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A Vicos mother and her daughter.

The Interrelationship of Power, Respect, Affection and Rectitude in Vicos[2]

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND OTHERS in recent years have begun to address themselves to the theme of socio-cultural deprivation which runs through the context of many peasant societies. In the Vicos case we must examine the social nature of the manorial society in this regard, making it the nexus of our presentations. We may state with certainty that were deprivation not a major focus it would be impossible to approximate, in the slightest way, the Vicos way of life as it was or as it is now.

The social condition of the Peruvian Indian was succinctly portrayed by the Mexican educator, Moises Saenz. In 1931 he was commissioned to survey the Andean Indian population and, especially, the "Indian Problem" as it has been so often called. During the course of his Peruvian travels he chanced to ask some Indians who were walking by the roadside where they were from, and to Saenz' distress they replied, "We belong to don Guillermo Pacheco."[3] This situation has persisted in wide areas of the Peruvian Andes and only within the last half decade has it appeared to be changing significantly.

The manorial society to which the Vicosinos "belonged" and participated in 1952 was governed by a code which was feudal in origin and hierarchical in nature. Its philosophy and outlook dominated the economic and social life of the province of Carhuaz and particularly the district of Marcara in which Vicos is located. This was a dichotomized society, comprised of two all-encompassing social castes, the Indians and the Mestizos.

The Dimensions of Peonage: Vicos, 1952

As the district capital, the town of Marcara represented in microcosm the centralized character of Lima in national life.[4] The parish church, principal stores, government offices, schools and modern means of transportation and communication were centered there in the houses and buildings set along the cobblestoned streets. The Mestizos living there were the literate, Spanish-speaking (but bilingual) representatives of the wider Peruvian society. They occupied all public offices in the district and determined and executed public policy in as far as this was permitted by the national government at the time. Although most Mestizos were engaged in some agricultural activity, the manual aspects of such were by preference delegated to Indian peons whenever possible.

As Indians, the people of Vicos showed their distinctiveness in many visible ways.[5] The traditional Vicos dress was of homespun, handwoven woolen cloth, handsewn into a costume unique to Vicos although similar to that worn by other Indians in the immediate area. These quaint outfits, derived from 17th century Spanish lackey uniforms, were soiled and tainted by the odors acquired through unrelieved use which also left them in ragged condition. The Vicosino homesteads were small and poorly constructed, being widely dispersed over the arable lands of the manor. Only 23 Vicosinos were able to speak Spanish (the rest speaking only Quechua) and all were illiterate.[6] Vicosinos did not participate in public affairs, held no official public offices and none would have been entitled to vote. As serfs and servants, the Vicosinos formed the principal resource of the manor and were regarded as property rather than as citizens.

For the people of Marcara, social status and the contingent roles were a question of ascription rather than achievement. Classification as an Indian at birth[7] thus placed one permanently in the social shadow of the Mestizo. Social mobility in Marcara was nil for the Indian, and Vicosinos were discouraged from migrating since this was not in the best interests of the manor.

The assumptions underlying this socio-economic arrangement took for granted the generic inferiority of the Indian as a being.[8] In its extreme form, the Mestizo declared that the Indian was "the animal closest to man" and that the Vicosinos were "savages" and "brutes." Less radical were opinions that the Vicosinos were merely ignorant, slow, drunken, humble or simple. Mestizo "respect" was earned through the faithful adherence to prescribed behavior; and the Vicosino usually proved himself to be a tractable laborer and beast of burden. Failure to conform was fraught with difficulties of a psychological and physical nature since recalcitrant Indians received punishments ranging from tongue-lashings to imprisonment and flogging. Conformity to the ascribed role of the Indian, of course, tended to reaffirm the specious assumptions about the Indian and his place in society.

The prevalent Mestizo belief that the Indian was "childlike" was evident in the use of the familiar form of address, such terms as "boy" or "son," with Vicosinos no matter what their age. Such usages in Mestizo society are normally employed with children only.

Covertly, the Vicosino response to this ever-threatening and humiliating interaction with Mestizos (and all outsiders) was one of fear and great mistrust.[9] Mestizos were often thought to be *pishtakos*, human ogres who murdered Indians in order to make use of their bodily fat and organs as grease. As the bogy-men in childhood tales and as domineering and abusive figures in real life, Mestizos were feared more than hated, and therefore avoided. If contact were unavoidable, however, a kind of passive noncooperation in the interaction situation would be adopted. If the Mestizo wanted him to work, the Vicosino would have to be instructed repeatedly in the same things. "Dimwittedness" was the sanctioned mental state; lack of initiative and brightness its manifestation in behavior.

Despite their fears, however, the Vicosinos were not entirely passive under the manorial system. Obliged to work three days a week without effective remuneration, they took what they could whenever possible. The agricultural custom of gleaning and the patterns of work rhythms aptly illustrate this opportunism. Anyone was allowed to glean the manor fields after harvest. This being the case, Vicosino peons engaged in the harvest generally left uncounted numbers of potatoes behind for the gleaners who followed. The manor thus lost a very large per cent of its harvest.[10] Indeed, anything belonging to the *patron* or his representative was open to theft.

The habit of Vicos men of chewing *coca* is a common and definitive Indian trait in the Andean regions. In the Mestizo view, *coca* chewing is invariably considered to be a debasing and stupefying vice to which the Indian succumbs to alleviate his hunger and sorrow and to give him strength to perform the heavy, menial work demanded of him. From the Vicosino point of view, however, *coca* fulfills an important social role as well as these assumed nutritional and psychological ones.[11] While working for the manor, Vicosinos were normally permitted seven or eight opportunities to masticate *coca* during the work day.[12] These "*coca*-breaks" sometimes lasted as long as twenty minutes and were reluctantly accepted by the operator as necessary for the Indians to be able to work. For the Vicosino, on the other hand, this was a social period, characterized by conversation and joking. Vicosinos rarely took even two such breaks during the day when working on their own fields and persons who did might be accused of being lazy. It cannot be said, therefore, that the Indians gave their all to the work of the manor.

Behind these defenses lay hidden the true culture of Vicos, both rejected and distinct from that of the Mestizo world. The Vicosinos recognized their uniqueness—in their clothing, speech, habits, and values.[13] They had a lively, bawdy sense of humor which they did not usually share with others. One's worth in the society—for both sexes—was judged by his ability to work hard on his own and his family's behalf. Prestige and respect were "acquired" by growing old although the possession of wealth, sponsorship of religious festivals, ability to speak some Spanish or exercise some special skill were also means by which one might acquire prestige in the community. Acquisition of the latter attributes was thought to be a matter of luck as much as anything.

Family organization also differed from that of the Mestizos who reckoned their kin bilaterally. The Vicosinos were divided into 52 *castas* (in 1952; there are now 69), or unilinear descent groups which were rigorously patrilineal in character.[14] Within the family unit, the man gave the "orders" and was considered to be "worth more" than his spouse whose ideal role was conceptualized as essentially passive in nature, "like the soil in which man plants his seed to be nourished."

Childhood in Vicos was not a particularly benign period of life, but rather harsh and uncertain.[15] Children performed chores from the age of three or four years and were usually attired in the cast-off rags and clothing of others until ten or more years of age. The social horizons of the child were severely limited and the circle of playmates was small, being comprised principally of relatives. Many children (particularly girls) spent a substantial portion of their young lives herding the family animals in solitude or in the company of one or two siblings.

The admiration of one's parents was gained through work and obedience even into adult life. The main sources of affection and friendship lay in the nuclear family and the *casta* although in certain circumstances the maternal relatives might prove important. An adjunct to the *casta* was the set of fictive kin acquired during the course of a lifetime. The godparents, godsibs, and godchildren extended the circle of confidence and friendship upon which one could rely for assistance or protection and so would be chosen with this in mind.

Conduct of family affairs was overseen by the older men and women, although not without the sometimes active participation of the older children (sometimes called *yayas*). Questions of incest and infidelity were handled within the *casta* if possible and if this failed, it would befall the community authorities, the *varayoc*, to mete out appropriate punishment to violators of the moral code.

The only community-wide internal organization permitted among the Vicosinos was that of the *varayoc* or "petty mayors."[16] This group of seventeen men, ideally the most righteous and moral men of the community, carried silver-adorned staves as symbols of their office. It was their responsibility to enforce the moral code, regulate the trial marriage system, see that the religious festivals were properly celebrated, care for church property on the manor, execute public works, judge and penalize crimes ranging from breach of promise to homicide. Theirs was the greatest position of power and respect open to Vicosinos and ex-*varayoc* constituted a group of elders who were highly respected and often consulted.

The operator of the manor, however, could and did intervene in *varayoc* affairs at any time and the *varayoc* were further controlled by the legal mayor of Marcara who theoretically appointed them and actually ordered them to see that certain public works be carried out by Vicosinos. The *varayoc* survived as a viable organization by carrying out these orders and being obedient to the manor operator in particular. The *varayoc* were in effect, therefore, the errand boys of Mestizo society and as such, constituted a quaint but tragic mockery of the Vicosino and his cultural integrity.

The other Vicosinos who wielded power were the *mayorales* or straw bosses, whose power and position were derived and controlled from Mestizo sources. Chosen by the manor operator, the *mayorales* received special favors and concessions which tended to set them apart and against the interests of other Vicosinos. Consequently, although they came to possess certain wealth, the *mayorales* did not enjoy the respect which otherwise might have been theirs.

With this the full cycle is attained. Vicosinos, denied even a modicum of respect, affection or moral stature in the larger society, were set against themselves within their own closed society. Whatever pride that existed was seriously and unrectifiably compromised by the absence of any effective means or power to alter the situation. The ultimate step in degradation was the realization of one's impotence as a Vicosino. It was, indeed, a culture of poverty.

The Recovery of Self: Vicos in 1964

To initiate the study of Vicos it was necessary for project members to create roles which were substantially different from those normally assumed by outsiders—particularly Mestizos—in Vicos. The first investigator, Dr. Mario C. Vazquez, accomplished this by living with Vicosino families, an act which was a stunning departure from the normal Mestizo custom. His doing what anthropologists normally do in field situations was enough to set himself clearly apart from the norm. He established beyond question the fact that he chose to be with Vicosinos and that he respected them as people, declining to adopt a posture of superiority towards them. This pattern was continued by the others who followed. Records indicate that at least seventy-five investigators of various descriptions have worked under the aegis of the Cornell Peru Project at Vicos[17] and their total impact must be considered as having been enormous, although virtually beyond measure. The fifteen-odd Peace Corps Volunteers who have worked at Vicos since 1962 have also contributed to this.

The "anthropological" behavior did more than break the stereotype of the outsider. It created difficulties in Marcara and Huaraz, the departmental capital where the Mestizo upper class was at first puzzled and then resentful and suspicious of such happenings. It was disturbing that the newcomers insisted on breaking the traditions by allowing Indians to ride in their vehicles, paying them the going daily wage for labor and services rendered, or by taking them to the hospital. Quite aside from the humanitarian and egalitarian values held by the scientists, this first "intervention" was in part prompted by the practical necessity of obtaining the confidence and cooperation of the Vicosinos in order to do field research.

As indicated previously, the first changes introduced were directed at the most overtly degrading aspects of the manorial system as indicated by the people. Obligatory servitude was abolished. Wages were paid.[18] The new management informed the Vicosinos that they could not be forced to perform public labor at the whim of the district mayor, this being unconstitutional. The near absolute power of the *patron* was more than enough to initiate radical changes in the patterns of respect, as well as of the economy. The power of the *patron* was used to encourage Vicosinos to break the traditional patterns of subservience and to support those who did so. These provisions meant the end of the conspicuous consumption of Vicos labor in the district capital.

Vicosinos and Mestizos alike required time and encouragement to adjust to this innovation, a process which continues to the present. The change did not please all of the Indians who had enjoyed favored positions and it certainly provoked disfavor among Mestizos.[19] Placing a real value on the labor of the Vicosinos was not only a practical step towards economic independence but also an important symbolic step in aiding the former serfs to achieve a feeling of personal dignity and worth. One consequence of this is that Vicosinos have gradually substituted the use of burros and horses for many of the laborious, "brutalizing" tasks which they once performed, thus demonstrating that they did not behave as "animals" out of preference.[20]

A major task of the Cornell Peru Project was to introduce a dynamic concept of leadership and a new structure capable of handling community affairs.[21] Chief among the problems encountered was one centered around what may be termed the "servant syndrome." It was extremely difficult for Vicosinos to show initiative, generate new ideas or make decisions. They were, after all, working under a severe handicap: The notion that their ideas, beliefs and opinions might be worth something was novel to say the least.

With patient counselling and prodding a corps of community leaders has formed and the community now annually elects a council *(Junta de delegados)*, president, and business manager to manage their affairs. The elected officers have gradually acquired prestige which at present far surpasses that of the *varayoc*. The latter organization continues to function although on an increasingly limited scale. Its members have virtually no political or judicial functions, these having been assumed by the council and a legally appointed judicial representative, the lieutenant governor (*teniente gobernador*), who is also a Vicosino.

Many of the new leaders have come from the group of returned army draftees who have used this experience to acquire greater prestige and respect than their peers who remained home. These young men have learned Spanish and achieved an accepted status—albeit lowly—in the national society. In 1963 the first Vicosino in history (a former army sergeant) was a candidate for district councilman in Marcara. He was not elected but he was placed on the ticket.

The increasingly important role of the younger men is of course not unusual in the case of gerontocentric societies where some new element upsets the traditional means by which one may acquire prestige, respect and power.[22] The young men have new avenues of mobility open to them—such as joining the army—which are not accessible to the older men. With their wider outside experience being greatly valued, the young men have regularly been elected to community offices; and so they speak where formerly they had remained silent. Intergenerational conflict has been thus far tempered through the annual voting process which provides the opportunity to "correct" electoral errors.

The new possessions such as the former manor house, now the community meeting room, the clinic, teacher's apartments, the warehouses and particularly the large primary school and the Ford-600 truck are the source of much community pride as products of their own work. The school is one of the best in the rural regions of the department. The truck is particularly significant since its acquisition has forced many local Mestizos to acknowledge the new status of the community if not that of the individual Vicosino. Recognition of the Vicos project on a national level has likewise contributed to community prestige.

Just as community pride has come into being, so too with respect to the individual. Vicosinos have begun to discover that they are endowed with the same abilities and basic human qualities as Mestizos and even foreigners. This most fundamental change was dramatically conveyed to us in 1960. At that time the community had been thwarted in its attempt to purchase the manor and it was rumored that the owner of the manor (the Public Charity Society of Huaraz) might again seek to rent out the property as before. During a discussion of the crisis a Vicosino grasped me firmly by the arm and with unmistakable conviction said, "I, my wife and my sons, we are all ready to die, but never again will we be peons."

The sum of these nascent personality changes have given the Vicosinos a growing reputation as aggressive and insubordinate in the traditional Mestizo view. "You are ruining the Indians," we were told. "They are becoming very pretentious." Four years ago a Peruvian congressman on an "inspection" tour of Vicos insultingly remarked that he was surprised to see many Vicosinos still chewing *coca* even though it was such a dirty habit. The Vicosino to whom the comment was directed cooly replied by asking the congressman why he was smoking a cigarette when he certainly must know that according to a *Reader's Digest* (*Selecciones*) article this was a cause of cancer. The congressman retreated. Ten years ago such an exchange would not only have been impossible but inconceivable.

Vicosinos no longer constitute an undifferentiated mass of peasant laborers but may now seek new opportunities on their own merits. This became a possibility after many men had learned trades during the construction of the school and other buildings since that time. Several men have in fact earned the title of respect, *maestro*, indicating that they are considered master of their specialty.

The most potent force for decisive change over the long term is the school. The illiterate community has sent its children to primary school in relatively large numbers, although greatly weighted on the masculine side. The first Vicosinos have not only entered high school but in December, 1964, the first Vicosino in history was graduated from the provincial high school (fifth in a class of 27). Because the high school was attended primarily by Mestizo children, Vicosinos had doubted the ability of their children to compete with Mestizos and feared that some harm might befall the child who entered this Mestizo domain. They have been proved wrong on both counts. School excursions gave further proof of this, especially as Vicos boys repeatedly demonstrated their

aptitude for successfully playing the Mestizo game of soccer.

The school has also helped create a special status for many children. On one hand it has greatly amplified the social activity of children by opening the doors to new experiences and wider friendships (and hostilities) to develop beyond the *casta*. School attendance has also relieved many of the drudgery of menial chores. The school-acquired knowledge is also precipitating some significant changes within the family, where the children now possess skills which few adults have. They can read, write, add and subtract and handle rudimentary Spanish. Skill in simple arithmetic and Spanish is of special importance to the family economy for it enables one to expand commercial activity and avoid being short-changed by slick storekeepers who had made this a habit when dealing with the illiterate Indians. Consequently, the "learned child" (*leido*) is often placed upon a pedestal, consulted by his parents, and given special tasks and responsibility. Children have earned more respect, if not more affection, from their parents and in the community as a whole.

Women have not moved apace with the men in these developments. Few girls have been sent to school although their numbers gradually increase each year. More valuable insofar as the women are concerned has been the opportunity to learn the operation of sewing machines, a much admired skill in Vicos for both sexes. Girls who have this knowledge are considered as being potentially better homemakers than the others.

The moral and spiritual aspects of community life still remain, somewhat precariously, under the control of the *varayoc*. The parish priest continues his pattern of infrequent visits to the community although religious activity has greatly intensified. Under the manorial system participation in the religious festivals had been one of the major ways in which prestige and respect could be acquired. It had also provided an outlet for the largely unexpressed hostilities within the community whatever their origin. Vicos festivals had been locally famous since they often degenerated into drunken brawls. Such a relatively harmless psychological outlet for hostility was undoubtedly of great value in preserving the manorial society.

Since the inception of the project festivals have grown increasingly elaborate, not only in cost, but in the participation of more people. The pattern of the festival has also drawn closer to that of regional Mestizo styles of celebration and there are far fewer fights. Greatly augmented personal and family incomes are reflected in conspicuous ways during the festivals: There are more aspirants to the roles of festival sponsors (*mayordomos*), greater amounts spent on food and entertainment, and particularly on the purchase and manufacture of new clothing, made in the traditional style for women but along more contemporary lines for young men.

Conclusions

The face of Vicos has noticeably changed since 1952. The people as a whole are far better clothed and housed than ever before and a sort of urban nucleus, so important to community prestige in Peru, has begun to take shape around the public buildings and square. These changes have taken place without prompting from project personnel. That these developments have accompanied the enormously increased feelings of personal worth and dignity is no accident.

The original broad goals of the project from a practical standpoint were to improve the standard of living of the people and to equip them to take an active role in the modern society.[23] The psychological and symbolic foundations upon which any significant socio-cultural changes of this nature could take place have been laid. The attainment of a degree of self and community respect where virtually none had existed, the increased stature of the individual both publically and within the family, and the florescence of Vicos culture generally have highlighted these changes. The concepts concerning one's responsibility to himself and to others, especially the community, are being redefined. Finally, the stiff barriers to social mobility and cultural change, although still present, are now beginning to be scaled by Vicosinos who have the confidence to do so.

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1 Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Indiana University.

2 This paper was prepared for the Comparative studies of Culture Change Project, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University. The material was collected under the auspices of the Cornell Peru Project and its director, Allan R. Holmberg, and financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1960-1962), contract Number PC-(W)-155 with the United States Peace Corps (1962-1964), and the Cornell-Columbia-Harvard Inter-University Summer Program in Latin American Culture (1960, 1961). While drawing on the work of many associates in addition to personal observations, the analysis and opinions expressed on these pages are the sole responsibility of the author.

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