composition of the estancia population and the length of occupancy of individual households. I have also selected the cases of two estancias, Nahuinpuquio and Pongo Grande, whose occupational history points out certain of the trends

evident in the organisation^t of the pastoral economy and the role which kinship plays in it. In the following paragraphs these cases are set out in detail and the movements of the puna population are described in more general terms.

The occupation of estancias between 1961 and 1979: two case studies

Case 1 : Nahuinpuquio

Over this period Nahuinpuquio was occupied by the households of three siblings (1,2&4), and four of their children (3,5,7&8). In addition, two non-relative households also kept their animals there at certain times (6&9), though it is unlikely that either actually lived on the estancia. The kin-based relationships are set out in the genealogy (Diagram 1), while the movements of all households and animals in and out of the estancia are set out in Diagram 2.

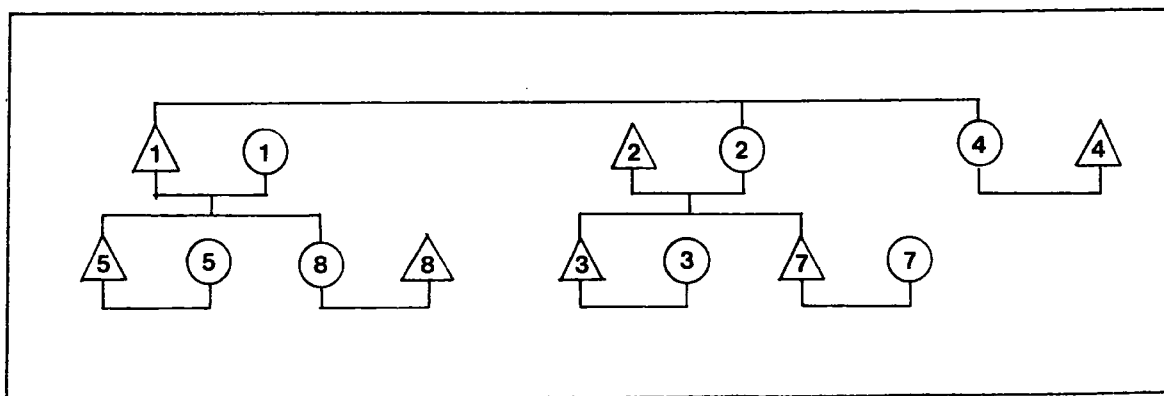


Diagram 1. Kin relations of households occupying the estancia of Nahuinpuquio between 1961 and 1979

In 1961 a brother (1) and sister (2) were sharing the estancia of Nahuinpuquio with their families. The son (3) of (2) was also a comunero working on the estancia beside his parents, although he had no herds of

Diagram 2 : Households occupying the estancia of Nahuinpuquio between 1961 and 1979

House- hold Number	Number of animals owned by each household (cattle, alpacas, llamas, sheep)																			
	1961				1965				1970				1975				1979			
	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S
1.	0	80	18	47	0	70	2	24	0	62	8	130	0	16	0	109				
2.	0	32	9	91	0	22	5	113	0	18	0	33	0	3	0	18				
3.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	187	0	102	0	24	0	78	0	59	0	60
4.	0	9	0	62	0	6	0	58	0	2	0	50	0	4	0	81				
5.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70
6.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	8	92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	50	0	20	0	73
8.	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	85	0	22	0	81	0	24	0	118	0	37	7	204
9.	2	5	0	20	3	9	0	15	3	13	0	14	5	7	0	9	6	0	0	0
Total of animals	0	112	27	138	0	92	7	137	0	298	16	407	0	63	0	454	6	116	7	407
Total households	3				3				6				7				5			

Resource base

his own. By 1970, (3) had married a woman with an inheritance of alpacas and a few sheep. His parents passed many of their animals on to him on his marriage.

At this time the three households were joined by three others. The first was that of a second sister (4) to (1) and (2) and her family. She and her husband moved to Nahuinapuquio from the estancia where he had lived matrilocally with his first wife and had remained, in spite of her death only a few years after their marriage. Although it appears that he and his second wife were content there for many years, changes in inter-personal relations on the estancia which arose as two wealthy sons of the principal family established themselves there, may have made their presence less than welcome. The second was the son and daughter-in-law (5) of household (1), who were married in the late 1960's and took up residence on the estancia of his parents, in spite of their lack of animals. The third was that of the community's baker (6) who, although not a comunero, had brought some animals with him as part of his contract. These were left on the estancia, presumably in the care of one of the other resident households.

Nineteen seventy five saw a further increase in the number of households occupying the estancia, though not in animal stocks. The first was that of another son (7) of household (2), following his marriage to a woman not native to the community. They both brought limited animal stocks from their parents to the marriage, but they were also obliged to take work as shepherds in their efforts to increase the size of their holding. This they did by means of the introduction to the estancia of the herds of the wife's brother and his wife (8). The arrangement was particularly convenient because, although the husband of this marriage was a verno, or

foreigner, and had no personal rights to grazing in the community, his wife was the daughter of household (1) and thus cousin to the members of household (7). Moreover, although they had considerable animal stocks, they were not primarily pastoralists, but traders, and spent much of their time in the village.

By 1979 the elderly couple of household (1) had retired to the village, leaving all their animals to the households of its children, (5) and (8), while the couples of both households (2) and (4) had died. Thus the four households remaining resident on the estancia were those of the children of the households (1) and (2). In addition, at this time, the cattle of one of the village-resident traders - a widow (9) - were being cared for on the estancia. In all previous years on record they had been kept on different estancias, and it seems likely that their movement was a result of the expiry of shepherding contracts. Since the majority of households then resident on the estancia had few animals, and none had outside employments, shepherding is one of the most obvious ways for them to make up the short-fall in their productive capacities. Because of lapses in community records, however, it is not clear whether the animals of the baker were still being cared for on the estancia.

Remarks: this case shows the continuity of occupation of an estancia by the households of an extended family group with few animals. There is no overall increase in their holdings over the period in question and no tendency, obvious in the next case, to expand individual domestic economies and move away to different types of grazing areas. In addition, certain members have been obliged to take up work as shepherds in order to sustain their domestic economies. The maintenance of such shepherding relations within the family is common practice where suitable households

can be found. However, the addition of animals from non-kin households is also common practice where households have no close kin to shepherd their animals for them.

Case B: Pongo Grande

Over the period 1961 to 1979 Pongo Grande was occupied by the household of ageing parents, that of three of their children and that of a cousin.

*In addition the herds of two elderly Tomasinos, both of whom no longer live in the community, were brought to the estancia. The kin-based relations which feature in Pongo Grande are set out in Diagram 3, while the movements of all households in and out of the estancia are set out in Diagram 4.

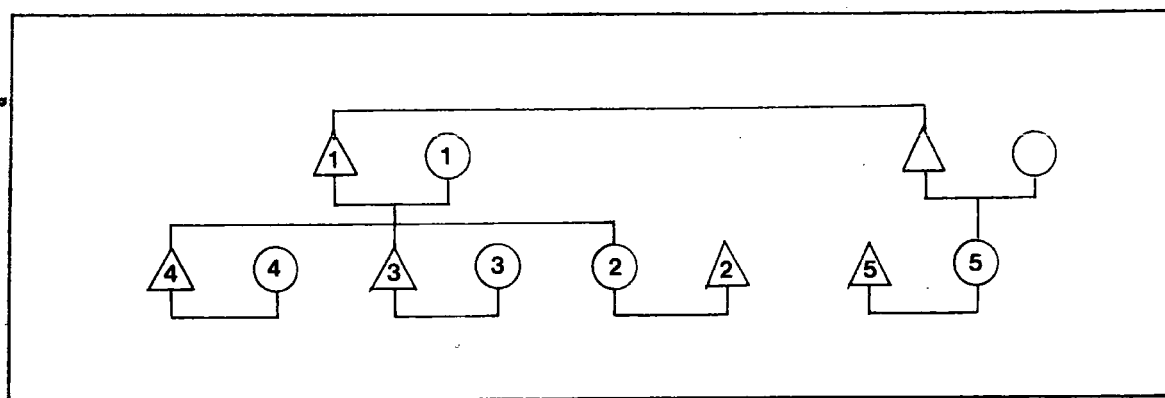


Diagram 3. Kin relations of households occupying the estancia of Pongo Grande between 1961 and 1979

In 1961 Pongo Grande was also in the hands of the members of an extended family group which consisted of the households of an ageing couple, those of their three children, and one belonging to a first cousin and her husband. The parental household (1) had very large animal holdings which had not, at that time, been formally passed on to the households of its

Diagram 4 : Households occupying the estancia of Pongo Grande between 1961 and 1979

House- hold Number	Number of animals owned by each household (cattle, alpacas, llamas, sheep)																			
	1961				1965				1970				1975				1979			
	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S	C	A	L	S
1.	17	384	252	291	16	225	190	117	26	315	146	145								
2.	0	0	0	0	0	10	15	0	0	23	45	0	0	37	58	0	0	50	70	0
3.	0	6	0	18	0	17	2	23	0	108	23	40	0	165	90	0	0	140	79	0
4.	0	0	0	2	0	40	14	7	0	18	0	152	22	61	0	190	26	55	0	105
5.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	4	0	0	37	0	142	0	0	0	0
6.	0	11	8	135	0	141	7	229	0	75	18	250	0	99	18	235	0	72	15	243
7.	51	49	0	337	15	40	0	220	12	31	0	220	6	24	0	141	1	0	0	142
Total of animals	17	390	252	311	16	292	221	218	26	346	195	145	0	74	58	142	1	122	85	385
Total households	5				5				3				2				3			

children to any great extent. The eldest of these was that of their daughter and her husband (2), who had already been married some years. They had restricted animal holdings, though, and had spent a number of years away in the mines of Yauricocha. The second child, a son, was also married (3). His wife, who was an orphan, had a good number of animals - particularly alpacas, which were kept apart, on the estancia on which she had been raised. They had applied for communal authorization to set up a household on Pongo Grande in 1956. The third, was also a son with an independent pastoral household of some years standing which had officially established on the estancia in 1957 (4). Although the data in the Pastoral Census record that none of these households had inherited many animals from their parents, this appears to be an anomaly in the way in which animal holdings are declared to the community. Both sons were, at this time, independent pastoralists and stated that they had inherited animals on their marriages. The last household was that of a cousin and her husband (5). They had few animals at this time, and it is possible that the reasons for their presence on the estancia relate to a shepherding arrangement between them and members of the other households.

The situation on the estancia remained much the same over the next census, though by 1970 a considerable change was evident in its occupation. By this time the animals of the ageing couple of household (1) had been moved to Pongo Chico, a few kilometres down the valley. This move was the result of an application to the communal assembly for the couple's animals to be cared for by their sister-in-law - a widow - since they were no longer capable of caring for them themselves. Although the household of their daughter (2) still remained on Pongo Grande, those of the two sons had both moved elsewhere. The elder, whose inheritance is

now evident in the census, had moved his over to the estancia of his wife. They had a preference for alpacas and, since her estancia was higher, it was more suitable to the type of animals which they had. Although he also inherited a small number of sheep from his parents, these were ill suited to the higher ground and were sold off. The second son had moved in the opposite direction - down to a lower grazing area, where his household started to specialise in sheep and cattle. Over the next few years, following the death of their father and the final dispersal of the parental herds, the households of the eldest son and, to a lesser extent, the daughter, inherited the alpacas and llamas, while that of the second son received the sheep and cattle.

By 1979, the occupation of the estancia had completely changed. Only the animals of the daughter (2) and the elderly cousins (5) remained from the extended family. By this time the husband of household (2) had been living in Huancayo for four years, and the wife continued her business in the village largely unaided. The old couple remained alone in the puna with their small herds. These were joined by the animals of two absent and elderly households, (6) and (7). Although both these households had previously owned large herds, their numbers had declined over recent years as the people grew old and either passed them on to their children or sold them off.¹⁴ Since all but household (5) were resident either in the village or outside of the community the role of this household as shepherd seems likely.

It is also interesting to note that, at this time the households of the two sons (3) and (4) had both become substantial pastoralists on their new estancias. The elder son who operates as one of the community's meat traders moved his estancia again in 1975 to the old mine railway station

of Capillayoc. From there it was easier for him to operate his meat business, using the train service as well as the road which crosses it, to transport carcasses to Yauricocha, Huancayo, La Oroya and Lima. The grazing in that zone is particularly suitable for alpacas and his wife, who remains on the estancia while he is away, cares for their herds. The younger son, whose estancia is close to the village in the more temperate sector of the puna has maintained his flocks of sheep, but he also specialises in cattle, owning one of the largest herds in the community. His proximity to the village and the road to Yauricocha provide him with a good market for his cheeses, while he is also close enough to make the cultivation of a sizeable area of arable land feasible (his brother has never cultivated fields). He is also involved in many of the political processes in the community and has occupied a number of administrative positions.

Remarks: this case shows interesting contrasts with the previous one. The extended family which was at the centre of Pongo Grande in the 1960's was one of the wealthiest in the community. All the households of its children inherited sizeable animal holdings from their parents, although the daughter received far fewer than her brothers. The dispersion of the sibling group appears to be largely attributable to the different aspirations of the two ambitious sons. The elder's preference for alpacas (and his wife's alpaca herd), as well as his interest in trade, made the move to the other side of the community's lands where transport networks were located the obvious choice. On the other hand, the younger son moved down towards the village where he could better raise cattle and sheep, as well as taking up his interest in the community's politics. The daughter, who had married a man with few animals but who was involved in trade,

managed to sustain her trading venture - which included running a truck - even after her husband's departure. In this way, despite the dispersal of the considerable herds owned by the parental generation, the children have managed to sustain the wealth of the family, to expand their own domestic economies and to educate their children, the majority of whom have left, or will eventually leave, the community. The position of the household of cousins resident on the estancia is somewhat ambiguous, however. The small size of their animal holdings and their continued residence on the estancia suggests that their role has been one of shepherds to the households of their relatives.

General data on estancia occupation

The data from the Pastoral Census show tthat, whilst an average of 45% of estancias are occupied by a single household at any one time, the remaining 55% are used by a number of households. Of these, 24% have two households living on them, 14% have three, 7% have four and 8% have five or more households resident on them.

In cases where several of the households in occupation of a single estancia have sizeable herds, their occupation may lead to the overgrazing of the pasture which forces the group to split up, with certain households moving to under-occupied lands. However, it is also often the case that, while certain of the households have viable herds, others may have few animals, and may not even be resident in the puna, perhaps working in the mines or elsewhere. In such cases the animals may be left with a close relative who receives payment for their care on an al partir (sharecropping) basis, or the household may employ a shepherd under some more formal contract.

As was made clear in the case studies, households which share the occupation of a single estancia are often relatives: two or three siblings or cousins, perhaps with a household of the parental generation. On the other hand, the several households may be parts of any number of families, though often related to second or third degree. The case studies showed that such relations may be through either the male or female line for, while inheritance in animals to male and female children is not often equal, both sexes appear to have equal rights in the parental estancia. Especially when a woman marries an orphan or a non-Tomasino (known as a verno or son-in-law of the community), she stays on in her own estancia with her brothers. However, the family basis of occupation does not prevent the introduction of non-relatives (or their animals) into the estancia. If the pasture is undergrazed, any new household may ask to moved there by the community. Alternatively, a household may leave its animals to be cared for by those resident on the estancia under one of the shepherding arrangements common in the community.

Moreover, changes in the population of an estancia are not coordinated or systematic operations as they appear to be in other pastoral societies (Webster 1973). Personal disputes, the expansion of a single household's herds or individual preference most often lead to the departure of a single household. As the second generation households gain their independence from their parents through their inheritance of herds, they may choose to move to a more favourable spot, or decide that they are unable to live, as their family grows, on the basis of their inheritance.

The above description indicates that estancia populations are based, not only on close family ties and obligations, but often on friendship,

mutual necessity or as a contingency. Arrangements are often casual and sometimes temporary, with households moving because they feel that their animals are dying as a result of some disease which is carried in the grass, the water or the animals of other occupants. Others may move because of shortages of pasture or as a result of personal conflicts between estancia occupants. As such, residential patterns reflect the lack of reliance which many individual households have on non-household labour or reciprocal relations of labour based on kinship for the conduct of their routine pastoral activities. On the other hand, they may also show up long term co-residence which results from shepherding arrangements - in many cases where one of the comunero households is not living in the puna, and perhaps not even in the community.

As a result of such dispersion and regrouping of estancia populations, whether it is due to over-population, internal disputes or communal action, there is a constant mobility in part of the puna population. Thus, data from the Pastoral Census show that 281 households were in occupation of estancias between the years 1961 and 1979. Of these, 167 (59%) have stayed on the same estancia for the whole of the 18 years in question, while 81 households (29%) have moved once, 26 (9%) have moved twice, and 7 households (2.5%) have lived on four estancias since 1961. In addition to these, though, the data make clear that some 158 households have left the puna over the 18 year period. While some have retired or died, being replaced on their estancias by their children, others have left the community in search of work or a better life elsewhere.

However, these movements do not always lead to a greater dispersal of the population over the puna. While in some cases distant estancias which

have been unoccupied in previous years are brought into use, in others households consolidate their herds on the previously occupied pasture of a relative or other comunero. This may be the result of shepherding arrangements, or simply a means for the incoming household to gain access to more favourable, or centrally placed, grazing. It is competition for such lands which frequently leads to the subsequent dispersal of these groups as disputes arise, or the animal population becomes too large for the available grazing.

Despite the apparent mobility of large sectors of the puna population, though, many households remain settled on an estancia for decades, and sometimes (as in both case studies), for a number of generations. While the community is obliged to provide new estancias for one sector of the pastoral population, for another the rights to their occupation are frequently passed on in inheritance. Thus, despite formal community control over pasture, such arrangements frequently form the basis for the majority of cases of multiple occupation of estancias. Only in cases where there are no known heirs, or none who wish to continue their parents' occupation of their estancia (as in the case of permanent migration), does the right of occupation normally revert to the community. In fact in the 1950's the community was even forced to prove its rights of ownership of puna lands when a certain household tried to make a case of private ownership out of its occupation of one of the estancias.¹⁵

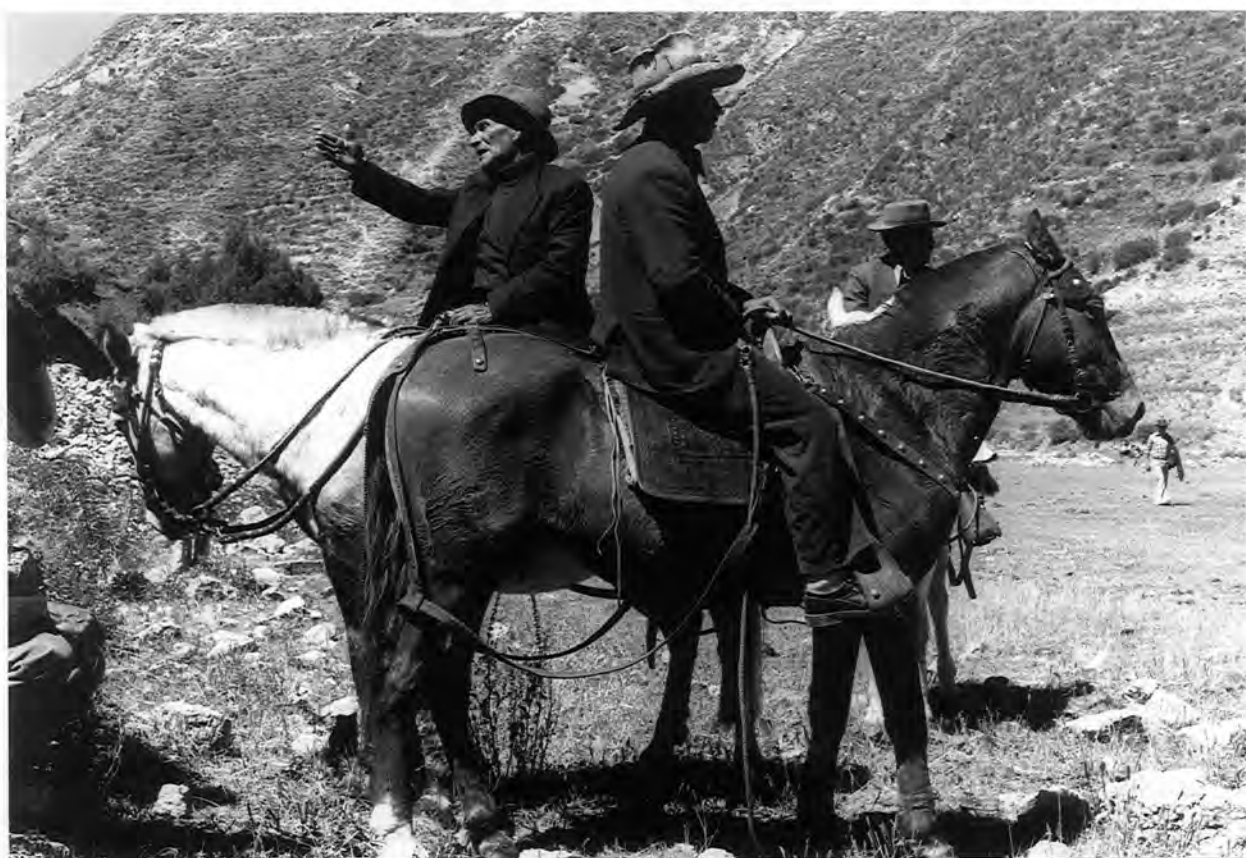
Livestock

Sheep form the nucleus of many of the herds kept in the puna of Tomas, followed in importance by alpacas and a far smaller number of llamas. The

principal produce of all these animals is wool and meat, although llamas still fulfill the role of beasts of burden when the need arises. Numerically the next most significant livestock animal is the cow, which is kept almost exclusively for its milk, though bull calves are sold to Huancayo traders for meat or use as oxen. The community also counts with a fair number of horses, although their use for riding is now almost exclusively restricted to the puna and some wealthier households keep them as much for prestige activities during community fiestas - racing, jala pato,¹⁶ and exhibiting - as for daily use. Other animals kept by smaller numbers of households are donkeys, goats, pigs, chickens, rabbits and guinea pigs - all of which are kept either close to the village or the estancia.

Almost all these animals are poor quality crossbreeds whose productivity is low. Few households make serious attempts to improve their stock by the management of reproduction or diet, and the veterinary medicines and expertise which would be necessary for the control of endemic diseases and parastic infestations are not readily accessible to many households. Although a government veterinary technician (the sectorista) works in the region, he has the responsibility for the livestock of thirteen villages and is unable to spend much time in each. He usually restricts his work to the routine vaccination of animals against major diseases such as foot-and-mouth. He commands little respect from the pastoralists who see him as ignorant of the problems of the native cameloids and who prefer to use their own traditional remedies and expertise.

In 1963 a dipping pen was constructed in the community with the financial and technical assistance of the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario. This has been one of the few successful improvements to the community's livestock



4. Horse riders at the May Fair

5. Couple presenting their pedigree sheep at the May Fair

husbandry, with dipping against skin parasites having good rates of attendance in many years. However, recent problems with repairs to the pen and shortages of water have reduced the frequency with which dipping campaigns have been carried out and parasites such as fleas and lice still take a considerable toll on both the quality of the wool and the health of the animals of Tomas.

Many of the problems of improving husbandry techniques relate to the communal nature of grazing in the puna. There is no fencing, nor other delimitation of boundaries between the estancias and the animals from different herds frequently mix. Even the rudimentary curbs imposed on reproduction by other Andean pastoralists, such as the separation of alpacas from llamas and males from females, are not practised in Tomas.¹⁷ Although the castration of the majority of males is frequently carried out to fatten them as well as to lessen indiscriminate breeding, the reasons for selection are not often founded upon sound economic planning or knowledge of the market.¹⁸ Also, particularly in the case of horses and donkeys which are castrated when mature, the operation not infrequently leads to serious loss of blood and even death.

Animal holding data for 1979 is given in Table 2. The table shows the distribution of animals throughout the comunero population for that year. Because the actual numbers of animals of the different species which are kept in the community are so different (e.g. 14,000 sheep and 260 donkeys), the size of holdings have been reduced to percentages of the maximum holding of a single household. The columns represent the percentage of pastoral households which own a particular range of animal numbers. In this way it is possible to observe the distribution of all major animal species in the community and point out the extent of

differentiation that exists between various animal holding households.

Table 2. Distribution of animals per pastoral household in 1979 (for 163 households recorded in the Pastoral Census)

% of maximum holdings	Sheep	% of households owning particular animals				
		Alpacas	Llamas	Cows	Horses	Donkeys
0	17.8	23.9	44.2	51.5	46.0	79.1
1-20%	32.5	34.9	25.1	18.4	12.8	7.9
21-40%	25.8	28.4	22.1	19.0	30.1	9.8
41-60%	15.3	6.1	6.1	6.1	7.9	2.4
61-80%	5.5	5.5	0.6	3.1	2.4	0.0
81-100%	3.1	1.2	1.2	1.8	0.6	0.6
Animals per household:						
Average	88	54	18	4		
Maximum	356	282	134	27	7	10

As can be seen from the table, a total of almost 18% of households which own animals, do not have any sheep, nearly 24% do not own alpacas and over 44% have no llamas. The fact that less than half the households practising pastoralism (48.9%) own cattle, relates to the greater value of these animals, and the fact that they are ill-suited to life in many parts of the puna. While horses are still fairly widely distributed amongst pastoral households (with 54% owning them) as a result of their continuing usefulness in the puna, donkeys, which are principally used in agricultural work and do not, in any case, thrive in the puna, are kept by only 21% of the pastoral population.

For all species, the greatest number of herd owners have between 1 and 40% of the maximum holding: that is, 1-142 sheep (58.3% of all households), 1-113 alpacas (63.3%), 1-54 llamas (47.2%), 1-11 cows (37.4%), 1-3 horses (42.9%) and 1-4 donkeys (17.7%). Whilst the distribution of sheep is slightly more even than that of other species,

with more than 15% of pastoral households owning between 40 and 60% (142-214 sheep) of the maximum holding, it is obvious from the table that distribution of the largest sized herds is restricted to little more than ten per cent of the population for all other species.

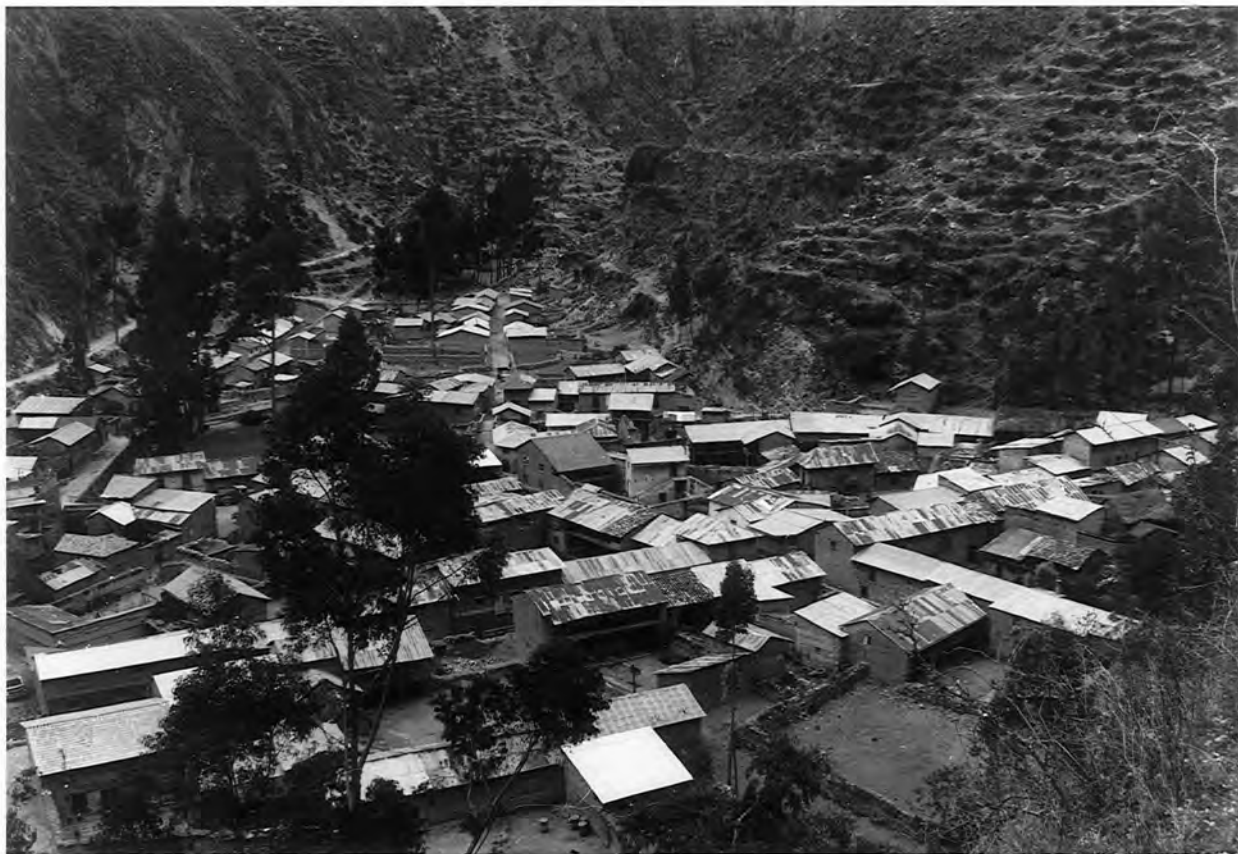
It should be noted, however, that the table disguises the fact that there is a certain amount of specialisation in animal holding and few, except the wealthy, have viable herds of all productive species. Some, for instance, keep large flocks of sheep but only a few alpacas, or vice versa, whilst still others specialise in the raising of cattle. Besides the obvious limitations of inheritance, this type of specialisation frequently results from the fact that the different species have specific environmental requirements and thrive best at different altitudes. Keeping viable herds of alpacas, sheep and cattle, frequently requires a household to control more than one estancia. This either means that such a household must be able to rely on the estancia of a close relative where their animals will be cared for or it must employ a shepherd household to do the work. Additionally, occupation of more than one estancia is contrary to communal statutes and, although several households do so, it is a frequent focus of jealousy and conflict between comuneros, particularly since it tends to be the wealthier household which have both the need for, and power to control, two estancias.¹⁹

In fact the number of animals which a given household owns frequently becomes a major factor in the extent of its use of the community's main productive resources: pasture and water. All puna lands are communally owned and the allocation of estancias is restricted to the land on which the herding huts and corrals are built (usually about one hectare). All other puna land is used communally and, in the absence of fencing, it is

the size of herd occupying an estancia which determines the size of its grazing area. Although there are statutory limits on the size of animal holdings, these are frequently ignored. As a result, the animals of certain households occupy increasingly large areas of grazing and cause conflicts between neighbouring estancia holders. Thus the occupation of estancias and invasions of pasture are two of the most common ways for resentment and jealousy to be expressed in Tomas, in spite of the relatively low livestock-to-pasture ratio, since it is the occupation of the best land which is disputed. Also, pressure on pasture on a given estancia which has been shared by a group of siblings frequently leads to the break-up of the larger family group.

6.2. Valley ecology and arable farming

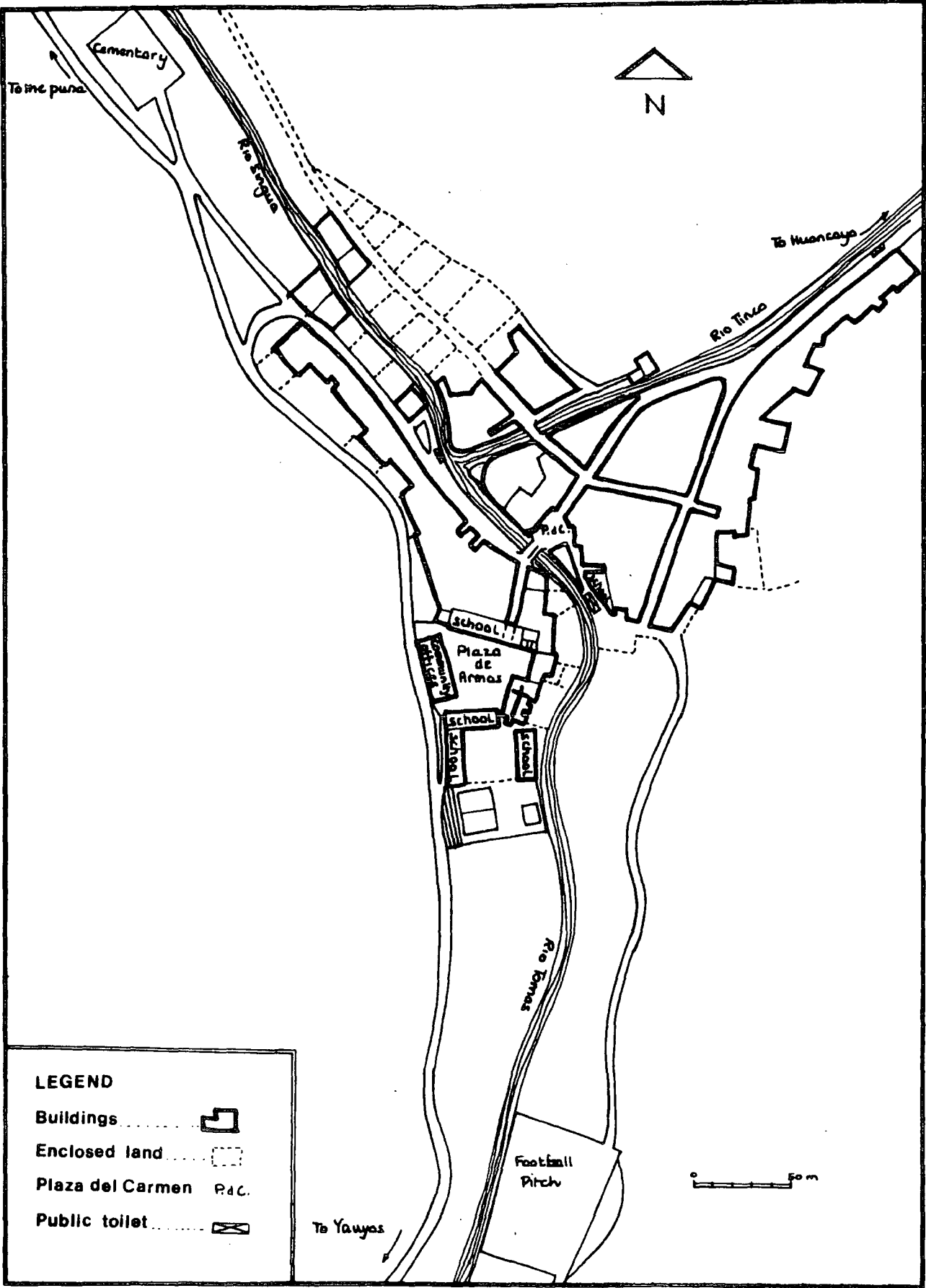
The urban and arable zones of Tomas cover little more than 200 hectares in the southwestern corner of the community's lands, where the valleys of the rivers Singua and Tinco drop to below 4000 metres above sea level, making potato cultivation possible. This area is less violently affected by the extreme climatic conditions experienced in the puna. It rarely snows in the summer, and winter frosts are generally confined to the upper arable zones. On the other hand, the river valleys cut deep into the mountains - at certain points the rocks actually close over the river creating tunnels - so that that sun's penetration of the valley is severely restricted by the shadows cast by the peaks which rise over 1000 metres above it.



6. The village of Tomas
7. Patio in Tomas

The village itself is located at 3542 metres above sea level, about one kilometre from the community's southwestern boundary, on the confluence of the rivers Singua and Tinco. The extreme narrowness of the valleys of these two rivers has forced the houses into a form of ribbon development along their banks which is quite uncharacteristic of the Spanish style of settlement recorded by many writers as being typical of the Andean village after Toledo's reducciones (See Map 4).²⁰ Although there is a main square called "La Plaza de Armas", this is not geographically central to the village, nor does it form the focal point on any but large ceremonial occasions. Rather, it serves as a school playground and is often deserted at other times. Its sides are bordered by part of the primary school, the secondary school, the municipal offices and the church. Since it is only approached by a narrow road through a low archway, it is hardly ever traversed by traffic, and is thus rather a "cul-de-sac". The small "Plaza del Carmen" which, though it is triangular and roughly paved, is more central and is a far more important meeting and trading place. It is bordered by the post office, which shares the building of a small inn and eating house, as well as two of the village's most important general goods stores and bars. In addition, both the buses from Huancayo and Lima stop in this plaza and itinerant traders lay out their goods along its edges.

Streets lead off from the Plaza del Carmen to form the four barrios or neighbourhoods of which the village is made up, although their significance as localised residential areas for extended family groups or ayllus has long been discarded. The tendency for a group of siblings, or other closely related family members, to occupy adjacent houses or a number of rooms around a patio is evident in several cases, but a number



Map 4. The village of Tomas

of long-term demographic factors have militated against the formation of the type of kin-based residential contiguity described for Andamarca by Ossio (1979:93-117).

In the first place, considering the limited area suitable for house construction on the narrow valley floor, there is only a restricted amount of space available in which a given kin-group can expand its residential base. Also, the large-scale disoccupation of the village for long periods in previous times, has meant that many households have not owned houses in the village until recently.²¹ Again, the extent of out-migration from the community in recent years has meant that many parts of those houses which are owned by groups of siblings now stand empty, or are rented out for much of the year, and perhaps permanently. Thus, while there may now be the space for the expansion of family groups into unoccupied houses, their fragmentation through migration makes such residential contiguity impossible.

The houses themselves are generally constructed to the usual Andean plan, consisting of a system of individual rooms surrounding a patio. Although some are rectangular, others, constrained by the limited and irregular site on which they have been constructed, are squeezed into all manner of shapes.²² Although some nuclear families have their own patio, it is common for a number of siblings to share one of their mutual inheritance. Also, if certain of these have left the village or live permanently in the puna, some of these rooms are usually rented out to those teachers and miners who are not native to the community. Where several nuclear families share the same patio, each has its own hearth and store rooms, as well as one or more rooms for sleeping and living in. Because of the low temperatures inside these rooms during the day, much of the life in

the short hours of sunshine is conducted in the patios and streets. Then, soon after the sun leaves the village, as the mountains' shadows fill the ravine at around three o'clock, people retire to the comparative warmth of their kitchens.

The area of land suitable for cultivation is little more than 200 hectares dispersed along the sides of the river valleys.²³ Even this restricted area has only been made useful for cultivation by the terracing of the steep valley sides to provide reasonably level fields and to inhibit the run off of water and soil erosion. Many of these terraces are short and very narrow (some are as little as two or three metres wide and twice as long) and extend up the ravine sides to great heights above the valley where they are dispersed among the rocky outcrops of the mountains. This makes access to them, particularly with manure and seed for planting or the crop after harvest, exceedingly difficult and tiring. Over the past twenty to thirty years this has resulted in the abandonment of many of the most inaccessible plots and a consequent decline in the extent of arable farming in Tomas. Even in the wider and more accessible terraces and fields, access remains a problem and the cultivable area is frequently broken up by large boulders, making the use of any machinery or draught animals impossible. Consequently all work, from the turning of the fallowed soil to the harvest, is done with only human labour and such rudimentary tools as the chaqui taclla, the azadon and the hallaco or lampita.

Although the arable zone is located along the river sides, there is very little irrigation of the fields. One or two of the riverside fields above the village on the river Singua have simple irrigation canals cut above



8. Churura: agricultural area in Tomas

them by which they can be flooded. But this is done only sporadically and, although there are repeated calls for the construction of an irrigation system in both the arable and puna zones at communal assemblies, nothing has been done to improve the situation for many years.²³ Moreover, the contamination of the river Tinco by mineral wastes from Yauricocha means that the irrigation of large areas of arable land is impossible at present.

The arable land within the village area as well as that which extends below it to the community boundary (about one kilometre further down the river) is privately owned. However, all arable land above the village is communally owned and, according to communal statutes, is distributed to individual households on the basis of need. There are seven cultivation zones allowing for a seven-year rotation of three years of cultivation and four years of fallow. These zones are known as Collata, Churura, Paticancha and Urpay-rume above the village on the river Singua and Huilca-tupe, Siria and Quicacacha on the river Tinco. Ideally, all households which wish to cultivate are allotted land in each of these seven zones. The community's obligation to carry out periodical redistribution of land has fallen into disuse over recent years, however, and in many cases fields are simply distributed amongst the children of a given household when the parents die or grow too old to cultivate them for themselves. Moreover, since cultivation is highly labour intensive and productivity is comparatively low, the number of households involved in arable farming has declined over recent years (see Table 6 in Section 6.4.). With the increased accessibility of market produce from outside and the option of labouring in the mines, the need to produce vegetables and grains is no longer so acute. There is not, therefore, much

competition over access to fields, and households which wish to start cultivating or to extend the area of their harvest are easily supplied with land. The only exception to this is a few cases where large, flat areas close to the river are concerned and these are, in any case, either privately owned or monopolised by a small group of wealthy, village-dwelling households.

Table 3. Land holding and crop productivity in Tomas: 1976 data (out of total of 250 households)

Area of cultivation in m ²	Number of households cultivating					
	Ocas	%	Potatoes	%	All crops	%
1- 250	32	(12.8)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
251- 500	37	(14.8)	53	(21.2)	28	(11.2)
501- 750	1	(0.4)	12	(4.8)	17	(6.8)
751-1000	2	(0.8)	11	(4.4)	22	(8.8)
1000 and over	0	(0.0)	2	(0.8)	11	(4.4)
Total of households cultivating	72	(28.8)	78	(31.2)	78	(31.2)
Total area cultivated (m ²)	24,400		36,600		51,000	

Source: Ministerio de Agricultura (1976)

Since I have no complete agricultural census for the 1979-80 period, the data used in this and subsequent tables on agricultural production is based on census figures collected by the Ministerio de Agricultura in 1976. In this table the figures record that some 78 (31.2%) households as cultivating land, while 172 (68.8%) did not. All those households which cultivated land grew potatoes but, as the table shows, not all of these planted ocas, ollucos and beans (although only six out of the total of 78 households did not do so). On average each household had access to 2.5 hectares of arable land, of which 0.75 hectares were under cultivation at

any given time. The table thus shows the limited extent of arable farming in the village.

At their lowest point the arable lands of Tomas do not drop below 3500 metres above sea level, making the cultivation of maize and wheat very difficult. Although small quantities were grown earlier in this century²⁴ and certain people remarked that alfalfa had previously been grown in some of the lower fields, many noted that people now lacked dedication to agriculture.²⁵ The only crops currently grown are potatoes, broad beans, oca, olluco, mashua and small areas of quinoa and barley.²⁶ Furthermore, because of the tiny areas under cultivation at any one time, there is hardly any marketable surplus and no household is even self-sufficient in any of these crops.

The scale and importance of arable farming in Tomas can therefore be seen to be limited. Although certain households rely heavily on their vegetable crops, particularly potatoes, many others do not cultivate at all. In general terms, households fall into three broadly-based categories. The first consists of households which live all year round in the puna and have sufficient herds to provide for their needs through cash sales and barter and who do not, therefore, cultivate crops. Other households which have mixed economies - among these are some pastoralists as well as those traders, miners and others living in the village - frequently do grow crops, but they do not depend heavily upon them in the majority of cases. The third group, which includes many single women, old people and households with limited other sources of income, is the only one which is heavily reliant on arable farming for its subsistence. This interplay between arable, pastoral and other economies produces a variable series of residence patterns based on the village and the puna

as well as places outside the community. These will be the subject of the next section of this chapter, while the concluding one will examine the ways in which arable production has changed in relation to others aspects of the local and regional economies, including pastoralism.

6.3. Valley and Puna: Dual residence patterns

Although, as described in the previous section, there are a few households which have no animals and live exclusively in the village, while others spend almost all their time with their herds in the puna, most Tomasinos divide their time between the two. The resources of neither of the two environments are capable of supporting the community's human population in isolation from the other, nor from the outside world. Whilst the puna concentrates most of the productive resources, it lacks access to schools, to community organisation and judicial authority, and to a religious centre. Conversely, the limitations of agriculture in the village mean that only that proportion of the population engaged in full-time wage labour in the mines or government offices, is capable of living independently of the pastoral economy. In addition, both these zones are dependent upon manufactured goods and arable produce imported from beyond the community.

Consequently life in Tomas is characterised by a continual movement of people, animals and equipment between the village and the puna. The route which leads from the village, via the valley road which follows the river Singua, to the opening of the puna, is the most traversed in the



9. People travelling between the puna and the village

community (it was this route which the community wished the Lima-Huancayo-Canete road to follow). The manner in which such dual residence patterns affect people's lives and the ways in which they may change over time are best illustrated by reference to a number of actual cases:

1. In the past Eufrasia (33 years old) and Zosimo (34 years old) lived exclusively in the puna tending their own herds as well as those of Zosimo's brother, who works in the mines of Yauricocha, on an al partir basis. They also worked as shepherds for a non-relative who was employed by Centromin as an odd-job man in the engineers' housing compound in Siria, some two kilometres from the village, on communal property. In this case, too, their payments were made in animals.

While their children were very young, they both stayed in the puna, although Zosimo spent some time in the village where he worked in their fields, leaving Eufrasia to tend the animals and care for the children in the puna. Only at harvest time would the whole family come down for any length of time to work together in their fields. When their first child reached school age, they were reluctant to leave the puna to bring her to school. However, pressure from the communal authorities eventually forced them to do so. As a consequence Eufrasia now spends much of her time in the village with the children, while Zosimo fulfills his obligations to his employer and tends his herds in the puna. They have also extended the area of fields which they cultivate to help cover the costs of living in the village and the education of their children. They are both still committed to their life in the puna, though, and Eufrasia

particularly remains uneasy in the village.

2. Jaime and Inez (both aged 33) travel constantly between the puna, the village and the Mantaro valley. Besides their herds and fields, they are closely involved with trade in a number of forms. When their children were small, they were based permanently in the puna where they kept a restaurant. In recent years, though, they have moved down to the village for the education of their children and have become involved in village-based trade as well as that of the puna. Jaime is a wool dealer and both of them have dealt in meat over the years. They also operate two shops, one in the puna and the other in the village, so that they can trade in whichever place they happen to be.

Their herds of alpacas are cared for by a shepherd household, while the small flock of sheep which Inez inherited from her parents remains on their estancia, since that of Jaime and Inez is too high for sheep. In 1975 they bought a pickup truck and Jaime travels constantly between Huancayo, the puna and the village in it. Although Inez still involves herself in trade when she can, she is most often obliged to stay in the village with the children and tending their general goods store. This case is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 10.

3. Flora (aged 58) is separated from her husband who now lives in Huancayo, while she remains in their estancia. She still has considerable numbers of herd animals, including cattle, which she tends alone. She has no other occupation and, living distant from the village, does not involve herself in arable farming. Once a month she travels to Huancayo in order to buy supplies. When there, she stays

in the house of her only son, who also moved to Huancayo in 1964. She has always resisted going to the village of Tomas itself and, now that she has retired as an active comunera, she avoids going there at all. She thus lives exclusively in the puna, buying what she needs in Huancayo or bartering for it with the itinerant traders who travel the highlands, with whom she trades meat, wool and cheeses for potatoes, chuno and dry goods.

4. Leonardo (aged 75) and Alvina (aged 70) live exclusively in the village in a house which they often share with the young children of one of their daughters whose husband works in the Gran Bretana mine. Although they did have herd animals when they were young, these were all "lost" many years ago by shepherds, while Leonardo and Alvina were living in the mine of Morococha. They now rely largely on their work as weavers and the few fields which they are still able to cultivate for their subsistence. However, they also receive regular help from their adult children, three of whom have now left Tomas to work in various mines in other parts of the central highlands, while the fourth lives in the Gran Bretana encampment.

Leonardo is a full-time weaver, working the wool which other people supply into sacks and blankets for them. On occasion, when he can obtain the wool, he also makes things which he sells for his own profit but, as wool is often hard to come by, his own work is on a small scale. Alvina also works wool, mainly spinning the yarns for Leonardo's weaving, but also knitting when the opportunity arises. They keep a small number of fields which they work largely on their own, though with the help of their grandchildren at harvest. Nowadays they have little to do with the puna and, although their

son-in-law keeps a few sheep for them on his own estancia, they are content to have the use of their wool and show no interest in their management.

As these examples illustrate, the majority of households have relations with both the puna and the village and, although they often have a marked preference for the life of either one or the other, they must move between the two. The joint pastoral and agricultural economies employed by many households inevitably mean that they are obliged to employ a dual residence strategy. Even if they do not practise agriculture, all comunero households are under statutory obligation to visit the village for communal assemblies. In addition, because of the limitations imposed by the products obtained from their herds, all pastoral households must sell or barter the major part of their produce in order to buy the foodstuffs and goods which they need to survive. Participation in trade, both as a producer, or as a commercial agent, inevitably involves a household in trips to buy and sell.

Perhaps most important in the case of the majority of households in recent years, however, has been the growing emphasis placed on the attendance of their children at the village's schools. Because of this, even the most dedicated pastoral household must eventually develop some relations with the village. In the past, many households avoided leaving their herds by sending their children alone to the village and obtaining lodgings for them with neighbours or relatives. In recent years, though, such practices have become less common and the majority of mothers now accompany their children to the village for much of the time, although they may still leave them for short periods. This change has been made

possible, not only by a campaign of urbanisation undertaken by the community in 1957, but also by migration of a growing number of families to the mines and cities, which has left a large pool of houses vacant for rental.

Notwithstanding the increasing occupation of the village, though, there still remain a number of households which have few relations with it. Although they may attend community meetings and even take up political office, they have little interest in the village and resent the emphasis which much community development has placed on it in recent years. Many such households resist sending their children to school and, when they can no longer do so, they often prefer to have them lodge with a relative than leave the puna themselves. They place little emphasis on education and their children may well leave school to start working with their parents at the earliest opportunity. Such households must inevitably be self-sufficient pastoralists who have no need to leave the puna in search of employment and, through choice or the limitations of their resources, have not diversified their economies into trade or other activity fields.

Village and puna can thus be seen to be united by the constant movement of people between them and divided by the different needs and aspirations of their respective populations. Despite the necessity for the majority of households to live between the two, their allegiance to one or the other is often clear in their own minds and tends to colour their attitude towards recent communal activity to improve the facilities of both zones. Whilst it has been noted that neither of them is truly self-sufficient of the other, the resentment which the dependence of the village on the puna generates among certain puna households is the basis of much of the underlying conflict within the community. It is the

attempts made by those powerful village-dwellers who hold many of the political offices in the community to improve the conditions of the life in the village, often at the expense of those in the puna, which is at the base of much of the political wrangling and occasional open conflict which has been evident in Tomas in recent years.

6.4. Changes in resource use between 1941 and 1979

In the 1940's the people of Tomas were described as living

"entirely on the products which they obtain from the herds of animals which they graze on communal lands. They are thus herdsmen. Mothers occupy themselves with their domestic duties. Lately many men, youths and a few unmarried women have found day labour on the road and aerial cableway which the Yauricocha Mine Co (Cerro de Pasco Corporation) are building to their mines. They have no property other than their herds of sheep, cameloids and, on a smaller scale, cattle...Tomasinos are little interested in trade. They are accustomed to a peaceful and sedentary life. Minor occupations such as hand spinning for domestic use occupy their days" (Yachaywasi 1944:25).

The village remained empty for much of the year, with the bulk of the population caring for their herds in the puna. At that time only about one-third of families even had a house in the village, the rest staying in those of relatives at times of communal assemblies and fiestas, or when they needed somewhere for their children to lodge while they went to school.

By the late 1970's although for many households living in the puna, life had remained much as it had been in the 1940's, for others several factors had led to a gradual change in emphasis from the life of

pastoralism in the puna to one which centres on the village as well as on other places outside of the community. In broadest terms these changes may be seen as the increasing diversification of the economy of a number of households. This, in turn, is based on the increasing economic opportunities available in the region and the development of interest in formal education by many parents. These changes have led to a transfer of capital and labour resources away from the main productive activities on which the community's economy has previously depended, i.e. pastoralism and agriculture: a fact which is clearly shown by agricultural production and holding data for the period under discussion.

Although the description of the life of Tomas in 1944 was not strictly true at the time, over recent years it has come to apply to a diminishing sector of the population. Tables 6.4.1 and 6.4.2., which give animal holding data for this period, show several marked changes in the holdings of different species over the intervening years.

Table 4. Distribution of animals per pastoral household: 1948-1961-1979 data (182-229-163 households)

Percentage of households owning particular animal species												
% of max. herd size **	Sheep			Alpacas			Llamas			Cattle		
	1948	1961	1979	1948*	1961	1979	1948	1961	1979	1948	1961	1979
0	26.9	26.2	17.8	25.8	36.2	24.1		35.4	44.4	57.1	62.0	51.6
1-20	52.8	50.2	54.0	63.7	48.9	47.5		52.4	44.4	33.5	29.3	36.2
21-40	11.0	16.2	23.3	7.7	9.2	21.0		19.9	11.6	5.5	4.8	10.4
41-60	11.0	6.6	4.9	2.8	2.6	6.2		0.9	0.6	2.2	2.6	1.8
61-80	1.1	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.2		0.0	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.0
81-100	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0		0.4	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.0

* Data for llamas and alpacas combined for the year 1948.

**The maximum figures upon which all these percentages are based are: 643 sheep (1948); 384 alpacas and 252 llamas (total 636 cameloids) (1961); 51 cows (1961). These are the largest herd sizes recorded for any of the years for which I have figures.

Although the data in Table 4 are schematic, showing the percentages of

those households with herds which own certain ranges of animal numbers, they do illustrate some of the changes which have occurred in animal holding over the period. Because the maximum herd size (which is shown by 100% in the left hand column) is the same for all three years shown, it is possible to compare the size of the largest herds, as well as the distribution of animals overall. The figures also show the increase or decline in the numbers of households without any animals of a particular species.

Study of the table reveals that there has been an overall decline in the number of sheep owned by individual households, with a drop from a 100% of the maximum holding (643) in 1948 to 60% of it (386) in 1979. On the other hand, it is also evident that there is a smaller percentage of pastoral households which do not own any sheep (a drop from 27 to 18%), with greatest increase in small to medium sized herds (with 77% of pastoral households owning 1-40% of the maximum [250 sheep or less] in 1979, compared with 64% in 1948).

The data for alpacas and llamas is complicated by the fact that the 1948 figures were given for both species combined. However, it is clear that there has been a marked overall increase in the numbers of cameloids owned by individual households between 1948 and 1961, with a decline in 1979 (from 310 maximum in 1948, to 636 in 1961 and back to 554 in 1979). Also, it is evident from the table that the number of pastoral households without alpacas has declined since 1961 (from 36 to 24%), while that for llamas has increased (from 35 to 44%). These figures tally with the overall changes in the numbers of llamas and alpacas owned in Tomas, which will be set out in the next table.

Finally the table shows a decline in the maximum size of herds of cattle owned in the period since 1948 (from 43 to 27), although their numbers reached a peak in 1961 (with the largest herd having 51 animals). The data also make clear the limited distribution of cattle amongst the pastoral population, with less than half the animal-owning households keeping cattle in all three years. On the other hand, it is apparent from these figures that the ownership of cattle is more widespread in 1979, with 48% of pastoral households keeping cows (as compared with 43% in 1948 and 38% in 1961).

Table 5. Animal holdings in Tomas since 1941

Date	Alpacas	Llamas	Sheep	Cows	Horses	Donkeys
1941	3836	6774	14200	518	361	49
1948	9224	--	14686	608	368	--
1961	8206	4790	18463	698	343	66
1965	8081	3803	17944	504	350	36
1970*	13286	4629	21444	707	346	94
1975	9771	3190	16758	553	232	104
1979	8754	2953	14389	655	215	105

* The figures for 1970 are high because, at that time, Tomas was trying to justify its claim for lands from the hacienda Consac (personal communication from Rigoberto Rivera)

Table 5 shows the totals of animals of the major species kept in Tomas between the years 1941 and 1979, illustrating changes in patterns of animal holding for the whole community over the period. In the period since 1961 it is based on data from the Pastoral Census, while figures from 1941 and 1948 come from different sources (Yachaywasi 1941; Community Census 1948). Because the data recorded in the Pastoral Census are not complete for every year, it may be assumed that, in certain cases, these figures do not represent 100% of the animals kept in the community (this may partially explain the drop in the numbers of sheep

and alpacas between 1975 and 1979, since the numbers of households whose animal holdings were recorded dropped from 181 in 1975 to 163 in 1979).

Notwithstanding the limitations of the figures, though, the table illustrates a number of changes and continuities in patterns of animal holding in Tomas over the forty-year period which it covers. Most notably, there has been a decline in the number of llamas kept, as well as those of horses. This is largely a result of the construction of road and rail links with Huancayo and Lima which have made the llama more or less redundant as a beast of burden in all but the most inaccessible parts of the puna. There have been repeated campaigns by the community to reduce the numbers of "useless" animals kept in the puna and llamas and horses have always headed the list of such animals. As Table 4 illustrated, many pastoral households no longer keep llamas in their herds and, since their other main use is to provide wool for the sacks used in barter, those who do so keep relatively small herds.

On the other hand, declines in llamas and horses as beasts of burden has led to an increase in the numbers of donkeys kept in the community. Since these animals are less expensive to buy, incur a lower head tax from the community, and are less difficult to keep than horses, their use in agriculture has increased in step with the decline in numbers of llamas and horses.

Although there has been a slight decline in total numbers of cameloids kept in the community, there has also been a transfer of emphasis from the llama to the alpaca. Whilst it is probable that alpacas have filled the gaps in herds left by llamas, providing revenue from meat, increases in the numbers of alpacas kept can also be seen to reflect the increase

in the value of their wool. Prior to the 1940's the price of alpaca fibre on the market was only slightly above that of sheep wool, by the 1960's its relative exchange value had doubled.²⁸ As a result, while sheep frequently still hold the central role in the pastoral economy, that of the alpaca is of growing - though still underestimated - importance for many households.²⁹ Indeed, in 1979 the combined number of alpacas and llamas in terms of "sheep units" was over 35,000, making them the most important animal in the community.

Sheep are the only animals currently kept in numbers similar to those of the 1940's. They were, and remain, the most commercially successful animal kept in Tomas. The small size, quick rate of growth and relatively low value of the animal makes it readily convertible into cash or meat and hide for domestic use, and the greater marketability of its wool and meat over the alpaca make it a safer investment.

In contrast to the stability in numbers of sheep kept, those of cattle have increased over the period under study. Data in Table 4 showed that, while on the one hand the number of households owning cattle had increased since 1948, on the other, the maximum herd size had declined. Considering these figures in conjunction with those in the present table it would therefore appear that the ownership of cattle is becoming more generalised amongst the pastoral population whilst the number of really large herds has declined.

If the Tables 4 and 5 are looked at together, certain of the developments in the economy of Tomas become evident in the distribution of pastoral holdings in the community. Thus, although overall animal numbers have not changed markedly over the last thirty years there has been a decline in

the maximum size of herds owned by individual households and an increase in the percentage of those with moderately-sized herds. These changes reflect the increasing diversification of the economy and the growing extent of out-migration from the community as many wealthier households sell up and leave.

The re-opening of the Yauricocha mine in 1947 offered new opportunities for employment within the locality and the construction of the road and rail links to other regional and national centres has made access to them far easier. These developments, coupled with the expansion of Huancayo as a regional market centre, have stimulated interest in the opportunities presented by the larger regional and national economies. Data given in Chapter 10 of the present work show that, while during the early part of the century few people left Tomas, in recent years as much as 68% of each generation have left for Lima, Huancayo or the mines.

Although changes in herding in Tomas have not been significant over this period, the decline in arable production is far more evident. Table 6 shows the production of major crops for the years 1941 and 1976. It illustrates a decline of potato production of more than 30%. However, declines in other crops show far more wide ranging changes in both local dietary habits and the extent of self-sufficiency in agriculture. In 1979 the production of ocas, ollucos, mashua and broad beans was at only 20% of the 1941 level of production, while barley and maize which had previously been the only other crops produced in quantity, were no longer being produced at all.³⁰

Table 6. Crops harvested in the years 1941 and 1976

Crops	Sacks of 50 kgs	
	1941	1976
Potatoes	927	646
Andean tubers & beans	1115	220
Barley	329	-
Maize	20	-

Sources: Yachaywasi (1941) and Ministerio de Agricultura (1976).

Although I do not have data on the amounts of vegetable and grain imported into the community in recent years, the source of the 1941 data also gives these figures. It estimates a total of 636 sacks (50 kilogrammes) of potatoes, 1721 of maize, 291 of ocas, olluco and mashua and 1308 of barley. As the population of the village has not changed significantly since this date, it may be assumed that, considering the decline in agriculture and in the absence of changes in eating habits, these figures would now be increased to more than 6000 sacks of imported produce. Since a parallel decline has been noted in the scale of bartered exchanges,³¹ it is evident that there has been a marked increase in the cash purchase of arable produce. However, while such increases were made evident to me from information provided by Tomasinos, other factors, such as changes in the types of food eaten must also be considered as a factor in the decline in arable farming. Nowadays it is unusual for households to consume much quinua, and most remarked that, while they were obliged to make up the shortfall of their potato production, ocas and other Andean crops were considered a luxury in a diet which now relies heavily on rice and pasta. When these crops were finished, few households bought more of them.

In the final table in this section, which compares pastoral and

agricultural production in Tomas in the 1940's and 1970's, the relation between arable farming and herding is expressed in numerical terms. Table 7 shows, for the years 1948 and 1976, the percentages of households having pastoral and agricultural interests in Tomas. In addition, for those households engaged in pastoralism, the table shows the average number of sheep units per household, thus differentiating between those households which have agricultural interests and those which do not.

Table 7. Relationship between the pastoral and arable holdings of individual households in Tomas: 1948 and 1976 data

	1948		1976	
Agricultural interests	No. of households	Sheep units per/hh	No. of households	Sheep units per/hh

Households:				
with animals only	88 (47.8%)	301	90 (36.0%)	393
with animals & crops	54 (29.3%)	347	49 (19.6%)	405
with crops only	1 (0.5%)	-	29 (11.6%)	-
without animals/crops	42 (22.8%)	-	82 (38.8%)	-
Total no. of households	184		250	

The table shows that the number of comunero households which engage in pastoralism has not changed significantly over the 28^{year} period which the table covers, with 142 households owning animals in 1948 compared with 139 in 1976. However, as a percentage of the total comunero population as recorded in the two censuses, there is a greater degree of variability. Thus, in 1948, 77% of the comunero population owned herd animals, compared with nearly 56% in 1979. Moreover, this decline appears to be equally distributed between those pastoral households which practice agriculture and those which do not (10% in the case of the former group and 12% in that of the latter).

Those households which engage in agriculture alone have increased markedly between the two dates. Whereas only one household did so in 1948, in 1976 there were 29 (11.6% of the population). Households which have no animals, but still rely on the community's agricultural resources fall into two groups. In the first place there are those poor households - mostly headed by single women, or those of elderly people - which are village based and rely on agricultural production for much of their subsistence. Secondly, there are the households of certain migrants to the mines and cities who, with movement between Tomas and the mines and cities made so much faster and easier by the introduction of motorised transport to the region, find it possible to cultivate fields in the community (or pay the peon labour to do so).

It is also notable that the number of households which do not engage in either pastoralism or agriculture has nearly doubled (from 42 to 82, or from 23 to 33% of the total population). Although certain of these households are those of the elderly or the very young, the most important sector is that of the anualistas, who live and work outside the community whilst still retaining links with it. The figures thus point out the decline in the reliance which certain households have on the community's resources for their livelihoods: a fact which will be central to the arguments presented in the subsequent chapters.

In conclusion then, it may be argued that changes in pastoral production have been related to the development of a transport system connecting Tomas with the markets and cities of the larger region, as well as by developments in the wider market for wool, meat and other foodstuffs. The expansion of the commoditisation of arable crops in the Mantaro and

throughout Peru has both stimulated changes in local dietary habits and reduced the accessibility of foodstuffs obtained through barter. On the other hand, increasing cash incomes in Tomas, whether obtained through higher prices paid for animal products or through wage labour, have made it possible for many households to buy the vegetable and grain crops which they need on the open market. Thus, while at the core the fundamental relationship between arable and pastoral production has not altered significantly over the past forty years, signs of change are evident in many peripheral areas.

NOTES

1. See the descriptions of such ecosystems by Webster 1971, Orlove 1977, Custred 1977 and Flores 1977.
2. It is, in fact, extremely difficult to ascertain the area of arable land, since it is so fragmented and cut into terraces. Estimates from documents which I have found all use different figures, ranging from 62 hectares to an incredible 9000 (data from Yachaywasi (1944:23) and an official Encuesta Comunal dated 1976, respectively). I have elected for the figure given by Ciro Dionisio (1973) in his study of his own community because it seems most plausible in consideration of the extremely steep nature of the valley landscape.
3. In terms of its reliance on lower communities for much of its vegetables and cereals, Tomas is similar to Paratia as it is described by Flores 1979:87.
4. See Orlove 1977:80-85 for fuller description of the puna ecosystem in Sicuani.
5. Fiestas in which members of the communal population are called upon to fulfill religious cargoes are common throughout Andean Peru. Every member of the community, man and woman, rich and poor alike, is inevitably obliged to undertake such a role. The obligation usually involves the investment of a considerable sum of money in the purchase of food and alcohol and the hiring of musicians for the enjoyment of the whole population during the fiesta. While the occupation of such a cargo offers considerable prestige to its incumbent, there is often resistance by comuneros who are unwilling to make the kind of heavy investment which the position involves. While church lands may be made available to help in the fulfilment of such obligations, in some cases the privatisation of such lands has now laid the burden of the full costs on the shoulders of the cargo holder (Winder 1978).

The only communal fiesta now kept in Tomas in which comuneros are called upon to undertake the role of prioste or cargo holder is the Pascua de Navidad which last for eight days over the Christmas period. At this time four priostes are chosen by the community membership: two for the Nino Jesus and two for the Virgin Maria. It is their job to undertake the organisation of, and payment for, the fiesta. In 1979 the cost per prioste was estimated to have amounted to some s/.504,000 (£1008) (Bonilla, C 1979).

6. Bofedales occur "where a porous aquiferous stratum lies directly above one that is less so. If the interface is exposed by erosion or tectonic movements, water seeps out from the upper stratum." (Orlove 1977:81).

7. While the hunting of vicunas is illegal in Peru, they are still poached by certain people for their valuable wool. There was also a period when the community attempted to establish a vicuna-alpaca breeding programme when a female vicuna was captured live. However, the animal died after a short period in captivity.

8. The adaptation of sheep and all other lowlands species to the high altitude Andean environment is so difficult that, when new stock - such as the Merino sheep which came from Australia - is introduced into the puna, it takes several years for the animals' fertility to return.

9. In his thesis on the largely pastoral community of Andamarca, Ossio stresses the need to avoid approaches which see economic activities as mostly influenced by ecological determinism. His work emphasises the fact that, while the distribution of lands over different ecological floors may be an important factor for household self-sufficiency, the need for the consolidation of household lands frequently overrides this aspect of land distribution (1979:1).

10. According to the SAIS Pachacutec definition of "sheep unit", one cameloid = 3 sheep units; one cow = 5 sheep units; and one horse = eight sheep units (Fonseca et al. 1974:46).

11. During the planning for the establishment of the community's sheep cooperative, it was recommended by technical advisors from the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario that the cooperative should be established on accessible lands in the central region of the community. However, because these were already densely populated by some of the more powerful community members, the proposal was never taken up.

12. When the community's sheep cooperative was to be established, for instance, it was necessary to move the occupants of several estancias in the sector chosen for the cooperative's pasture. The largest of these was called Pusucancha and it now forms the nucleus of the cooperative's lands. At that time, however, there were ten households either living in, or keeping animals on, Pusucancha. They were a family group consisting of two elderly sisters and their three half-brothers, the households of three of the children of one sister and one of the children of a brother. When they were moved, this large family group was broken up and its members transferred to a number of smaller estancias. This action caused much resentment amongst the households, who claimed that their new estancias were greatly inferior to Pusucancha, and several of whom had to be removed repeatedly from the cooperative's grazing lands.

13. It has been quite common for the community to threaten parents that, if they do not bring their children to the community's schools, they will have their animals forcibly moved to a distant estancia, but this threat has never been executed. In 1977, on the other hand, the households of two comuneros were ordered to remove their herds to other estancias after they were involved in repeated thefts from their neighbours. Finally

their expulsion from the community was ordered. However, even in this case they appealed against this sentence and were allowed to stay after fines had been paid and other penalties fulfilled.

14. The latter of these two households belongs to Moises Dionisio who worked many years on the haciendas of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, and had learned their husbandry methods, as well as becoming quite wealthy. In the early years of the census he owns 51 cattle - far more than any other comunero and greatly in excess of communal limitations. The declines in later years are, at least partially, due to his purchase of a large house in Huancaayo.

15. This case is described in greater detail in Chapter 9.

16. This is a sport of Spanish origin in which a live duck is suspended from a high wooden archway by its feet. Men gallop under it, each trying to pull its head off as they ride by. Whoever succeeds wins the duck and must provide another for the same jala pato the following year.

17. See, for instance, Orlove (1977), Flores (1977), Webster (1973) on separation of herds.

18. By and large males are selected for their colour, the most likely choice being white. Although white wool commands a better price on the market, white animals are physically less robust than coloured ones: a fact which ultimately leads to a weakening of the strain.

19. In 1963, for instance, 18 households were fined by the community for occupying two estancias.

20. Roel (1970). See also Ossio (1979) for the description of a typical Spanish-style settlement in Ayacucho.

21. Indeed, in the 1950's the shortage of housing was so extreme that more than 70% of households did not own houses in the village. In 1957 an urbanisation programme was undertaken by the authorities, with areas of arable land within the urban area being bought up and resold as building plots for those without houses.

22. Because of the closeness of the surrounding hills, many households have to contend with their rocky bases. In one house, the back wall of the kitchen was in fact the side of the mountain which towered above the house. It provided a good system of shelves and cubby holes for kitchen equipment.

23. During the 1970's a move was made by the administration to extend the area of cultivation into the lowest pastoral zones at the head of the Singua valley. Several households were moved out of their estancias to higher ground. However, because of the fears of frosts and the long journeys which would have to be made each day to cultivate such lands (up to 10 kilometres each way on steep mountain tracks), the plan has never been carried through. Indeed there are many disused terraces perched on the mountainsides high above the village itself. With the declines in arable farming in recent years, people have abandoned them in favour of lower and more accessible ones.

24. In several parts of the puna the remains of an Incaic irrigation system exists. However, attempts to motivate the community into repairing and extending it have so far failed.

25. Even then only 15 sacks of maize and five of wheat were recorded as having been harvested (Yachaywasi, 11, 1941:27). A myth exists in the community which describes how the maize fled down the valley during a battle between the mighty mountains Tunshu Pallpa, Uman-huarco and Libertad to prove which was the stronger.

26. Such a comment is recorded in the thesis of Ciro Bonilla, a native Tomasino (1973:60). In Yachaywasi as early as 1941, it was noted that

"agricultural production could be greater, but there is a lack of dedication (No 11:27).

27. In 1941 253 sacks of barley were recorded as having been harvested, which was more than one fifth of the total consumed that year. However, in recent years rusts and moulds have caused such a depletion of the crop, that few households now plant it. This has resulted in the four year cultivation period being reduced to three, with a four year fallow.

28. In 1932 a quintal of alpaca fibre sold for 25-30 soles, sheep wool for 18-20 soles. Between 1966 and 1969 a metric tonne of alpaca fibre sold for \$1927 (US) and one of sheep wool for \$827 (US) (Flores 1977:44).

29. Flores describes the way in which the alpaca has been marginalised by the introduction of sheep into many of the most favourable pastoral areas of the Andes (1977:45).

30. In fact in 1980, I did find one household cultivating barley on a small scale. But, because the crop ripens later than others and no other households were producing any, the harvest was declared before it was ripe and they were forced to cut it green for animal fodder or risk its loss to the grazing animals which are released on the harvested fields.

31. Data in Chapter 10 show that, while some 835 sacks were produced "for sale" in 1941, estimates of production for barter in 1980 put the figure at no more than 400.

CHAPTER 7 : ECONOMIC ACTIVITY FIELDS IN TOMAS

Introduction

This chapter describes those economic activity fields in which Tomasinos commonly engage, pointing out the advantages and problems associated with each one, and noting the distribution and sexual division of labour which is commonly employed in it. It also documents the ways in which a number of households have combined such activity fields over time, demonstrating how individual choices made between activity fields may affect the progress of a household's development. The next chapter deals more specifically with household strategies, showing how households organise their members in order to engage in a particular configuration of activities, and how the products and incomes from such configurations enable the household to survive and reproduce itself.

As has been noted in Chapter 6, for the majority of households in Tomas pastoralism has a central, or at least significant, role to play in the domestic economy. Considering the extent of pasture to which the community has access and its history of herding, the majority of comuneros have an intimate knowledge of the intricacies of animal husbandry and inherit at least a nominal holding of livestock from their

parents. According to the data presented in the last chapter, 56% of Tomasinos (including anualistas) kept herd animals in 1976 and, although the use of shepherds is widespread, there is nearly always a degree of dependence upon the pastoral economy, even amongst permanent migrants.¹ Herds provide a fairly reliable cash income, supply the household with a primary source of protein and act as a respaldo or "piggy bank" in times of need. On the other hand, the large cash involvement of animals, their vulnerability to disease, predation and theft and the constraints which the community places on their numbers, mean that, for many, pastoralism is not capable of satisfying all a household's needs, of occupying all the labour it has available or absorbing all the capital which it may have at its disposal. As a result many households are obliged, or choose, to diversify their economies into one or more of the other activities practised in Tomas.

Agriculture, which is the only other productive activity based on the resources of Tomas, is very much less important than pastoralism in terms of the community's economy, and few households rely on it as a primary source of subsistence. Although access to land is open to all comuneros, the limited area suitable for cultivation, its low level of fertility and inaccessibility, mean that levels of productivity are low and the crops produced are restricted. Whilst it provides a means by which the poorest of households, and especially those without animals, are able to benefit from communal resources and to establish a certain measure of independence for themselves, its communal base and limited extent mean that there is little scope for the expansion of production. As a result of these constraints, in 1976 only 31% of households were cultivating crops in Tomas.

Wage labour and trade are the main non-agricultural activities in which Tomasinos engage. Dependent upon the economic situation of individual households, either may be used to maximise the labour potential of a household which is unable to supply its needs through agriculture, or as a means to expand an economy which is reaching the upper limits of the ecological and communal constraints which exist in Tomas.

It is not uncommon for individuals (particularly young, unmarried men) to take on unskilled work in the local mines or day labour in the fields, nor for households to engage in short-term and small-scale trade when the opportunity arises. However, longer term involvement in either inevitably leads to a decline of interest in, and the viability of, herding. In cases where loss of animals through disease or theft obliges a household to engage in outside activities, the continued decline of its herds is the most common outcome. In such a situation, it is not unusual for the household, or part of it, to leave Tomas and take up permanent residence in the mines or cities. On the other hand, the diversification of the domestic economy in an effort to divert capital resources away from thriving herds, also inevitably results in a decreasing interest in pastoralism. However, since such households are often better able to afford the cost of shepherds, their herds do not necessarily decline through neglect. Rather it is the investment of increasing amounts of the "piggy bank" capital held by the herds into trade, education and the purchase of property in other parts, which decreases herd size and inevitably ends in the migration of the household to live elsewhere.

The present chapter thus entails a description of the social, economic and organisational demands and potentials of productive and remunerative activities in Tomas. The productive or labouring process, the division of

labour and types of networks established, the products and incomes at a household's disposal are considered so as to outline the opportunity structure of each activity. It divides the activities into three areas: the agricultural economy which includes pastoralism and agriculture; trade, which includes shopkeeping and the wool and meat trade; and wage labour, which includes work in the mines, salaried labour in the pastoral and agricultural sectors and professional salaried labour.

7.1. Pastoralism

Pastoralism has formed the core of the economy in Tomas at least since the times of the Spanish conquest.² Based on the community's vast grasslands, for which it has proved the only viable use, it has sustained a small but relatively wealthy population without access to significant areas of arable land. In the past at least, herding has supported the vast majority of households with little recourse to alternative economic activities. It is the essential relationship between the household as the unit of production and consumption and the community's resource base in the puna which has made the continuation of the pastoral way of life possible in Tomas and which forms the basis of this section.

Although there are two communal herding enterprises in Tomas,³ the vast majority of animals are owned by individual comunero households. The pasture lands on which they are grazed, while they remain formally under communal control, are divided into estancias whose use is at the disposal of individual households. There are no fences nor formally defined limits

between the grazing areas, but rights of pasture on them are closely guarded by their occupants to the extent that the unlawful occupation of pasture is one of the most common causes of dispute between comunero households.

The allocation of estancias to households in need is the responsibility of the communal assembly and, since pressure on pasture is not great in any but the most favoured areas of the puna, access to grazing is not usually a problem for a household. The establishment of a viable herd is, therefore, the first essential to the independence of a pastoral household. In theoretical terms, inheritance in Tomas follows the usual Andean pattern with each child, both male and female, youngest and oldest, receiving equal shares of the parents' holdings. In reality, though, there is a tendency for the youngest child, who generally remains with his or her parents into their old age, to receive a greater share than his or her siblings who inherited on their marriage. Also, in many cases, a daughter's share is smaller than that of a son. All the same it is usual for both partners to bring at least a nominal herd into a marriage. However, if they are still young, or if their herds are not large, parents may be unwilling or unable to give their children sufficient animals to make them independent. Unlike the situation in  described by Webster (1973), where the distribution of agricultural resources makes the maintenance of an extended family group essential to self-sufficiency, in Tomas there is often no advantage to be gained from the continued residence in the parental household of married children. In such cases a couple is obliged to find other ways of securing its livelihood.

They may try to increase their herd directly by working as shepherds on

an al partir or share-cropping basis or, if they are able to obtain cash by shepherding or outside employment, they may buy animals from neighbouring comuneros or other local sources. Alternatively, they may decide to leave the herding economy, at least temporarily, and go to work in the mines. Such a trip is a common aspect of many men's life histories. Although, in the past at least, it was frequently embarked upon with the intention of earning the cash to establish a herd, few succeeded in saving money. In many recent cases, such men may be reluctant to return to the privations of the life of the puna after the comparative luxury of a mine settlement. Thus of all the households whose cash purchases of animals I recorded, none had obtained the cash through mine labour. On the contrary, one old man who, in the 1940's and 1950's, had spent ten years in the mines of Morococha, not only returned home without the savings which he had hoped to accumulate in order to build up his herds, but also found that those which he had left in the hands of his relatives had been almost totally lost through what he termed as their negligence.

Unlike the tasks of agriculture, which are sporadic and involve intensive physical work, the labour requirements of pastoralism are light, but relatively constant throughout the year. As a result it is possible for many puna-dwelling households to remain largely independent of outside labour for much of the annual cycle. The animals need protection from predators, adverse weather and thieves. By far the most important aspect of their routine care is the task of driving them out to graze by day and seeing them safely into their corrals before sunset. Thus, in Tomas, herding is a job which can usually be performed by a single adult or older child, which means that a household is generally capable of tending

its own herds - unless they are very large - and fulfilling the domestic duties of the puna without assistance.

Except in circumstances where, because of their adaptation to different altitudes, it is impossible to keep animals of different species on the same estancia, a household's herds are generally herded together. Thus on estancias with both high and low pastures, a household's alpacas and sheep may be kept successfully side by side. Under such circumstances a household with one or more fit adults and few outside commitments is capable of caring for them unaided. The animals are driven out in the morning to grazing areas most suited to their feeding requirements. These are not usually far from the estancia buildings, and may be within sight. While a certain amount of time may be spent in watching the animals, vigilance is not constant, so that a single person may move between a herd of alpacas and llamas and a flock of sheep, as well as returning to the estancia buildings where cattle may be grazing.

It is only during alpaca lambing, from January to March, that constant vigilance is considered vital to prevent the predation of newly born animals by foxes and pumas. At this time a household's children are on holiday from school and the whole family frequently spends its time in the puna looking after its animals as well as shearing them. At other times the animals are left to wander and, due to their strong herding tendency,⁴ and closeness to the estancia, little harm comes to them. In the evening the animals either return themselves or are brought back into the safety of the corrals adjacent to the estancia buildings. Each household has its own corrals, where the animals are under the watchful eye of the household's dogs as well as its human occupants. Because of the length of time spent there by the herds during the hours of darkness,

considerable deposits of manure accumulate and are used in agriculture, or sold to others for the same purpose.

Exceptions to the relative independence of a household in the care of its herds are caused by two main factors. In the first place certain estancias are only suited to particular animal species, usually either alpacas and llamas or sheep and cattle. Under such circumstances a household which owns a combination of these animals must have access to two estancias in different locations. Some households (mostly those with extensive holdings of various species), have access to more than one estancia as a result of the inheritance of both partners to a marriage. Such households are usually obliged to employ one - or even two - shepherds to care for their dispersed herds. Others, particularly where a wife's small holding of stock is concerned, leave those animals not suited to the household's estancia in the care of parents or other relatives. Such arrangements are usually amongst the least formal employed in shepherding, with payments made on an al partir (or sharecropping) basis.

The second reason for the increased dependence of herding households on others is their temporary or permanent absence from the puna. If the size of a household's herds make self-sufficiency impossible, or if it wishes to diversify its economy into other activities, some of its members must leave the puna on a long-term basis. Alternatively, the need to care for children attending school in the village invariably forces a woman to move to the village, leaving her husband to cope with all the daily problems of the livestock. Even for those households who have no interests outside of their herds, there is the inevitable need to make trips for shopping or the visiting of relatives in the village, Huancayo

or Lima. Although, in many cases, it is possible to leave someone behind in charge of the animals, at other times all household members may be absent.

Long-term absence from the puna usually entails the employment of a shepherd to care for a household's herds. For many households such an arrangement is formal, with a number of shepherds coming from outside the community and being paid in cash for their services. For others, though, where a brother or sister remains in the puna, animals may be left in their care, usually on a sharecropping basis.

Short term absences are most often covered by informal arrangements between the households resident on a single estancia - most often relatives. Under such circumstances, a relative may be asked to drive animals out to graze in the morning and see that they are safely shut into their corrals at night. They may also milk cows and make cheeses, for which they will receive a half share of the cheeses made, while the duties of vigilance are most often carried out on a reciprocal basis.

Division of labour in herding

In the past the task of routine herding was assigned to children, thus enabling both parents to engage in other tasks involved in the daily life of the puna, such as spinning, weaving and knitting, child care and meal preparation, as well as larger jobs, such as the journeys made for barter and the slaughter of livestock for sale or consumption. In recent years, though, with increased school attendance of the majority of children, herding has become the job of children past school age, or of adults. It is even possible that the level of vigilance over herds has never

recovered from its dependence upon children and that, in their absence, the attention which the herds receive is restricted by the time which adults are willing, or able, to devote to them.

Although this job is now performed by both men and women, it is most commonly a woman's task. She will take her youngest children with her and spend the day in spinning or knitting while she watches the herds, moving between the various species. Men may also spin, but more commonly they spend their time in plying wool or plaiting it to make the ropes and halters used in herding.

The other tasks associated with herding have a more rigid division of labour associated with them. Shearing is almost exclusively a man's job, although a woman commonly holds the animal while he works. In addition the slaughter and butchering of large herd animals is done by men, while both the preparation of the meat for charqui (dried meat) and the slaughter of small animals is women's work.⁵

In terms of the elaboration of woollen goods, spinning is most often done by women. It is the most laborious of all the jobs associated with making woollen goods and is easily compatible with the long periods of time which many puna women spend walking the ranges or watching their herds. Plying, which is far less skilled and a relatively quick job is generally performed by men whose greater height makes for a faster rate of work.⁶ The weaving of the finished wool is exclusively a male task. This, according to Tomasinos, is because of the great weight of the Andean backstrap loom which exerts tremendous pressure on the base of the spine. However, in other parts of the Andes women do weave with the indigenous loom (Flores 1979). Thus men make all the sacks for barter and their own



10. Alpacas at the shearing of the community's cooperative
11. Alpaca being sheared

use, as well as blankets, ponchos and smaller articles such as saddle bags and scarves. Although the work is sedentary, tying the man to his loom in the estancia (or sometimes village) patio, it is a relatively short job in comparison with spinning or even plying. Women, on the other hand, carry out all the hand knitting for their families. This work, like that of spinning is time consuming, but relatively portable, so that it is easily carried by a woman out herding.

Table 8. Labour used in shearing: data for 16 households

Type of labour employed	Number of cases of shearing	Average number shearing	Average number of animals sheared
Household only	13	1.8	20
Household and shepherd	7	5.0	50
Household and others	2	2.5	58
Household, shepherd and others	3	5.0	93
Only outsiders	2	2.5	55
Total cases	27	3.4	55

Only at particular times of the year may additional labourers be necessary to fulfill the major tasks of shearing and dipping. Even so, certain households with relatively small herds or adult children within the household, are able to fulfill such tasks unaided. In a detailed survey of twenty households ⁷ in which households were asked what labour they had used for shearing, in 13 out of 27 cases of shearing both alpacas and sheep informants said that only household labour had been used (see Table 8).⁸ This was either the man and woman or the father and son. Of the remaining 14 cases five had relied on related but non-household labour, the sixth - a single woman - had been helped by a wool dealer who subsequently bought the clip and the seventh, who used by

far the largest labour force of all the households questioned, employed both related and unrelated peones. Two more worked only with their shepherd, while three involved a combination of household members, shepherds and relatives. The only cases in which no household labour was used at all both concern an elderly woman living alone who took no part in the shearing of her own animals. In this case, though, as in the others, the contribution which women make to such labour intensive tasks in the form of the preparation of meals has not been included.

In spite of the fact that the majority of households used relatives in their shearing, there was not usually a stated preference for using them. The most usual comment, when asked which type of person was best for shearing, was "one who works hard". Nor did their use affect the type of payment made in the majority of cases. By and large, the relatives used were younger men, often unmarried, or professional peones or labourers. Payments were made in wool or cash, often according to the preference of the employee. In only one of the cases examined were relations of reciprocal labour used, nor did people see them as important in the economy of Tomas. This situation contrasts strongly with that found by other researchers who describe reciprocal relations of labour as being fundamental to the labour process (Alberti and Mayer 1974).

In the table the differences in average numbers of animals sheared indicate that it is those households with fewest animals which have the least need for outside labour. However, while that may be true on average, in particular cases the reasons for the use of outside labour may vary considerably. It is therefore useful to look at a number of individual cases in greater detail so that the type of factors which influence the decision whether or not to employ outside labour can be

more clearly understood.

1. Rigoberto and Eufrasia sheared their animals without outside assistance, in spite of having some 60 sheep and 8 llamas to clip. They are a young couple who live exclusively in the puna with their three young children and Rigoberto's ageing mother. They use the wool from their llamas to make sacks for barter in the Mantaro valley, while they sell all their sheep wool. They also cultivate fields in the village which is only two hours away from their estancia on foot or horseback. Rigoberto also earns small amounts of money from his weaving, both on the Andean backstrap loom and a rustic European one which he has erected in his patio. Their income is small and their lives remain closely linked to the routines of animal husbandry in the puna which, since they have so far refused to bring their eldest child to school in the village, remains their permanent home. As a consequence, they did not see the time which they had to spend on their shearing as a great burden, nor did they have the cash or surplus product to pay for outside help.

2. Jaime and Inez have sizeable herds of both alpacas and sheep to clip (104 sheep and 60 alpacas). However, they are also established traders, travelling between the village, the puna and Huancayo to buy and sell wool, meat and consumer goods. Their older children are at school in the village and they employ a shepherd to care for their herds. Because of the limited time which they have on their hands when the wool trade is at its peak and because of their considerable cash income, they chose to employ seven men and one woman, some of them relatives, but most of them professional peones, to work on

their shearing with them. All of these people were paid in cash, as well as a meal and coca and alcohol which were freely distributed. A second woman, a close relative, worked with Inez in the kitchen and was not paid for her help.

Dependency on outside labour would thus appear to be related to a number of factors operating within the organisation of the individual household. Of these the most important are: size of herd, number and composition of the household labour force and the extent of other occupations in which the household engages. Although, as the case studies show, none of these factors determines the type or extent of outside labour used, in combination they can be seen to have a clear influence on the strategy used and are therefore a measure of the dependency of the household on outside labour.

The requirements for labour in other tasks, such as slaughter and milking, are usually within the capacity of the members of the household unless they live away from the puna. As noted earlier, both these tasks require a person of the appropriate sex so that a single male householder usually employs a female relative who lives close by to come and milk his cows each day, while a widow will usually look for a male relative or neighbour to slaughter one of her herd animals.

If a household finds itself unable to carry out its own milking, either temporarily, or because it lives permanently in the village, it becomes very dependent upon the honesty of the woman whom it employs to milk and make cheese. As a result the person chosen is most often a close relative: such a person receives a half share of the milk or cheeses for the job. Of the nine households in the survey which owned cows, five used



12. Milking in Churura after the harvest
13. Making cheese from cow's milk

household labour for milking while the remainder relied on the labour of a close female relative (mother, daughter or first cousin). Moreover, when asked what type of person was most suitable for this kind of work, the need for a close relative who could be trusted was the most often voiced reply.

The slaughter of large herd animals in Tomas is a periodic occurrence which demands the labour of one or two men. Animals are not slaughtered in large numbers as happens in other parts of the highlands (Webster 1973) but killed individually as the need for cash or meat arises. In cases where a male member of the household is unable to slaughter an animal, a neighbour is most often asked to do so and is paid in meat or cash. However, since the slaughter and butchering of a single animal is not a very large job and is, in any case, one which may be carried out when the time is available, the use of non-household labour is not usual.

The use of shepherds

As may be seen from the descriptions of shearing and milking above, a household's dependence on outside labour increases considerably as it involves itself in other occupations and spends less time in the puna. When a household leaves the puna on a more-or-less permanent basis it is frequently obliged to employ a shepherd household to care for its animals. Shepherds have been a feature of the pastoral economy in Tomas since at least the eighteenth century,⁹ but in recent times, following the increase in the numbers of households resident in the village, the mines and elsewhere, it is probable that there has been a considerable increase in their use.

All households which spend time away from the puna risk losing their herds to predation and theft, even over relatively short periods of time. Only the poorest households, which do not have the capital to employ a shepherd and without a relative who will help out, leave their animals unattended. Miners and other migrants who have retained their herds, as well as traders, government employees and other village residents, invariably employ a shepherd on a permanent basis in an effort to safeguard their interest in the puna.¹⁰ However, it was repeatedly stated that shepherds were not considered to be trustworthy: either they neglected their employer's herds, or else they actually stole them - with the result that few people's herds prospered in the hands of a shepherd and many, in fact, declined.

The way in which many young Tomasino households become shepherds in order to establish a herd has been mentioned earlier. There are also a number of outsiders amongst the shepherds in the community. Such professional shepherds most often come from the Huancayo side of the watershed, or from Huancavelica. They are allowed by the community to keep a small number of their own animals on communal lands. In many cases households permanently employing shepherds and with the capital to do so, prefer such "professionals", since the conditions of employment tend to be formal and more easily enforced than in more casual arrangements.

Individual contracts, however, vary in accordance with many factors which include the size and species of the herd, the relationship between the two parties and the personal preference of each. Some formal contracts involve a limited period of employment, and a shepherd may have one or a number of animal species to attend, dependent upon the location of the estancia. The type of payment also varies in accordance with the

contract, and may take the form of a monthly wage, an annual sum per head of stock or half of the offspring born each year (al partir). Because of the large number of variables, contracts tend to be unique and the best method of describing them is through individual cases.

1. Fortunato and Lola are both in their seventies and now spend little time in the puna. They have considerable herds which have enabled them to educate all three of their natural children to university level and to buy a house in Huancayo which they share with them for part of the year. In 1980 their herds were being tended by their adopted "daughter" (who is actually Lola's younger half sister through her father) and her husband, although they had employed a man "contracted from the valley" until 1979. They pay the shepherd household s/.4000 (£6.67)¹¹ per month for the care of their 136 alpacas, 21 llamas and 7 cows, while they have an al partir arrangement for their 289 sheep. In addition they give them certain basic foodstuffs such as rice, sugar and flour, cigarettes, coca and aguardiente (cane alcohol), on a periodic basis.

For their part the shepherds, Hilda and Abel, are a young family trying to build up their own herds. They are both the orphans of Tomasino families, who had no inheritance. Abel works as a builder of estancia houses when the opportunity arises, as well as taking contracts to weave sacks for barter. They had been working as shepherds for four years, three of them on an al partir basis before they came to work for Hilda's adoptive "parents".

The relationship between the two households is one of subordination on the part of Hilda, who had had none of the status or education of

her three step-siblings. Neither is it likely that she and Abel will receive anything in the form of inheritance from her step parents. When speaking of them Lola described them as "average shepherds", and said that they lost animals and allowed foxes to take the young or for them to drown. She even commented that "they hadn't told the truth" about recent losses: that they really "hid the animals".

2. Berta and Carlos have no wool bearing animals, but do have sixteen cows. Since they spend most of their time in the village where she runs an intermittent vegetable business and he, who is a retired carpenter, works their fields, they have a herdsman to tend their cows. He is an unmarried man from Huancavelica who was originally employed by Berta's father. After a row, her father dismissed him and Berta took him on. They are not a wealthy household and it would seem that the arrangement presented itself as being rather advantageous to them. In fact they do not pay him any regular wages, but supply all his needs and occasionally give him "pocket money". As he is a simple man who, after twelve years in Tomas where only Spanish is spoken, is still happier speaking his native Quechua, and has no family, this arrangement suits him. He fulfills whatever task is set him and is content to remain almost permanently alone in their puna estancia. He does not milk the cows for the household, though, since this is considered women's work. When he is alone in the puna with them, Berta's cousin who lives nearby, comes to milk them each day. She also makes the cheeses and is given one litre of milk each day in return for her services.

In spite of his small cost to the household and his subservience,

Berta still sees her herdsman as inefficient. Over Christmas 1979, when he was alone with the cows on the estancia, two were stolen and never recovered. He also sometimes allows the calves to suckle the cows before they have been milked. In spite of his shortcomings, though, it would be difficult for Berta to find another herdsman to work under such an arrangement.

Productivity in pastoralism

The main products of the animal herds are wool, meat and milk products as well as guano used in agricultural production. Although a certain proportion of these products is directly consumed by the herding household, a large percentage, particularly of wool and meat, is sold or bartered, and thus represents the single most important source of cash, as well as providing access to the produce of the lower agricultural zones in the region, for the majority of herding households.

Although the level of productivity varies considerably between households dependent upon the location and quality of their estancia, the health and number of their animals and the ability of the domestic group as a labouring unit to protect and manage their herds, production data can be estimated on the basis of government censuses, communal records and my own data collection. In the following discussion, therefore, I have summarised production averages for all the main products of pastoralism.

i. wool. As has been noted, the sheep kept in Tomas are hardy crossbreds whose ability to survive the harsh climate and poor grazing of the puna is coupled with low levels of productivity in both wool and carcase weight. Average wool production per head of unimproved stock is some four

pounds.¹² Since almost all sheep, with the exception of the current year's lambs, are sheared annually, about 85% of the total herd may be expected to be sheared. In the shearing of 1979-80 the price being paid for such crossbred (corriente) wool was s/.130 (£0.22) per pound, thus giving a cash wool value per sheep at s/.422 (£0.74).

Although the quality of alpaca stock kept in Tomas is relatively high (in comparison with herds in areas such as Huancavelica), poor management and restricted grazing take a toll on their productivity. Wool production varies from six to eight pounds per animal, dependent upon age and sex, but may be averaged out at 6.5 pounds. Ideally, only half the herd is sheared each year in order to give the coat two years of length and weight before it is sold.¹³ In the shearing season of 1980 the prices of white and coloured alpaca wool were s/.850 and s/.700 per pound respectively,¹⁴ which gives a cash wool value per alpaca of s/.2568 (£4.28), assuming a 60-40 distribution of stock between white and coloured animals, which is the norm. Llamas which are sheared at the same time as alpacas, give only approximately four pounds of coarse "hair". This had a market price of some s/.400 (£0.67) in 1980. However, in Tomas those households which still keep llamas use their wool in the manufacture of costales or sacks for their barter in the Mantaro valley and the high jungle, and the raw wool is rarely sold.

ii. Milk and cheese. The yields of milking cows vary considerably according to the season, availability of water and grazing as well as the age of the calf which the cow is feeding. In March, a cow which has calved in January and is receiving a good supply of food and water in the puna may yield twice as much as it does in July or August, when supplies

of food and water are poor, and by October it will probably be dry. It is therefore difficult to make general statements about milk yields. However, during June, when the milking cows have been brought down to feed on the stubble of the harvested fields and have reasonably good supplies of food and water, average yields are two to three litres per day, with six litres needed to make a cheese of one kilogramme. Families with young children also keep back about half a litre a day as milk, although older people rarely consume fresh milk. Later in the year, the same cows are yielding only half that quantity of milk, which reduces cheese production by a similar amount. Although almost all households with cows consumed a proportion of their own cheeses, there was also a market for them in Tomas itself, and in the Yauricocha mines where each one kilogramme cheese sold for s/.450 (£0.75). However, since it is generally only the wealthier households which own cows in any numbers, cheese production does not generally offer a viable alternative to wool production in terms of generating cash for the poorer households in the community.¹⁵

iii.meat. In 1980 the sale prices for alpacas and sheep on the hoof averaged s/.9000 and s/.6000 respectively (£15.00 and £10.00 respectively). Since in a stable herd whose owners are not trying to expand its absolute size, the annual cull is approximately 25% for both species,¹⁶ it is possible to estimate the levels of potential cash income from the sale of culled stock at s/.2250 per head of alpacas and s/.1500 per head of sheep. However, since most households with sufficient stock consume as many as six alpacas and 12 sheep themselves during the year, this figure by no means represents the cash sum which households may have at their disposal from the sale of live animals.

Table 9. Estimated pastoral production per household based on size of animal holdings: 1979 data

WOOL PRODUCTION

Number of pounds produced	Number of households producing		
	SHEEP	ALPACAS	LLAMAS
0- 250	55 (41.0)	77 (62.6)	88 (97.7)
251- 500	42 (31.3)	34 (27.6)	2 (2.2)
501- 750	23 (17.2)	10 (8.1)	
750-1000	14 (10.5)	2 (1.6)	
TOTAL	134 (100.0)	123 (100.0)	90 (100.0)

MEAT PRODUCTION

Total cull	Number of households producing		
	SHEEP	ALPACAS	LLAMAS
0-20	61 (45.1)	81 (65.8)	87 (96.6)
21-40	43 (31.8)	31 (25.2)	3 (3.3)
41-60	18 (13.3)	9 (7.3)	
61-80	11 (8.9)	2 (1.6)	
81 & over	1 (0.9)		
TOTAL	134 (100.0)	123 (100.0)	90 (100.0)

CHEESE PRODUCTION

Number of cheeses/ week	Number of households producing	
3- 5	25 (31.6)	
6- 8	21 (26.6)	
9-13	13 (16.5)	
14-17	5 (6.3)	
18-21	7 (8.9)	
22-25	3 (3.8)	
26 & over	5 (6.3)	
TOTAL	79 (100.0)	

The greater value of cattle make their sale a more unusual event than that of other herd animals, nor are they ever slaughtered for domestic use. Only young bulls are sold at three or four years old, either for

slaughter in Huancayo or for use as oxen in the agricultural valleys. All cows are retained for milk production. However, the high rate of accidents to cattle in the rugged puna terrain and the poor quality of the cattle bred mean that it is difficult for a household to increase its herd or improve production to any great extent.

In Table 9 levels of animal productivity are given in terms of the size of animal holding per household in Tomas. The table demonstrates the great differentiation which is evident in pastoral production between households with small and large animal holdings. A direct comparison may be made between this and Table 4 in the previous chapter to show the levels of animal holding which are comparable with these production levels. The wider spread of households producing more sheep wool is an indication of the larger number of sheep which are normally kept in a herd. Numbers of cattle sold for slaughter have not been included since they are difficult to estimate with any accuracy. Moreover, because of the small numbers kept, numbers sold are relatively low and represent an occasional windfall rather than a steady source of income for the majority of cattle-owning households.

The data are categorised solely in terms of the total production of wool, culled animals and cheeses. The extent to which individual households consume what pastoral products they produce, barter them for agricultural produce either on their estancia or in the Mantaro valley and the high jungle, or sell them for cash depends upon a large number of variables which are combined differently for each individual household. In the above table, therefore, which is concerned with levels of productivity per se, the extent of cash incomes are excluded, leaving them for further discussion in the next chapter which is more directly concerned with

levels of household consumption, agricultural independence and involvement in the cash economy of the region.

Trading networks

Whilst the group of relatives and neighbours with whom an individual household has relations in connection with the routine care and production activities involved in herding varies in accordance with the factors discussed above, all must involve themselves with the network of wool and meat traders which operates in the puna and in Huancayo. In addition, involvement in the barter relations which pastoralists have with the Mantaro valley and the high jungle, often entails networks of kin and friendship, although the formation of bonds of compadrazgo or fictive kinship is no longer common.

Wool and meat traders, whose role will be discussed in greater detail in section 3, form an integral part of the pastoral economy of Tomas. During shearing they gather up the wool from a number of households and take it to the Huancayo warehouses. At other times of the year they may also buy meat from households which are selling off a surplus of animals and take it to the mines, to Huancayo and even to Lima. However, because the government is making efforts to control the sale of meat, this trade is largely private and on a small scale.

Although some outside acopiadores (literally "gatherers") and a few big wool dealers make the trip to Tomas during shearing, many of the wool dealers are native Tomasinos who travel between the estancias of a known group of acquaintances who sell directly to them. They buy in cash or goods, dependent upon the preference of the sellers, bringing them rice,

flour, sugar, noodles and other basic necessities from Huancayo. On the other hand, a household which cannot find the price it wants in the puna will take its goods to a crossroads or railhead and sell them there.¹⁷ Still others prefer to take their clip, or the fleeces of one or two animals which it has slaughtered for urgently needed cash, to the dealers or the markets in Huancayo and sell it direct. In such cases their involvement with the trading networks is direct to the city dealers with whom certain households have established relations of compadrazgo.

In conclusion, then, the opportunity structure of pastoralism in Tomas may be summarised in the following terms. On the one hand, as the major aspect of the community's economy, it is open to the majority of the population. Most individuals inherit at least some herd animals and, if they own them, they have access to the community's pastures. There is also the possibility of building up a herd through work as a shepherd, which means that a household undertaking such work can establish itself as an independent unit without the need for access to cash. Once established, the majority of households are able to maintain the productivity of their herds largely on the basis of their own labour, perhaps with recourse to outside help at the busiest times of the year. With adequate herds, then, a household is able to operate as a unit largely independent of others.

On the other hand, a household must have above a critical minimum of animals¹⁸ in order to be economically independent of other activities. The communal control of pastoralism and the number of households occupying the puna grazing constitute a serious constraint to the expansion of a herding enterprise. Also the poor quality of much of the

livestock, its fragility in a harsh environment, the risks of theft and predation, as well as low levels of veterinary skill available to pastoralists, make both the expansion of herd size and sometimes even the maintenance of a viable herd difficult for certain households. The dependence of the pastoral household on market trade or barter to secure much of its daily needs and the distance of the markets for both wool and meat, the control of much of the trade by intermediaries and government controls on the sale of meat, also make the realisation of capital a problem in some cases. Finally, because of the lack of all modern comforts, the remoteness and harsh climate of the puna, mean that the life of a pastoralist is both hard and boring and, in recent times, is not often endured for long periods by younger Tomasinos.

Having said this, though, the benefits which accrue from pastoralism to the household willing or able to maintain the life of the puna is the regular cash supply and, in case of need, a respaldo which is relatively easily convertible into cash in far smaller units than the ownership of land allows. Wool, the main product of herding in Tomas, enjoys a reasonably stable price on the international market and is, in any case relatively storable, both on the back of the animal and, if it is dry, in a warehouse until prices improve.¹⁹ The herds themselves can be left in the care of a single person on a daily basis, or in the hands of a shepherd for longer periods, freeing at least one household member to engage in other economic activities. As a result, pastoralism offers a sound economic base for those households with adequate herds and, while communal constraints make it impossible to expand animal holdings beyond a certain point, they can offer a firm foundation for the diversification of the domestic economy.

7.2. The role of agriculture

The limited area of arable land in the valley zone surrounding the village is the only other productive resource in Tomas which remains in the hands of the community. Arable farming is, therefore, a secondary aspect of the economies of certain comunero households. Because of the limited area suitable for the cultivation of crops, however, arable farming is of far less importance in the majority of cases.

The data for 1976 presented in Chapter 6 show that only 31% of comunero households were cultivating crops, compared with 56% who owned herd animals at that time. Moreover, few, if any, households are self-sufficient in any crop due, in the main, to the small areas of arable land available for cultivation and the poor productivity of the land. Production is therefore reserved almost exclusively for household consumption and, in many cases, the gifts which are sent to close relatives in the mines and cities. In addition, a certain quantity may be kept back for seed, although most households buy in seed every two to three years in order to maintain levels of productivity.

Only households with limited alternative income sources, or those with relatively large arable production, sell any of their harvest. In one case, for instance, a household with no wool-bearing animals which depended on its cows and a small vegetable business for its livelihood, sold a proportion of their early potato crop at the community's May Fair. Another household, which has a considerable arable holding, uses its crops to supply the restaurant which it owns. This household, however, is a fairly wealthy one and well able to produce a surplus. It farms the arable lands of several of the husband's siblings and has a good holding

in the small areas of privately owned fields which surround the village, as well as considerable herds, a shop and the restaurant. It is not common for households to be able to provide themselves with sufficient potatoes for the whole year. Even the household which had sold part of its crop at the fair, had bought in potatoes the previous year.

Although there are a number of privately owned fields in the immediate vicinity of the village, the bulk of the community's arable lands are communally owned and controlled. According to the communal statutes, all comunero households have the right to cultivate crops on communally held lands and the right to sufficient lands in the seven cultivation zones to maintain their production throughout the seven-year cycle which the community controls. It is the obligation of the Junta Directiva to redistribute agricultural lands "in accordance with the needs of individual households" on an annual basis (Reglamento de La Comunidad de Tomas 1963: article 23). However, such revisions are not carried out as a matter of course and no reference to such a policy could be found in the community's archives. As a result, even communally owned lands are informally "inherited" by the children of a household in the majority of cases.

Those households which, for historical reasons own private arable land,²⁰ have complete control over their production. Although it was not possible to obtain exact data on the distribution of privately owned arable lands, it is clear from data gathered from the sixteen households in my survey who were cultivating land in Tomas that nine of these had private lands in the village. They had mostly been inherited though, in one case, they were purchased from the community. However, the area concerned in each case is small and does not greatly affect a household's

productivity. Also, as a result of the poorly developed market for land in the community, it has not been generally possible for individual households to accumulate land on any scale.

Table 10. The acquisition of arable lands: data for 16 households

	Source of land:				
	Inherited communal land	Inherited private land	Awarded by community	Belonging to a relative	Outside Tomas
No. of house- holds	14	9	9	7	2

There are several mechanisms through which access to arable lands is obtained by comunero households in Tomas which are described in Table 10. In the first place, in the absence of a coherent policy of redistribution by the Junta Directiva, the communal lands of many households are passed from parents to children as though they were privately owned, which means that many newly formed households receive at least a few fields on their marriage. In addition, a household may inherit privately owned lands from its parents or buy them, if the opportunity arises. A household which then finds itself with insufficient lands may, on the one hand, ask for more from the community or, on the other, it may be in a position to plant fields belonging to a relative. In the latter case the relative is generally a close one who has left the community and is thus no longer in a position to work the land for her or himself. Of the seven cases which were considered by the questionnaire, three were worked on a sharecropping basis, three were loaned with all the produce being for the recipient family and one was rented from the relative.

The annual labour cycle of arable farming, unlike that of pastoralism, involves periods of intensive labour with slack intervals between them. It is not therefore necessary for a household cultivating land to be resident in the village all year round. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 6, several miners who work and live in Yauricocha but have retained anualista status, cultivate a few fields. On the other hand, when a task must be fulfilled, the short time available considering the weather, community restrictions on times for planting and harvest, and the heavy burden of labour involved, dictate that few households find it possible to be self-sufficient in all tasks. Because of the small scale and rugged condition of the fields, only simple hand tools such as the chaqui taclla and the azadon are used: there is no mechanisation and even animals are only used in transportation.

Much of the heavy labour involved in agriculture is done by men. While single women may occasionally be seen clearing the land for the commencement of a new cultivation cycle, such work is generally considered too heavy for a woman. Men and women work side by side in planting, with the man turning the soil while the woman plants a potato in the hole from those which she carries in her apron and treads the soil back into place. Other routine tasks, such as weeding and the hoeing up of potatoes may be carried out by either sex, but are most often undertaken by men. The harvest is invariably a family affair, with husband and wife being accompanied by their children in the rewarding, though laborious, job of bringing in the household's supply of vegetables.

Whilst the sexual division of labour is not absolute, with both men and women fulfilling all the tasks involved in agriculture where necessary,



14. Harvesting in Churura

15. Sorting a crop of ollucos in village patio

it does affect the degree to which outside labour is used by the majority of households. Because of the intensity of agricultural production periods, only those households with the smallest commitment to production or those without the resources of money or time to recompense non-household labour, do not use it (see Table 11). Moreover, in households which have both male and female adult members, non-household labour is most often used in those tasks which are usually carried out by men. Thus the task for which most non-household labour is used is the heaviest: land clearance. In planting, which is a joint male-female task, only a few households use outside labour, while the periodic tasks such as the hoeing up of potatoes and weeding may be done by the man alone or with other male help. The harvest is, even in the cases of the most capitalised producers, invariably done by the whole household, though sometimes with the help of outsiders, particularly where the producers are elderly or fairly well off.

Methods of payment vary in accordance with the nature of the relationship between the two parties, as well as the work which is being undertaken. In the majority of cases in the sample, payments were made in cash with food, coca and alcohol provided during the period of work. Only in one case was no food provided, and this was by a household which had a diverse domestic economy, as well as extensive agricultural interests and sold a part of its harvest. On the other hand, a small number of households which worked together with their close relatives, employed reciprocal labour exchange known as ullay in Tomas. Of the number of labour contracts recorded for the sixteen households in the sample, in 27 the labourers were paid in cash with food and coca, in four cases only money was paid and in five ullay was used.

Table 11. Labour contracts involved in agricultural production of 16 households in 1979-80

	Land clearance	Planting	Hoeing & weeding	Harvest
Household only	5	8	7	10
Household and relatives				
cash	-	-	-	-
cash, food and coca	3	2	-	-
crop	-	-	-	4
<u>ullay</u>	1	2	-	2
Household and <u>peones</u>				
cash	-	-	-	-
cash, food and coca	2	3	2	-
crop	-	-	-	1
<u>ullay</u>	-	-	-	-
Relatives only				
cash	-	-	-	-
cash, food and coca	-	-	1	-
crop	-	-	-	-
<u>ullay</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>Peones</u> only				
cash	1	1	1	-
cash, food and coca	5	-	5	-
crop	-	-	-	-
<u>ullay</u>	-	-	-	-

The nature of the contract depends upon the type of person employed by an agriculturalist as well as the access which the household has to a cash income. In the case of ullay, the relation is established between two households which are closely related in social and, perhaps, economic terms. Thus, a household which had free access to cash used ullay in the case of working with the woman's sister, because the two couples were good friends and wished to reinforce their relationship. At the other extreme, a household which paid its labourers exclusively in cash (see Case Study no.4), preferred non-relatives as that made the arrangement simpler for the contracting household.²¹

Those households which used peones, but paid them in food, coca and alcohol or in harvest, used both relatives and non-relatives, depending on personal preference and the availability of people free to work on the appointed day. Whilst there is a group of known older men, most of whom are married, who work as peones on a regular basis, many are young unmarried men who have not been able to establish a herding base for themselves and are generally at a loose end in the village and eager to earn a little cash. Although many households stated a preference for using relatives, in several cases those who worked on the fields were only conocidos (acquaintances). Indeed, it appears that most households form long-term relations with people who regularly work for them as peones, whether these are relatives or not and whether they are native Tomasinos or are amongst the small group of itinerant day labourers who travel from village to village in the area, working for known employers. The types of people who become peones and the relations which they have with their employers will be discussed in greater detail in the section on wage labour later in the chapter. However, since each household is as highly individual in its production strategy as it is in the problems with which it must cope, the ways in which household and non-household labour are combined in individual instances is best illustrated through the use of individual cases.

1. Aristedes and Gregoria are primarily pastoralists who live in the puna. However, their estancia is one of the closest to the village, being only two hours' walk away, and they are able to cultivate a few fields (they cultivated approximately 625 metres in 1976). Although they have a fairly large family, only their adult daughter, Zoila, who spends much of her time in the village with her young children,

is free to help in the productive tasks of the household on a regular basis. Gregoria spends nearly all her time in the puna with their herds of sheep and milking cows while Aristedes travels down to the village to work with Zoila on their fields. In 1979 they employed four peones to carry out the land clearance for the new arable cycle. These men were not relatives and they were paid in cash for their work as well as receiving food, coca and alcohol. On the other hand, Aristedes and Zoila undertook the planting without help. Again the tasks of weeding and hoeing were carried out by peones on the same basis as that for land clearance, while father and daughter alone brought in their harvest. Together they brought in some 19 sacks of potatoes, eight of oca, olluco and mashua and three of beans, in a total of twelve days. (This case is dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter.)

2. Maria lives in the puna caring for her animals with her aged mother, while her brother, Geremias, works in Yauricocha. Being close to the village she, too, is able to cultivate crops with the help of some of her relatives. She worked on the land clearance with Geremias and two other male relatives on the basis of ullay. The planting was carried out in a similar fashion, except in this case one of the other two relatives was their sister. Maria and Geremias worked together on the hoeing and weeding, while in the harvest they worked reciprocally with both of their married sisters (with whom Maria lives closely), the husband of one of them and a female relative who was paid for her work with ^a portion of the harvest. In this way they harvested some sixteen sacks of potatoes and eight of oca, olluco and mashua.

3. Emilio and Fransisca live in the village where he is a miner in Dinamarca. Although they have a large family, all their children are either of school age or else have left Tomas in search of work. In spite of his job and the time which they must spend tending their animals, Emilio and Fransisca manage to cultivate a small area of fields without recourse to outside help. Alone they undertook land clearance, planting and weeding of their fields. Only during the harvest were they helped by the older of their children still resident in the house. However, the crop which they harvested was small by comparison with other households, being only ten sacks of potatoes and six of oca and olluco. (This case is dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter.)

4. Arcenio and Austrahilda are amongst the biggest agricultural producers in Tomas. They live in the village where they keep a shop as well as making goods for a craft cooperative in Huancayo. Their animals are left without a shepherd in the puna, although Arcenio or one of their elder children makes frequent trips to see that they are safe. They cultivated more land than any other household in my sample and, except at harvest, they used exclusively peon labour to work it. Unlike all the other cases, they also paid their labourers, who were not related to them, exclusively in cash, giving no food, coca or alcohol during the labour time. Only at harvest did the family work in the fields, and even then they were accompanied by two young nephews who were paid for their labour by a portion of the harvest. They harvested some forty sacks of potatoes, ten of which were quickly sold to other households in the village, as well as eight sacks of oca and olluco and eight of beans.

Thus it would appear that, while a few households are able, or obliged by circumstance, to fulfill all their agricultural tasks for themselves, in the majority of cases households employ outside labour to help with at least some of them. In many cases these are acquaintances or known peones who work for cash or a portion of the harvest as well as food, coca and alcohol. A few households, through preference or the shortage of cash, use reciprocal labour exchange. Only those few households with highly capitalised economies find themselves in a position to use purely capitalist forms of payment.

Productivity in agriculture

Because of the dispersed and irregular nature of agricultural land in Tomas and the lack of a market for its produce, it is extremely difficult to estimate levels of production for potatoes, beans and other locally grown crops. The most complete data which I have on this subject come from the agricultural census carried out in 1976 (Ministerio de Agricultura 1976), which gives projections for crop productivity per 100 square metres of land planted. If the data expressed in Table 3 in the previous chapter are thus expressed in kilogrammes of harvest, the figures given in Table 12 are arrived at.

This shows that the majority (68%) of households which cultivate land in Tomas grow less than 500 kilogrammes of potatoes a year, and that 90% of these harvest less than 250 kilogrammes of ocas, ollucos, mashua and beans. Since average household consumption figures, based on statistics which will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, indicate that the average weekly consumption of potatoes (which is the only crop which is normally purchased when home grown stocks fail) is approximately 10

kilogrammes, it is obvious that in the majority of cases, such supplies would have to be supplemented before the year was out. Moreover, since nearly 70% of households were not cultivating land in the community at that time, less than ten percent of the population would have been in a position to supply all the potatoes which they needed for the year.

Table 12. Estimated agricultural production per household based on area of land cultivated in 1976 (for 78 households)

Number of kg produced	Number of households producing	
	POTATOES	OTHER CROPS
0- 250	0 (0.0)	69 (89.6)
251- 500	53 (67.9)	3 (3.9)
501- 750	12 (15.4)	
750-1000	11 (14.1)	
1000 and over	2 (2.6)	
TOTAL	78 (100.0)	72 (93.5)

Other relationships in agriculture

As may be seen from the cases presented earlier, the relationships which individual households maintain with others in the fulfillment of productive activities form the basis of the most important networks in agriculture. Because of the geographical separation of the two zones, such networks are invariably different from those which they use in pastoral activities.

Other relationships which agriculturalists form are usually of less importance or permanence than those employed in production. They concern the purchase of seed and, for a few, the sale of a portion of the crop. Some households may buy their seed from the itinerant traders who normally bring goods into the village by truck, while others have

friendships with producers in other local villages. However, it is most common for people to either keep their own seed back from their harvest or to travel to Huancayo and buy it from seed merchants there. On the other hand, a few households sell a proportion of their crop to other Tomasinos who either do not produce, or have insufficient to supply their needs. However, such sales are made on a casual basis and may even be carried out through a shop, restaurant or, as in one case mentioned, at the community's May Fair.

In summary, then, it has been noted that the communal ownership of much of the arable land in the community means that all comunero households in need of agricultural land have the right of access to it. In addition many households "inherit" the right to use the lands of their parents, whether these are communal or private and there is a restricted possibility of buying private lands in the area of the village. However, it is the communal nature of land tenure and the low levels of investment needed for the small scale production which make it possible for the poorest of households to involve themselves in agricultural production.

At the other end of the scale the limited extent of arable land and the communal control exerted over much of it, act as restrictions on the expansion of production. Again, other constraints on production - poor soil, lack of irrigation, tiny and inaccessible fields, low levels of technology, both in labour use and crop husbandry - inevitably result in poor yields and the decline in arable production which has been evident over the past half century.

The benefits which a household that makes time for agriculture can expect are thus, a direct source of certain foods, though these are not often

sufficient to see it through the whole year and, in certain cases, a source of cash. Although the scale of the market is extremely limited in comparison with that involved in pastoralism, we have seen that some households do sell part of their crop (though sometimes to the detriment of their own supply), while others are able to benefit from the payments in cash and harvest made to peones who work in agricultural production.

In conclusion agriculture may be seen to play an important role in the economies of certain households, although the majority do not involve themselves in it at all. While the crops which are produced form the basis of the diet of most Tomasinos - whether they produce them for themselves or obtain them through exchange - few households consider agriculture to be a major aspect of their economy. In a question as to the proportion of their time spent in agricultural activities as compared with all other aspects of the domestic economy, the majority of men (8 out of 14) said that agriculture occupied only 20% of their working hours, while more than a third only spent 10% of their time working their fields. Only one spent as much as 40% and he was producing a surplus for sale, having only restricted alternative sources of subsistence. With women the figures were even lower, with several women taking no part in agricultural tasks (though they did prepare meals for the men working in the fields) and only one third expending 20% of their time in agricultural labour. Although these figures are obviously very rough in real terms of the time which these people spend in agricultural tasks, they do reflect their feelings as to the relative importance of this aspect of their domestic economies in comparison with their other commitments.

7.3. Shopkeepers and puna traders

Trade has always been of great importance to Tomas as a result of its remoteness and limited productive base. Although the community's puna is supplied by a number of itinerant traders who buy up meat and live animals in exchange for supplies of basic foodstuffs, many households in the community are dependent upon the shops in the village and puna for their day-to-day purchases. Whilst it is not possible to obtain major items, such as clothing, fabrics, and large household supplies in the village, the small shops do ensure a supply of basic foodstuffs and many household goods which so remote a population would find it hard to come by without them.

Only recently, however, have there been traders native to Tomas in any numbers. These fall into three basic categories. First there are shopkeepers in both the village and puna stations, who sell general goods and operate on a regular daily basis. Secondly, there are a few vegetable sellers, who travel to the city to buy vegetables which they sell once, or perhaps twice, a week. Thirdly, there are the wool and meat traders who travel the puna as well as visiting the village and Huancayo in the conduct of their business. These three types constitute distinct groups among the population and, while there are a certain number of households which engage in more than one form of trade, social and economic characteristics generally vary considerably between them. As a consequence they will be considered separately in the discussion which follows.

Shopkeepers

There are three different types of household which take up shopkeeping. On the one hand a certain number of poorer households with limited animal holdings or other means of support, involve themselves in shopkeeping in order to provide themselves with a small but steady income on a daily basis.²² On the other, some of the wealthier households have taken up shopkeeping as part of a diversified economic strategy. The third group, most of whose shops are located in the puna, may combine periodic shopkeeping with a wool and meat trading business.

Since almost all shops in the village are run by women, with only a few husbands helping out on an occasional basis, shopkeeping enables a household to utilise more of its labour power. Although in many cases of a couple involving themselves in shopkeeping, the man takes much of the responsibility for the purchase of goods from the wholesalers who come to the village, it is the woman who, with her responsibilities for child care and other domestic tasks, finds the casual business of working in the shop most compatible with her other duties. The predominance of women in shopkeeping in the village also means that shops provide an income for a number of single women who are without other economic resources. Thus a group of unmarried women and widows run several of the smaller shops in the village.

The socio-economic background and distribution of household labour of shopkeepers in the village is outlined in Table 13 which sets out the primary and secondary economic activities of the husband and wife in each household involved in shopkeeping. The table shows that only four men involve themselves in shopkeeping as a primary economic activity, while



16. People outside one of the village shops
 17. Vegetable seller in the Plaza del Carmen

three consider it secondary. Thirteen of the fourteen men are involved in pastoralism and/or agriculture, either as a primary or secondary economic activity, whilst five are formally employed and the last is a carpenter. Amongst the women, however, only two of those involved in shopkeeping consider it their principal activity, and these are both single. Of the remaining fifteen, fourteen consider shopkeeping to be secondary to their central occupation which, for all but one of these, is their domestic duties.²³ The extent to which women are involved in shopkeeping demonstrates the degree to which it is undertaken as a secondary aspect of the total domestic economy amongst households with male and female adult members, while the man involves himself in agriculture, pastoralism or is formally employed (in one case the man is also a wool dealer, though the table does not show this). Only those households run by single women see shopkeeping as their central activity, although all of these combine their commerce with the cultivation of fields in the village.²⁴

Table 13. Primary (1) and secondary (2) occupations of households with shops in the village of Tomas

Occupation	Man		Woman	
	1	2	1	2
Shopkeeping	4*	3	2	14
Domestic duties			14	
Pastoralism	3	2		
Agriculture			1	3
Pastoralism & agriculture	1	8		
Public employment	2			
Mine employment	2			
Weaving/knitting	1			
Totals	13	13	17	17

* One also involved in the wool trade.

Table 14 shows parallel data for comuneros with shops in the puna. Their

position varies in comparison with village shop keepers in so far as it is the men, rather than the women who take much of the responsibility for the running of the shop (seven men, as opposed to one woman) and there are no single women in this group. Two men also undertake trade in meat and wool as a secondary activity to their shop business. Moreover, the predominant activity of many of these households is pastoralism, with only two engaging in agriculture, and one man employed in the mines. Once again domestic duties are the most important feature of the woman's economic role and, as many of them have school-age children, they are often obliged to spend part of their time in the village. In addition the women, unlike those engaged in village-based shopkeeping, involve themselves in the herding of the household's animals: an activity which may be seen as complementary to the husband's involvement in trade.

Table 14. Primary (1) and secondary (2) occupations of households with shops in the puna of Tomas

Occupation	Man		Woman	
	1	2	1	2
Shopkeeping	1	6*		2
Domestic duties			5	2
Pastoralism	5		2	2
Agriculture				1
Pastoralism & agriculture		1		
Mine employment	1			
Totals	7	7	7	7

* Two also involved in the trade of wool and meat.

Most village shopkeepers set up in a room of their own house which is most accessible to the street. Whilst some of the houses used as shops are themselves rented from relatives or other people who have left Tomas, in two cases families whose houses are not in an accessible part of the

village rent rooms on the Plaza del Carmen from which they can operate. There is no localisation of types of shops, although those in the most prominent places tend to sell general goods, while specialist shops, such as the one which sells synthetic wools and some clothing, are more remotely located. Those which operate in the puna are restricted to the rooms built by the mine company for its workers in Chaucha and Capillayoc. With the run down of the railway, these were given to the community and are now used by certain comuneros for their puna residences as well as for bases for shops and trading ventures.

The majority of shops operating in the village open for business every day, from early morning until seven or eight at night,²⁵ while they are closed between one and four in the afternoon. However, at times of agricultural activity, some of them are shut for days at a time, though perhaps opening for a couple of hours in the early morning when the bread comes from the bakery. Shops in the puna, which tend to be run as part of a wool and meat trading business, are open on a more sporadic basis. Although they are sometimes run by the woman, she also has commitments to the family herds and possibly her children who are at school in the village. The shop is thus more heavily dependent upon the presence of the man for its business. In one case, which will be dealt with in greater detail later,²⁶ a household with a diversified economy which included wool and meat trade, had two shops, one in the village and the other in Capillayoc in the puna, which were run by the woman according to where she was living at the time.

Most of the shops in the village, as well as those in the puna, deal in essential foodstuffs and basic household needs such as soaps, medicines and kerosene, as well as alcohol and school supplies. Although they may

sometimes buy small quantities of vegetables which the itinerant wholesalers are carrying, or sell part of someone's potato crop, they do not generally deal in vegetables or any fresh foods except bread.²⁷ Besides the general goods stores, there are three specialist shops in the village. The shop which specialises in knitting wools and clothing has already been mentioned. It is run by a single woman who has no other source of income and supplies the village women with yarns for their knitting, since many of them prefer synthetic yarns which are easier to knit and come in bright colours to the drab wools of their own animals. One of the larger shops, run by the wife of the secretary of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal specialises in medicines for human and animal use, as well as carrying a wide range of other pharmaceutical supplies. Another, smaller shop, which carries a limited supply of general goods, also has a stock of shoes which its owners bring in from Huancayo.

Table 15. Inventories for two shops in Tomas: 1980 data

Goods in stock	Value of goods (in £)	
	Shop 1	Shop 2
Foods, drink, sweets, etc	259	321
Hardware	187	100
Stationery	139	13
Medicines and Pharmaceutical	52	21
Clothing	43	-
Total:	680	455

Outline inventories from two of the larger shops in the village are reproduced in Table 15. These data show that, while such shops carry a reasonable stock of basic foodstuffs, as well as medicines and small items of hardware necessary for domestic and agricultural life, the size

and scope of their stock is necessarily limited. As a result people must either send or travel to Huancayo or another city for any item which is out of the ordinary. Moreover, the amount of dust which had accumulated on a large percentage of the stock in shops was an indication of the low rate of turnover in any but the most common items. Perhaps most interesting, though, is the large volume of stationery carried in certain of the shops in Tomas. In the case of Shop 1, it represented some 20% of the total stock, and all other shops in the village carry the basic minimum of pens, pencils, note books and erasers. This emphasis on what are essentially school supplies reflects the large number of school students in the village.

The main sources of supply to the shops in Tomas are the itinerant wholesalers who travel from village to village in the highlands. Although I do not have data on the traders who operate in the puna, in the case of the village, there are three main suppliers who visit on a weekly basis. Two of them, one a Yauyino and the other from Huancachi, bring goods up from Canete and Lima, while the third, a native of Concepcion, brings them from Huancayo. Staples, such as sugar, flour and rice are brought to the village once a month as a part of the government's food supply policy, known as the dotacion ("quota"). Every shop is allotted a certain number of sacks of each from which the population is then supplied at government controlled prices. Indeed, during the period of fieldwork, continuous shortages of these basic foodstuffs were a serious problem and several of the shopkeepers emphasised that one of the main reasons they kept a shop was to ensure that they had access to these supplies of staples.

Bread, which is the only fresh food available in the village on a daily basis, is supplied from the community's bakery which is run by a non-Tomasino. He bakes twice a day, supplying the village with bread and sometimes a few cakes. This is predominately sold in the shops, although some households buy directly from the baker for the same price. In only a few cases, such as that of the shoe shop, do regular shopkeepers travel to Huancayo to buy in the goods which they sell. Regular trips to the city are only made by the two vegetable sellers.

Vegetable sellers

The supply of vegetables in Tomas is restricted by the remoteness of the community from markets or other areas where fresh vegetables are freely available. In spite of the large scale of vegetable production in both the Mantaro and lower Canete valleys, the size of the market in Tomas means that few traders are willing to make the arduous journey carrying bulky and easily perishable goods for small returns. The village is thus supplied by two or three itinerant vegetable sellers who come up by the Lima bus from Canete once, and sometimes twice a week, and two Tomasino women who make the journey to the Huancayo vegetable markets each week.

The women who travel from Canete, arrive on the bus at about 6 o'clock in the mornings of Monday and Wednesday. They spread out their wares, which may include pottery goods made in the lower valley villages, on the ground at the side of the Plaza del Carmen. The small quantities which they bring are soon sold, though, and those who arrive too late must wait until the next trader arrives to buy what they need.

The two Tomasino women both operate from small shops. Both of them travel

to Huancayo over the weekend, taking advantage of the Sunday bus which leaves the city at eleven in the morning, arriving in Tomas at around four in the afternoon. They are then ready to set up their shops for early Monday morning, wasting as little time as possible before they sell their goods. However, like the traders travelling from Canete, they are only able to carry small amounts of vegetables, and the villagers frequently go short of fresh food.

Table 16 shows the value of the vegetables brought to the village by three vegetable sellers in one week. Although they do not account for all the vegetables sold in the village in a week and cannot, therefore, be used as a gauge of the amount of vegetables available to the population, they do offer an insight into the scale of the vegetable trade for those women practising it in the village.

Table 16. Wholesale and retail values of goods brought into Tomas by vegetable sellers (in £ at 1980 prices)

	Vendor 1	Vendor 2	Vendor 3
Wholesale value	25	29	7
Retail value	34	47	10
Mark-up	30%	30%	35%

The first vendor is one of the outsiders who bring vegetables into the village, while vendors two and three are native Tomasinas. For the first two the mark up on their wholesale prices is approximately 30%, while for vendor three, it was 35%.²⁸ However, all these women transport the goods which they sell by bus and must, therefore, take the costs of transport into account (the return fare to Huancayo in 1980 was s/.1250 (£2.08) and carriage on the goods would also have to be paid). Although the non-Tomasina vegetable sellers make their living through the sale of

goods in several villages in the locality, it is clear from the figures that native Tomasinos cannot make such trade their sole source of income. However, the ways in which such activities are combined with pastoral and other forms of employment will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter (Vendor No. 2 is one of the subjects of Case Study No.4).

Wool and meat traders

In contrast to the retail traders of Tomas, the wool and meat dealers are almost exclusively men, and are based largely in the puna. They are all pastoralists and many of them involve themselves little in the village, visiting it only when necessary and carrying out no agriculture. Although they are not among the wealthiest pastoral households, most of them have sizeable herds on which they rely for the capital necessary for investment in their trading ventures. In several cases brothers work together, extending their ability to buy and sell animal products, and transporting them to Huancayo, as well as tending to their herds and other economic enterprises without recourse to outside help.

Although most wool dealers will buy up animal carcasses on occasion, most traders specialise in one or the other product. Each product has its own cycle of activity and its own networks amongst both buyers and sellers, making the two types of trade largely incompatible. Whereas wool, if it is dry, is storable, meat must be carried quickly to the market and, what is more, since such trade is illegal, sold to known and trustworthy buyers. One problem which they both share, however, is that of transport. Although some of the bigger traders own pick-up trucks or lorries, others must rely on the rental of space in other people's vehicles, or scheduled bus and train services for the transport of their goods. Such a reliance

is often a problem for traders, particularly where the clandestine trade of meat is concerned. For instance, one of the few women meat traders finally gave up buying meat after it was repeatedly confiscated by the police who checked the goods carried on the trains arriving in Pachacayo.

Table 17. Primary (1) and secondary (2) occupations of wool and meat traders in Tomas

Occupations	Man		Woman	
	1	2	1	2
Trade	4*	2		1
Domestic duties			5	
Pastoralism	2	3		3
Agriculture		1		
Pastoralism & agriculture	1	1		
Totals	7	7	5	4

* Two also have shops in the community.

Although many pastoralists buy and sell meat and wool on an occasional basis, there are a restricted number of dealers in animal products whose lives revolve around the capitalised markets for these products. Table 17 gives details of the primary and secondary occupations of wool and meat traders in Tomas. Like puna-based shopkeepers, traders are almost entirely involved in the pastoral economy, although three households do cultivate fields in the village. The table also shows the predominance of men in the trade in animal products (the one woman is she to whom I made reference in the previous paragraph, but whose interest is now largely restricted to running the family shops in the puna and village), as well as the existence of single men who operate as puna traders. Although trade in meat or wool is most important to all these households, two also have shops in the community which they use as collecting points for animal products and from which they sell basic foodstuffs and other goods

which puna households need.

There is no specified culling season in Tomas, and meat is traded throughout the year. None of the local traders buy live animals, a trade which is left to dealers from Huancayo who carry or drive herds of sheep and cattle to the slaughterhouses of the city. In this way most households dispose of many of their surplus animals. On the other hand, when a pastoralist needs cash or some supplies, or when he has a problem animal which he wishes to dispose of and cannot use himself, he most often kills the animal for sale as meat. He then sends a message to the trader with whom he usually does business, or carries the carcass to a known trading point in the puna. The local dealers buy up such meat but, because it has not been slaughtered professionally and in government controlled slaughterhouses, it is not legally saleable on the open market. Thus the traders carry the meat to known buyers, in the mines of Yauricocha, the towns and villages of the Mantaro valley, or to Huancayo itself, where they sell it privately.

Unlike meat, wool is almost entirely sold between the months of December and April when the majority of pastoralists shear their herds. This is the time of greatest activity for wool traders and a few buy large quantities of wool from herds throughout the puna of Tomas. Most wool producing households deal with a known trader over a number of years. They will send a message to him with a friend or neighbour to come and buy up their clip. He may even come to the shearing, helping with the work as an insurance that he will be able to buy the wool. However, a household's allegiance to a given trader is not fixed and, if another offers a better price for their wool, they will sell without any qualms. The dealers accumulate the clips of a number of households which they



18. Arranging a wool deal in patio in the village

then transport to the wool factories and warehouses of Huancayo. Like the pastoral households, they too have close relations with the owners of one or two warehouses with whom they mostly deal. If, however, the textile factories are offering a better price for wool, they sell to them.

Table 18. Destination of wool and meat sold by individual households in Tomas in 1979-80 (total 83 households)

Destination	Number of households	
	Wool	Meat

Traders from:		
Tomas	39	24
Other traders	15	26
Sold locally		13
Taken to Huancayo	29	5
For domestic use only	0	11
No sale	0	4
Totals	83	83

Indeed, the wool and meat dealers of Tomas do not have anywhere near a monopoly in the trade of animal products, with competition coming from outside wool dealers and gatherers, as well as from the pastoralists themselves, many of whom carry their own wool into the Huancayo warehouses and factories. Table 18 shows the destination of the wool and meat produced by 83 households. It shows that local traders buy less than half of the clip (47%) and only just over one third of the animals sold as meat (35%) in the community. On the other hand, while it is outside traders who buy up the largest proportion of meat animals (38%), the transport of their own wool to Huancayo constitutes the largest form of competition to the local wool dealers (35%). Since wool forms the single most important transaction undertaken by most of the pastoral households, many feel that the costs and difficulties of the task of carrying their own wool to the Huancayo warehouses and factories are outweighed by the

higher price which they will be paid for their clip.

Partly because of the competition which exists between wool dealers in the puna, it is not the custom for traders to loan money or goods against the purchase of a clip.²⁹ I know of only one such case in Tomas and that concerned a deal made in 1979 between a local trader and the sheep cooperative when s/.100,000 (£167.00) was loaned against the sale of the clip for work on the installation of electricity to the village.

Meat is invariably sold in small amounts, often to traders who travel over the puna with foodstuffs and other basic goods which puna households use. The difference in the price which they will be paid for the small numbers of animals which they sell as meat is not usually worth the cost of travel to the city, unless they have a private arrangement with a known household in the city or the mines. Moreover, the problems involved in driving live animals to the Huancayo markets are such that all live animals are sold to specialised dealers with neither individual households nor local traders involving themselves in such trade.

Incomes from trade

The scale of incomes generated by commerce vary to a considerable extent dependent upon the scope and nature of the trade in which a household is engaged. At the lowest end of the scale, small shop trade may offer a household little more than access to the bulk goods supplied to shop keepers at controlled prices in the dotacion and the possibility of supplying their day-to-day needs out of their shop. At the top, full time dealers in meat, wool and other puna trade goods may make as much as s/.240,000 (£400) per annum from a mixed commercial enterprise.³⁰

Although the reasons for the disparity in the scale of trade are complex, they may be ascribed to two major causes. On the one hand, it is those households with greater capital to invest which will be in a position to secure a larger turnover. On the other, though, the scope of the trade depends upon the time, skill and interest which the individual household members are able to invest in their business. Ultimately, because of the relative isolation and low levels of commercial activity in Tomas, severe limits are placed on the desire of ambitious traders to expand their business within the bounds of the community's economy.

Wealthy households which involve themselves in trade, whether it is through shopkeeping or the collecting of wool and meat, enable themselves to disperse the capital which they cannot, or do not wish to, reinvest in herding and to maximise their labour potential. In this way they circumvent the constraints which both the local environment and the communal organisation place on economic expansion. Although the scale of investment and the cash returns are greater in wool and meat dealing, through both kinds of trade a household with a reasonable capital base becomes involved in extensive cash transactions. They frequently also gain access at wholesale prices to the goods and foodstuffs necessary for life in the community.

Poor households with scarce other economic assets are able, through small-scale shopkeeping, to provide themselves with a scant but adequate income without recourse to wage labour or migration outside of the community. In this way a number of single women are able to make an independent living which, in other circumstances, would be denied to them. Whilst the scale of the cash income which poorer households involved in trade earn is necessarily limited, they are all in a better

position than other households to supply themselves with basic foodstuffs. One of the major benefits is their direct access to the goods which are supplied in rationed quantities under the government's quota scheme and which, in times of shortage, may be difficult to obtain by other means.

On the other hand, because all the traders in Tomas operate within the boundaries of the community, the scope of their commerce is restricted by the extent of agricultural production of the population. The scale of competition in trade means that each trader in Tomas must compete for the purchase of wool and meat, or in the prices which he asks for the goods which he brings in to sell. Moreover, in their dealings with traders in Huancayo they are in competition with bigger traders who operate on a far more competitive scale. Because of the costs of transport, they all find it more practicable to sell to the Huancayo factories or the warehouses which, because of their larger operations are able to carry the wool to Lima where bigger profits are to be made. As a result of the small scale of trade in the community which, for many traders, merely represents a food supply for the day-to-day expenditures of their household, trade is rarely more than a secondary source of income to all but the wealthiest of trading households.

7.4. Wage labour and weaving

Because of Tomas' links with mining since the late sixteenth century, wage labour has played an important role in the local economy for nearly five centuries. In addition, the use of llamas and mules to transport mineral ores and other goods between the puna and valley settlements (arriaje), has, in the past, provided another important source of employment in the community. In recent years, with the building of roads and railways, the expansion of the capitalist economy in the highlands, and changes in the expectations of the local population, new sources of employment have arisen, while others, such as arriaje, have declined.

Moreover, other sources of employment are increasingly provided by the agricultural and pastoral economy of the community itself. As people are either forced, or choose, to diversify their domestic economies into the non-agricultural sphere, and as cash becomes increasingly available in the community, local employment is generated. Such work includes casual (peon) labour in the fields and shepherding in the puna, as well as the preparation of woollen goods, both through weaving and knitting, for domestic use and barter.

Because wage labour nearly always takes an individual away from the domestic sphere of activity (particularly if it is in the mines, in which case a person may spend all but the weekends away from his family), it frequently disrupts the pattern of the household economy.³¹ As it is most often a part of a total economic strategy, which includes agriculture and pastoralism, it may have a considerable effect on the roles played by other household members. In most cases in Tomas it takes the man's labour away from the household, which inevitably means that the woman must play

a much greater and more decisive role in agriculture.³²

Only shepherding and weaving (and, to a lesser extent, agricultural labour) - being generated by it - are not incompatible with the agricultural economy. However, such forms of wage labour do exemplify the increasing marginalisation of the community-based economy for a large sector of the population, and indicate the partial capitalisation of labour relations in the community.

Labour in the mines

Mining continues to be the most important form of wage labour in Tomas. Particularly since 1947, when the Cerro de Pasco Corporation re-opened the mining complex of Yauricocha, mine labour has been the most important alternative to pastoralism in Tomas.³³ For young men who have finished school and for whom there is insufficient work on their parents' estancia, as well as for young families who have insufficient herds to enable them to live independently in the puna, the alternative to working as a shepherd is mine employment. The wages which they may earn in Yauricocha are high relative to other sources of unskilled employment in the locality, with salaries ranging between s/.192,000 and s/.360,000 (£320-600) per annum. Very often, particularly in the past, their main aim has been to earn sufficient money to enable them to buy their own animals. However, in the majority of cases, such dreams are never realised. Few are able to save money from their wages, particularly if they have young families in Tomas, and many, in any case, become acclimatised to the way of life in the mine settlement and are loath to return to the privations of life in the puna.



19. The Dinamarca mine by the puna road

Even when they start permanent work in Yauricocha, comuneros frequently become annualistas who pay for the right to keep animals and grow crops on community lands. They leave their herds with a shepherd, often a related household which is paid on an al partir basis, and use a large percentage of wage labour in the cultivation of their fields. However, the agricultural interests of many annualistas from the community decline over the years and many (31 out of 50 in 1976) have no herds or fields in Tomas. Although they usually keep their house in the village, they rarely occupy it and may rent it out to teachers or other immigrants. In short, the agricultural links which they have with the community over the years become faded and may eventually disappear altogether.

The truth of this statement is born out by the fact that of the forty members of the Club Union Tomas in Yauricocha in 1956, only seven were living in Tomas in 1979. While eleven were still in Yauricocha at that time, the remainder had either moved on to other employment or were no longer traceable. Few of the households which experience a prolonged contact with the life of a mine settlement wish to spend their retirement in Tomas. More often, if their children have been sent to be educated in Huancayo or Lima, the parents follow them and buy a house there, abandoning the house which they have in Tomas and leaving their herds (if they still own any) permanently in the hands of a shepherd.³⁴

However, as is the case with the migrants from communities in all parts of the Peruvian highlands, many of the miners of Yauricocha (as well as the residents of Huancayo and Lima) maintain an interest in Tomas through their membership of migrants' clubs.³⁵ Through these organisations, which are run by the migrants themselves, links with the community are maintained with the donation of money and useful goods, and in securing

technical assistance for community projects. Indeed, it is often the case that migrants have as great a desire for the "progress" of Tomas as do those comuneros still resident there. Thus, despite their lack of interest in the community's resources and without the least intention of returning to live there, such migrants affirm the strength of the bond which they have with Tomas. This nostalgia for, and continued interest in, people's natal community shows the strength of the bonds which exist within it, and suggest an almost nation-like role for the community in the Andes.

Besides the comuneros who have migrated to work in the Yauricocha mine there are 30 who work in the two small, privately owned mines which are located about one kilometre above the village on the valley of the river Singua. In these mines there is a high rate of labour turnover and jobs are often taken up as a stop-gap measure when a household finds itself in financial difficulties. Of the total work force of both mines, some 16 are household heads, a further 14 are young, unmarried men from Tomas, whilst the remaining 15, including all the supervisors, come from Huancayo and other parts of the central highlands.

Employment in the local mines has considerably different effects on the household economy to those experienced by households whose men are working in Yauricocha. Local miners remain in the village and are, therefore, able to contribute more of their own labour to other household activities.³⁶ On the other hand, they are paid at about two-thirds the daily rate paid to workers at Yauricocha, earning about s/.600 a day (£1.00 or between £180 and £240 per annum). Nor do they have access to the markets and shops in the mine settlement where goods are often bought at

reduced prices.

In summary, then, if they are able to find a job in the mines, whether in Yauricocha or Dinamarca, Tomasinos have the advantage of a straight cash wage for their work. Such work may be a means of employing young adults in the family and thus securing extra income. In addition, mine workers may find themselves in a more comfortable environment than that to which they have been used as pastoralists. Those in Yauricocha have ready access to a far wider and cheaper range of foodstuffs and consumer goods than is available in Tomas. On the other hand, their absence from their pastoral and agricultural stock means that other members of the household must take the responsibility for the management of the household's other interests. If the family is young, with school-age children, the woman will often be obliged to live in the village with the children. Even if shepherds are employed to care for the family herds, in many cases these decline. As a result of the great change in the life style of the mining family, with its increased dependence on a cash income, its involvement in the life of the mine settlement and the decline of its interests in Tomas, long-term mine labour sometimes leads to a complete break with the agricultural economy of Tomas. However, the role which migrants' clubs have to play in the continuation of relations between miners (or other migrants) and the community, most often means that some form of involvement remains for the majority of migrant households.

Agricultural employment

Much agricultural employment in Tomas is taken up on a casual basis. There are a small number of itinerant labourers who visit known

households in the village each year where they are given a few days of work in exchange for a daily wage and, perhaps, board and lodging. There are also known day labourers in the village and puna whose services may be called upon when they are free. However, the majority of wage labourers, in both puna and village, appear to be those men who, being short of money or without work, will work in the fields or on the shearing of a neighbour or relative when they can. Very often such men are young and unmarried. They may have little livestock or land and no alternative sources of income. They work to earn a few day's money as and where they can. And, although they are most often related to the person who is employing them, this is not a necessary part of their relationship. Nor does it affect the rate of pay, in either money or food, which they are paid.

The few known field and shearing hands are all married men who, because of bad judgement or ill-fortune, have lost most of their animals and must find other means of keeping their families. There are also amongst them a few men who, through drinking, repeated theft or bad conduct, have an ill reputation in the community. Peones work when they are able (or willing) and receive as payment s/.500 (£0.83) and a midday meal or, during shearing or harvest, a vellon of wool,³⁷ or a sack of potatoes and, usually, coca and alcohol.

Unlike field hands, shepherds are employed on a long-term basis and are, almost exclusively, whole households. Some are "professional" shepherds who come mostly from the Mantaro region with their own animals and are employed on contract by individual comunero households, while others are native Tomasinos. Conversations with informants revealed that many couples with insufficient herds when they first married, spent a number

of years as shepherds in order to "earn" animals on an al partir basis. Since their role has been discussed fully in the section on pastoralism, it is only necessary to add here that, while for the many young households the work of shepherding is the only means through which they can establish their own independent herds, for a few fortunate and wily people, the care of another's animals can lead to their own establishment as wealthy pastoralists.

Thus the job of shepherding offers a young household the advantage of being able to live with its herds in the puna whilst building them up from the wages or animals which it receives from its employers. The payments made vary considerably depending upon individual preference and the relationship between the herd owner and employee. Payments made per head of animals cared for (at the rate of s/.10-15 per head each month), a monthly wage of s/.4-6000 (£7-10), or a half share in the lambs produced each year.³⁸ In addition to payments made in cash, most arrangements include basic foodstuffs, coca and alcohol and, if the shepherd family comes from outside Tomas, it also included the right to graze a small number of the shepherd's own animals on community lands.³⁹

Although the payments are amongst the lowest in the community, it is the form of wage labour most compatible with the pastoral economy and enables the household to remain united. On the other hand, when children reach school age and the household is obliged to bring them to the village, the labour resources of a small household may be stretched beyond a point where it can successfully manage its work load. Consequently, shepherding may be seen as a way of life which fits well with the pastoral life style of the community as it has been in the past but, like pastoralism itself, must suffer at the hands of changes in the wider economy.

Agricultural labour and work on shearing, on the other hand, are by far the most casual forms of wage labour in the community. They offer young men the opportunity to earn small amounts of cash and other goods at a time when they may have difficulty in finding other income sources. For the poorer households in the village they are also a source of cash and, very often, food. However, the work is periodic and the wages paid are low for the hard labour of clearing soil, weeding and harvesting crops or of shearing. (The established day rate for peones in 1979-80 was s/.500, or £0.80 per day plus food, alcohol and coca.) Such work is thus only capable of providing small amounts of cash and food incomes for households which are in need of immediate cash.

Weavers and knitters

The production of woven and knitted goods has always been an important aspect of the pastoral economy in Tomas. The goods produced form an important part of the wares used in barter as well as being used within the household. In the past all households elaborated their own woollen goods: the time-consuming tasks of spinning, weaving and knitting were an integral part of the job of watching animals from dawn to dusk as they grazed over the puna. In recent years, though, the increasing diversification of the domestic economy which has meant less time spent in the puna for many households, has encouraged the development of a class of professional weavers and knitters within the community.

The principal male activity is the weaving of sacks and sometimes other goods on the backstrap loom or callua. Much of the work is carried out in the period between the shearing and the grain harvest in the Mantaro valley and montana. Those weavers who spend more of their time at their



20. Old man weaving in the village



21. Old woman spinning in the fields

craft also weave blankets, ponchos, mantas (shawls) and saddle bags - all of which are used locally as well as being bartered for grains. However, almost all weavers are part-time workers, having their own animals, or some form of wage labour as well as weaving with which to support their families.

Since many weavers are poor and have few animals of their own from whose wool they could make goods, their main source of income is based on the commissions which they receive to weave the wool of other people into specified articles. They may work with spun wool, or their wives may spin for the commission as well. Payments are made in cash: s/.350-500 (£0.58-0.83) for the weaving of a sack and s/.100 (£0.17) for each pound of wool spun and plyed. In most contracts a small quantity of coca is also included in the payment to be consumed whilst the weaver is working. As a result they see themselves as peones, working for an employer.

Knitting is exclusively women's work and is also undertaken by part-time professionals, although on a far smaller scale than weaving. The lack of demand for knitted goods results largely from the fact that a woman's role has not changed significantly in Tomas, even where households have left the puna. The women of almost all the comunero households still knit for their own families: a job which is compatible with the tasks of child care and general household duties. Women who knit for others generally undertake commissions to make garments for the school teachers and miners who live in the village. Alternatively, they may knit their own wool (or acrylic fibre) and sell the goods - mostly jumpers, hats and socks - to the same people. Since many of the women who undertake such work on a regular basis are single, or poor, it represents an important, if small, source of income to their households.

The advantage which local craft activities have as a source of income is that, in the past at least, all Tomasinos were brought up to be able to weave if they were boys, and to spin and knit, if girls. Thus these activities are open to anyone who is in need of cash. They are also casual activities which may be completed at any time and, particularly in the case of women's jobs, are compatible with other household work. However, the restrictions of the local market for such goods - particularly with the decline in barter with the villages of the Mantaro over recent years - means that the scope for such work is limited. Thus, while many poorer households may expect to make some cash from weaving and knitting, none are able to count on them as sizeable sources of income.

Government employment

Although there are few government jobs in Tomas, and even fewer which are held by Tomasinos, they are important because they are held by some of the most powerful men in the community. They also offer a stark contrast to all the forms of wage labour which have been discussed so far. The sources of such employment are the three schools, the Nucleo Educativo Comunal (NEC) and the post office. There are three teachers native to Tomas, as is the secretary of the NEC and the post master. All these jobs pay wages well in excess of anything which other Tomasinos may expect to earn (those paid to a senior teacher in the village were as high as s/.564,000 (£940) per annum) and, because of their education, many of these people enjoy respect - and much envy - from their fellow comuneros.

All the people in these jobs come from wealthy households which, when they were children, had been in a position to invest a part of the

capital from their livestock in education. Although it was, and still is, usual for better educated young people to leave Tomas and seek work in the city, those who remain behind are in the best position to secure the few professional jobs which the community offers. As a result such people, in addition to having great personal interest in the improvement of conditions in the community, are frequently in a position to have considerable influence over the conduct of its affairs. Although their full-time occupations may prevent them from taking on political office, as individuals they are often able to influence the conduct of community meetings in favour of the reforms of which they most approve. Their word - especially if they are teachers - is respected and their authority largely unquestioned.⁴⁰

The households of those holding government and professional posts, while they may not be wealthy pastoralists, are amongst some of the richest in the community. Some of them use their posts as a part of a diversified domestic economy in order to secure a wide range of income sources. However, because of the high level of wages which they receive (between s/.408,000 and s/.564,000 per annum - or £680-940) it is possible for them to live well in Tomas without great reliance on other incomes. The ways in which such employments are combined with other employments will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Those in governmental and professional posts are therefore in the advantageous situation of earning good salaries and holding positions of prestige within the community. They have the power and the education to influence affairs in the communal assemblies to their own advantage. On the other hand, while they may consider themselves above the petty bickerings of the community, their full-time employment frequently

prevents their taking on administrative office and thus thwarts any political ambitions which they may have. Also because they have chosen - or have been obliged - to remain as big fish in a small pond, they may also see themselves as missing out on the higher living standards and better social life which they could enjoy in a larger town or settlement.

These brief descriptions of the various forms of wage labour in Tomas, indicate the numerous different roles which salaried employment may take, as well as the benefits and constraints which it entails. Whilst it is true that those who undertake wage labour are nearly all men, they have been seen to come from all types of household, to be of all ages and levels of education. It is not the fact of taking on wage labour as such, but the type of wage labour, which indicates the wealth of the household or individual, their level of education and prospects in life. Thus, while miners most often come from poorer households, work in the Yauricocha mines can lead to a higher standard of living than that enjoyed by many pastoral households in the community. And, while the majority of those young people whose parents have had sufficient herds to allow them to invest in higher education leave the community to seek work elsewhere, for those who stay in Tomas, standards of living are also comparatively high.

It is amongst the poorer households, with insufficient herds to make a living and little education, that the groups of local miners, agricultural workers, shepherds and weavers are found. Such households are frequently obliged to spread their domestic economies over as many activities as their labour resources will allow, using strategies which include shepherding, weaving and occasional wage labour in order to feed

their families. Only on rare occasions can such a household break out of the cycle of poverty and hope to improve their living standards on a permanent basis. Moreover, because they rarely have the money to invest in education, it is unlikely that their children will find themselves in any better position when they are adult.

7.5. Changing domestic strategies: three case studies

While in the main part of this chapter those economic activity fields commonly engaged in in Tomas have been described, this final section is concerned with a more detailed study of ways in which three households have combined a number of these fields in order to create viable livelihood strategies for themselves and to ensure their reproduction. By looking at individual cases over the period of their development cycles it is possible to see how the goods and labour which they have at their disposal as well as the decisions which they make throughout their history affect their livelihoods over the long term.

The three households chosen, all of which were respondents to the questionnaires on production and consumption which I completed with twenty households, are of necessity older households in the sample. They are those of Eutemio and Dorlisca, of Leonardo and Alvina, and of Fortunato and Lola.⁴¹ The numbers of animals which each of them had between 1948 and 1979 are shown in Table 19. All three of the men concerned started their adult lives as pastoralists and, when they married, their wives brought their own stock to contribute to the

household herds. However, because of their different circumstances and the decisions which they themselves made at crucial times, their lives have developed along very different lines. As a result, in 1980 Fortunato and Lola had retired to live with their adult children in Huancayo, while still retaining control over sizeable herds in Tomas; Eutemio and Dorlisca had also moved to the city, but had few herds in Tomas; and Leonardo and Alvina remained in Tomas living a frugal life in the basis of a small income from their craft activities and largely dependent on their children, all of whom now work in the mines or in Lima.

Table 19. Animal holding data for three households between 1948 and 1979

Name of house- hold head	Species	Date 1948	1961	1965	1970	1975	1979

Eutemio	Sheep	91	16	21	30	24	30
	Alpacas	58	32	27	23	17	11
	Llamas						
	Cows	5	2	1	1	2	
Leonardo	Sheep	n.d.	19	20	20	10	5
	Alpacas	n.d.	13				
	Llamas	n.d.	4				
	Cows	n.d.	2				
Fortunato	Sheep	115	278	355	351	231	189
	Alpacas	90	128	151	145	98	93
	Llamas		65	44	21		
	Cows	11	30	20	17	19	17

Case 1: Eutemio and Dorlisca

Eutemio was born in 1918 to a wealthy pastoral household, which employed a shepherd to help in the care of its herds in spite of being permanently resident in the puna. He was the youngest of seven children and was sent with his three older sisters to school in the

village. After finishing his primary education at seventeen, he was sent to Huancayo to study at secondary level. When he returned to Tomas in 1941 he continued to help in the care of the family herds and fields. He was married four years later to a local woman. Their two children were born in the same estancia where he had grown up and when, in 1946, his parents both died, he inherited some 50 sheep, 30 alpacas, 3 cows and a small number of horses. In the 1948 agricultural census, the couple had 91 sheep, 58 alpacas, five cows and six horses. Also at this time they were cultivating some 600 m² of fields in the village.

Following the death of his wife in 1951 he married Dorlisca, a woman some sixteen years his junior who had little interest in the life of the puna, and they moved down to the village where he took a job as veterinary technician with the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario (The Agricultural Bank), leaving their herds in the hands of a shepherd. In 1957, after five years of travelling the punas vaccinating, medicating and castrating the community's livestock, he was finding the work arduous. Since the only other reasonably well paid work available in the area at the time was mining, he decided to take up work with the Cerro de Pasco Corporation in Yauricocha: a job which he held until 1981.

Following his employment in Yauricocha, the growing family moved to the mine encampment. They only returned to their village house on Saturdays to tend their fields and animals. Their children had little interest in the life of the community and were largely educated in the schools of the mine settlement. Finally in 1976 the parents were obliged by the community to return to Tomas so that the seven

children of their marriage could attend the newly opened secondary school.

During all the time that they were away from their estancia their herds were attended by a succession of shepherd households. As a result of payments to shepherds, poor management of the herds by them, and lack of interest on the part of Eutemio and his household, the numbers of herd animals declined continuously until, in 1979, they owned only eleven alpacas and thirty sheep.

From the time they left the puna to live in the village and then in Yauricocha, their dependence upon the pastoral economy declined in proportion to their involvement in wage labour. Soon after their marriage they ceased to make trips for the barter of sacks and wool for maize, finding it more convenient to buy their grain in the Huancayo market or the shops in the mine centre.

Although Eutemio did not take up anualista status, preferring to employ a peon to undertake his faena tasks in the community, the family's relations with Tomas have remained restricted by the short periods which they have spent there. Throughout this time their standard of living has been relatively high and they have been able to send all their older children on to further education in Huancayo. Moreover, as more of the family has moved to the city the parents, too, have become increasingly reliant on it. Eutemio has suffered from a chronic illness for many years as a result of his work in the mine and needs constant medical attention.

In 1973 they bought a house in Huancayo and in 1981, after his retirement from the mine, Eutemio and Dorlisca moved there too. At

this time he felt that his children would be better off in the city and said that, because of the long time which they had spent in Yauricocha, they had little interest in the life of Tomas. He intended to sell up the remainder of their animals, although he said that he would leave their house in the hands of a caretaker in case "one or two of my children decide to come and live here one day".

Case 2: Leonardo and Alvina

Leonardo was born the illegitimate son of a wealthy pastoralist father in 1903. After four years of school in Tomas he returned to the puna to work. Because of his illegitimacy he inherited few animals from his father, though he was given eight cows by his mother.

At the age of twenty, in order to make a living and to enable himself to purchase further animals, he started a business of transporting mineral ores by llama from Yauricocha to Llocllapampa. He worked with two or three other young men and together they rented llamas and made the return trip in ten days. They also carried on a clandestine trade in coal from the Negro Bueno mine. They sold the coal for four or five soles a quintal in the Mantaro towns of Orcotuna and Jauja, considering their business very profitable. This was in the period when a part of the Yauricocha mines were owned by the partnership Calle, Miculicich and Larke. When, in 1927, the claims were taken over by the Peruvian Copper Smelting Corporation in the name of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation, the mine was closed and such opportunist sources of cash were lost.

In 1929 he married Alvina, an old school friend and, although they stayed in Tomas for seven years trying to make a living with the animals which he had bought out of his earnings from his years as a fletero and the eight cows which his mother gave them, they found their life hard. In order to establish a better pastoral base for themselves, in 1936 they took their small son to live in the mines of Morococha. Leonardo worked in the mines for eighteen years and six of their eight children were born there (though only five of those born survived). As a result the family does not appear in the 1948 agricultural census.

After this time in the mines they were homesick and Leonardo was finding the mine labour increasingly hard, so they returned to Tomas. Over the years which they had spent away, though, they had saved no money and all their animals, left in the hands of of Leonardo's cousin, had been lost or stolen, or had died. They had only one cow left and were obliged to try to make a living in the village. They rebuilt the house which was Alvina's inheritance and started to cultivate her fields. In order to establish a cash income Leonardo took up work as a weaver, working as a peon on commissions from his neighbours.

Since that time they have lived in much the same way. Although they have been able to buy a few sheep, they have never returned to pastoralism and their animals are cared for on the estancia of their daughter's husband. None of this second generation has inherited animals from their parents and, since they spent the majority of their childhood in the mining encampment, they have little interest in pastoralism. Because of the small income on which the family has

had to subsist, the children have not been educated above primary level. The three sons now work in mining and transport, while of the daughters, one is married to a miner in Azulcocha and the other lives in Tomas with her husband.

Leonardo and Alvina remain in their tumbledown house in the village. They care for the children of their daughter who lives in Azulcocha. Although they both continue to work in their fields and at their artesanía, they are poor and dependent upon the financial support of their children.

Case 3: Fortunato and Lola

Fortunato is the half brother of Leonardo: the legitimate son of their father. He was born in 1916 on the same estancia as his brother. After completing his primary education in Tomas, since he had not yet inherited any animals from his parents and wished to make himself independent, he went to work for the Cerro de Pasco Corporation in the Casapalca mine. However, in 1934, when he was eighteen, his father died and he returned to take charge of his family and its herds.

In 1941 he married Lola and they lived in the puna caring for their animals and cultivating fields in the valley. Their three children were born in the village where Fortunato started to take a prominent role in the affairs of the community. He held several political offices, though he was most often pressed into being community treasurer. The 1948 agricultural census records the household as having 115 sheep, 90 alpacas, eleven cows and five horses - a number

not much greater than that owned by Eutemio Melo at that time. However while Eutemio's interests were reaching out beyond the community, those of Fortunato remained firmly with his animals.

They had different ambitions for their children, though, for whom they saw education as the most important advantage. As the years went by their herds increased and, when their oldest child finished primary school in 1957, they were able to send him to secondary school in Huancayo. He completed a university education while his two younger sisters both completed secondary school. In spite of the large pastoral interests which their family still had in Tomas, none of the children considered returning to the community, or becoming pastoralists themselves. In the early 1970's all three settled down to become professionals in the city and, together with their parents, bought a house there.

All their children's education and their own share of the family house has been paid for through the sale of herd animals and their products. As a result these have declined from a maximum of 355 sheep, 151 alpacas and 20 cows in 1965, to 189 sheep, 93 alpacas and 17 cows in 1979.

As they have grown older, Fortunato and Lola have spent longer in the milder climate of the village and, increasingly, in Huancayo, leaving their herds in the care of shepherd households. Though both of them still take an active role in their pastoralism when they are in the puna, they remarked that they would probably sell their herds in time and move permanently to Huancayo.

These three cases reveal the very different ways in which a domestic economy may develop over the years in Tomas. In the first place accidents of birth and the consequent educational and inheritance prospects of an individual have been shown to play an important role in the prospects of a newly formed household. As time goes by external factors, such as changing circumstances in the wider economic sphere, the strength of communal constraints and plain bad luck, play important roles in the household's developing history.

However, what these case studies show, perhaps more than anything else, is the extent to which the individual decisions and choices made by members of each household affect the course of its history. Thus, the choice to move in one direction, while it opens certain perspectives to an individual or household, in its turn cuts it off from others. Every decision, whether it is to diversify or concentrate, to buy or sell, to stay or leave, constrains the household to behave in certain ways and shuts off alternative solutions to problems which arise.⁴²

No two households are the same: their problems and potentials vary according to the resources - labour, time and agricultural goods - which they have at their disposal. Beyond this, the livelihood decisions which each individual household makes, determine its ability to thrive or survive in the community. For the wealthy such choices may mean the difference between a comfortable, but constrained economy within the community and a diverse and dynamic one which seeks out every possibility to extend itself beyond the communal boundaries. For the poor, they frequently mean the difference between a bearable life and mere survival.

NOTES

1. For instance, a woman who had lived in Lima for many years, sent to her cousin in Tomas to sell off some of her goats after she fell ill and was in need of hospital treatment.
2. In this statement I exclude the importance of mining, since this has always been essentially external to the local economy.
3. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9 which deals with the relationship between individual and communal interests.
4. Orlove (1977:85-6) notes that alpacas and sheep have a "strong flocking tendency (which) makes them easy to drive (so that) a trained herder can manage up to 400 sheep or 100 llamas or alpacas."
5. Some women, however, never killed animals, and felt abhorrence at the idea of having to do so.
6. This is so because the longer the drop which the spindle makes from the hand to the ground the quicker the work. It is not uncommon to see a man standing on a wall or balcony to ply wool.
7. These questions are part of the detailed questionnaire on production and consumption which is reproduced in full in Appendix I.
8. This situation is similar to that found by Sanchez in Andarapa (1982:172) on low levels of non-household labour.
9. In one of the eighteenth century documents in Tomas' archives it is stated "that the ten pastoral mitayo indians helping in the punas of this locality are in the employ of the plaintiffs (the members of Tomas ayllu) who pay them and cover the tribute payments..." (Copia del Expediente Antigua con Relacion a la Creacion del Pueblo de la Santisima Trinidad de Tomas en el Ano de 1797).
10. In only one case did I hear of a household which would have been financially capable of doing so, not employ a shepherd. They left them in the care of their German Shepherd dog which, they maintained, was more faithful than any shepherd. Unfortunately the dog itself was stolen.
11. The exchange rate which I have used throughout the thesis for the 1979-80 value of the Peruvian sol is s/.600 to one pound sterling. Although this is an approximation due to inflation over the period during which I was in Peru, it gives an average of the values through which the currencies passed.
12. This compares with data which was given to me by Incolana claiming a production rate of up to 24 pounds for some of the best rams in the region, whereas they stated that the average crossbreed sheep produces little more than 2.5 pounds, with a live weight of only 15 kilogrammes.
13. This is not always so, however. For instance during the shearing at the alpaca cooperative the president of the community admitted to me that they had sheared many young animals and those with insufficient wool on them in order to earn the maximum income from the herd. In any case recent research has shown that, although there is an increase in wool weight after two years, this is not equal to double the weight of wool sheared annually (Orlove 1977).
14. Prior to Christmas 1979 the price of alpaca fibre had been very high at s/.1200 for white and s/.1000 for coloured wool, while sheep wool had been selling at s/.180. Unfortunately for the herding population of Tomas, very few shear their herds before Christmas. By the New Year the price of wool had dropped on the world market discouraging some of the wealthier households from shearing at all, whilst those without the holding power could do little but complain bitterly about the fall in

prices.

15. There are a number of exceptions to his rule, one of which will be the subject of Case Study 1 in the next chapter.

16. This figure, based on data from the 1976 agricultural census, appears to be above the norm. Data from the SAIS Tupac Amaru indicates a culling rate close to 15% (personal communication from R. Rivera).

17. In one case, for instance, one of the community's teachers who is a native Tomasino, was waiting for the bus in Tinco-Yauricocha, to take his wool to Huancayo, when he met with a dealer willing to pay the price he wanted.

18. The setting of a minimum herd size for the survival of a household is extremely difficult given the number of factors which are operational in its establishment. Thus household size, the condition of the animals, the location of the estancia and market conditions, affect a given household's ability to survive on the herds which it owns. However, in Tomas, the households which rely exclusively on pastoralism, or pastoralism and agriculture have an average of 461 sheep units per household. While the maximum is over 1000, though, the minimum does not fall below 148. These figures are lower than those presented by Flores (1979), who cites 300 to 500 alpacas for the richest households in Paratia, and 70 for the poorest (900-1500 and 210 sheep units respectively). However, they are more in line with those of Nachtigall (1975), who describes the lower limit of animals for economic independence as being 30 llamas, 15 alpacas and 10 sheep (or 145 sheep units).

19. Because of the sudden drop in the price paid for wool over the Christmas of 1979, three out of the nineteen cases of households owning wool bearing animals whose economies I examined in detail, did not shear their herds that year.

20. Article 27 of the Communal Statute states that private land is that cultivable land in the urban zone which is already in private hands on the publication of the statute, and that the community must have a special register of those lands (Reglamento de la Comunidad de Tomas 1963). However, no-one has a clear idea of the area of the fragmented land which now constitutes such private holdings and neither does the community hold a register of them.

21. While Guillet (1980) makes the point that the continued use of reciprocal relations of labour relates to attempts to reduce the cost of labour, Erasmus (1956) argues that wage labour is used by peasants wherever possible because of its greater convenience. The latter would appear to be the case in Tomas where access to cash is not often a problem for wealthier households.

22. This finding is parallel to that of Arce (1981) who notes that the shopkeepers of Pucara in the Mantaro valley are generally poorer households. However, Laite records that many of the shopkeepers in Ataura in the Mantaro valley take up their trade after retiring from the mines (Laite 1984).

23. Although these data show certain similarities to those presented by Arce (1981), the fact that he does not differentiate between male and female roles in the household, makes such distinctions beyond the scope of his analysis.

24. The importance which the majority of both men and women place on women's so-called "domestic" role frequently underestimates the extent of women's labour in other economic fields. Thus, only single women, who see themselves as the principal bread winners of their households, are

willing to admit that their domestic duties take second place to their other occupations, although in fact, the time which they spend in each is largely similar to that spent by married women.

25. Late opening in the evening is largely a result of the introduction of electricity to the village in 1979. At this time many of the shops which remain open operate mainly as bars.

26. See Chapter 10.4.

27. Since the majority of Tomasinos own livestock, meat has not been a commodity in the village in spite of the numbers of school teachers and miners resident in the village, many of whom have considerable difficulty in obtaining meat for themselves. Only recently, after continued lobbying of the communal assembly by spokesmen for the teachers, has the community started up the sale of meat by pastoralists. This however, is not conducted through the shops, but in the Plaza del Carmen on a weekly basis. Sometimes this sale is undertaken by one of the local meat dealers, whilst on other occasions members of the household which has been told to sell a small number of its animals, bring them into the plaza.

28. Though this could be a reflection of the small volume of goods which she had brought back to the village for sale on that occasion. Normally she brought far more goods for sale, but because her father had been taken to hospital in Huancayo, she had spent much of her time in the city visiting him.

29. Orlove comments on a similar situation in Sicuani (1977:49).

30. Figueroa, basing his arguments on a group of largely agricultural communities in the southern highlands, comments that both wealthy and poor households engage in commerce. The difference, he argues, is that wealthier households are more "heavily" involved and, therefore, in a better position to make larger profits from their activities (1984:55).

31. Although Chayanov (1966) describes wage labour as an important aspect of the total "peasant" economy, it cannot be seen as part of the agricultural economy and must, therefore, be seen as disrupting it.

32. Other recent works have also made this point (Deere 1976, 1977; Smith, G 1980; Laite 1984; Campana 1985).

33. I have not included the mine of Azulcocha in this discussion because, although they are on Tomas' lands and have a special agreement with the community to supply jobs for comuneros, in 1979-80, only four men were working there. People to whom I spoke about this lack of interest said that it was probably because of the great distance of this mine from the village, and its remoteness from any larger settlements.

34. This accords with the findings of Roberts (1973) for the Mantaro valley villages.

35. Altamirano (1981) describes the importance of the role which such associations play in the development of a highland village in the Mantaro valley.

36. This situation is similar to that found amongst workers at the Buena Ventura mines in Huancavelica. Personal communication from N. Long.

37. Payment may also be made per animal sheared. For instance when a comunero took on the contract for shearing the community's sheep, he paid his men s/.25 (£0.04) per head plus food and lodging during the time it took them to complete the job.

38. Although this may sound like the most favourable deal considering the price of sheep and alpacas, reproduction rates are very low (15% for sheep, 12% for alpacas) and the mortality is high. It therefore takes a shepherd household many years to build up their own independent herd.

39. The grazing of huaccho herds on community or hacienda lands has been a long-term problem for those in need of the labour of shepherds (See, for instance, Martinez Alier (1973)). In Tomas there have been repeated calls for the reduction of the numbers of shepherd's animals grazed on community lands, though little has been done about it.

40. In this context it is interesting to note that one of the Tomasino teachers is a woman (the daughter of one of the older male teachers). However, she does not command any more political power than other women in the community.

41. It is unfortunate, though revealing, that, because of the great age of two of these households, their relations with other household members outside the community is so close that their consumption data were too complex to include amongst those discussed in the previous section.

42. Long makes this point in his article on multiple household enterprise (1979:124-125).

CHAPTER 8 : HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Introduction

The productive and remunerative activities described in the previous chapter form the basis of the economies of almost all comunero households in Tomas. However, the extent to which they are vital or merely peripheral varies between individual households and is dependent upon a number of factors operating in the labouring and consuming group at a specific moment in time. In the present context the most important of these are: 1. the size and composition of a household's herds; 2. its access to labour, both within and beyond the household; 3. the number of consumers which its labouring members have to keep; and 4. the way in which it has developed over past generations - particularly in respect of its levels of education and its experience of alternatives to pastoralism. The decisions which individual households make in pursuit of a particular strategy must, therefore, take the possibilities and limitations of the different activities in which they are involved into account. Furthermore, as Long (1979) has pointed out, once established, a given strategy carries with it external factors, such as a defined network of interpersonal relations, access to cash, restrictions on movement and so on, which may benefit it in respect of one domestic

policy, but prejudice its chance of redirecting into other areas.¹

In the present chapter, therefore, the needs of individual households are outlined and compared with the productive and remunerative activities which have been employed in order to supply them. Following a description of the role of the household in the economy of Tomas, the ways in which individual households utilise the resources which they have at their disposal are described through reference to individual cases. In this way the household's economic strategy is seen in terms of the ways in which it maximises its own labour potential and the extent to which it employs the labour of kin and others through inter-household networks. In the third section, the analysis of the incomes and expenditures of a sample of households will be used to show the ways in which economic differentiation and diversification operate within the economy. In this way it is proposed to show how the material constraints and particular problems faced by individual households influence the types of decisions which they make and how they utilise the goods and labour which they have at their disposal. It will be shown how all these factors affect a household's ability to fulfill its own needs and aspirations. Finally the data will be used to point out how changes have occurred in the local economy and how they have made the pastoral life of Tomas both less attractive and less viable for its population over recent years.

8.1. The role of the household in the economy of Tomas

Almost all the households in Tomas are composed of nuclear family groups

which operate largely independently as units of consumption, while the degree of their productive independence varies in accordance with the extent of their pastoral and other activities in relation to family composition. Although it is not uncommon for an ageing parent or adopted orphan child to be included in a household, nor for one or more of the older children to be away at college for much of the year, the unit remains based essentially on a man and woman with their children, who unite to produce much of what they themselves consume.²

Table 20. Household composition for 140 households in Tomas: 1980 data

Other household residents	Type of household: according to sex of household head		
	Male Joint	Single	Female Single
Living alone	19	3	11
Living with children	77	2	6
Living with children and:			
a parent	4	1	1
grandchildren	5	-	2
a sibling	3	-	-
Living with other groupings*	2	-	2
Totals	112	6	22

*Of these four households, one consisted of a couple living with one ageing parent, a brother and one of their own children; another was a couple who were living with their married son, his wife and two children; the third was a single woman who lived with her mother and sister; while the last was a woman who cared for her grandchildren while their parents worked outside the community.

The predominance of nuclear family-based households is demonstrated by the data given in Table 20 which records the demographic composition of 140 households in Tomas. These data show that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, individual households consist of parents and their unmarried children. Although there are cases of grandparents, siblings

and grandchildren resident in some households, the small number of cases (eight with ageing parents, nine with grandchildren, and five of siblings of the parental generation) provide exceptions to the general rule of the nuclear family-based household, rather than evidence of its occupation by sectors of an extended family group. In addition, while in the case of grandchildren, there may be as many as four living with their grandparents, in only one case each of parents and siblings are there more than one such relative in the nuclear household. Moreover, in all but one of the cases where grandchildren are living in a household, they are the children of unmarried daughters, or live with their grandparents while their parents work outside the community (a situation sometimes made necessary by the community's stringent efforts to have comunero children educated in the village schools: an aspect of communal policy which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter). Furthermore, in only one case of those households in the survey did the wife of one of the family's sons live with her in-laws, while no sons-in-law lived with their wife's parents. The widespread occurrence of neo-local marriage in Tomas reflects the largely sedentary system of herding, the limited importance and extent of agricultural lands and the widespread use of shepherding contracts, which are prevalent in Tomas, and contrasts markedly with the herding systems found in southern Peru by writers such as Webster (1973).

Both pastoralism and small-scale agriculture of the type practised in Tomas have relatively low labour requirements. In the case of herding, the demand for labour is light, but constant, throughout most of the year with the exceptions of the times of shearing and dipping, both of which require a relatively high labour input, but take only a day or two to

complete. Under normal circumstances even those households with a limited labour force are able to maintain their herds on a day-to-day basis provided that they are localised in one grazing area and that commitments away from the puna do not constantly disrupt their vigilance. On the other hand, both temporary and permanent absence from the estancia is a continual problem for households with limited labour supplies, which is frequently resolved - on a temporary basis at any rate - by cooperation between households sharing a single estancia. Thus, despite the early dispersion of the domestic group as each child marries and sets up his or her own household, the sharing of estancias ensures that, in pastoralism at least, there is a degree of cooperation between related (and sometimes unrelated) households.

Labour inputs in agriculture tend to be both more intermittent and intensive. However, for many households, the scale of production is small enough for labour requirements to be supplied by the adult members with the assistance of one or two hired labourers, and usually with the help of their children at harvest. Although there are a number of professional agricultural labourers in the community, much of this non-household labour is supplied by the younger male relatives of a household. On the other hand, reciprocal labour relations are unusual in such arrangements: a fact which reflects the high cash content of the local economy, based as it is on the sale of wool and meat.

Although it is not unusual for groups of adult siblings and their families to share the use of the village house or estancia in the puna which is their common inheritance, each nuclear family has its own hearth which is the centre of the unit of consumption. In this sense, then, the "household" is co-residential with the "hearth" and, while production may

depend on help from various outside sources, and may include a sizeable cash element, consumption is almost exclusively restricted to the members of the household. Even though such routine measures as the donation of small amounts of harvest to close relatives living in the city or the mines have some social significance for many households, the size and conditions under which they are made, make them peripheral to the central role of the nuclear family household in the consumption of its own produce.

The problems which are posed by the consumption needs of individual households must, therefore, be met in terms of its potential as a productive unit. Its success in doing so depends upon the labour and agricultural resources which it has at its disposal in relation to its consumption needs. Thus its ability to produce its own foodstuffs, and other household goods, to acquire cash through the sale of labour or its own produce, and to mobilise the labour of others at times of shortfall will determine its ability to remain as a viable unit. Whilst the members of peasant communities are not subject to extractions of surplus in terms of rents and labour dues prevalent under other land holding systems, they are subject to those of the market, as well as the dues and conditions laid down by the community itself. Indeed, it is frequently the insistence of the community that the children of comuneros be brought to the village schools which poses the first threat to the independence of the young pastoral household.

In fundamental terms a household has two resources at its disposal: labour and agricultural stock (land and livestock). According to the extent of its access to each of these, each individual household must organise its economy in order to satisfy the needs of its consumption

and/or expansion. The following three tables give data on the occupational strategies employed by the 140 households in Tomas for which I have detailed census information.

Table 21. Occupational strategies employed by households headed by single people (total 28)

Occupations	Sex of household head	
	Male	Female
Pastoralism	2	8
Pastoralism and agriculture	2	2
Agriculture	-	3
Agriculture and trade	1	5
Mining	1	-
Weaving, spinning and knitting	-	1
Employment and agriculture	-	1
Retired	-	2
Totals	6	22

In Table 21 the data given are those for single household heads - whether these are unmarried or widowed, living alone or with other household members. They are divided into male and female headed households. As the data show, such households are overwhelmingly female headed and they are predominantly engaged in pastoralism, as well as agriculture and trade. The small size of these households (none of them has more than three adult members [between the ages of 15 and 60] and many live alone: see Table 20) restricts their ability to control production in a variety of different zones, so that it is most common for them to be based either in the village or the puna. Consequently there is a greater tendency for them to engage in either pastoralism or agriculture in contrast to the joint headed household which are the subject of Tables 22 and 23 and which engage more frequently in both.

Table 22. Economic strategies employed by joint households whose primary occupations are pastoralism and agriculture (total 71 households)

Secondary occupation	Primary occupation		
	Pastoralism	Pastoralism/ agriculture	Agriculture
None	19	26	2
Trade	10	1	-
Mining	2	1	-
Other wage labour	1	-	-
Weaving/knitting	6	2*	-
Transport	-	-	1
Totals	38	30	3

*In one case wife also engages in trade

In a similar way these latter tables give the occupational strategies of those households from the census which are joint headed (i.e. are headed by a married couple, although the man is usually considered the "head" of the household). Because the primary and secondary occupation of both partners have been taken into consideration, the data have had to be simplified to make the tables legible.³ As a result there is no distinction made as to whether only one or both partners take part in an activity. While this partially obscures the importance of a given activity to the individual domestic economy, the classification of strategies according to primary and secondary occupations to some extent alleviates this problem. Furthermore, I have not included one very important occupational category for women: that of domestic tasks (i.e. cooking, child care, general work around the house). The decision to exclude such work was based on the fact that, although many women considered this to be their most important occupation, it is a feature of all households and does not therefore make it possible to distinguish between them. The extent of women's participation in the tasks of herding and agriculture is shown by the fact that of the 68 joint households

engaging in pastoralism as a primary occupation, 44 (65%) women were participating in the daily work of animal care.⁴

In the first place the tables show the predominant importance of pastoralism and agriculture in the occupational strategies of Tomasino households. Indeed of the 112 households whose economic strategies are described in these tables, only four claimed to have no interest in pastoralism whatsoever, while 68 claimed it as the central aspect of their economy and 19 had no other income or subsistence activity.

The subsidiary importance of agriculture for joint households is also evident from these tables. While only two only considered it to be their primary occupation, the majority of those engaging in pastoralism as well as many engaging in outside activities, found the cultivation of root crops an important, though restricted, asset to their economies.

Table 23. Economic strategies employed by households whose primary occupations do not include pastoralism or agriculture (total 41)

Secondary occupation	Primary occupation			
	Trade	Mining	Other wage labour	Weaving/knitting
None	-	2	1*	1
Pastoralism	3	6	3	-
Agriculture	1	1	3	-
Pastoral/agricult.	5	4	1	2
Trade	-	1	-	-
Pastoralism and trade	-	1	-	1
Past/agric. & trade	-	-	3	-
Totals	9	15	11	6

*Wife also spins wool and knits

Numerically the next most significant occupation after pastoralism and

agriculture is trade: an activity which is pursued on a regular basis by 26 households in the census. However, it is an activity which most often appears as part of a widely diversified domestic economy (hence its double inclusion in Table 23) because of the wide range of levels on which it can be taken up.

Finally, with regard to the tables it may be noted that, of all the salaried employment taken up in Tomas, only mining occupies a significant sector of the population. The mines of Yauricocha, Dinamarca and Azulcocha between them offer employment to some 70 men from Tomas (although many of these do not have full comunero status and do not therefore appear in the census).

Inter-household relations

Although, within the confines of a restricted pastoral and agricultural economy, and with the effort of sufficient productive members, independent production is possible, in many cases periodic, short-term or permanent help from outsiders is necessary - and sometimes desirable - to sustain the production of a household which is expanding its economy into other fields. In such cases, many long-term arrangements rely on formalised contracts in cash or kind between parties who may, or may not, be related. However, because of the tendency for related pastoral households to share estancias, short-term and periodic arrangements are frequently made informally by related households, establishing a degree of dependence between them which expands the boundaries of the productive unit. In agriculture, too, there is some dependence upon the available labour of the young men of a larger family group, although the use of reciprocal labour relations is not widespread.

The confinement of the household to the members of a nuclear family in the majority of cases combined with the reluctance of many households to use outside labour and the avoidance of the types of social relations which reciprocal labour arrangements invariably entail, are indications of the comparative independence of the nuclear family as an economic unit. Even in cases where the household is obliged to spread its labour resources and move away from the direct control of its pastoral and agricultural activities, there is often a tendency to avoid dependence on kin relations and employ "professional" shepherds and day labourers on a cash or al partir basis.

The case studies which are the subject of the next section of the chapter will look in detail at the ways in which a number of households have developed economic strategies which utilise their productive resources as efficiently as possible in their efforts to supply the consumption needs of their members. The division of labour within the household and the networks of relations which it maintains with others in the locality and wider region will be described. In this way it will be possible to see the extent to which individual households act as independent units, and the areas in which they become reliant on help from outside.

8.2. Household economy and inter-household relations: four case studies

The present section describes the household economy, division of labour and inter-household networks employed by four households in Tomas.

1. The first is a household whose total economy relies on its involvement

in pastoralism (largely centred on cattle) and agriculture. Although their main residential base remains in the puna, their daughter lives in the village for much of the year, caring for her younger brothers and sisters, as well as her own children, while they attend school.

2. The second household is one of the poorest in Tomas. Although, in the past, they were independent pastoralists, the decline of their herds over recent years due to parasitic infestation has led to their heavy dependence upon the salary which the man earns in the Dinamarca mine.

3. The third is a predominantly pastoral household which has involved itself in trade through the opening of a small shop in the village. While the woman spends much of her time running the shop and caring for their children in the village, the man travels between puna and village caring for his animals when he can. However, his occupation of the post of presidente of the communal administration, as well as his involvement in commerce, have meant that he is only able to spend part of his time with his herds, which are principally in the care of a shepherd.

4. The fourth is a household with one of the most diversified economies in the the community. Although they own a small number of animals which are cared for by shepherds, their principal interests lie in the village. Here they administer the post office, keep an inn and eating house, and run a small vegetable business from the house which they own on the Plaza del Carmen.

In the following paragraphs the effects which these economic strategies have on the division of labour within each household, and the networks of relationships which it maintains with other households, both within and beyond the locality, will be discussed in greater detail.

Case 1: Aristedes and Gregoria

The household of Aristedes (age 55) and Gregoria (age 45) includes, besides themselves, their daughter, Zoila, who is 23 and has two small children, their son, Edison, who is 15, and still at school in the village, and their two younger daughters, also at school. They also have a daughter, Crisalda, who is 21 and now lives in Huancayo, where she is working as a trader in order to pay for her education. Whilst she is not actually part of the household on a permanent basis, her parents still send her money when they can afford to do so.

The household relies for its subsistence exclusively on the herds of 21 alpacas, 40 sheep and 20 cows which they own, as well as the fields which they cultivate in the valley.

The routine management of the herds, which are all kept on the same estancia in an area of the lower puna,⁵ is carried out by Aristedes and Gregoria. They drive the animals out to graze each day, with the alpacas usually being taken up to higher ground, the sheep to a lower area of the estancia's grazing and the cattle kept close to the buildings from where an eye can be kept on them. Although they do not spend all their time with the animals, both of them make regular trips out to see that they are safe and have not strayed during the day. In mid-afternoon Gregoria milks those cows which are in milk (they had a maximum of ten milking cows in 1980) and makes her cheeses (between two and five when there are cows in milk). At evening the alpacas usually return to their corral alone, while the sheep and cattle must be herded into safety.

Although Aristedes and Gregoria mostly work alone, they are



22. Gregoria milking on her estancia in Singua

occasionally helped in their herding tasks by their daughter Zoila. Because she lives in the village with the children at school, she only comes to the puna at the weekends and during the school holidays (from January to March), when she helps to supervise the lambing. However, when the milking cows are moved down to the village to graze on the stubble left after the harvest, she is responsible for the daily milking and cheese making.

During times of intensive pastoral or agricultural activity the household uses a combination of its own labour and that of peones. The whole of the family resident in Tomas moves up to the puna during the school holidays. At this time Aristedes and Gregoria prepare the wool for the weaving of costales, while Zoila takes over the milking and cheese making from her mother. The animals are particularly at risk at this time and the younger children are also expected to help in their supervision.

Because they have relatively few animals to shear (9 alpacas and 30 sheep in 1980), the household does not have recourse to outside labour for this task which, in 1980, was undertaken by Aristedes and Edison. During shearing Zoila and Gregoria take on a variety of jobs which include the holding of animals which are being sheared, preparing a meal for the household and caring for the younger children.

Unlike shearing, the household employs peones in the cultivation of its fields. This is largely because Aristedes has a chronic illness, while Gregoria stays almost all the year in the puna with the animals. As a result, in the cultivation cycle of 1979-80, they employed four peones in the clearing, hoeing and weeding of their fields. None of these men

was related to the family and they were paid in cash, as well as food, coca and alcohol for their work. On the other hand, Zoila and Aristedes undertook the planting of the fields alone, and the harvest was completed with the help of the other children.

Wider networks: the networks which the household has established in its trading relationships, like those which it employs in production, appear to have little reliance on kin. Thus, in 1980, they sold their sheep wool to one of the wool factories in Huancayo, and their alpaca to a wool warehouse in the same city. As they have so few animals, they do not sell meat, keeping it only for domestic consumption. The sales which they do make are exclusively of live animals - sheep, and, most importantly from the point of view of their cash income, bulls - to the travelling dealers who come from Huancayo. The cheeses which they sell are mostly taken to the village and sold there, although a certain number are also amassed for use in barter in the Mantaro valley.

Although the household admitted that they did not make a trip for barter this year (because there was "too much work"⁶), they described the conduct of such trips in other years. They said that they usually make four costales from llama wool which they buy from Flora, the widow of Aristedes' cousin, who lives close by their estancia. They spin and ply the wool themselves, but the weaving is done by any of the weavers who live near them in the puna. They also take 20-25 cheeses.

Aristedes makes the trip by bus and goes to stay with his daughter, Crisalda, in Huancayo. From there he travels to Sicaya to make the trade with anyone in the village, returning with maize and quinua.

Although the household appears to live largely independent of outside

help or cooperation, they do give small amounts of their harvest away in gifts to Gregoria's sister who lives in Tomas and has twelve children, "because she is poor". They also send money to their daughter in Huancayo to help her in her studies. In neither case do they receive direct recompense for their gifts, although they are able to stay with Crisalda when they are in Huancayo.

Comments: this case shows the degree of independence enjoyed by those pastoral households with sufficient animals to enable them to live independently and a large enough labour force to fulfill other tasks without neglecting their animals. However, the fragility of the independence of the household is obvious from the important role which the labour of their daughter has for the older couple. If she should leave, as she would like to, and join her companero in Huancayo, they would be hard pressed to keep up their production and care for their children in the village. Particularly Aristedes' delicate health threatens their independence, since he is not fit for heavy work. Without Zoila they would have to depend far more heavily on the labour of their son, Edison, who would not, however, be willing to milk cows for them since that is "women's work". And without his help they would have to seek help from relationships outside the household.

Case 2: Emilio and Francisca

Emilio (aged 56) and Francisca (aged 54) live with their four youngest children in Tomas. All their older children have left home. The first is married and works in the Dinamarca mine, while their second son works in Yauricocha and their two daughters have domestic jobs in Lima

(although these three are "studying").

Their domestic economy is based on the wages which Emilio earns in the Dinamarca mine, as well as their limited pastoral stock, their agriculture and the contracts for weaving and knitting which they are able to fulfill in their spare time.

Since Emilio works full time in the mine and Francisca lives with him in the village caring for their children who are still at school, their herds are left largely alone in the puna. They do not have the surplus to enable them to employ a shepherd on a formal basis, although their compadre keeps an eye on their animals which share his estancia. However, their numbers are declining through disease, and even more through neglect, so that it is possible that they will be left with none in the near future.

Although Emilio is not able to leave his work at the mine, during the school holidays Francisca and the children move up to the puna to care for their animals in the lambing season. However, in 1980 they had no lambs, all the pregnant animals having aborted as a result of their poor health.

Despite his full-time work in the mine, Emilio and Francisca undertake all the intensive tasks of pastoralism and agriculture alone. Thus Emilio sheared three alpacas and eight sheep over the weekends when he was not at the mine. They worked together on all the tasks of cultivation, with the help of their children during harvest (the division of labour which they used in their agriculture is discussed more fully in Chapter 7.2.).

Wider networks: While they sold their sheep wool to a local Tomasino wool dealer, that of their alpacas was sold to a dealer from Huancayo. They do not kill animals for meat except when they need the cash, and buy what meat they can afford from other Tomasinos. When they have a cash shortage they sell animals to whichever meat trader will pay them for a carcass. However, because of the deteriorating quality of their stock, what they sell fetches a poor price.

In spite of his full-time engagement in the mining economy, Emilio still maintains his involvement with pastoralism through his work as a weaver, both for others and to supply goods for his own barter. Francisca also takes on whatever spinning and knitting work she can find, as well as making clothing for her own family. This employment gives the household a small subsidiary income and has also been an important means through which they are able to secure a part of their food without recourse to cash.

Although I do not have details of his 1980 barter, in other years the household has bought wool from Emilio's brother's son-in-law to make costales. Emilio also makes scarves and saddle bags which he takes to Sicaya in the Mantaro valley and Lampa in the high jungle. He has compadres with whom he stays in both villages. However, it is possible, considering the increasing economic problems which the household is suffering and the difficulties which Emilio now has in finding the time to make such trips, that this part of their economy will be greatly reduced and may even be discontinued in future years.

Besides the compadres which Emilio has in Sicaya and Lampa, he has also established such relationships with people in Tomas. In the past, the

most important of these has been with his cousin, Florentino, who keeps an eye on his herds. However, as the household's economy declines, that with Eliseo, who is related to him through his mother, and who has helped him out with small loans, is becoming increasingly important. His only other compadre is Arcenio, who is his nephew and one of the wealthiest men in Tomas. However, he said that he gained "nothing" from that relationship.

Comments: this case varies from the previous one in that their herds have fallen below a viable level and the household has been forced into engaging in other activity fields as a means of survival. Perhaps the most significant point which arises from this case is the irrevocable way in which pastoralism has declined as an aspect of the household's economy. Whilst, in the initial stages, the loss of animals through disease, led to a steady but gradual decline in production, once the household had too few to ensure their survival and had been forced into engaging in other activity fields, there was little possibility of their returning to pastoralism. The call on their time and their enforced residence in the village, made it impossible for the household to attend to their herds. And, as a result of the decline in the size of their herds, they inevitably found it more difficult to continue with other aspects of the pastoral economy, most notably barter: a fact which has pushed them further into reliance on the cash economy. In the end it is almost inevitable that they will be left with wage labour - both Emilio's in the mines and the spinning, weaving and knitting which they do for others - and their agriculture to support their family.

Case 3: Luciano and Alejandra

Luciano (42 years) and Alejandra (40 years) live with his four children, the eldest of whom are Julio, who is 18, and Ludia, who is 17. The five children of Alejandra's first marriage live in the house which she shared with her first husband and are cared for by her eldest daughter, Gladys, who is sixteen. Both Luciano and Alejandra are widows and now have a young daughter who is their mutual child. They support both households, although they do have some help with the care of Alejandra's children from her husband's family.

Their domestic economy is based on pastoralism, agriculture and shopkeeping. In 1978-1980 Luciano was also president of the Junta Administrativo of the community, a job which occupied much of his time.

They have 200 alpacas, 30 sheep and ten cows which are looked after by a shepherd on their estancia in one of the remoter parts of the puna. The male head of the shepherd household is a distant cousin to Luciano, and they work on an al partir basis for the family.

Luciano works part of the time in the shop and carries out the major transactions with the traders who bring wholesale goods to Tomas. He also travels every two weeks to his estancia to check on his animals and to kill any that he needs for the household. Since the estancia is distant from the village, the journey, which he often makes on horseback, takes him three or four days. The remainder of his time is spent on community business, work which includes trips to Yauyos, Lima and Huancayo. He remarked, however, that he would be glad when this cargo was over and he could start to spend more time with his herds, which were being neglected during his period of office, and in his business, which he would like to

expand.

Alejandra spends most of her time working in the shop: a job which she combines with domestic tasks around the house. She also travels to the puna when she can leave the shop, since she keeps her own sheep on her parents' estancia which is adjacent to Luciano's.

Between January and March the whole family moves up into the puna to live with their animals and look after them while they are lambing. The shop in the village is closed down for much of this time and the family engages full-time in the activities of pastoralism. Luciano and Alejandra undertake the spinning, plying and weaving for their costales, all of which work they do for themselves. However, in the summer of 1980, rather than joining their father in the puna, Julio and Ludia went to Lima to stay with relatives, and were not, therefore, able to help in the lambing or shearing of the household's herds.

Because of the considerable size of their herd of alpacas and their involvement in trade, they find it necessary to employ non-household labour during times of intensive activity in herding and agriculture. In 1980 Luciano worked on the shearing of their alpacas with his nephew, Flavio, his cousin, Marcelino, and his brother-in-law, Florentino, as well as his shepherd. Although the first two were paid in wool (one alpaca fleece) as well as coca, alcohol and a meal for their work, Luciano worked with Florentino - who only worked one day while the others came for two - on the basis of ullay. Thus, when his brother-in-law sheared, Luciano went over to help for a day.

In contrast to the size of their herd of alpacas, they have very few sheep, which are the property of Alejandra (Luciano sold all his sheep

several years ago when they started to die from parasitic infestation). Consequently Luciano was able to shear these alone in a single day.

The household uses a combination of its own labour and that of peones in the cultivation of their fields. In the cultivation cycle of 1979-80 they employed two peones in the tasks of clearing and hoeing. These men were non-relatives and were paid in cash, as well as food, coca and alcohol for their work. Luciano and Alejandra planted the seed together and Luciano carried out the weeding alone, while the harvest was gathered by the whole family.

Besides the fields which they have inherited or requested from the community, the household also cultivate a number of fields which are the property of Luciano's uncle, Pablo. Their relationship was originally established when Luciano was a young man and, being an orphan, had few animals. He worked for his uncle as shepherd for five years in the 'sixties on an al partir basis: a job which enabled him to establish his herds of alpacas and sheep. Since that time Pablo has retired to live in Huancayo. Now Luciano cultivates his fields, keeping all the produce for his own household. However, he does send Pablo the meat of two alpacas each year. He, in return, sends Luciano small quantities of fresh maize cobs, broad beans and other "luxury" foodstuffs.

Wider relations: Luciano has a close friendship with one of the community's wool and meat dealers, Marcial, to whom he often sells his clip. Marcial provides him with information on current wool prices in Huancayo and also sometimes undertakes small favours for Luciano when he is in the city. However, when it comes to the sale of his clip, Luciano will only sell to Marcial if he is offering the best price. Thus, in

1980, the household sold their sheep wool to Marcial, while they took their alpaca wool to Huancayo, where it was sold to one of the big wool warehouses. They kept back the whole of their llama clip for the manufacture of costales.

The meat which they had to sell during the year was also, in part, sold to Marcial, while the remainder went to another local dealer who specialises in meat. Their live animal sales were made to "uno de Jarpa" ("someone from Jarpa"), since none of the Tomasino traders deals in live animals.

In July of 1980, Luciano made his trip to barter costales, travelling to Antarpa in the high jungle with Flavio and Marcelino. They travelled on horseback and stayed with friends in the town. Luciano carried four costales, ten alpaca fleeces and three legs of charqui, which he traded for eight 80 kilogramme sacks of maize. He carried them back to Tomas on 16 llamas.

Through the baptism of his children Luciano has established relationships of compadrazgo with three men, all of whom help him to varying degrees in the management of his affairs. The first is a native Tomasino with whom he occasionally engages in relations of ullay. The second is one of the traders from Huancayo (although he is a native of the neighbouring community of Vitis). At times Luciano asks him to bring special orders for the shop. The third is a lawyer in Yauyos, to whom Luciano turns for help with judicial problems.

Comments: in contrast to the first case, this one shows the extent to which inter-household relations may play a part in the economies of certain pastoral households. The involvement which this household has in

other activity fields, the size of their animal holdings and the small size of their labour force (especially since the older children have no involvement in herding), have made the establishment of a wide variety of relationships based on kinship, compadrazgo and friendship an important aspect of their economy. Thus, in spite of their involvement in the cash economy through their shop, and their preference for the employment of peones in major agricultural tasks, the long term importance of their family and friends in the maintenance of their pastoralism is clear.

Case 4: Leonidas and Estela

This household consists of a large number of adult members and only two children. The household head is Leonidas (aged 62) and his wife is Estela (aged 57). Although three of their adult children now live in Lima, in 1979 the other three were still resident in the household. These included Inez (aged 31), Carolina (aged 28) and Denny (aged 17), who was still at school in the village. Also, at that time, Leonidas' ajihada Dina, a girl from the jungle village of Acobamba, was living with them. The two young children of Inez and Carolina were also living in the household.

Although the household has some 85 sheep and 35 alpacas, they have little reliance on pastoralism for their livelihood. Instead, in 1979, they were operating a diversified domestic economy in which Leonidas managed the community's post office, while Estela, Inez and Carolina ran one of the village's main inns, supplying food to teachers and other residents, and lodging for those visiting the community.

Their herds of alpacas and sheep are grazed on separate estancias, one of which was the inheritance of Estela (alpacas), while the other originally

belonged to Leonidas' family. The animals are cared for on a daily basis by two shepherds, neither of whom are related to the family and both of whom receive a straight cash payment for their work.

The whole family spends all the year in the village of Tomas. Much of Leonidas' time is spent in the post office, although he also manages to undertake some of the tasks of agriculture. Once a month he has to make the trip to Lima to collect his salary and, sometimes, receive new instructions or special commissions. Also every week he, or in his absence, Denny or Inez, travels up to the estancia where their sheep are grazed to check on them. However they have less interest in their alpacas, which they visit only occasionally.

Estela has been in poor health for many years and is now only capable of carrying out light work around the house. She helps with the cooking and serving in the eating house, as well as fulfilling the laborious job of spinning for the household's costales. However, she is also obliged to make frequent trips to Lima to see doctors.

Because of Estela's ill health, in 1979 Inez and Carolina were taking the principal responsibility for the running of the inn and eating house. When Leonidas was absent, either of them would take on the work of the post office. However, late that year, the stability of their enterprise was disrupted after Carolina, having given birth to her second child, left the community to join her husband in Morococha.⁷

Shortly after the departure of Carolina, her brother, Denny, left for Lima, in order to try to secure himself a place in the navy. Although he did not manage to do so, he remained in Lima and, shortly afterwards, was conscripted into the army.

This left the household with a considerably reduced labour force, obliging Leonidas to make more of the trips to the puna and pushing Inez to the centre of the domestic economy. In the first place, it became increasingly difficult for she and Estela to keep the eating house part of their inn operating on a daily basis. After a while they decided that, considering all their other commitments, they would close the eating house and only supply meals to those who were staying at the inn.⁸

Leonidas' increased absence from the post office also meant that Inez had to fulfill his role there more frequently. However, since the loss of the regular income from their eating house was a blow to the household's finances, she also started up a regular vegetable business at this time. Thus, each Saturday she left Tomas on the bus for Huancayo at one o'clock. She stayed in the city with her mother's relatives overnight, made her purchases early on Sunday morning, and returned to Tomas by the 11 o'clock bus, which arrived at about four in the afternoon. On Monday morning she had her vegetables ready for sale by 6.30, and she continued working in the inn, the post office and the small bar/shop, which had originally been part of the eating house, throughout the rest of the week.

Although they spend little time with their animals, the household does undertake their own shearing. Thus in 1980, prior to Denny's departure, he went with Leonidas and Inez to help in the shearing (this is, in any case, a time of little commercial activity in Tomas, since there is no school and many of the households are in the puna with their animals).

As with two of the other households so far described, the clearing and hoeing of the fields was carried out by peones. In this case two or three

were employed, and they were paid in cash as well as food, coca and alcohol for their work. The harvest was undertaken by Leonidas, Dina, Inez and Denny, who returned from Lima for the purpose in June.

The household is one of those known in Tomas to employ peones on a casual basis to fulfill odd jobs around the house and fields. There are a few such men who travel from village to village in the region, and who call on them each year in search of work. Thus, in May of 1980, an itinerant peon visited the family and stayed for a few days, doing whatever work they asked. He was paid the usual cash wage (s/.500 or £0.83) for his work, as well as being given board and lodging at the inn.

Wider networks: At the time of the birth of Denny, Leonidas asked Valeriano Rojas, owner of a wool warehouse in Huancayo, to be his son's godfather, thus setting up a relation of compadrazgo with the trader in the hope of gaining a good price for his wool. After the shearing of 1980, he sold his sheep wool to a representative of Rojas' warehouse. However, because of the low price of wool in early 1980 and the small reliance which the household has on its alpacas, they did not shear these animals that year.

Since they have relatively few animals and are, in any case, trying to build up their flock of sheep, they sell few animals for meat or on the hoof. Those that they kill are almost always used for domestic consumption or to supply their inn with fresh or dried meat.

Despite their involvement in trade and the cash economy and the low reliance which they have on their herds, the household continues to engage in barter with the people of Acobamba in the high jungle. As noted previously, Estela undertakes the spinning. Leonidas plies the wool and

they have the costales woven by one of the professional weavers in the village.

In 1980 Leonidas took four costales to trade in Acobamba. He travelled with Dina, who is a native of the village and had only been staying with the family temporarily. They went by bus and stayed with her family, since her father is compadre to Leonidas. Dina did not want to leave her family again and so Leonidas returned alone, carrying back four sacks of maize. Because he travelled by bus, while Acobamba is several miles from the nearest road, Leonidas had to hire a team of muleteers to help him transport his maize back to the road. He arrived back in Tomas late and was very tired after the long journey. However, he felt that the trip had been worthwhile, particularly since the relationship which he maintains with the people of Acobamba is important to him in a social rather than an economic way.⁹

Besides the relations of compadrazgo which he maintains with several households in Acobamba and that which he has with Rojas in Huancayo, Leonidas also has three compadres in Tomas itself. However, these relationships are of less importance to him in the management of the household's affairs, and are mostly evident in terms of friendship between the households.

Comments: the widely diversified economy which this household employs and the lack of dependence which they have on their pastoral activities, makes it very different from the first three cases. It has been shown how they are trying, through a variety of different avenues, to maximise the potential of their labour and capital resources. They have also taken advantage of the central position of their house, which commands the

Plaza del Carmen, where buses stop and small traders operate, and is thus ideal for the purpose to which they have put it. In addition it is interesting to note that this household is Evangelist, whereas most of the population of Tomas is Catholic. Mallon (1983) notes that such a religious conversion is often characteristic of households which wish to expand their economies, often at the expense of their neighbours, and who thus manage to escape the type of moral sanction to which they would be subjected as Catholics.

In conclusion it may be said that these case studies point out a number of characteristics of the domestic economy in Tomas. The first is that at the lower levels of herd size, there is a critical minimum, specific for each household considering its labourer to consumer ratio,¹⁰ below which it is no longer able to sustain itself without recourse to other activity fields. Households whose herds are declining, or whose family size is expanding, and even those who must leave their herds in order to bring their children to school in the village, must invariably engage in some alternative employment to ensure their survival.

At the upper level, though, the decision to diversify is far more dependent upon individual preferences and aptitudes. There are wealthy households which still remain pastoralists, and engage in no trading or other activities: a decision which, considering the communal constraints on the expansion of herding, inevitably leads to the stagnation of their domestic economies. The decision to diversify thus depends upon a number of factors internal to the household: its access to labour, the stage which it has reached in its development cycle (and thus the age of its adult members), and, most importantly, the individual initiative of its

members.

On the other hand, it must be emphasised that, in Tomas, the scope for the diversification of the domestic economy is restricted by the small size of the market, the lack of any form of industrial development in the locality, and the comparative remoteness of the community from population centres, regional markets and other sectors of the wider regional economy. Thus, Luciano commented to me that, "Commerce is the only thing that you can invest in here in Tomas."

As a counter to the limitations of the economy of Tomas, many households have "invested" their surplus capital in the education of their children. The case studies have shown the differences between households whose adults have had little education, but are intent on seeing their own children escape from the hard life of the pastoralist, and those whose adults have been fortunate enough to have received a more extensive education themselves. Thus, in the case of Luciano, without education, trade is his only alternative economic activity to pastoralism, while his children are leaving to try to establish themselves in other economic spheres. On the other hand, for Leonidas, with secondary education despite his 62 years, the opportunities of government employment are available in Tomas.

Finally, the cases have shown how the nature of a household's involvement in various activity fields affects the number and extent of the inter-household relationships in which it engages. It has been shown to be possible for a household to manage its herding and agriculture with little recourse to outside help. And, even when such households cannot fulfill their productive tasks alone, the relationships which they form

with those who work for them tend to be based on cash transactions with professionals, both in terms of productive and trading activities. Alternatively, other households engaging in pastoralism employ extensive and long-term relationships, both locally and in the wider region. Such networks of relations operate in both the sphere of production and exchange, in pastoralism proper and in trading activities. However, the cases have shown that such relationships are not necessarily based on kinship, or even fictive kinship. They frequently involve friends and acquaintances with whom long-term trading and wage labouring relations may be forged. This aspect of cooperation in the Andes has been rather underestimated, largely because of the emphasis which many writers have placed on kin relations in inter-household cooperation (Bolton and Mayer 1977. But see also Long 1972).

8.3. Cash incomes and expenditures: the balance of the household economy

The extent to which the population of Tomas has depended upon the production of wool and meat as its most important agricultural products and upon cash incomes from non-agricultural sources has played a major role in establishing the high cash content of the local economy. Although the majority of households do supply themselves with at least a part of the pastoral and arable products which they need to satisfy their day to day needs, and although many of them continue to engage in the barter for which so many pastoral societies have been noted, at the present time at least, none of them lives without a considerable reliance on cash.

On the other hand, whilst some households are able to supply all their needs through the barter or sale of their animal products, others have found it necessary or politic to engage more fully in

trade. Moreover, such attitudes have become an essential part of relations within the community itself, making the use of reciprocal relations of labour and exchange within the community the exception rather than the rule and reducing all transactions to their cash equivalents, in theory, if not in fact. Thus, when wool is exchanged for rice, flour or sugar, each is first costed at the current market value, and then an exchange is made on the basis of their market equivalence. In a similar way, when a person works on the harvest or shearing of another household, his payment, if made in goods, will be equal in cash value to the sum which he would have been paid in other circumstances.

Although it is a somewhat artificial comparison, it is useful, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the extent to which specific households rely on cash purchase for their consumption needs, to compare cash values of goods purchased to those of agriculture and pastoralism consumed by individual households. Table 24 summarises, in cash terms, the quantities of the goods produced for domestic consumption and compares them with the total of goods bought for cash. The production data have been checked against several sources from the individual households as well as that collected by the Ministry of Agriculture for its agricultural census in 1976 (Ministerio de Agricultura 1976). Whilst it has not been possible to thoroughly check consumption data except between the two individual questionnaires, they do show certain similarities with data given by Figueroa (1984).¹² However, it should be

noted that, because of the small size of the sample, the data may be skewed by the characteristics of individual households. The tables should therefore be read as an indication rather than a representation of the household economy in Tomas.

Table 24. Cash values of home-produced goods consumed and goods purchased by sample group of households, categorised according to range of activities: 1980 data (in pounds and percentages) ~~for 17 households~~

Occupation categories	Cash values of goods consumed*				Total	
	Home-produced	%	Bought for cash	%		%
1. Pastoralism only	196	23.8	627	76.2	823	100
2. Pastoralism and weaving	237	32.8	485	67.2	722	100
3. Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving	98	11.6	795	88.4	843	100
4. Pastoralism and commerce	166	11.6	1264	88.4	1430	100
5. Pastoralism and wage labour	235	12.8	1601	87.2	1836	100
6. Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce	311	13.4	2013	86.6	2324	100
Average percentages		17.7		82.3		100

*At market prices in 1979-80 and at the exchange rate of s/.600 to the pound (see note 11, Chapter 7).

The households concerned are those of seventeen comunero families with whom I completed a number of detailed questionnaires on production and consumption which are set out in full in the Appendix, as are the data which have been used to draw up the tables. The same group is used to supply data for all the tables in the chapter.¹¹ They were chosen, as far as possible, to represent a cross-section of the economic groups in the population, and in all the tables they are grouped in accordance with main occupations so that their economies can later be related to their major sources of cash income. In Table 24, the first in the series, the

actual cash sums are shown as percentages of total goods consumed in order to make the direct comparison of the different groups more clear.

The table shows the great extent to which all households in Tomas depend upon cash for the supply of their consumption needs. Whether they are pastoralist, resident in the puna, with no outside source of income, or combine their pastoral activities with trade or wage labour, the goods which they consume are obtained predominantly through cash purchase.¹³ Whilst the table gives an average of 82% of goods purchased out of all those consumed by a household, there is a degree of variation between the seven groups described in it.

Those engaged purely in pastoralism have only a 24% reliance on their own produce. However, the group with the lowest consumption of purchased goods is that of households which engage in pastoralism and weaving. Although this is a restricted group in the survey, it would appear that the reason for this is the comparative poverty of households in this group. They have recourse to weaving as a source of cash because their herds are insufficient to supply their needs. And, without other sources of cash income, the amount which they are able to earn is very small.

All the remaining groups have very similar percentages of goods purchased in comparison with those produced for consumption. The variation is less than two percent between the groups (between 86% and 88%), which would appear to indicate a great similarity in their dependence on goods purchased for cash. However, if the actual sums being spent are considered, the differences in the access which the groups have to money and domestic product are apparent, with the households of group 6 consuming considerably more in terms of goods purchased and produced than

any of the households in the other groups.

As a result of the importance which money has in the day-to-day maintenance of the average household in Tomas, the following study of patterns of consumption deals only with that section of the domestic economy which is converted into cash. Although this will not make possible a full understanding of the economies of individual households, it will indicate the main sources of cash and the ways in which the different livelihood strategies employed by specific households affect their access to cash and, therefore, to many of the goods which they require for consumption.

Income data

The data discussed in this sub-section indicate the principal sources of cash available to the same groups of households which appeared in Table 24 in the previous sub-section. They are set out in Table 25 which lists all the major income sources of the households in the sample, and identifies the average incomes in each of the six occupational categories. In this way it is possible to see the major and minor sources of cash for each of the different groups, and determine the extent of the reliance which households in any group has on a particular activity. However, it should be noted that, since they are averages, the figures do not give exact incomes for any one household.

The data point to a number of features of the economic strategies of households in the separate groups. In the first place it is apparent that the households with the smallest overall incomes are those at the top of the table (in Groups 1, 2 and 3). These households are the exclusive

Table 25. Annual cash incomes for sample group of households, categorised according to range of activities: 1980 data (in pounds and percentages) for 17 households

Occupational Categories	AGRICULTURAL INCOMES				NON-AGRICULTURAL INCOMES				GRAND TOTAL
	Wool sales	Meat/ animal sales	Milk/ bullock sales	TOTAL	Commerce	Wage labour	Crafts	TOTAL	
1. Pastoralism only	173	130	269	572	-	-	-	-	572
%	(30.2)	(22.7)	(47.1)	(100.0)	-	-	-	-	(100)
2. Pastoralism and weaving	106	282	0	388	-	-	110	110	498
%	(21.3)	(56.6)	(0.0)	(77.9)	-	-	(22.1)	(22.1)	(100)
3. Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving	108	80	90	278	-	282	81	363	641
%	(16.8)	(12.5)	(14.0)	(43.3)	-	(44.1)	(12.6)	(55.6)	(100)
4. Pastoralism and commerce	528	297	93	917	254	-	-	254	1171
%	(45.1)	(25.4)	(7.9)	(78.4)	(21.6)	-	-	(21.6)	(100)
5. Pastoralism and wage labour	306	114	0	420	-	943	-	943	1363
%	(22.4)	(8.4)	(0.0)	(30.4)	-	(70.6)	-	(70.6)	(100)
6. Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce	331	500	201	1032	280	890	-	1170	2202
%	(15.1)	(22.7)	(9.1)	(46.9)	(12.7)	(40.4)	-	(53.1)	(100)

pastoralists, those who engage in pastoralism and weaving (this includes spinning and knitting), and those who engage in these two activities as well as wage labour. The aggregate incomes for these households come to only slightly over half that of any of the other groups.¹⁴

When that part of the income which results from pastoralism is considered, however, this straight division of the groups of households is not so clear. Whereas it is obvious that those households with few herds are engaged in wage labour and weaving, there is a distinction between those who engage in wage labour alone (Group 5) and those who undertake work as weavers as well (Group 3). This difference in total income arises from the high wages earned by the former in comparison with the latter (who work in the Dinamarca mines, or as peones). It is reflected in the extent of reliance which households in Group 5 have on wage labour as a source of income in comparison with pastoralism. In fact, households in this group have the highest reliance on non-agricultural sources of income - nearly 71% of their total - of all the groups in the survey. For those in Group 3, who earn low wages, this figure is only 44%. The household of Emilio and Francisca (Case Study No.2) is in this group.

Although the cash income which exclusive pastoralists make from their herds is larger than any of those in Groups 2, 3 and 5, it is smaller than those of the groups of households which engage in commerce (even when this is in combination with wage labour). Besides the fact that there are no particularly wealthy pastoralists in the table (see note 14), this fact largely results from the lower requirement which the majority of pastoral households have for cash. Living in the puna where there is still a strong dependence upon barter and goods are frequently

"bought" in bulk, and not having the extra expenses (and temptations) of the village, they often live comparatively cheaply and have a restricted need for cash. The household of Aristedes and Gregoria (Case Study No.1) is in this group.

As noted in the previous paragraph, it is evident that those households with the largest incomes from pastoralism are those with interests in trade (Group 4), and those with widely diversified economic strategies (Group 6). This fact is an indication of the way in which some of the wealthier pastoral households have diversified their economies in order to spread their capital resources and avoid communal constraints on their economies.

However, it is clear from the table that the households in Group 6 not only have large pastoral incomes, but also earn considerable sums through their wage labour and their involvement in trade (together these make up 53.1% of their total income). The household of Leonidas and Estela (Case Study No.4) is in this group. In this they are contrasted with the households of Group 4 who have considerable pastoral incomes, but only manage to supplement these to a limited degree through their trading enterprises (21.6% of their total income). They would thus appear to be at an earlier stage of economic diversity. The household of Luciano and Alejandra (Case Study No.3) is in this group.

Consumption data

In order to offer a clearer picture of the total domestic economy of the households in the survey, Table 26 sets out the major areas of consumption for which goods are purchased and gives average annual expenditures for the households in the six activity field categories.

In spite of the great difference between total expenditures, with the wealthiest spending more than four times that spent by the poorest, it is notable that differences in the proportions of expenditure disposed of in the various categories is generally not great. Only in certain specific areas do the differences between the categories appear significant. As a result the table shows up the generally similar life style of the various activity categories, but also points to those areas of the domestic economy where differentiation leads to variations in domestic needs and aspirations.

The most important area of all the domestic economies in the survey, and one in which there is comparatively little variation between the activity categories, is that of foods and basic needs. In all cases it is evident that by far the largest percentage of the domestic income is spent on these goods. However, whilst this figure varies between 77% for households with the largest expenditures (those in Group 6) and 92% for those with the smallest expenditures (in Group 2), in none does it fall below 70%.

There is a certain degree of variation between the percentage of their expenditure which households in the different categories allocate to clothing and school supplies, with households of Groups 1 and 2 as well as 6 spending a much lower percentage on these goods. In the case of the first two groups this is largely due to the fact that such households are most often based in the puna where rustic clothing - usually in a very poor state of repair - is generally worn. In addition, though, these households have relatively few school age children and do not, therefore, have large bills for school uniforms and equipment. The case of the last group in the survey is harder to explain. However, since these households

Table 26. Annual expenditure for sample group of households, categorised according to range of activities: 1980 data (in pounds and percentages) for 17 households

EXPENDITURE CATEGORIES								
Occupational categories	Food & basic needs	Clothing /school supplies	Travel	Rents & services	Medical needs	Pastor /peon	Major purchases	Total
Pastoralism only	471	54	17	18	14	8	45	627
%	(75.1)	(8.6)	(2.7)	(2.9)	(2.2)	(1.3)	(7.2)	(100)
Pastoralism and weaving	445	33	7	0	0	0	0	485
%	(91.8)	(6.8)	(1.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(100)
Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving	648	102	7	25	9	4	0	795
%	(81.5)	(12.8)	(0.9)	(3.2)	(1.1)	(0.5)	(0.0)	(100)
Pastoralism and commerce	872	171	140	10	16	55	0	1264
%	(69.0)	(13.5)	(11.1)	(0.8)	(1.3)	(4.3)	(0.0)	(100)
Pastoralism and wage labour	1165	212	48	14	17	27	118	1601
%	(72.8)	(13.2)	(2.9)	(0.9)	(1.1)	(1.7)	(7.4)	(100)
Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce	1549	150	131	13	26	46	98	2013
%	(76.9)	(7.5)	(6.5)	(0.6)	(1.3)	(2.3)	(4.9)	(100)

do, in fact, spend a relatively large sum (as opposed to proportion of their expenditure) on such goods, it appears that there is limited scope for even the wealthiest of households to spend money on clothing and school supplies.

Other significant areas of variation appear in the expenditures made on travel, the employment of shepherds and peones, and the purchase of major articles. In the first of these it is evident that those households which have the greatest need to travel are, first, the exclusive pastoralists (Group 1), second, the wage labourers who work outside the community (Group 5) and, third, the traders (Groups 4 and 6). The remoteness of the estancias of many pastoral households makes regular trips to the village or the city of Huancayo an important aspect of the domestic economy. Since these are nowadays most frequently undertaken by bus or truck, the cost of transport is significant in the domestic economy. It is also evident that men who are employed in Yauricocha while their families remain behind in Tomas will have to make repeated trips between their place of work and the community. However, those households which engage in commerce - and most notably those which operate as meat and wool traders (as those households of Group 4 most usually are) - travel continuously and over a large area, making transport costs one of their major household expenditures.

As may be expected, the table shows that it is those households involved in outside activities and with the largest incomes who expend most on the employment of shepherds and peones. Their absence from the puna for much of the year and the amount of time which they must spend engaging in non-agricultural work, as well as their increased access to cash, make them the principal employers of wage labourers. However, it should be

remembered in this context that, while almost all agricultural work is paid for in cash, in many shepherding contracts at least part of the payments are made through al partir arrangements, or in payments in basic foodstuffs.

Finally, the variation in expenditures on major household items should be noted. While all households must, at certain times, make such purchases, the table shows the concentration of such expenditures in those groups with the highest general expenditures (Groups 5 and 6). The exception to this general rule appears among the group of exclusive pastoralists (Group 1) and is explained by the fact that one of these households had recently moved into the village to take its children to school, with the resultant need for household furnishings.

Thus, on the one hand, the table shows the wide variation in the scale of household expenditures between the six categories and, on the other the broadly similar ways in which such expenditures are made. Moreover, as has been indicated in the above description, those areas of significant variation in the ways in which expenditures are made point up important differences which exist between the economies of the households in the activity groups presented in the table.

Production and consumption: livelihood strategies

The data presented in the tables set out in the previous two sub-sections have shown the ways in which households in the six activity categories make the money which they need for the maintenance and reproduction of their households, and the ways in which these incomes are disposed of. They have shown the marked degree of economic differentiation which

exists between households in Tomas and the ways in which different economic status is related to the livelihood strategies which individual households employ.

Table 27. Summary of incomes, expenditures and per capita consumption for sample group of households, categorised according to range of activities: 1980 (in pounds sterling)

Occupational categories	Agricult. incomes	Non-agricult. incomes	TOTAL INCOMES	Expend- itures	Total consump. units*	Per capita consump.
1. Pastoralism only	572	-	572	627	3.64	172
2. Pastoralism and weaving	388	110	498	485	3.33	146
3. Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving	278	363	641	795	3.82	208
4. Pastoralism and commerce	917	254	1171	1264	5.09	248
5. Pastoralism and wage labour	420	877	1363	1601	5.45	294
6. Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce	1032	1170	2202	2013	5.78	343

*These figures are based on the Lusk coefficient as it is used by Epstein (1967). Under this system for calculating the consumption requirements of a household, adult men are assigned a value of 1.00, females over 14 years and all children of 10-14 years are 0.83, children of 6-10 years are 0.70, children of 1-6 years are 0.50, while babies under one year are zero. For example, a household which consists of one man, two women, one child over 10, two between six and ten and one baby, would have a total of 4.19 consumption units.

As a conclusion to the presentation of these data on the domestic economy, in the present sub-section the data presented in the two previous tables is here set out in summary form alongside data on household composition taken from the same families. In this way it is intended that a more complete picture of the total domestic economy will emerge, and the differences of household size will be mitigated.

By placing incomes and expenditures side by side the table points out a

number of interesting characteristics of the economies of the households in the survey. Most apparent is the fact that households in several of the groups do not appear to have balanced economies. This disparity is due to a number of factors and results from both shortcomings in the method of data collection and changes in the economic status of the households over the period of the survey. In the first place a major shortcoming of the questionnaire on consumption was the fact that it was only completed on two occasions: in June and September. As a result, while efforts were made to facilitate the seasonal adjustment of the data (such as the collection of information on bulk purchases, and seasonal variations which were evident to the informant), the fact that the data were collected at a time of year when many households still had access to cash from shearing (particularly in June), and when cows were in milk, many households may have been buying at a level above which they would be able to later in the year. In fact evidence of the growing constriction of the economies of certain households appeared when two men from the sample took temporary jobs in the Dinamarca mine in August.

Finally it was apparent that, since I became friendly with many of the members of the households with whom I worked in the completion of these questionnaires, some of them made great efforts to please me, and may have exaggerated their purchases for the previous week. Thus, while there was often a reticence to give accurate information about production figures and salaries, many of the women discussing their week's purchases, may have exaggerated their scale, particularly in the second of the two questionnaires on consumption.

Whilst these factors must be taken into consideration when the table is studied, I believe that it, as well as the two previous ones on which it

is based, provides useful insights into the domestic economy of the households in the survey. Moreover, this table, having specific data on household size, makes possible a clearer estimation of the scale of economic differentiation in Tomas.

Study of the table reveals that households in Groups 1 and 2 have per-capita consumption levels below £200 per annum. Exclusive pastoralists have a low per capita consumption, but, as has been mentioned previously, since these tables include only those aspects of the economy which earn or expend cash, the greater reliance of pastoralists on barter, to some extent mitigates the low levels of their cash consumption. On the other hand, of all groups of households, the members of those in Group 2, have the lowest per capita consumption level. This fact fits with their low income and expenditure levels, making those households which engage in pastoralism and weaving, amongst the poorest in Tomas.¹⁵

Households in Groups 3, 4 and 5 have per-capita consumption levels of between £200-300. Although those in Group 3 have access to a wage, it is obvious from this table that it is not high enough to push their per capita consumption greatly above that of the those households in Group 1. Those in Group 4, being amongst the households which are in the initial stages of the diversification of their domestic economies, have per capita consumption levels intermediate to the two groups of wage earners: they are neither poor enough to be forced into wage labour nor do they have the history of economic diversity in earlier generations of their families which would enable them to engage in well paid wage labour. Those in Group 5, being educated wage earners, have secured good salaries which make their per capita consumption second highest in the table.

Those households in Group 6, who have the most widely diversified economies in the survey, also command the highest per capita consumption rates. The expansion of their economies into a number of fields has made it possible for them to live at the highest standard possible in Tomas, as well as to educate their children. It is also possible that, in the future, they will move away from the community after their children have left.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, while the households in the last three groups of the table have the highest income and expenditure levels, and the highest per capita consumption, they are also those with the largest number of consumers. This fact points to two characteristics of these households which are relevant to the present study. The first is that such households are most often at the stage in their life cycle when their households are largest and the comparative dynamism of their economies is partly related to the age of the household heads: they are neither young families trying to establish themselves, nor aged ones who have passed on much of their property and their responsibilities to their children. The second characteristic is that many such households, having older children still resident in them, have access to larger labour forces than those at different stages of their life cycle. Consequently, they may often be in a position to engage in a wider range of activities than households in other groups.

In summary, it can be seen that, from the six groups presented in the tables, three approximate areas of economic viability emerge. These areas, while they relate in the present context to levels of income and expenditure, have been discussed elsewhere in relation to their general characterisation of the economy of Tomas.¹⁶

In the first place there are those households which control sufficient herds to remain as independent pastoralists (Group 1). Although such households have relatively small incomes and expenditures, their reliance on their own subsistence production and barter, as well as the lower level of demands which the life of the puna makes on the supply of cash, enable them to maintain a viable, if low, rate of reproduction for themselves. The second major grouping are those households who, having insufficient herds for their survival, have been obliged to engage in local craft activities (spinning, weaving and knitting) and/or take up low paid wage labour in the locality (Groups 2 and 3). These are most often the poorest households in Tomas, and many of them find the reproduction of their economies very difficult. The third major grouping consists of those households which, because of the large size of their herds and/or their own educational standards, have been able to diversify their economies in an effort to reduce their reliance on pastoralism and to increase their own wealth (Groups 4,5 and 6). While some of the households in these groups have relatively small animal holdings, the size of their earnings from wage labour and trade make pastoralism marginal to the reproduction of their domestic economies. Whilst there are a small number of wealthy pastoral households which have remained in the puna, resisting the diversification of their domestic economies, it is clear that households such as those in Group 6 are amongst the wealthiest in the community.

8.3. The changing domestic economy in Tomas

The dynamics of a given local economy are made more clearly visible through the study, in time and space, of the economic and organisational outcomes of individual livelihood decisions based on personal economic and social circumstances. Underlying a comprehension of these dynamics, a study of the ways in which households create viable strategies based on economic alternatives whose opportunity structure is readily available to them, must be made. Thus, the data presented in this and the preceding chapter have indicated the ways in which particular households deal, or attempt to deal, with the problems of survival and possibilities of expansion which exist in the community of Tomas.

Whilst Chapter 7 discussed, in terms of division of labour and productivity, the various economic activity fields in which Tomasinos engage, the present chapter has dealt with the ways in which individual households combine activities to create viable strategies capable of satisfying their particular needs. When the needs of individual households are compared with incomes from all sources, it is possible to see how all factors - wealth in terms of livestock, household size and composition, levels of education and individual ambitions and preferences - combine to affect the livelihood decisions made by each household.

The case studies presented earlier in this chapter have pointed out a number of ways in which households with different labour and resource bases have solved (or attempted to solve) the problem of survival in Tomas. When these data are viewed alongside the data presented in the tables on cash incomes and expenditures, a clearer picture of household

strategies emerges.

In the first place, the case studies demonstrated the extent to which the independence of the pastoral household depends upon the size of its herds and the labour force which it has at its disposal. Of the households with viable herds, only those with adequate numbers of productive members are capable of caring for their livestock - even on a day-to-day basis - without recourse to outside help.

Although some households do get by with little use of non-household labour, where inter-household arrangements do exist, they are based on a variety of relationships and include several different types of contract. Thus there are inter-household relations between kin, fictive kin, friends and acquaintances. Payments may be made in cash, kind, or labour itself. The factors which operate in such alliances depend on the access which both households have to labour, time, cash and agricultural products.

As has been shown in the tables in Section 2, the households of many independent pastoralists have a smaller cash income and lower reliance on cash than those of the majority of other households in the community. Their life in the puna, where rustic clothing is worn to the point of disintegration, where there is no electricity, few shops and an increased dependence on barter, makes fewer demands for cash upon the household. On the other hand, while there are a small number of wealthy independent pastoralists, the majority of those who live on the produce of their herds alone receive only a restricted income from them. Their low reliance upon, and access to, cash do generally allow such households to enjoy a modest standard of living. However, without other income sources,

they remain totally dependent upon the resources of the community and therefore subject to its controls.

In contrast to the group of independent pastoralists, it is necessary for those whose herds fall below a level at which the household can survive on their produce, to find alternative sources of livelihood. Unlike in agriculture, where a piece of land, no matter how small, may serve to supply a part of a household's needs, once the size of a herd has dropped below the level of viability (i.e. below a level at which its reproductive rate is sufficient to replace animals which die or are sacrificed for use), its decline is often irrevocable. Moreover, because of the need for constant vigilance, when a household seeks work away from the puna, animals are lost through neglect. Whilst such losses may be suffered even by those households which employ a shepherd, for those who do not, they are inevitable.

The move away from the puna has two principal effects on the household. In the first place there is a change in the division of labour within the household, with the woman and children taking greater responsibility for the herds and fields. Secondly there is an increased reliance on cash as the household's access to the produce of their herds (and possibly their fields), and their involvement in barter decline. Yet, according to the tables, those households which employ diversified economic strategies as a result of the inadequacy of their herds, are amongst the poorest in the community. Thus the strategies which they use, while they are often the only possibility for such households, do not markedly improve their standard of living.

While trade has been seen to be engaged in by both wealthy and poor

households in Tomas, its most evident role is as an alternative cash source for those households with large numbers of animals. For these households, which start to diversify their economies in order to spread their capital resources, trade is the only real alternative to pastoralism. On the one hand, commerce is a means by which risks are spread over a wider area of economic activity. On the other, it is a hedge against communally enforced constraints on economic expansion. The spread of a household's economic interests into other fields thus decreases its dependence upon the community and its resources.

Whilst, amongst households with large herds and only limited commercial interests, dependence upon pastoralism remains high, those with more widely diversified economic strategies often rely most heavily on their alternative economic activities for their livelihoods. In either case, though, increased involvement in the cash economy is coupled with greatly increased cash incomes, making some these households amongst the wealthiest in the community.

Coupled with their increased incomes, such households have far greater expenditures than the majority of exclusive pastoralists or poor wage labourers. They are most often in a position to employ shepherds as well as engaging a larger percentage of wage labour in agricultural tasks. They spend far more on food, clothing and major purchases than the other groups. And, while it has been noted that there is a limit beyond which even the wealthiest households in Tomas can spend their cash within the community, there is little doubt that these households enjoy a far higher standard of living than the majority of the population.

Whilst the data presented in this chapter have been almost exclusively

based on the situation in Tomas as it appeared in the year 1979-80, they do point up certain changes which are occurring in the ways in which households create viable livelihood strategies for themselves. Thus, in the context of changes which are happening in the wider economy, it is possible to project the direction of change which the households presented in the cases studies and tables suggest.

For those households which have, either now or in the past, owned large herds of animals, the opportunities of diversification have become the most important means of economic expansion in Tomas. In the past, the limitations of pastoralism on communal lands restricted the extent to which any but the wealthiest and most ruthless were able to expand their economic base within the context of the community. Over recent years, though, the extension of transport links and the development of the regional economy, have made the diversification of the domestic economy a feasible option for a number of households in the community. In addition, the spread of new attitudes towards education and the image of an urban life style which many parents would now wish to see their children enjoying, have led to the progressive investment of capital in education.

These new alternatives and attitudes have led to the creation of a sector of the population whose domestic economies are in various stages of diversification based on the capital from extensive pastoralism. These economies are all attempts by individual households to maximise the capital and labour resources which they have at their disposal. As noted in the case studies and the tables, such diversity generally starts with investment in trade, though in second generations investment in education frequently leads to either professional occupations within the village or migration to the mines and cities which lie beyond it.

For those households with insufficient herds the changing regional economy has also opened up the possibilities for economic diversity. In the past, households with an inadequate pastoral base would have had to find work as shepherds or leave the community on a semi-permanent or permanent basis. Lately however, the increase in mining activity in the area and the improvement of transport links has made it possible for them to remain in the community. On the other hand, the removal of the man's labour from much of the work involved in pastoralism and agriculture, has led to the increasing involvement of other members of the family - most notably women - in such tasks.

In addition, the removal of a growing sector of the population from the direct control of pastoral and agricultural production has led to the increasing use of semi-wage labourers in these activities. Through the employment of shepherds, peones for intensive agricultural and pastoral tasks, and weavers for the manufacture of costales, economic differentiation within the community is made apparent. And while capitalist relations of production are not widespread in Tomas, the extensive use of cash (or cash equivalents) and the marginal importance of any forms of "reciprocal" relations, indicate a tendency towards such formalised relations.

Thus the data presented in this chapter have shown the extent to which the role of cash in the domestic economy in Tomas has changed. Whilst it has been emphasised that there has always been a high degree of reliance on cash by a pastoral population which must exchange much of what it produces in order to survive, it is clear that the cash now gained from pastoralism is being invested in other fields. The progressive decapitalisation of the pastoral economy is the basis for the expansion

of commercial ventures, education and migration from the community.

Moreover, as both rich and poor households spread their economies into economic activity fields other than pastoralism and agriculture, they reduce their dependence on communal resources and thus the extent to which the community is able to control their economic activities. For many such households, their broad-based economies, their reliance on the village and their ambitions for the education of their children, place them in a very different position to those pastoralists who remain in the puna. The predominant role which men from this sector have played in the administration of the community has enabled them to push forward many of the recent improvements to the urban area - sometimes to the detriment of the puna. The conflicts which have arisen as a result of such different aspirations are evident in the conduct of many of the community's recent projects, a number of which will be the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

1. As in the case of the variance between the conditions of the meat and wool trade in the puna, or the limitations imposed on the political ambitions of full-time employees of the government described in the previous chapter.
2. This situation is similar to that found by a number of other researchers in different parts of Andean Peru. Lambert writes that "In the Andean region...households based on nuclear families...control productive resources and allocate consumer goods" (1977:5). Figueroa also notes that "the peasant family is typically a nuclear family" (1984:14)
3. In this way the data provide a far more complete view of the total household strategy than is possible by the type of data used by Arce (1980:73) where only primary and secondary occupational data are given.
4. Though this figure drops dramatically where pastoralism is considered a secondary occupation. In such cases only 11 (27%) said that they involved themselves in the daily tasks of herding.
5. The estancia buildings are located at about 4000 metres above sea level, although its pastures rise steeply above that to some 4400 metres above sea level.

6. This was a common reason given by households who had not carried out certain pastoral activities during the year: their herranza or marking ritual, the manufacture of costales, their trip for barter. It was not clear whether this was a genuine individual problem or an excuse made to explain the declining interest in these activities in Tomas.
7. She did not, however, take her older son with her, since he is not her husband's child and is happy with his grandparents in Tomas.
8. It is interesting to note that they still continued to give regular meals to the Head of the Nucleo Educativo, whose presence in their house gave them prestige.
9. The family consider the people of Acobamba to be rather backward. They speak no Spanish and Dina had been sent to learn the language and the ways of the more "advanced" people of the mountains. Leonidas has had compadres in the village for many years and brought a number of young girls back with him to help in the house.
10. See foot note number 18 in Chapter 7.
11. The data presented in this section is based on data gathered from twenty households who took part in a survey of production and consumption in their household economies. Unfortunately, only 17 out of the 20 households which were used in the overall economic survey gave data on consumption which was comprehensible in terms of "household economy". Of the remaining three, two were the households of ageing couples, and were so much involved with and reliant upon the economies of their adult children, the majority of whom were then resident in the city, that it was impossible to see at what point the Tomas economy finished and that of the city residents began. Whilst the data given by the other was consistent, its economy set it in a group on its own, thus giving purely individual figures for each income and expenditure category. As a result I felt it better to exclude all three households from this part of the study.
12. Although Figueroa's statistics for the annual expenditure of households in the southern highlands are lower than those which I collected in Tomas, he does emphasise that his data show "the extreme absolute and relative poverty in which these families live" (1984:42). On the other hand, I have noted that the majority of households in Tomas are comfortably off.
13. Figueroa notes that own-consumption amongst a group of agricultural communities is 51%: a fact which he notes contrasts markedly with the image of peasant society as "closed", "self-sufficient" or "outside the market" (1984:43).
14. It should be remembered, however, that there are some wealthy pastoralists in Tomas. One of the households in the survey had a pastoral income of the equivalent of £1200. However, this household does not appear in the tables (see note 11 above), although its production data are set out in the complete income table which is reproduced in Appendix 1.
15. Because all the households in the survey have at least a few animals, this statement excludes those households - largely aged couples and single women - who have none. It is these who are often the very poorest in the community: one or two of them reduced to the level of beggary and theft.
16. See Chapter 1 where these three groups of households are described in more general terms.

CHAPTER 9 : COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN TOMAS

Introduction

The interface between community and household is an area of dynamic interaction which has in the past been rather neglected by researchers. There are many studies based on community level data, while others have taken the household as their unit of analysis. By contrast only a small number of writers have seen the interaction of the two as a subject of interest for research and thus started to break down the traditional image of the solidary nature of the Andean community.

However, this solidary image has been called seriously into question by a number of recent works (Long and Roberts 1978). Such studies show that, even though a given community employs certain of the mechanisms associated with the ideal collective image of the community - communal ownership of lands and other goods, collective labour organisation for the improvement of the community - it cannot be assumed that it retains "a community organisation even more solidary than in the past" (Matos Mar 1982:81). Moreover as Winder notes, in the majority of cases such works as are undertaken benefit the urban and frequently the wealthy sector of the community to a greater extent than they do the rural one, although all comuneros are expected to contribute to them equally (Winder 1978).

The question remains: what is a peasant community in real terms? On the one hand it appears to be a group of individual households, each trying to sustain or expand its economic base on a restricted land area. Households act competitively and exploitatively of each other. Those who occupy political offices frequently appear to manipulate their position to their own advantage. Yet, seen from different perspective, the community strives to constrain the excesses of some of its most powerful members, to offer the poorest at least a minimal base for survival, and to present a united front in the face of external threat.

As has been noted earlier in the thesis, the formal power in the peasant community is vested in its administrative organisation. This is arranged along two separate lines. One consists of the council of the community itself - the Junta Administrativa - whose role resides in the day-to-day management of community affairs and the organisation of communal works. The other is the municipal authorities which mediate between the community and state by ensuring compliance with national laws.

The role which the community authorities may be seen to play takes two principal forms. In the first place they act to administer and control the use of the community's resources and, in the second, they oversee the conduct of obras or works undertaken by the community as a totality.

The extent of the first aspect of its role varies in accordance with the land base on which the community is founded. Thus, in agricultural communities whose lands have often been largely privatised, the communal authorities may be left with little to administer. Alternatively, in pastoral communities, much of whose land remains under communal control, the community may retain considerable power over the domestic economies

of its membership.

The projects of road construction and repair, the building of schools, municipal offices and other facilities undertaken for the benefit of the population, may be seen as a form of taxation by the state on the peasant population. Although loans are sometimes made against a given project, and technical assistance may be made available, the community does not expect more from the national government. In this context the community operates as a quasi-state organisation. It fulfills many of the tasks which, under other circumstances, would be undertaken by the state apparatus.

The importance of the "state-like" qualities of the community are borne out by the attitude which many of its membership have towards it. Whether they are resident in the community, or migrants from it, people from the community consider themselves first as members of a named peasant community and only secondarily as nationals of Peru. The people work for the "progress" of their community. They may openly compete with other communities in their works, so that their community may appear to be the most progressive in the locality.

It has been emphasised that the political organisation is largely dominated by certain wealthy and powerful sectors of the population who strive to improve communal facilities for their own benefit. And we have noted how, for much of the remaining population, the role of the community is largely restrictive, with only the poor being dependent upon the access to land which the community ensures. Yet, the fact remains that, where the community retains rights over sizeable areas of land (as it does in a pastoral community), it continues to play a vital role in

the constraint of economic differentiation and the equalisation of access to its resources. And this in spite of the fact that it is politically in the hands of people who might conceivably see greater benefit for themselves in the suppression of these ideals of communal equality.

It would thus appear that there is a contradiction between the political and economic objectives inherent in the organisation and management of the modern peasant community. While, in economic terms, a given power group may strive to gain access to a greater proportion of communal resources than they are legally entitled to do, in political terms, both the ideal of communal equality and the restraining power of the majority of the population make such appropriation virtually impossible. This conflict between individual profit and the communal ideal of equality is at the foundation of many of the instances of cooperation and conflict which have characterised the recent history of Tomas, some of which will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

9.1. The role of the community

The peasant community, as described by the Agrarian Reform, is "a group of families which possesses and is identified with a specified land base and which is related through common social and cultural links, collective forms of labour and mutual aid and, essentially, for all activities related to agriculture" (Estatuto Especial de Comunidades Campesinas 1970:4). Whilst this is an idealised image of cooperation which, in many cases, exists only in modified form, the description does indicate the

role which the community attempts to play in the administration of its population and resources. In fact, as noted by Long and Roberts, such "internal patterns of cooperation and community-based enterprise are, at times, inhibited by the household-based nature of peasant organisation" (Long and Roberts 1978:298). This situation is clearly illustrated by data from Tomas which relates to the role of the community in the organisation of communal work and the regulation of the household economy.

According to its internal statute, in matters regarding the agricultural economy of individual households, the communal authorities are bound to fulfill the roles of collective landlord, government and arbiter of disputes. This role frequently brings those in positions of power into conflict with a large proportion of comuneros whose self-interest outweighs their sense of obligation to the "community" as a whole. In the words of those who wield political power, the community is continually trying to tax and control the exploitation of its resources for the good of all, while few comuneros are willing to cooperate freely with this ideal. In the following paragraphs the community's statutory role in, first, the pastoral, second, the arable and third, the commercial economies will be described in detail. In this way it becomes possible to identify more clearly just what role the communal organisation plays in the lives of the majority of the population, and the potential areas of abuse which reside in the power which its political authorities wield.

Pastoralism

Since all land outside the urban centre is owned by the community, it has control over the allocation of estancias and may, therefore, move

households from one to another for its own benefit (as it did prior to the establishment of the two communal farms in the community), or as a punishment for what it considers to be anti-social behavior on the part of the estancia's occupants. Cases in the archives record households being moved as a punishment for repeated thefts carried out by household members, and others where the threat of being moved was used to persuade parents to bring their children to school. However, in spite of the community's theoretical power in such situations, in practice it rarely attempts to wield it and, when it does so, the extent of its success is often limited.¹

Continual references are made at communal meetings to the need to improve the grazing in the puna zones by the introduction of high-grade meadow grasses, the repair and extension of the ancient irrigation system in the puna, the introduction of a policy of pasture rotation and the redistribution of the population into the more remote puna zones. However, there are no references to the completion of any such schemes. Periodically a fox or puma hunt is organised or a campaign of weeding is announced, but the community has so far been able to do little to preserve and improve the quality of its major resource in any permanent way in the face of disinterest on the part of its members.

In 1961 a series of measures was introduced in an attempt to control over-grazing in the most densely populated areas and to limit the disproportionate exploitation of pasture by some households at the expense of others. These included the introduction of an animal census to be recorded biennially in a Libro Agropecuario, ceilings on the size of herds and a head tax on stock which gave preference to sheep as the most productive species. It is arguable to what degree these measures have

been responsible for the decline in maximum herd size over the intervening period, or for the changes in the relative numbers of the different species. In the case of horses and llamas, for instance, it is impossible to tell whether the continuous campaign which has been conducted to persuade people to reduce their numbers and the high head tax on them have led to the declines in the numbers kept by the majority of households, or whether it has been due to other external factors.²

The community has also attempted to improve the health of the animal population and the quality of its wool by an annual policy of dipping against skin parasites. The community's dipping pens were built in 1953 with financial and technical help from the Banco Agropecuario. It has been in use most years since then with the exception of those in which water shortages or hard frosts prevented it, or, on some occasions, when it has been in need of repair. The low tariff per head on animals dipped and the recurrent problems of skin parasites which affect both the animal's health and the saleability of its wool, have made dipping a generally acceptable aspect of the community's role and attendance is usually good, in spite of the problems of driving animals to the dipping pens, sometimes in bad weather and over considerable distances. However, when the pens have been in need of repairs, the labour required to carry them out is often difficult to recruit through the communal faena, and, on a number of occasions, outside contractors have been brought in or the dipping has been abandoned.

Agriculture

Ownership of arable land in Tomas is divided between individual households and the community. All the fields which are located within the

urban area and immediately above and below the village are privately owned. The remaining lands which extend up the narrow valleys of the rivers Singua and Siria are in communal possession and their use is controlled by the administration.

The area of private arable land consists of small, but relatively level and regular fields behind some of the houses in the village, the valley floor below the village to the boundary with Alis and a small area above it along the floor of the river Siria. Their ownership is limited to a small number of households which, in spite of the lack of documentary evidence, have had customary rights in them for many generations. Their existence is sanctioned by the community statutes and they constitute the only area of arable land where comuneros are free to plant as and when they please. This lack of control and their greater accessibility do mean that they tend to be planted more intensively than do other communally owned fields, although their use does not appear to differ greatly from that of the other arable zones.

In those arable areas which come under community control, the statutes specify that the Junta Directiva is obliged to redistribute lands annually in order to ensure that each household has a holding appropriate to its needs. The Junta also has control over the rotation of cultivation and the timing of planting, weeding and harvest in all community-owned lands (Estatuto de la Comunidad de Tomas 1963).

After a prolonged study of community archives dating from the 1940's, I found no reference to the redistribution of arable lands, the Junta Directiva restricting itself to the reclamation of unused lands and the distribution of vacant plots to applicants. Indeed, the communal nature

of tenure in this land is not considered to be primary by many comuneros, with fields being "inherited" by a user's descendants almost as a matter of course.

Over the same period the community has retained its control over the organisation of production to a far greater extent. The communal arable zone is divided into seven planting areas which are used according to a seven year rotation which includes four years of fallow and three of planting. It is the community which specifies which area will come into cultivation in the following year, as well as the times for planting, weeding and harvest. In this way it is able, not only to supervise the exploitation of its lands, but also to control their grazing by animals such as cattle, horses and donkeys, so as to minimise crop damage by them. However, any and all of these directives is liable to be ignored by certain comuneros who plant when and where they please. Fines imposed by the community tend to relate only to the straying of animals onto cultivated fields - an occurrence which quickly arouses people to anger - and not against infringements of the regulations governing cultivation - which do not.

The control which the community has over the cultivation cycle means that, in theory at least, it has far more say in the management of the arable sector of the household economy than it does in pastoralism. However, the small-scale nature of arable production and the lack of pressure on arable lands, combined with the people's tendency towards individualism and self-interest have necessarily limited the scope of its control which, in certain respects, has become nominal rather than actual.

Trade

The third area of the household economy over which the community has a measure of control is that of trade. All traders, both local and from outside the community, must be registered by the Junta. This regime is closely adhered to in the village, though the type and extent of trade in the puna is far harder to assess and control. Shopkeepers in both the village and the puna stations, for instance, pay for a licence which gives them the right to trade. The itinerant wool, meat and guano traders who operate in the puna, though, pay nothing to the community.³

Most recently the community has made a concerted attempt to bring a larger area of the trade which is carried on in its lands under its control through the construction of a covered market. To this end, in 1979 it bought an area of land adjacent to houses on the edge of the village and, in July 1980, work began on excavating the foundations of what was to be a three storey building.

Communal work

The lack of control which the communal administration has in the puna is similar to the situation described for agriculture and is a reflection of the limitations on the power of the community to control and direct the management of its resources as a whole. The village is the centre of its activity, both in its programme of improvements and its capacity to limit the individualistic tendencies of its members. This situation is clearly illustrated when the role of communal work projects (faenas) is considered.

The faena is still a widely accepted form of labour in Tomas although its

effectiveness is becoming increasingly doubtful as more comuneros absent themselves from the work, preferring to pay the fine thereby incurred. As a result, where large-scale projects are concerned - particularly if they are in the puna - the community is increasingly inclined to employ wage labourers and charge the community members a tax or cuota to pay for it.⁴

Over the past thirty years faenas in Tomas have been used for the construction and repair of roads and bridges, community buildings, schools, a bakery and, most recently, a market, as well as for the installation of a supply of running water and electricity: all of which have centred on the village. In the puna it has been used for the construction and repair of the dipping pens and several programmes of weeding. Projected works on rebuilding the ancient irrigation systems in the puna have never been undertaken and other tasks, such as the building of a shearing and lambing shed for the sheep cooperative remained unfinished in 1980, in spite of having been started in 1973.

Attendance at faenas is poor and has been for many years. Data from the 1950's show that only some 43% of those detailed to attend for a week's labour actually appeared, with almost all of the remaining comuneros absenting themselves without explanation. In October 1980 a notice appeared on the blackboard in the Plaza del Carmen announcing that some 82 men and 22 women had not appeared for faena duties over the previous days. Indeed, over recent years it has become both simpler and more advantageous for many comuneros to pay the fine of a day's wages rather than to attend for the work - and many do not, in any case, pay their fines. At the shearing for the community's sheep cooperative, a combination of poor weather and only 50% attendance at the faena obliged the cooperative's authorities to employ an independent contractor to do

the work. The man who undertook the contract was a comunero who sub-contracted other comuneros to work with him and all were paid in cash from the profits of the shearing.

Table 28. Faena attendance between 1971 and 1980

Year	Attending TOTAL			Absent TOTAL		% attending	
1971	71	16	87	45	32	77	63
1973	--	--	--	50	20	70	--
1980	46	24	70	82	22	104	40

The record of attendance at faenas over the period has been uniformly poor with only 50% attendance in 1974. Table 28 lists the available data on attendance for the period 1971 to 1980. It shows an increasing rate of decline over the past decade which accounts for the community's present labour policy on communal projects.

In recent years there has been an increasing tendency to limit the use of faena labour and rely instead on wage labour paid for by the community. The construction of the covered market, for instance, which was first discussed in 1953 and was only just being started in 1980, was to be contracted out to various comuneros who undertook to organise the conduct of the work. One of these, Avencio Melo, who no longer lives in Tomas, but still takes an active interest in the conduct of communal affairs, told me that the market was to be built with hired labourers. All those who wanted work would be given it and would be paid by the hour. Costs and wages were to be paid for out of a state subsidy, as well as from the proceeds of the shearing in the sheep cooperative. On the subject of the roofing of the shearing shed for the cooperative itself, he remarked that that would now be completed by peones as well, because "the village has

other things to do: they don't come. So as not to have the problem, we'll pay. It will cost maybe six or seven hundred thousand soles, just to put on the roof and install a wooden floor. But it is our intention to shear inside next year."

From what has been said it may appear that, as other writers have indicated, the community exists as an entity which continually works to sustain itself and to constrain the activities of individual enterprises (Friedman 1980). Thus, on one hand, through faenas, taxes and the obligations imposed on comuneros to attend assemblies and bring their children to school, it maintains its viability as a stable, yet progressive, sodality. On the other, it uses its powers to restrain the entrepreneurial tendencies of the wealthy and the powerful. However, such an image of cooperation within the community masks the tensions which are embedded in its organisation and which frequently erupt in open conflict. Most importantly, the control of many key political positions by just those individuals who stand to gain most from the improvement of local facilities, means that that the community, far from being the equalising tool of the collectivity, is often used for personal advantage by a small number of powerful, village-based, households.⁵

9.2. Conflict within the community

In the preceding section the opposition which certain herding households present to the economic and social control imposed by the community was introduced as a major limitation on the power of the communal

organisation. Friedman describes peasant household reproduction as involving "important communal and/or class relations which limit the penetration of commodity relations into the productive process" (Friedman 1980:162). The community is seen as a group of individuals who share rights in agricultural resources and who, through collective action, constrain the individualistic tendencies of certain members and therefore limit the possibilities for capitalist expansion. As a consequence she concludes that "peasant households typically do not relate even to product markets individually or competitively" (ibid.:165).

Whilst it is arguable that a household's ability to relate directly to product markets excludes it from the category of "peasant", the fact remains that in many so-called peasant communities the opposition between collectivity and individual household is a central aspect of the political and economic life.

One example of the ways in which certain households find themselves in opposition to the community of Tomas is found in the case of Catalina Rodriguez who, following the death of her father in 1954, attempted to prove her legal ownership of the estancia and agricultural lands which she inherited from him, as well as a house in the village (where land is predominantly in private hands).

The community opposed her claim on the grounds that all communally owned lands reverted to the community on the death of their occupants. Moreover they argued that "no comunero has the right to own community property", not even "a millimetre of land." They made a counter claim in the courts for the expulsion of Catalina and her husband, Juan de Dios, from the community and some even called for the destruction of all the houses and

buildings on the disputed lands.

However, finally sense prevailed and after a year of litigation a settlement was made. In October 1955 two guardia civil (police) came to Tomas to enforce the conditions of the settlement. These were that the community should desist from its legal action against Catalina and her husband if they, in turn, agreed to nullify their claim to property rights over the estancia. On the other hand, the couple's claim to agricultural lands, in spite of their location in the area of communal lands, was upheld. Moreover, the court decreed that they should retain the right to live on the disputed estancia and remain as comuneros, with access to communal agricultural lands, for as long as they both lived.

Notwithstanding this judgement, the ill feeling engendered by the case prompted Catalina and Juan de Dios to leave Tomas and they spent the rest of their days with their children in Lima. In 1979 their heirs offered the lands and the house in the village which they had inherited for sale to the community. The administration bought them both and, in 1980, was intending to convert the house into a long-awaited medical centre for the village.

On the one hand, the case shows the lengths to which certain households will go in their efforts to establish themselves as independent from the community. It is notable that Juan de Dios was a well educated man who had operated as a technician for the Banco de Fomento Agraria for a number of years and had a close involvement with the community during this time. This was not thus a naive attempt to break away, but a calculated strategy to try the strength of the communal organisation. On the other, though, the case shows the united front which the community

could present when confronted with a threat to its territorial integrity. While it lost a part of its agricultural lands in the short term, over the longer term it proved itself to be greater than any single household of its membership.

Factionalism in community politics

In Tomas, we have seen how comunero households may be divided into three broad economic categories. These, it will be shown, make it possible to interpret many of their political attitudes with reference to their economic status.

The first consists of those pastoralists who, because they are able to support themselves by means of their herds, tend to be individualistic and want to avoid interference of the community in the organisation of their production. The second group consists of those poorer households whose use of communal resources is constantly threatened by the ability of wealthier herdsmen to expand their activities at the expense of their neighbours. On the other hand, households in this group frequently benefit less from communal enterprises, whilst finding themselves forced to contribute as much, and sometimes more, than other, wealthier households. Members of the third group include those wealthier households which are frequently involved in trade or professional activities and are often residentially based in the village, whilst retaining interests in the agricultural side of the economy. Many of the men of this group constitute the politically ambitious sector of the community. It is they who have fought over the years to modernise the community, most notably in terms of the opening of schools and improvements to the village and roads. In certain cases they also capitalise on their political power to

exempt themselves from some of the restraints which the community places on its members.⁶

Conflicts which arise between the community and households in Tomas are very often an expression of the interaction between members of these three groups. The community is largely represented by the traders and, in certain situations, by the poorer village-dwelling households, whilst the bulk of independent pastoralists - some of whom are amongst the richest members of the community - remain aloof and sometimes hostile to its objectives. It is their ability to evade or over-ride the constraints which the community places on them which gives scope to much of the economic differentiation in Tomas. And the opposition between these two forces results in much of the lack of cooperation and conflict which is evident in communal relations (Winder 1978). On the other hand, the ways in which the communal authorities take advantage of their political power is often covert and, while it results in jealousies and whispered accusations, is frequently allowed to continue so long as it remains discrete.

The division of the wealthier households in the community into those who specialise in herding and remain isolated in the puna and those whose economies are more diversified and who concern themselves with the community's political and economic progress, is borne out by an investigation into the relationship between political and economic activities. Of the eighteen men who have been politically most involved in the community over the past 30 years (this includes the holding of political office and membership of committees), only five were included amongst the ten households with largest animal holdings at any time over that period as Table 29 demonstrates.

Table 29. Political power and animal holding in Tomas 1940 to 1980

Name of house- hold head (in order of number of offices held)	Position in ranking of ten wealthiest pastoral households		
	1948	1965	1978
Socrates	-	-	-
Juan de Dios	-	-	-
Aristedes	-	-	1
Ricardo	-	-	-
Pedro	6	7	4
Fortunato	-	5	-
Vidal	-	-	-
Manuel	8	-	-
Orestes	-	-	-
Roberto	-	-	-
Teodosio	-	-	-
Amador	7	8	7
Moises	-	-	-
Eutemio	-	-	-
Orestes	-	-	-
Victor	-	7	3
Simon	-	-	-
Gilberto	-	-	-

Furthermore, although the heads of the wealthiest animal holding households had almost all held office at some time (though the richest family head is never even mentioned in the archives), their roles are most often minor and, in some cases, are poorly carried out.⁷ Also, there are several cases of women among the wealthiest animal owning households and they are excluded from holding political office.

Thus it would appear that the lines of basic conflict in the community are drawn between those who, because of their involvement in life in the puna, and their desire for the expansion of their own domestic economies, have little interest in the progress of the village, and those traders and other village-based comuneros whose livelihoods stand to benefit from any improvements to the urban area. Very often those who do not live in the village take little part in community politics, only holding office

when they are obliged to do so. The politically ambitious tend to live in the village for most of the year and to be those most in favour of the many projects to improve its facilities. Thus those who benefit from the projects undertaken in Tomas differ from those in other communities studied by writers such as Grondin. For, whereas he notes that "the communal organisation...served to benefit certain socioeconomic groups, such as the better educated and those with more capital resources..." (Grondon 1978:122), in Tomas much of the puna-dwelling population remains unaffected by such projects regardless of their economic status. Projects in the puna have been limited to the construction of dipping pens in the early 1950's and the establishment of two collective farms whose profits have largely been used to underwrite the costs of improvements to the village. Other schemes to irrigate the puna and sow commercial meadow grasses and clover have never been undertaken.

As a result the community, far from being the personification of the ideal of collectivity, exemplifies the struggle between differing interests amongst its members. Those who benefit most tend to be the better-off, urban residents, while the poorer village-dwellers and those who live in the puna, often resent the ways in which the community is managed, and the monopolisation of the credit for improvements by a small and powerful elite. The types of factionalism which result from this situation appear through the context of the examples of community projects detailed in the next section.

9.3. The case of the communal farms and the installation of electricity in Tomas

The conflicting ideologies which divide the community of Tomas are best illustrated through the examination of some of the projects which have been undertaken as part of the community's "progress" in recent years. Consequently, the present section concerns the establishment and development of the two pastoral cooperatives - one for sheep started in 1964 and one for alpacas in 1974 - and the project which has been the main beneficiary of the profits earned from these two ventures - the installation of electricity in the community, which was completed in 1979.

The pastoral cooperatives

The community's sheep farm was established in the northern sector of its lands in 1964 with technical and financial aid from the Banco de Fomento Agropecuario. Part of the land chosen for the farm had been the subject of a dispute over ownership with the Cerro de Pasco Corporation which claimed that it had been purchased by the hacienda Consac in 1911 and was therefore part of the Corporation's property.⁸ The creation of the farm was used by Tomas in its bid to regain the disputed lands and reinforced its claim for further lands from the hacienda Jatunhuasi.

The farm's original stated aim was "to obtain profits to be divided in equal parts amongst all shareholders, in so far as their original contributions were equal". The community was to receive only 20% of the profits, while 10% was to be retained as a reserve fund (Actas 1959). Each comunero was ordered to contribute two healthy eighteen-month old

sheep, and households occupying the estancias in the area chosen for the farm were ordered to move to other parts of the puna. Although there was some resistance among comuneros to making a contribution to the farm's stock, by mid-1964 all but 18 had brought their animals to add to the herd and it was decided that the profits from the first shearing should be used for the purchase of breeding stock.

The alpaca cooperative was a much later addition to the community's collective enterprises, being established in 1974. Once again comuneros were asked to contribute capital vivo - this time of one eighteen-month old female alpaca, preferably white in colour - to the communal stock, and households occupying the estancias in the region of Contadera were told to move to other estancias. However, in this case the extent of cooperation was far less than it had been for the sheep farm. By 1978 many comuneros had still not brought their capital vivo and the cooperative, which is situated in a central region of the community's pasture, was suffering continual trespass by the animals of neighbouring estancias.

Over the years both the sheep farm and the alpaca cooperative have been blighted by problems of non-cooperation. There is a constant reluctance to fulfill their obligations among both members and their elected officials. Each member is expected to fulfill a certain number of days' work for the benefit of the farm every year, and is required to undertake the roles of management and routine maintenance as part of his obligations. However there is a constantly high level of absenteeism at faenas for shearing, marking and lambing, and elected officials frequently fail to fulfill the tasks of management and accountancy and have, on some occasions, been found stealing both livestock and cash from

the cooperatives.

One of the major projects which both cooperatives have tried to undertake has been the construction of shearing and lambing sheds. That destined for the sheep farm was started in 1970. By 1974 a bricklayer had to be employed by the community to complete the walls and in 1980 the roof still had not been added. Alpacaperu recommended the construction of a shed for the alpaca cooperative in 1979, but work had not been started when I left late in 1980. Moreover, from the beginning the sheep farm was managed by Moises Dionisio who had spent all his younger working life as a manager on the haciendas of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. He introduced modern methods of pasture management, encouraged the introduction of improved stock and the use of modern veterinary practices. The cooperative was dependent upon his skills and dedication so that, when he retired from the community in 1975, there was a great deterioration in the standards of husbandry and a consequent loss in production.

Notwithstanding the problems which these collective projects have experienced over the years, though, they have both made considerable contributions to the community's economy. In 1969 profits from the sheep farm were used to purchase corrugated iron sheets for the roofing of the municipal offices. In 1970, the Agrarian Reform specified that the profits from communal enterprises must, with the exception of that portion which corresponds to the community for rent, be distributed to the cooperative members as dividends (Estatuto especial de comunidades campesinas 1970). However, since that date only two references to the distribution of dividends⁹ appear in the archives. In 1980 each shareholder received a lamb but the president of the Consejo

Administrativo told me that dividends were paid out only every four to five years. On the other hand in 1971 the sheep farm paid for improvements to the school's refectory, in 1973 it gave s/.70,000 (£738) to the Civil Defence Committee for cleaning up works after recent floods and between 1976 and 1979 it paid out nearly three million soles for the benefit of the electrification of the village of Tomas.

The installation of electricity

The electrification of the village of Tomas is the largest project undertaken by the community to date. It has been the subject of discussions and negotiations since 1950 and was finally completed in 1979. Originally work was carried out on a proposed hydroelectric plant based on canalised water from the river Singua; the concrete canal still remains, cleaving to the mountainside above the river. However, in 1975 engineers called in from Centromin proposed a scheme based on a branch supply from the main high voltage cable which supplies the Yauricocha mine.

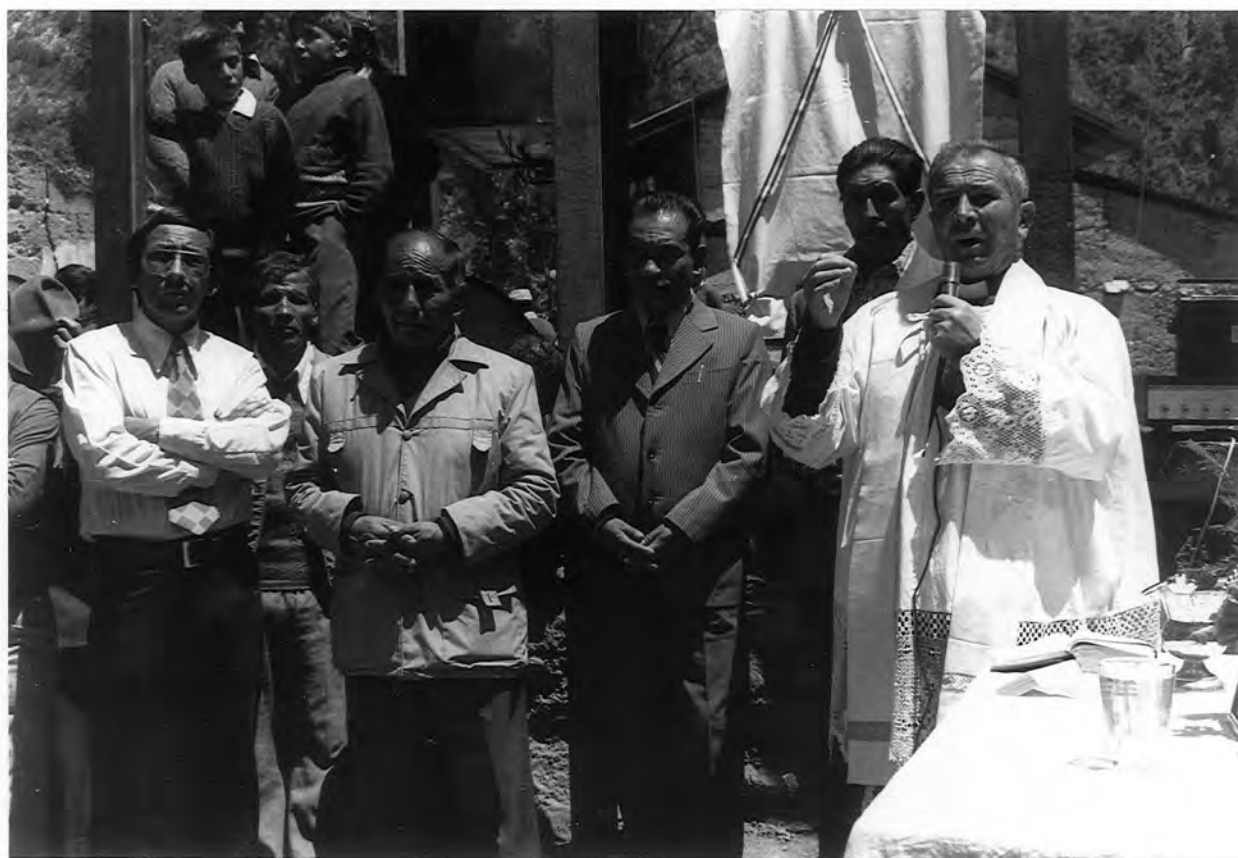
When the scheme was first proposed it was estimated that it would cost some s/.1,300,000 (£14,787), but with continual inflation and the development of problems as the work progressed, the total cost rose steadily until, after completion it was estimated to have cost some six million soles (£10,000.00). As noted earlier the sheep farm provided a major share of this capital, while government subsidies, community taxes and rents from mines occupying community lands provided much of the remainder. The alpaca cooperative also contributed what it could though, being a much newer and smaller enterprise, its profits limited it to relatively small donations. All unskilled labour was supplied by the

comuneros in the form of faenas and, because, as one speaker at a community assembly put it, electrification was considered to be "a project for the general good", all comuneros were asked to pay s/.500 (£0.83) towards the costs.

The project included street lighting, lights in the schools and municipal offices and, if they could afford the installation and running costs, a supply to all houses in the village. However, the scope for inequalities was obviously enormous and, as those households which were resident in the puna stood to gain little from the project, potential areas for conflict were large. The scheme, which was masterminded by a small group of influential villagers, has been the source of considerable animosity in Tomas since its inception. There were jealousies about the comparative advantages of light to different households, about the distribution of the work load between the committee and the remainder of the population and, finally, about the way in which the credit for the scheme - embodied in the form of a stone plaque erected by the transformer - was claimed by that select group of men.

A few days after the inauguration ceremony at which the plaque was ceremonially unveiled, this conflict erupted in violence when, late on a Saturday night, the plaque was smashed. Although there was an air of guilt in the village next day and no-one would admit to knowing who had smashed it, it was generally felt that the perpetrator had expressed the feelings of a large proportion of the population.

The president of the Comite Pro-Luz was Moises Dionisio, the elderly comunero who had managed the pastoral cooperatives for so many years. Although his prolonged absence from the community during his youth meant



23. The ceremony for the inauguration of electricity in Tomas

that he had not held any political offices and, over the years had sold the animals which he kept on community lands, he retained his community membership and is one of the most highly respected old men in the community - in spite of the fact that he no longer lives there.

Both the vice president and the secretary of the committee are senior teachers in the community's secondary school. They are both native Tomasinos who have taken considerable interest in the improvement of the village, particularly in the area of education. Although their full-time teaching jobs have precluded the possibility of their holding political offices and neither of them has much involvement in pastoralism (although one has considerable animal holdings), they are both vociferous in matters of the improvement of facilities and have appeared on several other committees in the past.

The treasurer of the committee is a younger comunero who has employment in the village. He is the secretary of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal and, in spite of being one of the wealthiest pastoralists in Tomas, spends almost all his time in the village. He is also politically ambitious and has held the positions of Governor, President and Mayor.

All of the remaining members of the committee too, are, or have been, politically important in the community. Most of them are elderly, with only two members under the age of fifty. Of the ten members, six are traders, three are elderly and wealthy pastoralists and the last runs the local post office.

Thus it may be seen that the committee which managed the installation of this, the biggest and most prestigious project which the community has undertaken to date, were amongst the most politically active men in the

community and that the majority of them had great interest in the improvement of village facilities.

In summary, the two communal farms may be seen as the creation of the major part of the community of Tomas. Their stated aim was to pay out dividends to their shareholders and, only secondarily, to provide cash for the benefit of communal projects. From the beginning both farms suffered from the reluctance to cooperate by a considerable sector of their shareholders - even after they had contributed their initial investment. However, when the ways in which their funds have been used over the period from 1964 to 1979 is studied, the reluctance of many comuneros to support the farms becomes clear.

The electrification programme, which has been by far the greatest beneficiary of the profits of the two communal farms was predominantly the work of a small group of wealthy and powerful men in the community. Although it has been of benefit to many of the households resident in the village, those households which spend almost all their time in the puna have gained little or nothing from the programme. Yet, not only have all households been expected to contribute in cash and labour, but the profits from the communal farms which should, according to the farms' own statute and the Agrarian Reform, have been paid out in dividends, have largely been used to underwrite the costs of this and other works in the village.

9.4. The changing role of the community

The preceding sections of this chapter have given a detailed account of the community's role in the household economy and in the supervision of communal works. Section two described how the community operates as the collective landlord and arbiter of disputes between individual households and attempts, in theory at least, to control the unequal exploitation of its resources and thus the extent of economic differentiation between households. It was noted, however, that because of the control of the community's political arena by wealthier households and those with interests in trade, very often it serves to further the interests of the wealthy at the expense of poorer households.

In a similar manner, as section four has shown, there is extensive use of communal projects to further the ends of those politically powerful groups resident in the village. In spite of the fact that such projects are intended to operate for the equal benefit of all comuneros and each is expected to contribute his money and labour when called to do so, there has been a marked neglect of the puna regions in favour of works in the village which only a small proportion consider to be their main residence.

It is inevitable that such unequal exploitation of resources which are legally under the equal control of all community members will lead to fierce and protracted conflicts between individuals and factions of the community. The types of conflict and areas of non-cooperation were described in section three. However, the constraints which the community places on the expansionist tendencies of individual households have, in combination with other factors, been instrumental in the diversification

of the economies of many comunero households. Although it has been argued that the community has found great difficulty in controlling the number of animals kept by the wealthier households and the extent to which they are able to monopolise larger areas of puna grazing, there has been an overall decline in the maximum size of herds over recent years. The continuous efforts of the community have been buoyed up by the growing potential for trade in the area as well as by the increasing interest, both nationally and locally, in education and the attractions of the city. The life of the herdsman is becoming increasingly uninviting to young people, particularly those who have received higher education in the city who now find that, considering the limitations of the pastoral economy, there are other, more adaptable economic strategies.

Over the years that power which the community has been able to wield over its membership has been increasingly threatened by the diversification of the domestic economy into activity fields which do not rely on communal resources. As a result, in recent years, the economic role of the community has, to some extent, been marginalised. The continuing communal control of an overwhelming percentage of its land has mitigated the degree of polarisation within the local economy. However, there are certain similarities between the role which the community is increasingly playing in Tomas and that which is described for Matahuasi and Sicaya by Winder (1978). These changes in its role are reflected in the way the community has come to operate in the domestic economies of the three principal economic groups in Tomas.

For those households with adequate herds who engage in no activities which do not rely on communal resources, the community represents a controlling factor in the domestic economy. Whilst it provides such

households with the land on which they herd, it taxes their livestock and sets limits on their herd size. Also, while it exacts contributions in money and labour for the conduct of community affairs and improvements to local facilities, puna-dwelling households stand to gain little from such activities.

For poor households the community offers the "safety net" of arable land which is available to all who have comunero status. However, such lands are very restricted and, since the occupation of puna grazing is dependent upon the ownership of animals, households with few or no herds are not in a position to make use of the community's major resource. Moreover, since the poor do not have the resources to invest in such communally built schemes as the installation of electricity and running water, they are not in a position to benefit from them on equal terms with wealthier households.

Finally, those households which have diversified economies, whether they remain in the community or move to the mines or the cities, are no longer exclusively dependent upon the community's resources and are not, therefore, so much subject to its controls. As they come to rely less on pastoralism, their herds become more important as a "piggy bank" resource to which they can turn in times of need. Where such households remain resident in the community, the men often occupy positions of importance in the political hierarchy, from where they are best able to ensure that the improvements which they favour will be carried out. And even when the households which are no longer resident in Tomas are considered, those with diversified economies are among the most outspoken exponents of the community's need for "progress".

NOTES

1. In the case of the two communal farms, for instance, those occupying the estancias which had been assigned to the new enterprises, had to be told several times to move and, when they had done so, not infrequently moved back when the opportunity arose. Also, in spite of the advice from agricultural engineers to site the sheep cooperative in a more central and densely populated location, it could not be moved because of the strength of opposition to their removal by its current occupants.
2. Notably the advent of motorised transport caused by the completion of the road to Huancayo in 1967.
3. In 1975, following complaints from the Ministry of Agriculture concerning the clandestine slaughter and sale of animals outside the community, several known meat traders were ordered by the community to stop trading. Revelations concerning the illicit meat trade in Tomas were subsequently made in a Huancayo newspaper and the meat traders were told by the local authorities that they had "seriously damaged the honour of the community." Drastic action was threatened: one of the biggest traders was fined s/.3000 (£34.12) and ordered to move his herds to a border estancia. He was told that, if the trade continued, he would be expelled from the community. However, in 1979 and '80 the illicit trade was still being carried on.
4. This situation contrasts strongly with that described by Guillet (1982) where he states that communities use the faena as a collective way of over-exploiting their own labour, and would seem to reflect the high levels of commoditisation in Tomas.
5. It is this aspect of communities in the Mantaro valley which Samaniego, Winder and other authors emphasise in their contributions to Long and Roberts' reader(1978).
6. In the 1960's, 18 comuneros were fined for the occupation of more than one estancia. Yet in 1973, Aristedes' occupation of three estancias was officially recognised by the community. He is one of the wealthiest men in the community and, in 1975 had 412 sheep, 62 alpacas and 29 cows, as well as holding the job of secretary of the Nucleo Educativo Comunal. He had already held the posts of Governor (in 1964), and president of the Junta Directiva (in 1969). Although, with increasing jealousies against his household, he was subsequently ordered to centralise his herds in one estancia, in 1979, when he held the post of mayor, he still had animals in two separate parts of the puna. Moreover, at this time, since the impossibility of confining wealthy households to one estancia was becoming obvious, it was decided to charge for their use rather than trying to evict the occupants.
7. In 1963 Victor was fined for failing to fulfill his duties as treasurer of the Junta Directiva. In 1964, while the whole Junta was criticised for its non-attendance, his fine, which had not been paid, was doubled. In 1979 he again held the post, but was still rarely seen at community meetings or elsewhere, preferring to stay in the puna with his considerable herds of alpacas, sheep and cattle.
8. Details of the process through which Tomas gained access to these lands from the hacienda are given in Chapter 5 of the present thesis.
9. In 1971 s/.220 (£2.37) was distributed to each shareholder, in 1973 each was given a fleece and in 1979 they were each entitled to a lamb - provided that their labour obligations to the cooperative had been fulfilled.

CHAPTER 10 : TOMAS IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

The last three chapters have considered the operation of the household economy within the context of its local environment. Chapters 7 & 8 described the various productive and remunerative activities in which the households of Tomas normally engage, and the ways in which individual households combine such activities to create viable economic strategies which suit their own needs and potentials. The discussion also pointed out the degree of independence which such households maintain in specific economic areas, and the background to the types of inter-household cooperation, the employment of wage labourers and other economic networks which exist between households in the locality.

In Chapter 9 the contentious interaction between households and the community of Tomas was described at length. Emphasis was placed upon the way in which the community as an administrative unit constrains the ability of the individual household to respond to the outside market through a straightforward economic rationale. Thus it encourages economic diversity amongst wealthier comunero households, and fosters the increasing interest which many of them have in the economic and social opportunities of the larger regional sphere. On the other hand, it was

noted that poorer households, unable to sustain themselves on the basis of their pastoralism, are frequently obliged to seek alternative sources of income either within or beyond the community.

In this chapter it is therefore intended to introduce the third level of analysis. The previous chapters have dealt with the local level economy: with households and the economic activity fields in which they engage. The current one deals with the third analytical level by moving out of the locality and treating the linkages which unite the local economy to that of the region. Since the economy of Tomas is most concerned with wool production, the continuing discussion will centre largely on the pathways which wool, as well as other animal products, follows into the wider regional sphere.

The regional position

The extent of Tomas' historical involvement in the regional economy has been noted previously. The restricted nature of its agricultural base and its dependence upon pastoralism have made its relations with the neighbouring arable communities of the Canete and Mantaro valleys an essential aspect of the survival of its population. And since the earliest days of conquest, when it was established as a mine settlement dependent upon labour from beyond the locality and the export of mineral ores, its integration into the national and international economies has been set.

Its remote location and access to grazing for llamas and other beasts of burden has meant that a direct corollary of the community's participation in regional trade has been an involvement in transport. The size of its

llama population and the existence, at an altitude where they cannot thrive, of considerable numbers of mules, is evidence of this involvement in the past, just as the volume of traffic through the village and the puna is today. Moreover, the extended struggle in which the community has engaged with the government over the route and construction of the road to connect the community with Huancayo and Lima has constituted a major aspect of its petitions to the government over the past fifty years. First the Cerro de Pasco railway and then the road have connected Tomas to major mining and urban centres and have been important spurs to expansion of the community's economy into the regional sphere.

In the present chapter the ways in which the domestic economy is orientated within the region will be discussed. In the first section, a sketch of barter and market relations will be used to show how the pastoral household is integrated into the regional economy. Specifically, the discussion will point out the growing extent to which exchanges vital to life in Tomas are dominated by capitalist market relations. In the second section a description of the case of a wool trader from Tomas will be used to delineate the types of networks which pastoralism generates with the city of Huancayo, and the wider economy in general. Finally, the ways in which relations with the region have changed over the past half century will be examined in the light of migrational and occupational statistics for a random sample of individuals born in Tomas over the period.

10.1. Market and barter relations with the Mantaro valley

Tomas' relations with the Mantaro valley are entirely economic and social. In political terms its contacts have been restricted to conflicts over the position of the departmental and community boundaries in the northwest sector of Tomas¹ and the Cerro de Pasco Corporation. Because almost the whole economy in Tomas is conducted at the household level, relations with Huancayo are almost totally restricted to that level. It is through the household that, in the past, relations of compadrazgo were established with households in the communities and towns of the Mantaro valley in order to facilitate the barter of grains for woollen goods and meat. And it is the household now which, through the networks established with the wool warehouses and traders of Huancayo and elsewhere, maintains these contacts with the Mantaro. Only recently, through its sales of wool and meat from the two communal farms, has the community as a collective created linkages with the regional market.

In previous chapters Tomas' dependence upon the Mantaro region for the supply of foodstuffs and other goods has been mentioned in connection with its restricted production base. It has been emphasised that, at least since the time of the Spanish conquest, Tomas has not been an isolated community. Although it is obvious that large sectors of the puna were rented out to local landowners, even at this early date it seems probable that the population of the village kept their own animals, and that they relied on them for meat and woollen products which they could barter for grains in the Mantaro valley. Moreover the involvement of the population in transport and trade was undoubtedly established at that time due to their reliance on the import of consumable goods and their

involvement in the transport of mineral ores.

Whilst its involvement in exchange would appear to be the sine qua non of the existence of a settlement in Tomas, it is far more difficult to ascertain the extent to which the population has been dependent upon barter or the market in its exchanges. It seems likely, though, that there has always been a measure of flexibility in their response to the uncertainties of the national market. In this context it is unreasonable to see the continued involvement of Tomasinos in barter as substitute for market relations. Rather, it would seem that the interplay between relations of barter and the market constitute a positive response by the pastoralists of Tomas to market forces.

Over recent years, changes in the proportion of a household's product which is disposed of through barter as compared with that which is sold directly onto the market, can be seen to have its origin in three separate but closely linked changes in the local and regional economies. In the first place it has been noted that many households are spending less time in the puna than previously. As a result, they no longer have the time necessary to fulfill the time-consuming tasks of spinning, plying and weaving the woollen sacks which are central to the barter process. Although there are now several professional weavers in the community, they do not produce the large numbers of sacks which were made by individual households in the past.

Secondly, the increase in the market value of alpaca and llama wool has made it more "profitable" for many households to sell their raw wool than to elaborate it into sacks, or other woven or knitted goods, for barter in the Mantaro valley. This situation is exacerbated by the declines in

the numbers of llamas kept in the community over the years. Llama wool is usually used to make sacks for barter (though alpaca wool is preferred for domestic use) and, since the price of alpaca wool is far higher than that for llama (s/.850 compared with s/.400), those households without llamas no longer make sacks for exchange. Such a situation would seem to call the importance of "social relations", often emphasised by writers on reciprocity, into serious doubt. And, particularly since the extent to which households from Tomas rely on relations of compadrazgo with valley villages has declined markedly over the period of a single generation, social relations cannot be seen as an important part of barter for Tomasinos.

Thirdly, the development of the Mantaro valley as a commercial agricultural region producing large volumes of cereals and vegetables for the urban markets of Huancayo, the mining centres and Lima, has undermined the local people's interest in bartering their produce for wool and meat. They can obtain all the manufactured goods which they need in the Huancayo markets and, in any case, now demand a far higher exchange rate for their grains than the people of Tomas are willing to pay.

Whilst the implications of these wider changes will be looked at in greater detail in a later section of the chapter, their significance in the present context is that they illustrate the flexibility of the relationship between barter and market trade for Tomasinos. Writers such as Mayer have tended to look upon them as two totally separate exchange systems which have different meanings and significance for the people who employ them, but it is obvious that to the majority of Tomasinos the choice of whether to dispose of their wool and meat through barter or the

market is a purely economic one.

Barter²

There is no early documentation available on the use of barter in Tomas, although it seems likely that it was in use during Inca times and it is even possible that the Inca settlement at Tomas formed part of a system of "vertical control" (Murra 1972) which included arable populations in the Mantaro valley. Whatever the situation which existed prior to the Spanish conquest, though, it would have most probably been destroyed by the removal of the population to Vitis and the introduction of a mining yanacónaje. Nonetheless, relations of barter have been important in Tomas for as long as living memory can recall. Certainly, in the 1940's, it constituted a sizeable percentage of the community's exchange relations with the region.

Barter is a purely household-based form of exchange and links a household directly with others, with no intermediaries being employed. In Tomas it takes two forms: one in which pastoralists travel from their puna residences to the villages of the Mantaro valley or to the high jungle or montana to trade their pastoral produce for grains; the other in which potato producers travel from Huancavelica with fresh or freeze-dried potatoes (chuno) with which they obtain wool and meat.³ However, the former is far more important in the economy of most pastoral households and will be the focus of the present discussion.

Each year, after the shearing of alpacas and llamas in March or April the laborious process of preparing the woollen sacks or costales for barter begins.⁴ The wool selected for making sacks is carded and spun fairly

coarsely by the women of the house. Then it is plied tightly by the men to produce a strong, resilient thread. All weaving is man's work, although the warps may be measured out by a man and woman working together and either of them may sew the finished cloth into a sack.

The type and quality of wool used varies between households, as does the size of the sack made. Some households use alpaca wool for their own sacks and llama fibre for those intended for barter. Others use all llama, while still others use a mixture. Thus the value of the individual sack varies considerably and so does the return which it will bring in barter.

Because of the importance of the durable sacks produced in pastoral communities such as Tomas to the agricultural and trading activities of valley agriculturalists, they have been the most important barter item in the past. And recently, in spite of the decline of their importance due to the import of lighter synthetic sacks, they retain a central ideological role in the exchanges and still provide the measure for the goods exchanged.

However, besides sacks, there are a number of other manufactures and local products which are offered in these exchanges. These include woven saddle bags, scarves and ponchos, as well as wool which is often taken in its raw state. Meat of alpacas and sheep also forms an important part of the cargo, though this is often sold for cash. Some households include dried cheeses which they have saved over a period of weeks or even months for the trip. Although, in the past, all these goods found ready exchanges with valley foodstuffs, in recent years changing market conditions have meant that certain of them are now much easier to find

exchanges for than others. Fresh meat, cheese and raw wool is easily disposed of while the more rustic and durable goods - including the sacks themselves - are sometimes difficult to barter. In recent years barter has changed in both its scale and conduct so that it is not really practicable to talk of it as it was in the early part of this century and as it exists today in the same terms. In the following paragraphs, then, I shall first describe the trip as it is remembered by older inhabitants of the community, and then as it has been conducted in recent years.

i. Barter early this century

Since the price of wool was very low in the early part of the century, little was sold and people made their living by the sale of live animals and their barter of woollen goods, meat and wool. All sorts of things were made for the barter, including gloves, socks, jumpers and hats knitted by women, saddlebags, ponchos, blankets, bayeta (rustic cloth made of sheep's wool) and sacks woven by men and saddlery, notably bridles and ropes, also made by men. A household would plan to make two or three trips a year between May and August when grain crops were being harvested in the valley villages. The main recipients of these goods were the villages of the Mantaro and a few in the high jungle where the best maize is said to be grown.

Only men made the trip, while women stayed behind to look after the household. It was usual for a group of male relatives and perhaps friends to travel together, although each had his own goods to exchange and carried his own grains home. In the days when there were no roads across the puna the trip was made by horse or on foot, with llamas for carriage. The party would travel to several of the villages on the right (western)

bank of the Mantaro river, making exchanges where they could. In those days, since there was much greater demand for their produce, they could make their exchanges where the grain harvest was best. They had compadres in many of the villages which they visited and were treated with great hospitality when they arrived.

ii. Recent barter trips

In recent years the way in which such a trip is organised and conducted varies considerably from the ways of the past, since the exchanges are no longer so important to the household economy of either party and many of the friendships established by older generations have been lost. Transport is now largely by bus or truck, although some households, especially those which live far from the road which runs through the puna, still travel with llamas. The group usually stays with friends or relatives, and few men now bother to establish bonds of compadrazgo to reinforce their relations with the people of the village where they intend to make their exchanges. Although the people of the receiving village generally expect visits from the people of Tomas during the harvest, there is no formal arrangement made and the reception which the goods are given ranges from enthusiasm to complete lack of interest.

iii. Rates of exchange in barter

The rates of exchange in barter are approximately fixed and do not vary in accordance with minor fluctuations in national market prices for the goods exchanged. However, there is variability dependent upon the size and quality of the woollen goods offered, the success of the harvest in the valley villages and the place where the exchanges take place. In

addition, over recent years, there has been a decrease in the amount of maize - the principal valley barter product - which is exchanged for a sack. In previous times, a sack had the value of the maize which would fill it to within a hand's breadth of the rim. Now the gross volume remains the same, but the maize is often left on the cob, which gives a far poorer rate of exchange for the sack.⁵ The main reason for this "inflation" may be ascribed to the increased marketability of maize in Huancayo, as well as the spread of plastic sacks for agricultural use.

In discussions with pastoralists and weavers in Tomas, I was able to make an approximate costing of a llama wool sack and to compare this with the price of maize at the time. A sack is made from between three and six pounds of wool. In 1980 llama wool had a market value of approximately s/.400 (£0.65). For those who do not spin or weave themselves, the wool is spun and plied at the rate of s/.100 a pound, while weavers charge between s/.350 and s/.500 to weave it into fabric. Finally, it is folded in half and sewn down both sides to make a sack, though the owner always does this work for him or herself. A costing of the smallest and largest sack would therefore be as shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Costing of sacks used in barter in Tomas: 1980 data

Inputs	3lb sack	6lb sack
Wool	1200	2400
Spinning	300	600
Weaving	350	500
Total cost	1850	3500

The weight of maize which a sack will hold varies from five to six arrobas (55 to 66 kilogrammes), dependent upon its size. Thus the value

of maize at s/.60 per kilogramme for which a sack may be exchanged is between s/.3300 and s/.3960 (£5.50 to £6.60). These figures suggest a small margin of gain for those who barter sacks nowadays: a fact which explains much of the decline in barter trips as a result of the increasing valuation of wool. However, it also points to the way in which work in such domestic tasks - a particularly women's work - is undervalued. Since few households which still engage in barter to any extent continue to spin and ply their own wool, the cost to the household is decreased by s/.300-600 per sack, making the exchange that much more "profitable". However, the fact that the spinning has taken a woman between three and six days to complete (albeit in conjunction with other domestic tasks), is not considered.

Finally, when Tomasinos make a trip to barter their woollen goods and meat, they travel by bus, or on foot or horseback with llamas to carry the load. Thus the costs of bus fares, and the rent of llamas, if they have none of their own, must also be included in the costs. Although this calculation is theoretical, since almost all households which make sacks have their own llamas, most do their own spinning and many their own weaving, it does give some idea of the economic advantage which those who barter see themselves as gaining through the trouble which they take in making such trips. Two examples of typical trips are described in the next paragraphs.

On one trip which I witnessed, for instance, a man travelled with his nephew and his brother-in-law to Aco, a village above the Mantaro valley floor. They used llamas for transport and stayed with relatives in the village, although they left the llamas to graze high up on a nearby hillside. When they arrived they found the village almost deserted

because everyone was out working on the harvest in the surrounding fields. Although they found no trouble in disposing of their meat and wool, for cash and barley, it took them all day to find a trade for their sacks and saddle bags. At one stage they even debated taking them to Huancayo to sell them in the market place or to one of the tourist shops in the city. Eventually, though, they managed to "sell" almost all the goods which they had brought with them and they returned to Tomas with their grains on the following day. Altogether their trip had taken them three days, they returned with nearly five sacks of maize, three of barley and one of wheat, and they all reckoned that it had been worth the journey. The details of the exchange are given below:

Cristian:	2 costales	:	1 sack maize
		:	1 sack barley
	2 saddle bags	:	money (only one sold: for s/.2500)
Antenor:	1 alpaca	:	money (at s/.300/kg)
	2 costales	:	2 sacks maize
Zosimo:	1 sheep	:	money (at s/.420/kg)
	4 costales	:	2 sacks barley
		:	1 sack maize
		:	1 sack wheat
	2 vellones		
	of wool	:	4 arrobas of maize

One of the few women who make trips for barter is Berta Rodriguez. She has no wool-bearing animals, but makes her exchanges with cheeses from her cows. These she collects and dries over several weeks in July. When she has twenty or so she takes them by bus and stays with her sister who lives in Hualhuas, near Huancayo. In the days before she arrives her sister has already collected maize for the trade, so the exchange is made quickly and the trip is more of a pleasant holiday for Berta than a chore. She returns with four sacks of maize for her twenty cheeses which, she says, will last the family most of the year, if they are careful.

However, for many households in Tomas, particularly those with non-agricultural incomes, the difficulties and hardships of barter trips are no longer worth the rate of exchange. One woman, who had made the journey with her husband during the first few years of their marriage said to me,

"Before my husband started working (in the mines) we used to go, but it's a chore. I went twice when my oldest son was two years old. "Es un sufrimiento". They don't trade easily; they refuse things saying that they are badly woven, that they are not worth it, that they are very thick. They put their fingers into the weave and say that its very loose. They criticise everything. We went for eight days and I don't think that we got more than six sacks of grains. We took sacks, meat, wool and cheese. The wool, yes, they took without a word, the meat and cheese, too. But they often refuse the sacks and even when they take them they only want to give you half a sack of maize. And how much do we lose in such an exchange? The wool - how much does the weaving, the spinning and the plying cost? After that my husband said that we were never going there again: that it was degrading. That's why we don't go. If we want maize we buy it with cash in the Huancayo market. Although it's expensive, you get standard quality. With the sack, on the other hand, they fill it as they please, with rotten or broken maize which isn't worth anything. And you have to accept it and come home with your cargo."

Whilst this quotation, to a greater or lesser degree, describes the feelings of many Tomasinos, the informant was a reasonably well educated woman whose husband had given up much of his involvement in herding and taken up employment. She herself admitted that those who still had the custom and the livestock, still find it an important aspect of the pastoral economy. In financial terms the economics of the barter can be worked out to show that, whilst fluctuating market prices throw the equation constantly out of line, by and large and for livestock keeping households, bartering sacks for maize is fairly good economic sense: a fact of which all Tomasinos, who sell the bulk of their wool on the open market, are aware.

The market

The extent of Tomas' relations with the national economy is also difficult to assess in historical terms. It is obvious that, at least since the establishment of the village as a mine settlement, the community has had a degree of involvement with the export economy: without imported foodstuffs and manufactures, such a population could not have survived. Also, with the introduction of sheep into the punas in the sixteenth century (Davila Brizeno 1965), it is likely that a certain proportion of the animals' wool and meat would have been sold on the open market. However, even at the turn of this century, the oldest members of the community remember their parents as selling very little wool, using it instead for their own clothing or for barter, and relying on the sale of live animals for cash.

In recent years, though, a strong dependence upon the wider market has developed with a large proportion of transactions taking place through the medium of cash. As noted previously, there are some twenty-five shops in the community as well as a considerable number of itinerant traders coming from both within and beyond Tomas. However, the supply of goods, particularly perishable foodstuffs, remains erratic and limited, so that many households still find it necessary to travel to one or more of the larger regional markets - in Huancayo, Lima or the local mining centres - to buy many basic commodities in bulk.

Here again there is a division between the nature of exchange in the village and that of the puna. Those households which are resident in the village have access to a far larger range of goods than that which itinerant traders carry to the puna. The village baker makes fresh bread

daily and traders bring vegetables from Huancayo or the Canete valley several times a week. In the puna, however, long trips to the village, the mine centres or Huancayo may have to be made to buy bread and vegetables, and the supplies of all other goods depends upon the frequency of visits from traders.

The regular transactions in the village are almost invariably made in cash whereas, in the puna, cash and barter are used with equal frequency and fluency, whether a deal is being made for a household's entire wool clip or a single animal. When a bartered exchange is being made all values are converted into cash equivalents and the appropriate quantities of goods - potatoes, rice, sugar, flour or any other staple - are given in exchange for the wool or meat being sold.

i. Wool and meat traders

Wool and meat traders therefore form a vital aspect of the puna economy. They travel from estancia to estancia, buying up a household's clip in March or a few surplus head of animals at other times of the year. They almost always carry a supply of goods with them to trade and, for many households, they constitute the main link with the market. Whilst a number of households, particularly those which live within easy reach of the road, may carry their own wool into Huancayo and sell it directly to the warehouse owners, for others the wool traders offer a vital link to the market, both for the exchange of their produce and access to bulk foodstuffs. For these households, only on the occasion when cash or special goods are needed in an emergency are wool and meat taken to the market in Huancayo. In such a case a woman may travel to the wool warehouses in Huancayo with a single skin to sell so that she can buy a

sack of rice or equipment for her children to take to school. The proportion of households which sell their wool and meat through various outlets has been discussed earlier and is shown for a sample of pastoral households in Table 18.

The traders themselves, many of whom are Tomasinos, spend much of their time collecting wool from the various estancias with whom they have made deals. Such relationships are not formal, and instances of traders loaning money against a shearing are not common. In fact, it appears that the wool market in Tomas (at least in 1979-80) is a sellers' market and most householders said that they sold to any one of a group of locally known traders, depending upon who was offering the best price.

Once they have collected enough wool to make a trip to Huancayo economic, traders make the journey by road. Some of them have their own vehicles whilst others must rely on passing trucks or buses. They sell their wool in the warehouses and sometimes the factories of Huancayo. Each of them has long-term relations with specific warehouses to which he will most often offer his wool first. Like the pastoral households, wool gatherers seek out the best deal for their goods, regardless of personal friendship. However, the complexity of such relationships is such that I shall deal with it through the detailed case study which is presented in the next section.

Meat is most often sold a few head at a time by households which need the money. In such cases the animals are slaughtered on the spot and the meat carried to Huancayo, Lima or the mines by the trader. A few traders do, however, deal in larger numbers of animals which they buy live and drive to Huancayo for sale or slaughter. Whereas wool is usually a single large

crop, meat is more often sold as and when cash is needed for household expenses, or when the opportunity arises, and is more likely to be carried to a place where it can be sold directly to consumers. For instance, a young woman who lived with her mother told me that she was taking two sheep carcasses to sell in Yauricocha. She had made an agreement with a woman who was arranging a fiesta and carried the carcasses to the mine herself.

Changing attitudes to, and opportunities in, exchange relations

The major forces which have influenced the balance between the household's dependence on barter or market trade are the increased penetration of market relations into the region, the greater value of wool on the national market and greater opportunities for employment outside of the pastoral economy. Such changes are graphically illustrated by the study of alterations in the quantities of goods imported and exported by the community since 1941 which are shown in Table 31.

While the data in the table only give an approximation of the scale of exports and imports in Tomas at the time of the Yachaywasi article, and I have no comparable data for current levels, they do allow some general comments to be made with regard to changes in the destination of agricultural production. Table 6 gave the level of production in 1976 as 866 sacks of grains and vegetables, a 66% decline on the 1941 figure. Since the population of the village has not changed significantly from that date, it may be assumed that, in the absence of changes in eating habits, the figures for imported grains and vegetables would now be increased by as much as 6000 sacks.

Table 31. Destination of agricultural products and imports into Tomas:
1941 data

Product	Origin/Destination		
	Own use	Sale/Barter	Imports
<u>Vegetables*</u>			
Potatoes	927	-	636
Other tubers	1102	-	291
Maize	19	-	1721
Barley	329	-	1308
Wheat	6	-	175
Oats	1	-	23
Quinoa	2	-	4
Beans	13	-	139
Peas	0	-	247
<u>Animal products</u>			
Live sheep	n.d.	2548	-
Live cows	0	169	-
Sheep wool (lbs)	n.d.	9304	-
Alpaca fibre (lbs)	n.d.	13760	-
Llama hair (lbs)	n.d.	1318	-
Costales	320	835	-

* In 50 kilogramme sacks

Source: Yachaywasi 11, 1941:27.

On the other hand, whilst in 1941 Yachaywasi gives a figure of 835 sacks made for barter, estimates based on my own research would put the current figure at around 400 made each year. It may be assumed that such a decline in the level of barter will, at least partially, be made up by increases in the level of cash purchases. However, while such increases were made evident to me from the information provided by Tomasinos, other factors such as changes in diet, must also be considered as important in the decline in arable farming. Nowadays, it is unusual for households to consume much quinoa and most remarked that, while they were obliged to make up the shortfall in their potato production, ocas and other Andean tubers, were considered a luxury in a diet which now relies heavily on rice and pasta. When these crops were finished, no-one I spoke to purchased any more of them.

Parallel with these changes in the consumption patterns of the majority of households in Tomas, I have also documented changes in the destination of animal products over the forty years between 1941 and 1979. Whilst I do not have exact production figures on a community-wide basis, declines in the importance of barter and the increasing use of factory-made clothing and equipment, of synthetic wools for knitting and certain woven goods, do imply the sale of a far larger volume of both sheep and alpaca wool on the open market. In addition, improvements in transport over the period have meant that the sale of meat to supply the urban centres of the Mantaro valley and even Lima, has become an increasingly important aspect of the domestic economy. Although many households still sell a proportion of their annual surplus on the hoof, it is now common practice to dispose of smaller numbers of animals throughout the year when cash is needed or a good opportunity presents itself. Thus while figures in Table 5 show that the numbers of sheep and cameloids in the community between the two dates are approximately the same, the uses to which their produce is put, have changed.

As a result of the decline in bartered exchanges and increased involvement in the market, the networks maintained by individual households have changed over the period. As noted earlier, not only has barter itself declined, but the relationships which it fostered in the past have largely been lost. Many of the households making such trips no longer establish relations of compadrazgo in the valley villages. While some stay with relatives, either locally or in Huancayo, others stay in inns, while still others make the trip in one or two days and do not stop at all. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for a wool dealer to figure amongst a household's compadres. However, many of the people with whom I

discussed such relations had few compadres and had few relations with those which they did have.

In summary then, the increased reliance of the majority of households on imported manufactured goods and foodstuffs bought on the market over the period in question has been paralleled by a decline in arable farming in Tomas. While much of this change can be attributed to the greater diversification of the economy, notably into outside employment in the mines and into trade, the increasing marketability of animal produce has also been important. These changes are part of a dynamic process of increasing involvement in the markets for labour and goods in which many households in Tomas are inextricably enmeshed. On the other hand, the role which pastoralism as a productive activity can play in such a situation is necessarily marginal. Left as its management often is, in the hands of shepherds, whilst it often supplies the capital for the changes in process, it remains essentially conservative in its own operation.

Moreover, the change from bartered to market exchanges also appears to have brought about a decline in close personal ties with households outside the locality. Increased market involvement, while it may include relations of friendship, or even compadrazgo, with wool dealers in Huancayo, rarely results in any long-term loyalties. On the other hand, the increasing volume of migration out of the community to Huancayo and other cities invariably means that people have close relatives with whom they can stay when in the city, and to whom they are able to send their children during their period of further education. However, while a few such migrant households do retain herds in the community for some years at least, the majority of such relations tend to be primarily social

rather than economic.

10.2. The wool trade: a case study

Since wool is the principal productive resource and main export of the community, its trade offers a useful demonstration of the ways in which Tomas is linked to the Huancayo region. In this section it is therefore proposed to make a detailed case study of the trading networks of one of Tomas' most important wool traders, showing just how his small-scale dealings in wool fit into the larger regional network which funnels wool into Huancayo, Lima and beyond.

Jaime was born in Tomas in 1946. Although he has a half-brother some 23 years his senior, he is the only child of the union between his parents who were moderately wealthy pastoralists. His father was 47 when Jaime was born and, although he had spent his whole life in the punas, he did not wish Jaime to do so. When his son reached twelve years old he therefore arranged for him to start work in an inn at some distance from the community. Jaime refused to take this work up and instead persuaded his father to loan him the capital to set himself up as a wool and meat trader in the puna of Tomas.

From a very early age, then, and whilst he was still completing his secondary education in Jauja, Jaime involved himself in the wool and meat business. At that time there was no road connecting Tomas to Huancayo and Jaime used the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's railway to transport his

goods to Pachacayo on the Lima-Huancayo road. He sold it in Pachacayo or took it to Jauja, where he formed a working relationship with one of the valley's most important wool dealers, Zacarias Tumialan.

At sixteen, since it was very difficult to make a profit in the wool trade at that time, he decided to try salaried labour. He took a job with the Cerro de Pasco Corporation working on the high voltage power line which they were then installing from Oroya, via Pachacayo to Chumpe and Yauricocha. He worked on the project for nearly a year before it came to an end and he returned to the puna and his trade.

During the time that he had been working as a trader, he had learned to drive and, shortly after his return to Tomas, he was offered work as a lorry driver, transporting goods from Huancayo to Junin, Ayacucho and Huancavelica. He worked as a driver for various Huancayo-based traders for nearly three years, travelling continuously between the major cities of the central highlands. However, he found the work increasingly onerous with the bad weather in the puna, and constant problems of poorly maintained vehicles, so he returned once again to his wool trade full-time and decided to settle in the puna.

This was in 1966 when he was 20. At that time he married Inez, a girl of the same age who had also been born and raised in the puna of Tomas. Her background was very similar to his and, although she had never worked away from her parent's estancia, her brother was a meat trader. Her parents were, like Jaime's, self-sufficient pastoralists, and she brought only slightly fewer animals to the marriage than Jaime. Moreover, she proved to be an astute businesswoman, and took up the meat trade with Jaime.

After their first child was born, with Inez more restricted in her ability to travel, they decided to start a restaurant on the newly opened Huancayo-Tomas road. At that time there was a considerable volume of traffic on the road, with lorries carrying timber and other building materials to Chumpe where the Cerro de Pasco Corporation was constructing its concentrator, as well as several bus services carrying passengers between Huancayo, Yauricocha, Canete and Lima.

Using money from the sale of some of their animals, as well as loans from both their parents, they built a small house on the roadside to serve as the restaurant. Although they both worked in it, it was primarily Inez' responsibility while Jaime continued his wool and meat trade, both to supply the restaurant and for sale in Huancayo and the mining centres. At this time he worked freely in the meat business, since the price of wool was still low and it is, in any case, a highly seasonal trade. He worked with Herberth, the husband of his adoptive sister, who was and remains one of Tomas' biggest meat dealers. They bought both alpaca meat and mutton from all over the community and carried it on horseback, rail and lorry to sell in Pachacayo, Huancayo and the mining centres of Yauricocha and Chumpe. However, he has never worked with Inez' brother, who later became notorious as a thief of livestock from other households in the puna.

In 1970, government restrictions on the sale of meat were tightened up and the police became far more vigilant in its control. The sale of alpaca meat, particularly, was proscribed, so that much of the community's meat business became clandestine. On a number of occasions Jaime, and other of the meat traders were criticised by the communal assembly for their continuing meat trade which was giving the community a

bad reputation in the Hunacayo press. Finally, because of the problems involved, Jaime stopped much of his trade in meat and started to concentrate on wool, although Herberth has continued to sell meat.

Also at this time their first child, a daughter, was coming up to school age and it was decided that, since much of their trade in the restaurant had been lost with the completion of the concentrator at Chumpe and changes in bus routes, they should give it up and leave the puna. However, rather than moving to Tomas to send their little girl to school, they chose to use the capital gained from their restaurant to move to Chupaca, a sizeable market town on the opposite bank of the Mantaro river from Huancayo. Here Jaime hoped to set up his wool business, dealing through the weekly market as well as continuing his itinerant trade. Jaime took leave of the community for a year and became an anualista, and they rented a house in Chupaca. However, since they had no legitimate reason for their absence and were still keeping their animals in Tomas, the community refused to allow them to keep their children away from the village schools. Under threat of fines and even expulsion, they were forced to return to the community after a year.

In 1973 they returned to the community. Inez at first spent much of her time in the village with their two daughters and they opened a shop on the premises of the house which they had inherited from Jaime's parents, while Jaime continued with his wool and meat trade. By 1975 they had saved enough money from the proceeds of their business and the sale of their own wool to buy a pick-up truck. Much of their trade had, with the completion of the Huancayo road, been transferred to that city and, although he still dealt with Tumialan, Jaime established a close relation with Valeriano Rojas, a Huancayo wool dealer who had, for many years,

travelled to Yauyos to buy wool.

As the girls grew older, Inez also started to travel more, leaving them in the care of relatives. She started to buy high quality alpaca wool to sell in the weaving village of Hulahuas near Huancayo. She took orders and filled them through purchases in Tomas, selling the wool, which was always selected and cleaned, at a higher price than that of the open market. However, in 1977 she had another baby and was forced, once again, to give up her business.

In 1977 Jaime again worked as a driver, this time transporting mineral for Centromin, after his help had been sought through his father's brother who had worked there for many years. He only worked for a year, though, and shortly afterwards returned to his wool business, which he finds offers him both more flexibility and greater scope for enterprise than salaried employment.

By 1979 they had an established pattern of trade which fitted in with the restrictions on Inez' movements caused by child-bearing and the need to spend part of their time in the puna to care for and shear their herds. Although Jaime takes major responsibility for their trade in both wool and meat, Inez carries on a trade in meat during the school holidays from January to March, when the whole family moves to the puna to watch over the alpaca lambing and shear their herds. When they are in the puna they open their shop there, selling dry goods, kerosene and shoes. They operate their other shop in the village when the children are at school and Inez is living there on a more permanent basis. When they leave either shop they remove all their goods since they can find no-one trustworthy to run them and prefer not to risk having their stock stolen

in their absence.

As an acopiador of wool, Jaime works very much on his own in Tomas. None of his family, nor that of Inez, is involved in wool buying and, while he relies on Herberth and other members of his family for information about shearing, he has few direct dealings with any of them. Within the community, information about the sale of wool and meat is circulated freely and a number of households in the puna send word to Jaime when their wool is ready, so that he will come and make them an offer.

Throughout the year Jaime and Inez supply their shops with goods from Huancayo which they transport in their pick-up truck. However, at shearing time, they make frequent trips to Huancayo to buy large volumes of dry goods which they offer in exchange for wool to their clients. They calculate a direct cash equivalent for both wool and dry goods, trading at market prices. Although they also offer cash, most people prefer to barter with them, since it saves them transport costs and time. Meat, on the other hand, since it is sold in small quantity and irregularly, is always exchanged for cash.

In spite of the continuous problems which they have experienced in their meat business, they continue to trade, but on a restricted basis. They buy small quantities of meat from households in Tomas and take them to friendly traders who live in the towns around Huancayo and have the means to channel it into the urban market or use it in restaurants. They also deal occasionally in horses which they take for sale in the market in Chaquicocha, a town on the road to Huancayo, or sell to intermediaries in the puna. Trade in live animals is legitimate and thus avoids the risks of meat sale.⁶

They carry their wool by road to Huancayo where they sell it largely to one of the wool warehouses in the city. Although they have long-term friendships with Rojas in Huancayo and Tumialan in Jauja, they sell their wool in any of a number of warehouses in both cities, dependent upon where the price is highest. They also sell directly to the city's woollens factories and, on occasion, through the market in Chupaca. Their dealings in the city are based entirely on friendships, since they have no kin in the trade and have not established relations of compadrazgo with any of the dealers.

In 1980, which was a bad year for the wool trade in Peru when the depressed market meant that many pastoralists who could afford to, did not shear at all, they bought very little wool (sixty quintales or three metric tonnes). They sold most of it to Rojas' warehouse and a small quantity to Tumialan at the market in Chupaca. However, they received information from one of Herberth's sons who lives in Huancayo that the factory 3 de Octubre was offering a better price for sheep wool than the warehouses and sold part of their alpaca wool there.

Although they have chosen to stay in Tomas for the last seven years after their attempted removal to Chupaca, Jaime and Inez are far from happy with the scope which the community offers for their commerce. They stayed because of the deep attachment which they have to their animals, particularly their alpacas and the herding way of life, rather than any attachment to the community as such. In fact the history of their commercial activities as well as Jaime's periods of employment appear as attempts to overcome the constraints imposed on them by the low levels of commercial activity in Tomas and the restrictions of communal organisation. Although they have been able to rely on their immediate

family in Tomas for loans in the past, only Herberth has been of consistent help and support to them. Moreover, in recent times, with the death of Jaime's father, they have turned to his father's brothers, resident in Yauricocha for loans, finding no-one in the village with the capital to help them.

They have not extended their commerce through contacts within their families nor within Tomas. In spite of their shops, their wool and meat trade and Jaime's employment, their attempts to build a "multiple enterprise" in Tomas have left them feeling restrained and frustrated. The degree of their frustration is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, despite the risk of having to give up their herds and pastoral rights in Tomas, in 1980 they were again seriously considering moving to Chupaca.

The wool trade

Huancayo is the centre for the wool trade in a large area of the central highlands³ with wool and skins being brought to the city from the departments of Cerro de Pasco, Huancavelica and Yauyos as well as Junin. Much of the wool produced in these areas is sheep wool with only Huancavelica and, to a smaller extent, Yauyos, producing alpaca. Moreover, much of the domestic market is geared towards sheep wool, with alpaca in large part being carried to the large houses in Arequipa for export.

The wool market centres around a series of weekly markets which take place both in Huancayo and in several of the nearby towns and villages on almost every day of the week. These start with Huayucachi on Monday, Sapallanga on Thursday, Chupaca on Friday and Saturday and finish with



24. Stall selling woven goods in the Sunday fair in Huancayo

the big Huancayo market on the Calle Huancavelica on Sunday. There is also a sellers' market in the weaving village of Hualhuas on Tuesday to provide the weavers with wool for their work. These markets are frequented by small sellers and acopiadores (gatherers), pastoralists with a few vellones (fleeces) of their own wool to sell, craft workers from the region as well as those from Lima buying wool for their work, and the Huancayo wool dealers who monopolise much of the larger-scale trade that goes on.

There are some twenty wool dealers in Huancayo, all of whom have their own wool warehouses in the city. They channel much of the wool which comes into Huancayo from the surrounding puna into the local wool industry or the export market via the Lima warehouses and factories. Although they vary considerably in the scale of their operations, they all have a basically similar system of collecting wool. The first source is the markets. Each of them has his own favourite, though some of the bigger dealers may attend more than one, at which they buy and sell wool and skins from both known and casual traders. Second, the acopiadores and pastoralists take their wool to the warehouses themselves, so that there is a constant trickle of callers bringing anything from a few skins of animals slaughtered for consumption, to a lorry load of wool collected over a month's travels in the puna. Third, most of the dealers go out themselves to collect wool from known sources. The importance which this aspect has for their trade varies very much with the circumstances of the individual warehouse and, to a great extent, is a remnant of the life of acopiador which many of them led before they were established dealers.

The wool dealers have several market outlets for their wool. There are two factories in Huancayo elaborating woollen goods for the national

market and small quantities for export. There are also a large number of craft workers in the Huancayo region producing for the tourist trade and for export. These include weavers and knitters, as well as those making rugs from the skins of alpaca kids. Much of the wool is not worked locally, though, and is transported to Lima (or, for alpaca, sometimes to Arequipa, where big export houses for alpaca fibre are located) where it is sold to the major Lima factories or to export houses who work it into "tops"⁷ or yarn for export.

10.4. The changing regional position: education and migration

Since the reducciones of 1586, when Tomas' pre-hispanic population was removed to Vitis, the community has been depopulated in a series of mass exoduses caused by natural disasters, only to be re-occupied when the need for mine labour or the promise of access to puna grazing lands drew people back. The population has always remained fluid (the last exodus, when much of the population moved to Laraos and other local villages and some coastal towns, followed a devastating fire in 1880) and, with its economy so firmly based on mining and transport, even those who have stayed have developed a keen awareness of comparative conditions and opportunities offered in Tomas and nearby mines and cities.

By way of contrast, the puna-dwelling pastoral household is, in many ways, deeply conservative. The size of Tomas' puna ranges means that many such households live remote from road and rail links to other parts of the region and even remote from the community's urban centre. Amongst

that sector of the population which has sufficient herds for its subsistence so that neither shortage nor the desire for expansion have forced it to seek alternative income sources, life in the puna remains as it has for many generations. Many such families seek no outside help nor technical aid, are content with the level of their herds' production and their own life style and have remained extremely reluctant to even send their children to school in Tomas.

Over recent years the resilience of such conservatism - which was previously a feature of the life style of the mass of the population - has been eroded by three major influences. These are: increased mobility based on the construction of road and rail links with Huancayo and Lima, the greater availability of cash in an economy more closely linked to the market, and the growing awareness of the importance of education. Although these changes in the context in which the local population operates have been discussed in detail in previous chapters, it now remains to document how, over recent years such changes have become manifest in the attitudes and actions of native Tomasinos.

Many aspects of the changing migrational and occupational structure of the community are graphically illustrated by the short descriptions of two households which follow. Those which have been chosen represent the different responses of rich and poor households to the problems of life in Tomas, as well as showing alternative solutions which may be found when different standpoints are taken.

1. The first case refers back to the household of Emilio and Francisca, which was described in the detailed case studies in Chapter 8. On their marriage this couple inherited a small number of

animals from her parents, and none from his. In order to establish their own herd they became shepherds for Emilio's aunt. Over the next four years, working on a sharecropping basis for two separate families they earned some 80 alpacas and 98 sheep which enabled them to become independent herdsmen. They lived and worked in the puna, bringing up their ten children largely on the income which their animals brought although Emilio was forced, from time to time, to seek work outside the household. He never left Tomas, however, finding work in Yauricocha, the hacienda Jatunhuasi, Chumpe and on the roads, sufficient to make ends meet when the need arose. Because of their large family and the limited size of their herds, though, they were never able to establish a surplus and their herd size remained, until 1975, almost static. However, at about that time his animals started to suffer from the disease locally known as doble panza and declined to a level at which they were no longer able to support the household, and Emilio was forced to take a permanent job in the Dinamarca mine in Tomas.

Although neither Emilio nor Fransisca has left Tomas to work most of their older children are now living in Lima or Yauricocha. Their oldest son, who is married, still lives in Tomas and works in the Dinamarca mine, whilst their second son now lives and works in Yauricocha. Their two oldest daughters have both left to take up work as maids in houses in Lima, while all their remaining children are still at school in Tomas.

2. Octavia was the daughter of one of the wealthiest pastoral families in Tomas. In 1948 her parents had 643 sheep and 255 alpacas

and llamas. However, only their two sons were given more than a rudimentary education. Octavia did not complete her primary education in Tomas before she was obliged to go and housekeep for her brothers while they studied in Huancayo. While Victor, the eldest son, returned to the puna, her younger brother now lives in Huancayo, where he is a teacher.

After the death of her first husband, Octavia married Justo, a school teacher in the village and a native Tomasino. Although hers was a pastoral family, his had left the punas and migrated to Chupaca in the 1950's, selling their considerable livestock holdings (337 sheep, 276 alpacas and 26 cows in 1948) and leaving their fields in his hands. All his younger brothers and sisters were also educated to a high standard and now have good professional jobs in Chupaca, Huancayo and Concepcion.

The family which Octavia and Justo brought up, which included two daughters from her previous marriage, lived exclusively in the village. They have all been, or are being, educated to university level and have left Tomas. The eldest daughter, Rebecca, has returned, however, and now teaches with her father in the village school, while her mother cares for the three children which she has from her marriage to a Limeno.

They share their house in Tomas, which belonged to Octavia's parents, with her two sisters, both of whom are single, illiterate, and living on what they can steal or beg from others in the village. Her brother, Victor, who, in spite of having secondary level education, has remained in the puna, still cares for their sizeable herds (228

sheep, 96 alpacas and llamas in 1976), alongside his own. His children were brought up in the puna and, while the eldest now works in the mines of Azulcocha, the younger ones are taking up pastoralism like their father.

These examples show how the trend in Tomas is away from the puna and even from the community itself. In the first case, it is the younger generations who, without the animals to support them, must seek a livelihood away from the community while their parents see no alternative to continuing to try to make a living amongst the people and places with which they have been familiar all their lives. In the second, though, two families with large animal holdings can be seen to have taken entirely different paths. This case is interesting because it poses the problem of why certain wealthy families move away from the puna, to the village and eventually out of Tomas, while others remain pastoralists. On the one hand, a family has used the capital which it invested in its herds to educate its children and to move away from the remote and difficult life of the puna, while, on the other, there is a determination to expand pastoral interests even beyond the limits permitted by the communal statutes. The most obvious characteristic demonstrated by all these examples, though, is that amongst the majority of the younger generation in Tomas, out-migration is now the rule and not the exception it was in the 1940's.

In the simplest terms, the reaction of those members of the population confronted with the constraints of the local economy, has been to move out of it through geographical mobility, the cash economy and education. Poor pastoral households, unable to survive on the basis of their animal

production, are frequently forced to leave the community, temporarily at least, to seek employment in the mines or the cities of the central highlands and the coast. Alternatively, if they prefer the solitary life of the puna, they may be able to secure the job of shepherd household for some wealthier family which has left the puna in its efforts to diversify its own economy.

Wealthier households may invest the capital which they cannot plough back into their pastoralism into trade, the purchase of a house elsewhere or, most importantly, into the education of their children. As a result of such changes in domestic strategy there is an increasing tendency for households, or at least the younger members of such households, to leave Tomas in order to seek educational opportunities or employment. Many young people, both those from poorer households who leave to find work, and those from richer ones who are sent to study in the city, now leave Tomas. Few of them return. From the perspective of the city or the mine settlement life in the punas of Tomas is both too constraining and too Spartan to tempt them back. As they get older and the strenuous life of the puna becomes more arduous to them, the parents may follow their children to the city, selling up their livestock to buy a family house in the city where they can have a comfortable retirement in a more clement environment.

The expansion of migration and increasing occupational diversity over the past forty to fifty years are clearly illustrated by data collected

from 534 individuals which is based on genealogical information.⁸ The data are analysed in Tables 32 and 33 which show residential and occupational distribution over five generations. Members of the oldest and many of the second generation were born before the turn

of the century, giving a time span which includes the period before any of the present major changes in the national and regional economies had had much influence in Tomas. However, it must be stressed that, although the data apparently fall into clear cut generations, there are, in reality, no such thing and in several cases members of later generations are older than those of earlier ones.⁹

Table 32. Occupational distribution over five generations in Tomas

Occupation	Number of generation									
	1		2		3		4		5	
	%		%		%		%		%	
Pastoralist	8	100.0	34	70.8	61	37.4	39	19.6	12	10.3
Domestic work*	0	0.0	6	12.5	35	21.5	51	25.6	33	28.4
Mine employee	0	0.0	2	4.2	12	7.4	25	12.6	14	12.1
Student**	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	5.5	27	13.6	38	32.7
Professional	0	0.0	1	2.1	13	8.0	13	6.5	5	4.3
Private empl.	0	0.0	1	2.1	7	4.3	13	6.5	8	6.9
Public empl.	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.2	3	1.5	1	0.9
Self-empl.	0	0.0	1	2.1	6	3.7	13	6.5	0	0.0
Trader	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	6.1	12	6.0	5	4.3
Arable farmer	0	0.0	3	6.2	8	4.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total in generation 8			48		163		199		116	

* The term "domestic work" has been used to cover those household duties which women mainly fulfill. However, the term casa as used by Tomasinos often also includes a multiplicity of occupations from arable farming to crafts and commerce. Particularly for young unmarried people, it may also cover unemployment. However, the sudden increase in the use of the term for a woman's role in the household economy between the first and second generations indicates the change in attitudes to a woman's role once a household is no longer involved full time in pastoralism. Both man and woman in a pastoral household are "pastoralists".

** An obvious reason for the increase in numbers of students in the later generations is the lower age of such people. However, since all persons referred to the sample were 15 years or older, almost all students mentioned will be in further education. This compares with data available for 1948 which shows that only 52 people, out of a population of 542 persons over 15 years old, had any secondary level schooling at all.

As Table 32 shows there is a dramatic decline in dedication to pastoralism which, between the first and fifth generations declines from occupying 100% to 10% of the adult members of the genealogy (people who

become pastoralists start at an early age since education, as has been noted earlier, is a hindrance rather than an aid to a successful life in the puna). As the economy is diversified over the years, those who remain in Tomas take on work in the mines, for the government, in trade or, if they are women, "become" housewives and mothers.

Table 33. Residential distribution over five generations in Tomas

Place of Residence	Number of generation									
	1		2		3		4		5	
	%		%		%		%		%	
Tomas	8	100.0	40	83.3	88	54.0	72	36.2	37	31.9
Lima	0	0.0	4	8.3	19	11.7	40	20.1	24	20.7
Huancayo	0	0.0	3	6.2	14	8.6	26	13.1	21	18.1
Yauricocha	0	0.0	0	0.0	16	9.8	29	14.6	25	21.5
Other mine	0	0.0	1	2.1	5	3.1	18	9.0	4	3.4
Local town	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	3.1	1	0.5	0	0.0
Cen. highlands	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	6.1	8	4.0	3	2.6
Elsewhere	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	2.4	4	2.0	2	1.8
Total in generation	8		48		163		199		116	

Many households, however, have left Tomas permanently. As Table 33 shows, by far the most important centres for migration outside of the mines are the cities of Lima and Huancayo which have attracted nearly forty percent of the most recent generation between them. On the other hand the local mines of Yauricocha and Azulcocha, as well as those in Tomas itself, have provided temporary and permanent sources of employment to many Tomasinos. Many of the men who become involved in mining on a more permanent basis move on to the big mine centres of Oroya, Cerro de Pasco and Morococha, which are less remote and better served than the relatively small and isolated mines near Tomas.

Finally, it is important to note that the data presented in the tables give credence to the relatively static population in Tomas over recent

years. In 1839 there were recorded 502 castas y indigenas in Tomas (Cordova y Urrutia 1839). When the community was recognised in 1927 the population stood at 808 and by 1948 it had risen to 920 of whom 182 were comuneros, both male and female. Whilst the 1962 census gives a population total of 1642 for the community, in 1979 the community records show that there were only 160 male and female comuneros in Tomas and the 1981 census gives a total population of 1189. Indeed many of the migrant families included in the genealogy have no immediate members left in Tomas. Yet a number of these households retain, through the convenience of the category of anualista, their communal status and still keep animals in the puna. As a result they must rely on the services of those households which have remained in the village to act as shepherds and care for their animals for them.

In conclusion, the data presented in this and previous sections have shown how the community's position within the regional economy has changed over recent years. For, whilst it has been emphasised that Tomas has been involved in the wider economy for many years, these data show that the nature of that involvement has changed over the period.

Thus, up to the middle of the present century, the links which Tomasinos have forged with the mines, towns and cities of the central highlands were based largely on their involvement in arriaje, barter and, to a lesser extent, trade. In more recent years it has been noted that barter has declined and that arriaje, or any other form of transport activity, has had little importance for the vast majority of households in Tomas. Major alternatives to the economy of the pastoralist have emerged in the form of trade, wage labour, education and, ultimately, out-migration.

Whilst it has been argued that the earlier forms of economic involvement in the region are not opposed, in ideological or practical terms, to more recent trends, it has also been made clear that the shift is evidence of the increasing integration of the domestic economy into the cash transactions and commoditisation of production.

NOTES

1. The most recent example of such a conflict occurred over the political position of the Gran Bretana mine in the north of the community's territory. The details of this dispute with the regional authorities were given in Chapter 5.2. of the current thesis.
2. The word used in Tomas is cambios which, strictly translated means "exchange". The Quechua word "treuque" which seems to be in common use in other regions is never used.
3. Although certain pastoral households remarked on having obtained potatoes in this manner, I made no specific investigation of this barter and cannot, therefore, supply details of it.
4. "The daily occupation (of the pastoralists) consists of tending their herds, spinning to make costales, bayeta, etc. Each May they take these goods as well as meat, wool and so on to the villages of the Mantaro valley and those of the ceja de montana to exchange them for maize, wheat, barley and other foodstuffs which they lack. From July onwards, they continue spinning to make goods for domestic use: clothes, bedding, and so on. When December comes, it brings again the tedious job of making costales" (Yachaywasi, No 27. 1944).
5. In his discussion of exchange rates for barter, Casaverde notes that one sack of maize on the cob is equivalent to one sixth of a sack of maize grains, or to a sack of barley (Casaverde 1977:180). A similar situation to that in Tomas was found to exist in Apurimac by Conchas (1975).
6. In April 1980 Jaime made a trip to Huancavelica to buy horses with Herberth and his uncle Dassio Melo. The trade in horses between the two regions is economically advantageous and both Jaime and Herberth had intended to sell their animals in Chupaca. However, both of them are great horsemen, and neither actually sold them. The trip appears to have been more or less a jaunt for the three men.
7. "Tops" is washed and carded wool, which is the least elaborated form allowed to be exported.
8. The sample is based on data collected on members of four families and going back over five generations and compiled into genealogies. The data were supplied by an elderly married couple and include the paternal and maternal grandparents of each of them, together with all the siblings of the parental generation and all offspring thereafter. Only those family

members actually born in Tomas have been included in the analysis, both to give a firm base to the migrational aspect of the data and because, in many instances, contact with second and third generation migrants has been lost or is incomplete.

The marriage of the informants is a case in point. The woman is far younger than the man and is, in fact, his second wife. Moreover, his sister was her father's second wife and thus her step-mother, a situation which offered no impediment to the later union.

CHAPTER 11 : CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters I have considered the economy of an Andean pastoral community in order to examine how households develop livelihood strategies within the context of communal organisation and the wider regional environment. I have shown that, considering the constraints imposed by ecological factors and the restrictions of the communal control of land, households have progressively diversified the economic strategies which they employ to include activity fields not controlled by the community. Whilst it has been argued that, as pastoralists, Tomasinos have long engaged in market relations through the sale of animal products, it is clear that their increasing dependence on wage labour and trade have significantly increased their involvement in commoditisation and the cash economy.

In historical terms it has been shown how the community of Tomas has succeeded in maintaining its territorial integrity over the past three centuries. However, certain characteristics of the community - the fluidity of its population, its long-term dependence on trade and arriaje, and its involvement in mining - have been shown to have encouraged an awareness in the population of the social and economic development taking place beyond the locality. It has been argued that these two factors have been important in the establishment of Tomas as

one of the most dynamic communities in the Yauyos region.

Today the community has been seen to be approaching a turning point in its history. In the past the predominance of pastoralism in the economies of the majority of households has maintained their dependence upon communal resources and, as a consequence, the community as a political unit. Lately, however, the decline of this dependence, with the increasing involvement of many households in outside activity fields, has made the administrative role of the community increasingly difficult to sustain. As a result, over recent years, a degree of tension has emerged between the political and economic aims of the community which, while it is predominantly managed by the men of those wealthy households with widely diversified economic interests, is legally obliged to maintain the equal distribution of its resources amongst its membership. In the discussion which follows empirical and theoretical issues will be brought together in order to develop and clarify these points.

Regional orientation

The data presented in the preceding chapters have clearly shown that, in spite of their geographical dispersal and the fundamental conditions under which their pastoralism is conducted, the herdsmen of Tomas can in no way be considered to live in isolation from the wider regional economy. The fact that the products of pastoralism are not, to any great extent, goods for direct consumption, makes it necessary for pastoralists to establish direct exchange relations with other agricultural populations, as well as the market.

However, lying as it does on the watershed between the departments of

Lima and Huancayo, Tomas has never had a simple orientation within a spatially unified region. The fact that, despite its long-term involvement with the agrarian economy of the Mantaro valley, it has been politically included in the group of communities which constitute North Yauyos, has meant that the community has never really found a single regional identity. In its own terms it exists in a position of ambivalence to its neighbours and the regional authorities concerned. In terms of current research, it does not fall neatly into studies of either the Mantaro or the Canete economies.

On the one hand its relations with the Mantaro valley are almost exclusively economic and operate at the level of the household. The community as such has little contact with Huancayo except under conditions of conflict. Relations with Yauyos, on the other, are largely political and operate at the level of the community. Whilst there is no indication that this situation presents problems of identity for a community such as Tomas, it poses obvious ones for the study of region which relies on a single spatial concept. Thus, it has been proposed throughout the thesis that a model which includes the consideration of different activity fields and the linkages between them should be used to accommodate the complexity and fluidity of such regional situations. On the basis of this "building from the bottom up", the networks established in the regional sphere by individual households are seen as the physical evidence of the household's position in the linkages which unite activity fields and thus generate the wider regional and national economies.

The household's dependence on exchange incorporates it into three different types of relations. The first involves the traders who travel the puna buying wool and meat, or selling consumer goods. The second

operates through the trips which pastoralists make to the city of Huancayo to sell their products and buy in the shops of the city. The third entails the relationships which are generated through the trips which pastoralists make to the villages of the Mantaro valley and the high jungle to barter their produce for foodstuffs. However, it is clear from the information presented in the foregoing chapters, that a considerable percentage of the pastoralist's economy is based on cash.

Flores (1975:11) emphasises the importance of the wider "regional, national and international spheres" in the lives of pastoralists. However, while he admits the importance of the market, his data concentrate on barter relations with neighbouring agricultural populations, thus stressing the "traditional" and "pre-capitalist" aspects of the pastoral way of life. These "traditional systems of exchange", he writes, "are the principal means by which (pastoralists) obtain the agricultural goods on which they subsist throughout the year." (ibid.:39) However, other writers (Appleby 1976; Orlove 1977) have made it clear that pastoralists freely change the emphasis which they place on barter-market relations. Orlove stresses the importance of the international wool market for the pastoralists of Sicuani. He notes how the small-scale nature of production and the problems of transport over the puna make the existence of numerous intermediaries an important aspect of wool production. Thus a complex hierarchy of trading outlets exists. It includes local markets, wool collectors, larger dealers and warehouses which "funnel the wool upwards through various sets of intermediaries to Arequipa, where the export houses are located." (Orlove 1977:46)

However, because of the diversity of traders and the long chain which

unites the producer to the wool exporter, pastoralists sell wool at a price determined by local factors, and not at one related to its export value - of which they are unaware. This raises the question as to whether pastoralists are exploited by the market and its hierarchy of intermediaries. However, a number of factors would seem to militate against this interpretation. In the first place, the large number of intermediaries operating within a given area offers pastoralists a choice of dealers to whom they can sell their clip. Secondly, the lack of loyalties to particular traders and the low incidence of loans made against a shearing, give the producer the freedom to select the highest offer. Thirdly, the storability of wool, both on the animals' backs and, if dry, in a storeroom, means that it is possible for producers to delay the sale of their wool until they find the right price.

While pastoralism itself is capable of generating considerable cash from the sale of wool, meat and milk, other sources common to households in Tomas are wage labour - mostly in mining - and trade. Only the very restricted agricultural production of the lands around the village constitute anything close to what might be described as subsistence production in the community. In fact, as the data presented in a previous chapter has shown, the extent of involvement in the cash economy in Tomas may constitute as much as 82% of total domestic consumption. And data presented by Figueroa show how, even amongst the agricultural peasants in the communities which he studied in the south of Peru, there is an average 50% reliance on cash in the domestic consumption (1984).

Such data raise the question as to the nature of the present involvement of peasants in the cash economy. It seems that in Peru such involvement has existed for many years: a fact which indicates that former research

has frequently failed to fully understand the nature of the peasantry. Thus, the model of the peasantry which has been based on an "indigenista" approach, has presented a somewhat romantic view of peasants as a group. On the other hand, writers such as Long, Roberts, Samaniego and Winder, have stressed the importance of the extent to which peasants participate in the capitalist economy. And even though such involvement may not include full wage labour relations, the fact remains that peasants are closely involved in the cash economy and do not resist its penetration into their economic relations as certain "indigenista" writers have suggested.

Thus, in the case of Tomas, we have shown how closely pastoralists are integrated into the regional economy, the extent of their involvement in the capitalist market and the restricted possibilities for the exploitation of pastoralists in trading relations. On the other hand, it has also been noted that the pastoralists of Tomas continue to be reluctant to invest in or to modernise their production. Since we have shown that this reluctance is not based on adherence to "traditional" attitudes nor to ignorance, other explanations must be found. The first is located in the constraining role which the community plays in the management of its resources. This makes it impossible for the pastoralist to capitalise his production beyond certain communally defined limitations. Secondly, and in part as a result of the role which the community plays in the control of the domestic economy, alternative income sources make the improvement of herding technology both unnecessary and unprofitable for the pastoralist.

As Friedman stresses, the restraints which the peasant community imposes on its members prevents them from relating to the "product market

individually or competitively." (1980:165) Thus, in Tomas, communal constraints on pastoralism, and its control over land which has resulted in failure to erect fencing between estancias, or to improve the condition of the pasture, have closed other avenues to economic expansion within pastoralism. As a result, sporadic attempts at improved herd management, which have included the intensification of herding techniques, the rotation of grazing and programmes of selective breeding, have not been successful with the consequence that the pastoral economy appears to be stagnant. This situation is evident in the type of conservatism which has been shown to exist amongst pastoralists, as well as, in the case of certain households, the degree of hostility that is felt towards the community which is frequently seen as taxing and constraining the domestic economy, while offering very little in return.

For those households with sufficient herds, the means to avoid communal control has thus been through the diversification of the household economy into activity fields which do not rely heavily on communal resources. As a consequence, in present-day Tomas, one of the most evident characteristics of daily life is the involvement which many households have in trade, wage labour and the education of their children.

The role of the community

As the community's population moves progressively into economic activity fields which do not depend directly upon the resources which the community controls, the communal authorities attempt to reorientate the strategies which they employ in order to maintain a degree of political and economic control over their membership.

Whilst the peasant community in Peru is a part of the national state organisation with which it is integrated through the administrative roles of the alcalde and the gobernador, it also has its own independent political organisation. Its own Junta Directiva is legally entitled to exert its political, judicial and economic control over its population, organising its own activities, punishing malefactors and imposing taxes as it sees fit. Thus, whilst from the point of view of the national government, each peasant community is viewed as a single property or enterprise, its own internal statute ensures that it has a degree of political independence in the control of its own affairs. In this sense the peasant community exists as a quasi "state-within-a-state" which has a wide-ranging sphere of independence.

To a great extent the economy of the community is based on household based production and consumption. However, since the household is unable to relate to the wider economy directly because of the communal system of property (particularly in a pastoral community where almost all land is communally controlled), it becomes essential to maintain the community as a legally representative body which mediates between the household and the state. As a consequence the primary role of the community may be seen as political and not economic (as has been stressed by those authors trying to argue for the continuing cohesiveness of communal organisation). Such a proposition makes sense of the conflict which exists between the community's political and economic organisation. On the one hand, those most often occupying positions of power in the community may frequently be seen to attempt to divert its economic path to their own advantage whilst, on the other, there is continual stress placed upon the importance of equality in the distribution of communal

resources. Thus, it is possible to consider that the community attempts to control its membership, not in order to constrain individual economic expansion, so much as simply to fulfill its political responsibilities.

The community's role in pastoralism and agriculture has been discussed at length in the body of the thesis. The dependence which comuneros engaging in these activities have on the communal organisations enables the authorities to exact taxes from them and control the extent of their exploitation of communal resources under the conditions laid down in the communal statutes. Whilst the independence of individual households has always made it difficult for the authorities to maintain their role as managers of the communal resources, fines and the threat of eviction from an estancia, or even of expulsion from the community, have always remained as their ultimate means of control.

The diversification of the economies of a large percentage of the households in the community inevitably reduces their dependence on communally controlled resources and thus affects the role which the community as an organisation is able to play in people's lives. As the dependence of individual households on pastoral and agricultural activities declines, so the ability of the community to tax and administrate its population decreases.

Trade has been shown to be one of the most important ways in which a household may diversify its economy. However, since it is conducted by numerous individuals and many of these are not native Tomasinos, the community's links with trading activities have concentrated on attempts to also bring these small scale operators under its control. The majority of traders whose business is based in the community pay taxes to the

communal authorities. On occasion the latter have also tried to direct the trade which is carried on within its boundaries in certain ways. Examples of these attempts have been seen in the sanctions imposed by the communal assembly to prevent the illegal sale of meat outside the community in 1975 after it became the subject of a scandal in the Huancayo newspapers; the joint sale of a large percentage of the community's wool clip to a craft business in Huancayo in 1978; and, in 1979, the imposition of a rota to oblige pastoralists to bring meat to the plaza to supply those without animals. Most recently, the initiation of the construction of a market building may be seen as a concerted attempt to bring a larger sector of trade under the eye of the communal organisation. However, while these attempts to exercise control over trade in a given area may be successful for a short time, the scale and diversity of entrepreneurial activity over the vast expanses of the community's lands mean that it is almost impossible for the authorities to gain anywhere near complete control.

The dependence which Tomas has had on mining since the seventeenth century has been made evident in the data presented in the previous chapters. However, it has also been noted that the relationship between the community and the mine owners has always been ambiguous. On the one hand the community has received help in terms of materials and technical assistance from the mine companies, which have also provided work for some of the community's population. On the other, though, the community suffers considerable damage to its lands, water supplies, roads and buildings as a result of pollution and the heavy volume of traffic which the mines generate. Thus there exists an undercurrent of disaffection in the community which frequently erupts at communal assemblies when calls

are made for the mine companies to clean up their operations. However, in the majority of cases, the mine owners, whether those of government controlled Centromin or small firms, pay little attention to the complaints of the communal authorities, whom they regard with a degree of patronising disdain.

While some of those who work in the mines in the locality still retain their herds and fields in Tomas, they are seldom able to fulfill their obligations to the community. All comuneros who wish to retain their communal rights whilst working away from Tomas must, therefore take up anualista status and pay an annual subscription to the community. In this way the community gains a sizeable income from many of its absent members who work in different activity fields, which it is able to put to use on public works. Such people are also expected, through their membership of "residents clubs" in the mines and cities, to make generous voluntary contributions to all projects which are undertaken by the community and to contribute in other ways to its progress.

However, the large numbers of migrants from Tomas who now live outside the community make it impossible for the authorities to keep in touch with all of them, and there are a considerable number of people who retain animals on community lands, or benefit in some other way, but pay it no dues. Although the census of animals taken for the Libro Agropecuario keeps an official account of the numbers of animals in the hands of any one household, covert shepherding arrangements between kin mean that many migrants manage to keep animals undetected.

The increasing economic diversity amongst the population of Tomas, and the constraints imposed on the expansion of those activities based on

communal resources, has meant that, although the main productive bases of the community are its pastoral resources, in many cases those in control of its management have a predominant interest in non-agricultural activities. Thus, it has been noted that the majority of those who seek political office are people at least partially resident in the village, many of whom are engaged in trade. One major consequence of this bias in the attitude of the communal authorities has been an almost total concentration of communally sponsored projects within the urban area. As noted in Chapter 9, the only important projects to have been undertaken in the puna over recent years have been those to establish the sheep and alpaca cooperatives. And both of these, rather than supplying their members with dividends, have financed a large number of village-based projects, including the installation of electricity in 1978-9. Thus, the "urban" bias in the attitudes of the authorities has meant that, to a great extent, the resources of the community's puna are being used to improve the village, while almost nothing is being re-invested in the puna itself.

Household livelihood strategies

As mentioned previously, the diversification of interests and activities has meant that the households of Tomas may be sub-divided into three broad categories. These include:

1. those households which are self-sufficient pastoralists with no outside sources of income. Such households live exclusively in the puna and own herds sufficient for their independent livelihood. They are thus reliant on only one activity field. They tend to be reluctant to bring their children to school or to cooperate in community affairs. The

networks which they establish outside of their own locality tend to be directly with the villages and markets of Huancayo;

2. those pastoralists whose animal holdings are below a certain level necessary for their subsistence and who must, therefore, engage in some form of wage labour (and, perhaps, trade) to survive. They are thus involved in more than one activity field as part of a survival strategy. Some members of this group have few or no animals. Agriculture tends to be important for such households and they have a dependence upon the community which protects their access to its resources. However, they may also be exploited by some of its wealthier members who employ them as peones and shepherds and who, through political pressure, engage their labour in projects from which they may have little to benefit;

3. those pastoralists who, having extensive herds, have diversified their economies into trade and the education of their children. While they may have considerable animal holdings, they do not often rely heavily on income from them. Like the previous group, they engage in two or three separate activity fields although, in this case their diversification entails a strategy for expansion. Such households are frequently village based, although they may be highly mobile, and some do remain in the puna. Amongst this sector are those comuneros most closely involved in the conduct of communal affairs. They often stand to benefit most from infrastructural improvements and use the political power which they wield within the community to their own advantage. They may also employ other comuneros as wage labourers.

Whilst those who remain purely pastoralists may range from barely subsisting on the produce of their herds, to being wealthy, in general terms these three groups identify degrees of economic stratification

within the community. However, as livelihood strategies, they do not imply the formation of classes within the population, but relate directly to differential involvement in specific activity fields. Moreover, since a household's involvement in various activity fields may change over the period of its existence, such strata are not permanent. In fact, since the small-scale nature of the local economy does not allow for economic differentiation on any scale, or over successive generations, it is to the regional level of analysis that one should look for the formation of class identities.

Diversification of the domestic economy inevitably enforces the establishment of new networks between households, both on the local and regional levels. Increasingly, these involve capitalist relations. Thus, when a household with extensive economic capacity diversifies into trade, it has the cash to pay the wage labourers which it must employ to secure the continuation of its agricultural production. However, it remains debatable whether "cash-plus-food", which continues to be the established method of payment in the majority of wage labour contracts in Tomas, constitutes a "free" wage.

Social change in a pastoral community

It is clear from the data which have been presented in the preceding chapters that Tomas is undergoing major changes in its social and economic organisation. In the past, life in the community depended heavily on its pastoral resources. The vast majority of households lived with their herds, bartering or selling animal products to obtain what agricultural produce they could not grow for themselves. Moreover, up until the second half of the present century, the low market value of

wool and the poor transport system in the highlands meant that a good percentage of the exchanges on which the population relied was based on barter with the agricultural villages of the Mantaro valley and the high jungle.

On the other hand, it has also been noted that the population of the community has had a certain element of fluidity, at least since the times of the reducciones. The evacuation of the village of Tomas following a series of natural disasters has always been followed by its repopulation as men moved in to take up jobs in the mines. In addition, the people's involvement in arriaje and trade entailed frequent journeys to other parts of the region. As a consequence, the population has maintained an outward-looking perspective which has made it receptive to the possibility of change.

Over the past forty years new opportunities have presented themselves in the form of the re-opening of the Yauricocha mines, the expansion of the road network linking Tomas with Huancayo and Lima, the growth of the market economy in the Mantaro valley and the increasing importance which Peru as a nation has placed on education as a means of social and economic advancement. All these changes in the wider society have affected the lives of the population of Tomas. They have made the diversification of the domestic economy both possible and attractive, thus encouraging a move away from exclusive reliance on pastoralism and the increasing importance of commodity relations in the locality.

As a consequence, in recent years there has been a tendency towards the stagnation of the pastoral economy as surplus funds have been channelled into alternative activities. The expansion of economic interests into

those fields not controlled by the community has also given rise to the outmigration of the wealthiest households and the sale of some of the biggest herds. The movement away from the puna has also led to the increasing employment of shepherd households in the care of animals, producing new forms of stratification within the community. Although the majority of these still tend to be native Tomasinos, who share the communal rights of their employers, the possibility of the development of a class of huachilleros, combining forms of wage labour with sharecropping arrangements, does exist.

Another feature of the growing economic diversity in the population has been the declining interest in agriculture amongst those comuneros able to live without it. As more households engage in wage labour and trade, their increased access to a cash income and the greater tax on their time, make it more feasible for the majority to give up the cultivation of the tiny plots available in Tomas and buy the imported vegetables which they need for their consumption. Over recent years such a decline is evidenced by the smaller volume of arable produce and the visibly smaller area of terraced land which is cultivated.

The role which the community has come to play in the management of its resources and the political and economic control of its membership has also been shown to have altered. On the one hand, the decreased reliance on those resources which the community manages has lessened its power of political control over the comunero population. On the other, the community has gained cash remittances, technical assistance and prestige from some of those comuneros who have migrated to the mines and cities. However, since the community is only the sum of its members, economic diversification has become an important aspect of the financial

background of communal activities. The continuing investment of the cash and labour which the community has at its disposal in the village has led to a failure to improve the resources of the puna, and threatens the community's main economic base, making it a less characteristic pastoral community. Moreover, infrastructural investments in the village are evidence of the way in which certain of the wealthier and more powerful sectors of the population are able to gain advantage from the communal organisation, often at the expense of those poorer households without the cash to invest in such improvements.

Finally, increased economic diversity has led to the incorporation of the village in the cash economy. Growing numbers of comuneros, dependent upon cash incomes from wage labour and trade, swell the numbers of school teachers and miners, creating an expanding volume of trade in the village. Also, as people come to rely more heavily on cash purchases to satisfy their consumption needs, the population has become more dependent upon supplies of foodstuffs bought on the market. This has led to changes in dietary habits which are reflected in the increased purchase by Tomasinos of staples such as rice, pasta and vegetable oil instead of their previously used equivalents (e.g. quinoa, potatoes and animal fat). Thus staple foods are no longer local products, but those imported from outside. Clothing, too, is now largely factory made. Where the men and women of Tomas used to make almost all the clothes and household goods which they needed out of the wool which they produced, very little of what they now wear is homespun. The village has thus become the commercial centre of a community now almost totally dependent upon supplies from the manufacturing sector and other agricultural areas of the country.

Whilst the research presented in this thesis has attempted to describe the economy of a pastoral community within the context of its wider regional environment, it has only been able to make some initial steps in the direction of the greater understanding of some of the problems which it has considered. In the future it is to be hoped that other researchers will be able to follow up some of the problems which it has presented and to amplify those areas of research which still remain under-investigated in the study of pastoralism and the peasantry in the Andes.

One important point which has emerged from the study concerns the role which the peasant community has to play in Peruvian society. It has been shown how the imperfect understanding of this role has led certain writers to misinterpret the reasons for its continuing importance in the Peruvian economy. Further research into the relationship which the peasant community maintains with the households which constitute its membership could reveal new insights into the way in which the peasant community operates and the rationale behind its persistence.

Further research is also suggested into the ways in which households diversify economically. It is to be hoped that this study would lead to a greater understanding of the ways in which individual household behaviour relates to the wider economy, and of the levels of cooperation and competition which are generated by such interaction. The analysis of such processes, on the basis of more extensive research, would make possible the construction of a theoretical framework capable of describing social and economic change amongst the Andean peasantry.

GLOSSARY

acopiador: wool collector or gatherer. Man who travels the puna buying wool from isolated pastoral households and transports it in bulk to the markets and warehouses of the city.

alcalde: mayor. A local municipal official appointed by the national bureaucracy and owing allegiance to it.

al partir: sharecropping arrangement. In pastoralism such an arrangement is usually entered into by a herd-owner and shepherd household, the offspring of the herd being divided equally between the two parties. Used to refer to a similar arrangement in agriculture.

anexo: small, subsidiary or "daughter" town in municipal district in which another is the capital.

anualista: member of comunidad campesina (q.v.) who lives outside the community and substitutes his/her attendance at faenas (q.v.) and communal assemblies with an annual subscription.

arriaje: the transportation of commercial goods by llama or mule.

arriero: llama driver or muleteer.

artesania: craft activities. In the present context particularly the spinning, plying, weaving, knitting and plaiting of wool.

ayllu: kinship group or clan. Rural community professing a common ancestor.

azadon: hoe

barrio: neighbourhood of village originally occupied by the members of a single ayllu (q.v.).

bayeta: rough, unbleached cloth made from sheep's wool.

bofedal: an area of the puna where water seeps through the ground allowing pasture to grow throughout the year.

callua: backstrap loom used by the Incas and still in use in many parts of the Peruvian Andes today.

cargo: religious or political obligation undertaken by members of a

peasant community and involving the holder in certain cash outlays and/or duties in the political or religious life of the community. While religious cargoes may be held by either men or women, political ones are exclusively reserved for men.

ceja de montana: literally "eyebrow of the mountain". This term refers to the area of transition between the highlands and the Amazonian jungle, where the warm climate permits the cultivation of sugar, fruit and coffee.

charqui: dried meat.

chacra: field. In the present context normally very small and worked with hand tools.

chaqui-taclla: foot plough. Tool used for breaking the soil in land clearance or the loosening of potatoes during harvest.

chosa: dwelling of pastoralist in the puna. Generally a group of low, stone-built huts with thatched rooves and surrounding a small patio.

chuno: freeze-dried potato.

compadrazgo: system of co-parenthood.

compadre: co-parent. The parents and god-parents of a child (or marrying couple) are compadres. Generally it is the relation between the adults rather than the children or young people which is of primary importance in such arrangements.

comunero/comunera: member (male/female) of a comunidad campesina (q.v.).

comunero inactivo/comunera inactiva: retired member of comunidad campesina (q.v.) who is no longer obliged to fulfill labour obligations or attend communal assemblies, but retains the right to keep animals and cultivate crops on communal lands.

comunidad campesina: peasant community officially recognised by the Peruvian government in the 1922 constitution. Such communities hold agricultural land in common (in theory, at least) and have a certain degree of political independence.

costal: rustic sack for agricultural or transport use, woven from the wool of alpacas and llamas. Costales still retain an important role in the barter of the produce of many pastoral communities for grains in arable villages.

encomienda: early colonial grant of the right to tribute and labour from the indian population.

enganche: labour recruitment system used in the mines and haciendas whereby peasants were often forced into working through indebtedness.

estancia: area of puna allotted to pastoralists which includes the chosas (q.v.) and corrals for the use of the herding household as well as grazing and water supplies for its herds.

faena: communal labour organised by a peasant community for the completion of public works.

foresteros: free labourers: indians who had fled their native communities in colonial times and thus had no landholding rights. However, they were free to travel and to work without being subject to the mit'a (q.v.) obligations imposed on other indians.

gobernador: governor. A local municipal official appointed by the national bureaucracy and owing allegiance to it.

herranza: fertility and marking ritual for animals.

huachilleros: shepherds whose contract includes the right to graze their own animals on the lands of their employer.

huallaco (lampita): mattock.

ichu: bunch grass typical of the puna. There are three main species: calamagrostis, stipa and festuca.

montana: high jungle region where maize and sub-tropical fruits and vegetables are grown.

mestizo: person of mixed indian and Spanish blood.

manta: shawl. Two main types are hand woven in the central highlands: the first is small and decorative and is worn square accross the shoulders and back. The second, the callash manta, is larger and is tied diagonally so that is can be used for carrying a baby or other load.

mit'a: obligatory service in the mines, obrajes (q.v.), and plantations which originated during Toledo's reforms of the 1570's.

mitimaes: indians who were used by the Inca to colonise distant regions. They supplied the state with the produce of all the Andean productive zones.

mitayo: person who is working on the mit'a (q.v.).

mashua: (Tropaeolum tuberosum) bitter Andean tuber, used in stews.

obraje: textiles workshop established during the early colonial period and using mit'a (q.v.) labour.

oca: (Oxalis crenata) sweet Andean tuber, often roasted and eaten alone.

olluco: (Ullucus tuberosa) sweet Andean tuber used in stews and fried dishes.

puna: high plateau over 3000 metres above sea level.

puneros: puna dwellers.

peon: worker employed in agriculture or other manual labour. Usually paid mainly in cash, though food and other non-monetary payments are normally included.

quinua: (Chenopodium quinoa) Andean grain crop.

quebrada: intermontane valley, generally below 3600 metres above sea level.

quintal: measure of weight equivalent to 100 pounds.

reducciones: Toledo's policy of 1567 under which the dispersed Andean population was centralised into a number of Spanish-style settlements with clearly defined boundaries.

repartimento de efectivos: the forced distribution of goods to the Andean indians during the colonial period. It was a policy largely employed in an effort to indebt the population and force it into the markets for labour and goods.

sectorista: government appointed veterinary technician with responsibility for a number of pastoral villages.

ullay: reciprocal labour between the members of two households, mostly used in agriculture.

villa: the principal town of a municipal district in Peru.

yunga: warm, low valley lands, generally used for fruit production, cassava and sweet potatoes.

vellon: knotted wool fleece.

yerno: (literally "son-in-law"). In the context of the Andean peasant community it refers to a man who marries into the community.

APPENDIX : PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION QUESTIONNAIRES

PRODUCTION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is reproduced in its entirety, so as to give a clear impression of the types of data obtained from it. However, in its original form, this questionnaire included a number of tables which made its completion more simple and legible. As a result, those words which originally formed the vertical columns of such tables have been listed consecutively with oblique strokes between them.

Questionnaire on the economy of herding, agriculture, trade and wage labour. Tomas June 1980

Name of informant:

Estancia:

Address in village:

Occupation: primary:

secondary:

Do you have: alpacas / llamas / sheep / cows / goats / horses / donkeys / pigs

Do you cultivate fields: in Tomas / Elsewhere

Do you have any kind of: trade / wage labour / craft activities

A. PASTORALISM

Section 1: Ways in which animals have been acquired

1. How many animals did your parents and your wife's (husband's) parents pass on to you in inheritance?

How did they pass them on to you: a few at a time / on your marriage / when they died

2. Have you or your wife (husband) bought any animals during your lifetime: self / wife / other household member

What kind of animals and how many?

From whom and where?

When?

Why?

3. Is there any other way in which you have acquired animals during your lifetime?

4. Are either you or your wife (husband) passing any animals on to your children, or other relatives, now: children / other relatives (specify)

If not, how do you intend to pass them on?

Section II: Improvements to animals and grazing

1. Are you trying to improve your animals? How: quality breeding stock / vitamins and other medications / improvements to the pasture / other method (specify)

2. What medicines do you use to treat your animals on a regular basis?

How many times a year?

Did you dip your animals last year?

3. Do you have help or information from a person or agency to help you with the care of your animals?

From whom?

Section III: People who work with the animals

1. Who looks after the animals for most of the time: Informant / wife (husband) / other (specify)

Is there someone else who looks after them from time to time? Who?

2. When someone is looking for a shepherd, what is the best type of person for the work: a close relative / a neighbour / anyone / other (specify)

3. If your animals are in the care of a shepherd, who is it?

Name:

Relation with informant:

How did you find this shepherd?

How long has he worked for you?

Is he a good shepherd? If not, why?

Did you have another shepherd before this one? Who was it?

Why did you change him?

How and how much do you pay your shepherd?

Why don't you care for your own animals?

4. Who helped you to shear your animals this year?

Names:

Relation with informant:

How did you repay them for their work: money / food / coca/alcohol / wool / ullay

5. Who supplied the tools: shears / ropes / iodine / marking dye / other
6. When someone is looking for people to help with the shearing, what type of person is best:
for ullay: close relative / neighbour / those with experience / anyone / other (specify):
for a peon: close relative / neighbour / those with experience / anyone / other (specify)
7. When there is an animal to kill and butcher, who does the work:
informant / wife (husband) / other (specify)
If it is someone else, how do you pay them?
8. If you have a sick animal, who helps you: close relative / neighbour / the sectorista / nobody / other (specify)
9. Who usually milks your cows/ goats?
Name:
Relation with informant:
How do you pay them?

Is there someone else who does it from time to time?
Name:
Relation with informant:
How often?
How do you pay them?
10. When someone is looking for a person to milk their cows/goats, what type of person is best for the work: close relative / neighbour / someone with experience / anyone / other (specify)
11. Who usually makes your cheese?
Name:
Relation with informant:
How do you pay them?

Is there someone else who does it from time to time?
Name:
Relation with informant:
How often?
How do you pay them?

Section IV: Shearing of wool-bearing animals

1. When did you shear your alpacas/sheep this year and how many did you shear: alpacas / llamas / sheep
Date:
Number:
2. How many pounds (or quintales) of wool did you shear: alpaca (white and coloured wool) / llama / sheep
3. Have you sold your wool: alpaca / llama / sheep
To whom?

Where?
 How much for?
 How many vellones did you keep back?
 If it isn't sold yet, why not?

Section V: Animals for meat

1. When did you last kill an animal for meat: alpaca / sheep / cow / other
 Date:
 For use or sale?
2. Why did you kill that particular animal: alpaca / sheep / cow / other
 Male
 Coloured wool
 ill
 old
 other reason (specify)
3. When do you intend to kill another: alpaca / sheep / cow / other
 Date:
 Why that particular animal?
 For use or sale?
4. How many animals do you kill per year: alpacas / sheep / cows / other
 Number for use:
 Number for sale:
 To whom do you sell?
 How much per pound?
 To whom do you sell the skin?
 How much does it fetch?
 Do you sell meat in the plaza of Tomas? How often?
5. Do you sell live animals: alpacas / sheep / cows or goats / horses or donkeys / pigs / other
 How many?
 To whom?
 Why?

Section VI: Diseases

1. Have your animals suffered from any diseases this year: alpacas / sheep / cows / other
 Type of disease:
 Number affected:
 Did the sectorista come?
 How many died?
 What did you do to cure them?
 What did the sectorista do?
2. Have you lost lambs or calves this year? How: alpacas / sheep / cows / other
 Disease

Bad weather
 Predators
 In other ways (specify)

Section VII: Cows and goats

1. How many cows (goats) do you have which give milk?
 How many are giving milk now?
 How many calves are expected this year?
2. If you do not have your own bull, how are your cows inseminated?
3. What do you do with the milk?
 For use
 For sale
 For cheese
 Do you sell cheese?
 To whom do you sell milk? Where?
 To whom do you sell cheese? Where?
4. How many litres of milk do you get a day (on average in the best milking period)
 How many cheeses do you make in a week?
 Is there any milk left over? How much?
 What do you do with the whey?

Section VIII: The manufacture of woollen goods

1. Do either you or your wife (husband) make woollen goods or sew: spin / ply / weave / knit / plait / sew
 Informant: for use
 for sale
 Wife (husband): for use
 for sale
 Have you done so previously? When?
 Why do you not do so now?
2. What types of wool or other fibres do you or your wife (husband) use for your work: alpaca / llama / sheep / synthetic fibres / bayeta / factory-made fabrics
 From your own animals?
 Purchased?
 From whom?
3. What type of goods do you and your wife (husband) make: for domestic use / for sale / to whom?
 Jumpers
 Socks
 Gloves
 Ponchos
 Coverlets
 Hats
 Scarves

Costales

Ponchos

Bed spreads

Blankets

Scarves

Shawls

Saddle bags

Halters

Ropes

Slings

Aprons

Blouses

Skirts

Jackets

Trousers

Section IX: The manufacture of costales and other goods for barter

1. Do you or your wife (husband) usually make costales or other things to use in barter?

Do you make costales for your own use?

2. Are you making them this year?

How many?

Type and quantity of other things:

If you do not make them now, did you previously? When?

Why did you stop making them?

3. If you still make them, do you use your own wool?

If not, from whom do you buy it?

4. Who is going to do the work this year: spin / ply / weave / sew

Informant

Wife (husband)

Other (specify)

How much does she/he ask?

Why do you ask this particular person?

5. If you do not make costales, do you take other things for barter?

What type of goods?

How many?

6. Where do you take your goods for barter?

To the Mantaro valley: which towns?

To the montana: which towns?

Both (if you go to both, what goods do you expect to get in each?)

7. When do you intend to go this year?

Date:

Why at this time?

8. Are you going to go alone, or with a friend or relative?

- Alone
- With a relative (name and relation)
- With a friend (name)
- With someone else (specify)

9. How are you going to travel?

- In a private vehicle
- In a bus
- In a lorry
- On foot
- With animals
- Other (specify)

10. Where will you stay when you arrive?

- With friends (name)
- With relatives (name and relation)
- With compadres
- With others (specify)

Will you stay in the same village as that in which you barter your goods?

11. With whom will you barter your goods?

- With friends (name)
- With relatives (name and relation)
- With compadres
- With neighbours
- With anyone
- Other (specify)

How many times do you have to visit each village in order to complete the exchange?

How much time is there between visits?

How much time does the trip take in total?

12. How many quintales of grains did you obtain through barter last year: maize / wheat / barley / beans / others

In the montana

In the Mantaro valley

Do you have any left now? How much?

Have you bought any? How much?

Where?

13. If you do not make trips for barter, how do you obtain grains and other valley products?

B. AGRICULTURE

Section I: Acquisition of land

1. How many chacras have your parents, or those of your wife (husband), passed on to you: informant / wife (husband)

Did they pass an estancia on to you: informant / wife (husband)

How did they pass them on?

A few at a time

When you married

When they died

2. Have you requested any chacras from the community since that time?

How many?

When?

Do you still have them?

Why did you ask for them?

3. Have you ever changed your estancia? Why?

4. Do you have any private chacras in the village?

How many?

How did you acquire them?

5. Do you have any chacras in other parts of the country?

How many?

Where?

How did you acquire them?

Do you cultivate them or is the work done by someone else?

6. Are either you or your wife (husband) currently passing any chacras on to your children or other relatives?

Children

Others (specify)

If not, how do you intend to pass them on?

7. Do you cultivate the chacras of any of your relatives?

Of whom?

Why?

What do you do with the harvest?

Section II: Use of chacras

1. How many fields have you cultivated this year? With what crops: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)

2. How many sacks of seed have you used in each case: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)

Number of sacks

Did you buy the seed?

Where?

3. How many sacks of manure did you use in total?

Number of sacks

What kind?

Did you buy it?

From whom/ where?

How much did you pay?

Which crops need manure?

4. Did you use any other kind of chemicals in your chacras?
 Did you irrigate them?
 How many of them?
 How?

Section III: People who work in the fields

1. With whom have you worked in your chacras this year: clearing / planting / hoeing / weeding / harvesting
 Informant
 Wife (husband)
 Relatives (specify)
 Others (specify)
 How did you repay them for their work: money / food / coca/alcohol / produce / ullay
2. Who owned the tools which were used?
3. When someone is looking for a person to help in the fields, what type of person is best for the work:
 for ullay: close relative / neighbour / those with experience / anyone / other (specify):
 for a peon: close relative / neighbour / those with experience / anyone / other (specify)

Section IV: Losses due to disease and damage

1. Have your crops been damaged by disease or other problems this year : potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)
 Disease
 Drought
 Excess rain
 Frost
 Animals
 Thefts
 Other (specify)
 Was the damage slight, average, or extensive?

Section V: Agricultural productivity

1. How many sacks of each crop have you harvested this year : potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)
 Number of sacks:
 Was the harvest good, average or poor?
2. What are you going to do with the harvest: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)
 Quantity for use
 Quantity for sale
 Quantity for gifts
 Quantity for seed

3. Do you still have any of last year's crops left: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)

Number of sacks:

Have you bought any? How much?

4. Do you intend to sow (or have you sown) the same quantity of crops this year: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)

More, the same or less?

5. Do you intend to buy (or have you bought) any seed this year: potatoes / oca / olluco / mashua / quinua / beans / other (specify)

How many years do you use the same seed?

C. TRADE AND WAGE LABOUR

Section I: Trade

1. Do either you or your wife (husband) engage in any form of trade or commercial activity?

Shop

Sale of wool/meat

Sale of milk/cheese

Bring things from the city

Carry things or people in a lorry

Eating house

Inn

Give lodging to children

Rent rooms

Other (specify)

Give details of the business:

2. How much do you (or your wife/husband) earn from the business each month?

Section II: Wage labour

1. Are either you or your wife (husband) employed as wage labourers?

In the mines (Tomas/Yauricocha/other)

In the community (what work?)

In a shop (Whose?)

In a factory (Where?)

In a private house (Whose?)

For the government

Give details of the work:

2. How much do you (or your wife/husband) earn from the work each month?

Section III: Craft activities

1. Do you or your wife (husband) earn money from craft activities?

Carpenter
Bricklayer
Electrician
Metal worker
Shoemaker
Weaver
Tailor

Other (specify)

Give details of the work:

2. How much do you (or your wife/husband) earn from the work each month?

Section IV: Use of cash which the family earns in all its economic activities

1. You have money from various sources. How do you spend it?

Earnings from animals
Earnings from agriculture
Earnings from trade
Earnings from wage labour
Earnings from craft activities

D. MISCELLANEOUS

Section I: Use of time during the year

1. Where and how do the various members of the household spend their time: January / February / March / April / May / June / July / August / September / October / November / December

Informant: where
 how

Wife/husband: where
 how

Children: where
 how

Others: where
 how

2. What is the average time which all members of the family spend in all of the activities of the household: pastoralism / agriculture / trade / wage labour / craft activities / travel / household duties / other activities

Informant
Wife (husband)
Older children

Section II: Credits and Loans

1. Do you have any money invested: bank / cooperative / relative / friend / other
2. Do you have any sort of loan: bank / cooperative / finance company / relative / friend / other
3. Do you send money or goods to any members of your family or others?
To whom?
Where?
Why?
What do you send?
Value of the goods:
4. Do you receive money or goods from any members of your family or others?
From whom?
Where?
Why?
What do they send?
Value of the goods:

Section III: Travel and migration

1. Have you or your wife (husband) ever travelled outside the community to work on a temporary or permanent basis?
Person:
Where to?
What for?
Dates:
Earnings:
Reason:
2. Do you or your wife (husband) have a business outside the community which is yours?
Person:
Place:
Business:
Earnings:
Reason:
3. What regular journeys do the members of the family make between the puna and the village, or the community and other places?
Person:
Where to?
Reason for journey:
Frequency of journeys:

Section IV: Relations of compadrazgo

1. Do you have any compadres in Tomas or elsewhere?
Complete name:

Place of birth:
Place of residence:
Occupation:
Is he/she a relative?
Type of help or cooperation between the households:
Reason for establishment of compadrazgo:

2. If someone is looking for a person to be his compadre which type of person is best?

Close relation
Distant relation
Someone who lives in the village
Someone who lives in the puna
Someone who lives in Huancayo or Lima
Someone of good character
Someone who can help the family

Section V: Personal opinions of the informant

1. Do you think that life in Tomas is better, the same, or worse than in:
other villages / the city

Better
The same
Worse

2. During your lifetime do you think that life in Peru has improved,
remained the same or deteriorated?

Better
The same
Worse

3. In comparison with other people: in Tomas / in Peru : how do you think
that your life has been?

Better
The same
Worse

4. Why do you think that the young people of Tomas are leaving for the
city?

To find an education
To find work
To find money
To find a better life
Because they are lazy
For another reason (specify)

5. What religion are you?

Do you see yourself as:
Very religious
The same as everyone else
Not very religious

CONSUMPTION QUESTIONNAIRE

The consumption questionnaire, which was completed with informants on two separate occasions, consisted of an itemised list of goods which were commonly bought by Tomasinos. Although the production questionnaire has been reproduced in full in this appendix, the questionnaire on consumption is only reproduced in outline form. Thus individual types of foodstuffs and household goods are not itemised, with only the headings of the categories of goods shown. The questionnaire was originally organised in table form with columns indicating quantities purchased, the price paid, where the item was bought and the frequency with which such a purchase was made.

List of articles of consumption for one week. Tomas: June and September 1980

1. Bread, biscuits and cakes
2. Basic dry foodstuffs
3. Tins and packaged foods
4. Dairy products and oils
5. Meat and fish
6. Vegetables and fruit
7. Herbs and seasonings
8. Medicines for people and animals
9. Tobacco and coca
10. Drinks and alcohol
11. Animal feeds
12. Cleaning materials
13. Items for the house
14. Stationary
15. Transport/ travel
16. Clothing
17. Entertainment
18. Services

This itemised list was followed by a number of more general questions which attempted to relate the week's purchases to a more comprehensive idea of the household's consumption needs:

How do the things which you have bought this week vary from what you might buy at other times of the year?

What goods do you buy in bulk: quantity / price / source / frequency

Have you made any major purchases (e.g. furniture, a vehicle, land or animals) or have you spent money on improvements to your house or car, or undertaken any other major work during the past year? Give details:

Annual cash incomes for twenty households which responded to questionnaire in 1980
(in pounds)

AGRICULTURAL INCOMES					NON-AGRICULTURAL INCOMES				
Occupational Categories	Wool sales	Meat/ animal sales	Milk/ bullock sales	TOTAL	Commerce	Wage labour	Crafts	TOTAL	GRAND TOTAL
Pastoralist only									
01.	248	147	202	395	-	-	-	-	395
02.	161	162	-	323	-	-	-	-	323
03.*	512	433	302	1247	-	-	-	-	1247
04.	232	213	135	580	-	-	-	-	580
05.	53	-	742	795	-	-	-	-	795
Pastoralism and weaving									
06.	106	282	-	388	-	-	110	110	498
07.*	3	-	-	3	-	-	80	80	83
Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving									
08.	287	83	-	370	-	320	-	320	690
09.	146	150	270	566	-	50	120	170	736
10.	130	75	-	205	-	215	42	257	462
11.	49	15	-	64	-	80	80	160	224
Pastoralism and wage labour									
12.	65	-	-	65	-	960	-	960	1025
13.	567	258	-	825	-	1460	-	1460	2258
Pastoralism and commerce									
14.	657	650	-	1307	400	-	-	400	1707
15.	599	300	-	899	320	-	-	320	1219
16.	857	240	-	1097	70	-	-	70	1167
17.	-	-	371	371	226	-	-	226	597
Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce									
18.	202	150	-	352	360	600	-	960	1312
19.	460	850	403	1713	200	680	-	880	2593
Pastoralism, commerce and weaving									
20.*	452	120	910	1482	255	-	255	510	1992

These households did not appear in the abbreviated statistics presented in Chapter 8.

Annual expenditures for twenty households which responded to questionnaires in 1980
(in pounds)

Occupations EXPENDITURE CATEGORIES

	Food & basic needs	Clothing /school supplies	Travel	Rents & services	Medical needs	Pastor /peon	Major purchases	Total

Pastoralist only								
01.	196	-	24	-	-	-	-	230
02.	407	23	24	15	11	3	-	483
03.*								
04.	502	83	6	5	17	-	45	658
05.	779	110	16	15	-	5	-	925
Pastoralism and weaving								
06.	345	33	7	-	-	-	-	385
07.*								
Pastoralism, wage labour and weaving								
08.	498	117	8	90	12	9	-	806
09.	783	142	3	3	10	8	-	949
10.	541	90	8	4	10	-	-	653
11.	770	60	11	4	5	-	-	850
Pastoralism and wage labour								
12.	968	150	42	14	17	19	175	1385
13.	1362	275	55	15	17	35	60	1819
Pastoralism and commerce								
14.	1152	295	108	10	34	142	-	1741
15.	923	102	338	7	15	60	-	1445
16.	796	150	12	14	17	-	-	989
17.	616	138	104	11	-	20	-	890
Pastoralism, wage labour and commerce								
18.	1129	142	163	12	34	17	-	1497
19.	1970	158	100	14	18	76	197	2353
Pastoralism, commerce and artesania								
20.*	746	333	24	34	83	80	67	1367

*These households did not appear in the abbreviated statistics presented in Chapter 8.

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ADDENDUM

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