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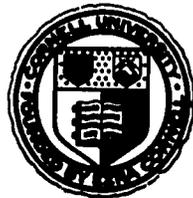
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THE SOCIAL MATRIX
OF
PERUVIAN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

by

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Cornell Perú Project Monograph
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1.0. Introduction

The term "Indigenous Community" carries a special legal connotation in Perú. The Peruvian constitution of 1919 recognized special responsibilities of the central government of the country toward Indian groups whose land occupancy continued uninterrupted from prehistoric times. Article fifty-eight of that document stated that the nation recognized the legal existence of Indigenous Communities, and empowered the congress to define their rights. The forty-first article defined Indigenous Community property with that of the State and public institutions (Cornejo 1959:158). It is worth remembering that the presiding officer of the constituent assembly which drew up the constitution proclaimed in 1919 was a sociologist (Patron 1956:297).

When the constitution now in force in Perú was drawn up, its authors retained the innovation with respect to indigenous settlements as Title XI of the new fundamental law. Article 207 provides for the legal existence and representation of Indian communities. In Article 208 the State guarantees the integrity of the property of these communities. Article 209 provides for national right of eminent domain, but defines community property as otherwise inalienable. Article 210 prohibits municipal councils and other authorities from taking any part in administering the income or resources of the communities. Article 211 states a social goal: the State is to try to provide through indemnified expropriation of privately owned properties land for those Indigenous Communities which lack sufficient land base for their populations. Article 212 empowers the congress to enact civil, penal, economic, educational, and administrative legislation appropriate to the "peculiar conditions" of the Indians (Congreso Constituyente 1933:20-21). These constitutional provisions combined with agrarian social structures of many types lend the Indigenous Communities "their singular importance as agrarian organizations in the present and future life of our nationality" as one politician (Cornejo 1959:143) recently put it.

The Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs and its antecedent bureaus in other ministries have been charged with passing upon applications for official government recognition as an Indigenous Community (*comunidad indígena*). Presidential de-

crees of March 6, 1920, and September 12, 1921, established a Section of Indian Affairs in the Ministry of Development and Public Works (Sección de Asuntos Indígenas 1935:1). The process of recognition actually began in 1926. The Bureau of Indian Affairs became part of the Ministry of Justice and Labor in 1942 (Cornejo 1959:161). The number of Indigenous Communities afforded official recognition and the protection of this special constitutional status to date exceeds 1,600. Table 1 shows the rate of recognition per year and cumulative totals.

The Peruvian Bureau of Indian Affairs estimated that the population of the 1,586 Indigenous Communities registered with the government in mid-1961 totaled 1,367,093 persons (Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:8). The Peruvian national census taken in July of 1961 enumerated 10,364,620 persons in the republic (Garayar 1962:ii). The steadily increasing number of officially recognized Indigenous Communities has, then, for a number of years contained ten per cent or more of the total Peruvian population. This significant and growing sector of the nation merits scientific attention because of its size if for no other reason. Yet it deserves study even more because of the premises upon which rests the special constitutional status of the Indigenous Community legally set apart from the rest of the Peruvian administrative structure. "Its mention provokes polemics among Peruvians" (Sabogal 1961:49).

1.1. COMMUNITY STUDIES AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

A few anthropological studies have described particular Indigenous Communities in detail (Adams 1959; Snyder 1960; Andrews 1963b). More have explored limited aspects of Indigenous Communities (Faron 1960; Tschopik 1947; Matos 1956; Cotler 1959; Boluarte 1961; Soler 1954; Avalos de M. 1952). One recent study deals with an administrative District including an anomalous unit of an Indigenous Community within its bounds (Doughty 1963b), and several analyze settlements within whose geographic boundaries Indigenous Community and municipal governments compete for power (Arguedas 1956; Guillén 1961: 90-91; Andrews 1963b), or integrate communal with national authority (Cotler 1961:160). Yet many of the anthropological community studies carried out in Perú to date have focused upon rural communities that have not been accorded governmental recognition as Indigenous Communities.

Tschopik (1947) pioneered modern anthropological study of Indigenous Communities, leading a group of Peruvian anthropologists in surveying several rural communities in central Perú, including some government-recognized Indigenous Communities. Working with him, Muelle (1948) studied cultural changes in Sicaya by collecting life histories and Escobar

Table 1. Number of Indigenous Communities Granted Official Recognition Each Year from 1926 to 1962 (Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:95) and official records.

Year	Number Recognized	Total Recognitions
1926	59	59
1927	54	113
1928	97	210
1929	81	291
1930	30	321
1931	23	344
1932	11	355
1933	35	390
1934	7	397
1935	73	470
1936	55	525
1937	63	588
1938	78	666
1939	35	701
1940	93	794
1941	66	860
1942	49	909
1943	67	976
1944	67	1,043
1945	64	1,107
1946	95	1,202
1947	60	1,262
1948	44	1,306
1949	16	1,322
1950	8	1,330
1951	24	1,354
1952	12	1,366
1953	8	1,374
1954	14	1,388
1955	11	1,399
1956	70	1,469
1957	36	1,505
1958	26	1,531
1959	13	1,544
1960	25	1,569
1961	17	1,586 to 1 June
1961-1962	14	1,600 to 1 March

(1947) analyzed the social structure of this registered community.

The Peruvian coastal towns anthropologists have studied have generally not been Indigenous Communities, the choice of place to study being made on quite different grounds. Simmons (1955a:107, 114) published one analysis based primarily upon data from the capital city, Lima, because that is the fount of creole culture in the country. Moche in La Libertad Department was chosen for study as part of the Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology program while John Gillin (1947:1) was teaching at the University of Trujillo. Virú not far to the south in the same Department was chosen as the largest population concentration during contemporary times in an irrigated valley whose prehistoric human adaptation to valley environment over a long period was intensively investigated at the same time that the life and ways of the modern townspeople were observed and the natural environment analyzed (Willey 1953:xvii). Holmberg (1950, 1952) carried out the ethnographic investigation on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology assisted by Gherzi (1958), Nuñez del Prado (1951) and others representing Peruvian institutions. The Cornell Perú Project directed by Holmberg later took a second ethnographic census of Virú (Gherzi & Dobyns 1963). Representatives of Virú undertook the often lengthy process of seeking recognition as an Indigenous Community in 1961.

Patch (1959a) studied the W. R. Grace Co. sugar plantation at Paramonga in order to analyze its special role in cultural change among migrants from the tributary Callejón de Huaylas.

On Perú's south coast, Simmons (1959; 1960:1026) studied Lunahuaná in 1950 to 1952 during his residence as field representative of the Institute of Social Anthropology. Trujillo (1952) joined in this study on behalf of the Institute of Ethnological Research of the Museum of Peruvian Culture and the Institute of Ethnology at the University of San Marcos. Los Molinos in the Ica Valley was analyzed in the course of studies of public health programs (Wellin 1956:72, 74-75). Another study of this coastal valley concerned wealth and respect values (Hammel 1962a). The same anthropologist has compared family cycles in urban Ica city and a rural village, San Juan Bautista, in the same valley (Hammel 1961:989). He has employed data on social rankings in San Juan Bautista to suggest a modification of existing concepts of folk society (Hammel 1962b:202-214). He has recently analyzed the degree of marriage endogamy of the village population (Hammel 1964:70-72).

A ten-day survey of coastal fishing settlements by Hammel and Haase (1962:211) collected scanty data about some forty-

seven such communities in Perú. Six of these salt water fishing populations are organized into officially recognized Indigenous Communities. Three of these six are, moreover, today parts of urban centers which include highly commercialized fishing operations supplying canneries and fish meal factories. These are Supe and Huacho in the Chancay Province of Lima Department, and Chimbote y Coischco in Ancash Department. The other three rural Indigenous Communities of fishermen are Asia and Cerro Azul in the Cañete Province of Lima, and Huanchaco near the city of Trujillo (Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:16, 68, 75, 77). All may be viewed as fish-exporting communities. Gillin (1947:30-37) briefly described the fishing village of Huanchaco as it was in the mid-1940's several years prior to its official registration as an Indigenous Community in 1958 (Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:68).

While so little data are currently available on the Indigenous Communities of fishermen that little more mention of them will be made in the present analysis, it is important to keep in mind that a significant number of government-registered Indigenous Communities is located in the fertile coastal valleys or on the edge of the Pacific Ocean. This is important because the prevailing image of Indigenous Communities is one of mountain-dwelling Indian subsistence farmers. "In all these communities exists cooperation in labor. Each member cultivates his parcel with the concurrence of the other members and in turn is obliged to equal concurrence with them" (Ponce de León 1952:167).

Studies of some highland Peruvian communities have been carried out, but typically for reasons unconnected with any goal of systematic analysis of Indigenous Communities, just as has happened on the coast. Thus the United Nations dispatched a technical mission to "examine in Peru the nature and scope of assistance that may be rendered most usefully for the reconstruction of the city of Cuzco and for the economic development of the department" following the earthquake that destroyed much of the city in May of 1950. The report of that mission was important in national policy because it recognized that: "The interdependence of the city and the department had become obvious" (Hudgens et al 1952:1). It also recommended establishing a regional development authority with delegated central government powers (Hudgens et al 1952:4-5), and Peruvian implementation of the recommendation has provided an institutional model for departmental development programs.

Even when government recognized Indigenous Communities have been studied, their investigators have often analyzed them merely as parts of larger investigations, in order to complete regional analyses or to provide data for comparison to those from other types of settlements.

One major contribution to the study of rural Peruvian communities, that made by members of the Cornell Perú Project supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York plus supplemental fellowships and grants from several sources, stems directly from the consciously comparative methodology of Cornell University anthropologists attempting to analyze cultural changes in non-Westernized areas of the world. Before the Cornell Perú Project was organized as a bilateral organization of Cornell University and the Peruvian Indian Institute, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Cornell initiated comparative studies of two Andean populations. Humberto Ghersi B. (1959, 1960) and Joan C. Snyder (1960:7, 27) undertook to study Marcará, a small mountain Mestizo trading center on the east bank of the Santa River in the Callejón de Huaylas, a typical compact, tile-roofed town nestled on the bottomlands. Mario C. Vázquez (1952) and A. R. Holmberg (1951) began to study the Indian serfs bound to the sloping hill land of the Vicos manor, which begins approximately six kilometers uphill to the east of Marcará.

Then in 1951 Cornell University was able to sublease the Vicos manor for five years and initiate an experiment in rapid modernization guided by social science theory. Additional community studies were launched in order to provide comparative information about other types of rural settlements in the Callejón de Huaylas, so as better to orient the directed change efforts at Vicos. William W. Stein (1956, 1957, 1958, 1961) studied Hualcán, an independent land-holding *estancia* east of and above Carhuaz which lies seven kilometers down the Santa River from Marcará. Snyder (1957, 1960) studied the only officially recognized Indigenous Community analyzed by a member of the Cornell Perú Project at that time, Recuayhuanca. It is just across the Marcará River from Vicos to the south.

At a later stage of Cornell Perú Project studies, Paul L. Doughty (1961, 1963a, 1963b) analyzed the entire District of Huaylas, in a hanging valley on the eastern flanks of the Cordillera Negra at the lower end of the Callejón de Huaylas. The District happened to include a government recognized Indigenous Community which Doughty performed analyzed in the course of his larger study. At the same time, David H. Andrews (1963a, 1963b) ventured outside the subcultural area of the Callejón de Huaylas to study Paucartambo, an officially recognized Indigenous Community in Pasco Department. Located on the eastern slope of the Andes on the edge of the Amazon Basin forest, Paucartambo exhibited serious malaise in terms of jurisdictional conflicts between the anomalous Indigenous Community structure and the district governmental structure integrated with the rest of the Peruvian political system.

When John M. Hickman (1963) carried the Cornell Perú Project banner into Aymara Indian country, he studied an Indian settlement, Chinchera, that is not recognized as an Indigenous Community. When Stillman Bradfield (1963) analyzed rural-to-urban migration from Huaylas to Chimbote and Lima, he dealt with the government recognized Indigenous Community of Chimbote y Coishco only insofar as the land tenure problems this entity creates in the booming industrial port city seemed pertinent to his interest. Earlier Simmons (1955b:57) collected information about medical beliefs and practices in Chimbote, but reported his findings quite generally for coastal Perú and Chile.

When the United States and Peruvian governments established a bilateral scientific organization to study comprehensively the situation for the southern Departments of the Andean republic, they emphasized the social aspects of the political and economic problems perceived in the area. Two Indigenous Communities — Ayamarca and Quehuar — in the Cuzco Department were analyzed from the administrative point of view by the *Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano del Plan del Sur* (Allred et al 1959:59-72). Wilfredo Nuñez del Prado (1959:1) described health conditions and social environment in a District that includes the Indigenous Community of Andarapa in Andahuaylas Province, upon the basis of his over five years spent as resident physician and director of the hospital in Andahuaylas.

The Institute of Ethnology at the University of San Marcos in Lima has constituted a strategic vantage point from which to conduct anthropological community studies of Peruvian Indigenous Communities, most notably when supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation. The Indigenous Community of Tupe in Yauyos Province (Matos 1951, 1956; Cerrate y Tovar 1954; Farfán 1952; Avalos 1952) became the first major target of scientific attention from the Institute of Ethnology in a program of research aimed toward "the peasant communities of the Department of Lima" (Matos 1961:20), beginning in 1948 (Matos 1953:179). Juan Elías Flores studied the Kauke-speaking Indigenous Community of Catahuasi from July of 1949 to October of 1952. J. M. B. Farfán and José Matos Mar studied the Indigenous Community of Cachuy in 1948, 1949 and 1953 (Matos 1953:182). Students at the Institute spent the years 1952 through 1955 studying communities in Huarochirí Province, both government recognized and unrecognized. They took a general census of the population, administered a 154-question questionnaire to a ten per cent sample of family heads and conducted other interviews and observations (Matos 1961:21). The communities of Laraos, Huantán, Yauyos, Huañec and Quinches districts were visited in 1952 (Matos 1953:182).

The student publications stemming from this program are

truly impressive contributions to knowledge of Peruvian rural life. Soler (1954, 1961) analyzed the recognized Indigenous Community of San Pedro de Huancaire, paying special attention to its agricultural practices. Cotler (1959, 1961) produced a perceptive analysis of interrelated functional changes in property holding and family structure in the recognized and unrecognized communities in San Lorenzo de Quinti District. Boluarte (1961: 263, 267) described the government recognized Indigenous Communities of Rímac and Yungalla-Primo plus unrecognized settlements as caught up in a process of cultural change. Guillén (1961) analyzed the legally recognized Indigenous Communities of Huarochirí, Lupo, Llambilla and Suni which make up the rural city of Huarochiri.

In a southeastern excursion, Matos (1958:727) studied the Indians inhabiting the island of Taquile in Lake Titicaca. Formerly manor serfs, these Indians won their independence and ownership of the island fields through purchase from an employee of the Puno superior courts who had inherited them, and litigation with his heirs between 1937 and 1942 (Matos 1958:732-733). Once the first sale was made, other Mestizo owners began selling to local Indians (Matos 1957:254). Not an officially recognized Indigenous Community, Taquile possesses considerable theoretical interest in Peruvian studies because it provides data for comparison to those from the Vicos directed change project. An Indian leader of the Taquile freedom movement has come to own much island land and has in many respects replaced the Mestizo landowners in social function (Matos 1957:265), but the Taquile Indians have changed their agricultural practices little. This case of tenancy reform stands in marked contrast to the greatly augmented crop production achieved by the former Indian serfs of Vicos, who benefited from a planned program of integrated innovation such as the Taquile Indians never knew. The Vicos Indians are purchasing title to their lands out of profits from their community farm enterprise, and carrying on an increasingly vigorous and profitable private commercial agriculture simultaneously. The Matos study of Taquile placed on the social science record a case study of what land redistribution without technical assistance or greatly expanded formal education can and cannot accomplish among geographically isolated illiterate members of a subordinated subcultural group in the Andes. The Cornell Perú Project analyses (Holmberg 1960; Vázquez 1962) of guided cultural change at Vicos are placing on record a measure of at least some of the many possibilities for rapid and rewarding modernization and change made possible by an integrated program that may legitimately be labelled agrarian reform.

Neither the Taquile nor the Vicos study deals with the

Peruvian Indigenous Community as a legal entity, on the other hand.

Anthropologists on the staff of the Peruvian Indian Institute and its administrative substitute, the Peruvian National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population, have contributed materially to knowledge of rural Peruvian communities, although reports are for the most part available only in mimeographed form. Since most of the anthropological staff was attached to the Puno-Tambopata Program for a number of years, the bulk of their reports deal with that area.

Ortiz and Galdo (1958) reconnoitered Chucuito Province. Montalvo and Galdo (1959) analyzed six populations near the shores of Lake Titicaca, the hamlets of Huancho, Huancollusco and Camicachi and the manors of Natividad de Villucruni, Santa Bárbara and San Cristóbal. Ortiz and Galdo (1958) described briefly the population of the island of Amantani in Lake Titicaca, not far from Taquile.

In terms of analyses of particular settlements, Montalvo (1958) summarized the agricultural, livestock and human resources, social structure and transculturation of Qamicachi, a village on the Pampa de llave. Montalvo and Galdo (1960) analyzed the hat-making industry which occupied nearly half the family heads in Chinchera, the hamlet Hickman (1963) later studied in detail. Martínez (1962b) reported on Indian-Mestizo relations in Taraco, like Qamicachi the site of one of the artisanal instruction centers of the Puno-Tambopata Program.

In studies of quite a different type of population, Martínez (1962a) briefly described three manors, Chujuni, Cochela and Panascachi. His study of spontaneous migration into the Tambopata Valley has made Martínez (1961) the major Peruvian authority on Amazon Basin colonization social structure.

One of the few analyses of provincial capitals in Perú is Nuñez del Prado's (1962) brief outline of Sicuani.

Oscar Nuñez del Prado (1949, 1952) has published incomplete descriptions of Chinchero in the Urubamba Province of Cuzco Department, which he studied in 1945 and 1948. Although he reported Mestizo, cholo and Indian classes clearly differentiated by their dress, Nuñez del Prado concluded that Chinchero was a basically agricultural community growing mainly potatoes and religiously oriented. Teaching anthropology in the University of Cuzco, Nuñez del Prado occupies a strategic position for carrying on a series of community studies. In 1955, the Lima newspaper *La Prensa* supported an expedition to Q'ero, a manor whose middle level settlements lie ninety-two kilometers of horse trail beyond the provincial capital of Paucartambo. Nuñez del Prado (1957:2-4) led the expedition, which was composed mainly of University of Cuzco scientists. The three levels of Q'ero at

4,000 to 4,500 meters above sea level for herding, at 3,300 for tuber cultivation and 1,800 to 2,000 for maize, squash, pepper, papaya cultivation, are occupied seasonally (Nuñez del Prado 1957:6-8). In recent years, Nuñez del Prado (1960) has been leading an accelerated modernization project among the Indians of Kuyo Chico, based like the Vicos experiment upon social science theory regarding cultural change, and forming a part of the National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population, a part of the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs.

While serving on the staff of the Technical Aid Service of the School Construction Staff of the Ministry of Public Education, Ortiz (1962:1) studied the transculturative function of the town of Ilave near the shore of Lake Titicaca, emphasizing the cultural change mission of the rural services centered there (Ortiz 1962:11-18).

Other more or less detailed studies of Indigenous Communities have resulted from individual scholarly interest. Bernard Mishkin (1946:417-469) undertook to study a Quechua village in Cuspicanhis Province in Cuzco Department called Kauri, spending eight months there in 1938 (Mishkin 1940:234). Tschopik and his wife lived in Chucuito, a District capital in Puno Department. Interested in magical belief and practice among Aymara speaking Indians, Tschopik (1946:501; 1951:159, 172-173, 179-182) found them difficult to work with in the context of a Mestizo-Indian two-caste village. Hickman (1963:x-xi) who studied a near-by hamlet a scholarly generation later, found the Aymara congenial, regarding Chucuito as a Mestizo town.

In this same general area, a physician (Kuczynski-Godard 1945:13-22) studied the demographic characteristics and health of inhabitants of half a dozen hamlets—Tunihuirí, Tunuhuirí Chico, Pusalaya, Ahuallani, Ichu and Ingenio—where he found a low proportion of self-sufficient farmers and a high degree of dependence on wage labor and trading. His studies were carried on under the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare.

Adams (1951a, 1951b, 1953, 1959) studied Muquiyauyo in Junín Department between August of 1949 and June of 1950 (Adams 1953:238) because of its record of successful development projects extolled by a series of political theoreticians (Castro 1924:63-68) and other observers (Pulgar 1945:24-25).

The Peruvian anthropological folklorist, José María Arguedas (1953, 1956, 1957) collected folk songs and tales with the assistance of school teachers from many Mantaro River Valley Indigenous Communities. He has analyzed the historic evolution of these communities. Arguedas (1956) grew up in Puquio, capital of Lucanas Province, and returned to study it in August of 1952 and September-October of 1956. He considered the gross aspects

of cultural change in this town composed of four legally recognized Indigenous Communities—Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao. Soto (1953) began a study of his native Indigenous Community of Laramarca, Huancavelica, in 1950.

A Puerto Rican rural sociologist, Alers (1960) made a community study of Pucará in Junín Department in the course of a larger investigation for the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica. José R. Sabogal W. (1961, 1962) described the same community from the point of view of a member of an urban Indian defense organization.

Faron (1960:452n1) analyzed the evolution of two coastal Indigenous Communities, evidently Lomera de Huaral and Los Naturales, between July of 1957 and March of 1959 under the auspices of the Studies in Cultural Regularities of the University of Illinois directed by Julian H. Steward.

Numerous short articles about Indigenous Communities have been published as results of research by agricultural economists, agronomists, etc. (Llosa 1962; Sotelo 1963; etc.). Human geographers have also published instructive community descriptions. Pulgar Vidal (1945) spent three weeks in Muquiyauyo besides interviewing students from there in Lima. Ubilluz (1958:119, 129) analyzed Malvas District on the western slope of the Cordillera Negra as a community traditionally and institutionally organized to live off the soil on its high-altitude "balcony" overlooking the Pacific Ocean.

The influence of the late Robert Redfield (1930, 1934, 1941) is readily discernable in the behavior of anthropologists studying specific rural communities in Perú (Adams 1962:414). It has for thirty years been quite fashionable for anthropologists to make community studies. A certain proportion of the community studies carried out in Perú have focused upon government-recognized Indigenous Communities as such. Others have included studies of Indigenous Communities only as incidental to other research interests. A synthesis of research already reported has not been attempted to the knowledge of the author. Generalization about Indigenous Community characteristics has been left largely to politicians by default of social scientists.

Thus a socialist theoretician, Castro, wrote perhaps the single most influential work about Indigenous Communities, *Nuestra Comunidad Indígena*, published in 1924 two years prior to the first governmental recognition of a single community as falling within the protective definitions of the Peruvian constitution. When the monumental *Handbook of South American Indians* was written by a multitude of social scientists, Hildebrando Castro Pozo (1946) contributed the article on "Social and Economic-Political Evolution of the Communities of Central Peru."

A communist theoretician, Mariátegui, penned two of the most influential essays on the subject of Indian affairs in Perú, published in 1928 with five others in what has become Perú's best selling book.

During the same period of modernization of Peruvian political thought and party organization when Castro and Mariátegui were writing, the exiled Haya de la Torre (1961:21-22) coined the term "Indoamérica" for the nations south of the United States with large native populations. These constituted, he argued in 1930, about 75% of the population, and preserved their own languages and tradition, sorrows, vehement desires, and constituted by a large majority the productive labor force that created riches in these countries. Haya de la Torre earned the distinction of founding a modern and independent political party capable of welding together many diverse social groups seeking to change traditional society. Since Peruvian society proved resistant to imposed political reformation, contemporary Aprista political writing continues to belabor the Indian problem. Cornejo (1959:153-154) emphasized, for example, governmental lack of concern about the very Indigenous Communities it was according official recognition and special constitutional status.

In campaigning for the presidency of Perú, Arq. Fernando Belaunde Terry stressed the cooperative self-help labor capacity of rural Peruvian communities upon which political writers of varied doctrinal persuasions had already expounded. The name of his movement, *Acción Popular* (Popular Action) derived from the notion of grass roots level working together. Belaunde (1959:37) claimed his own independent perception of communal work capacity, citing Chincheros as typical of Perú's small forgotten towns. Everything—rebuilt church, schools, road—was done by local effort before the indifference of the state, which had contributed only some metal roofing for the boy's school, and that only after begging and long negotiation. Belaunde went on to say of this source of his inspiration that Chincheros would have no problems if it could do everything with its own hands, but that some materials and tools that only large industries produce have to be acquired so that economic aid is "inevitable."

Work leaders actively modernizing Indigenous Communities are prone to state quite openly that they must do for themselves what their central government has or cannot, even when it does help out (Doughty 1963b:112, 294ff). They are engaged in solving by communal effort what Indigenous Community members define as problems (Adams 1959:xiii).

Existing commentaries about Peruvian Indigenous Communities tend to bifurcate rather sharply. On the one hand are social scientists concentrating on studying individual communities. On the other hand politicians formulate sweeping and programmatic generalizations about Indigenous Communities as

a class, since they must deal with manageable concepts at the national level of generality.

The methodological shortcomings of both procedures may be summed up briefly. The sheer number of Peruvian settlements legally recognized as Indigenous Communities is simply too great for the individual community study approach possibly to analyze a sufficient number of them to permit sound scientific generalization as to their characteristics in the absence of data systematically collected from the entire universe of Indigenous Communities. Some basic information about all Indigenous Communities is required merely to discover such types as may exist, and thereafter permit objective selection of individual communities representing identified types for study, and fitting already studied communities into their proper classifications. Then, too, quantitative data about all Indigenous Communities are needed in order to discover the relative distribution of cultural traits and economic characteristics.

By the same token, the large number of Indigenous Communities now in existence makes it unlikely that political generalizations based upon acquaintance with a limited number of cases should be entirely accurate. The social scientists look askance at the methodology of the political generalization about Indigenous Communities which is more in accord with party doctrine than a body of facts obtained by direct observation of contemporary Indigenous Community life. The social scientist insists upon subjecting general political theories about the nature of Indigenous Communities to comparison with available evidence from communities already studied and reported upon in order to test those generalizations against empirical data. This report aims at placing generalizations and specific data in comparative juxtaposition, and providing information about frequency distribution of characteristics of present Indigenous Communities.

The procedure that will be followed in the remainder of this report will be to present briefly such evidence on the topics to be discussed as may be winnowed from the extant literature about Indigenous Communities registered with the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs, followed by the quantitative results of the mail survey of such Communities carried out by the Cornell Perú Project. Forty legally recognized Indigenous Communities are considered in the analysis of published reports. Their geographic distribution in the country is indicated in Table 2.

1.2. INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY CULTURE

Those who have generalized about Peruvian Indigenous Communities have typically assumed Indigenous Community culture to be a unitary and an Indian culture surviving largely intact

Table 2. Geographic Distribution of Forty Indigenous Communities Described in Published Reports.

Department	Province	District	Community
ANCASH	Bolognesi	Cajacay	Cajacay
	Carhuaz	Marcará	Recuayhuanca
	Huaylas	Huaylas	Huaylas
APURIMAC	Andahuaylas	Andarapa Huancarama	Andarapa Huancarama
AYACUCHO	Huamanga	Quinoa	Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc
	Lucanas	Puquio	Ccollana Chaupi Pichccachuri Ccayau
CUZCO	Canchis Cuzco	Sicuani San Sebastián	Qquehuar Ayamarca y Pumamarca
HUANCAYELICA	Castrovirreyna Huancavelica	Castrovirreyna Huancavelica	Castrovirreyna Santa Bárbara
JUNIN	Huancayo	Pucará	Pucará
		Sicaya	Sicaya
	Junín	Junín	Huayre
	Tarma	Palca	Palca
		Palcamayo San Pedro de Cajas S. Miguel	Palcamayo San Pedro de Cajas Acobamba
PASCO	Pasco	Huayllay	Huayllay Huaychao
		Paucartambo	Paucartambo
LIMA	Chancay	Carquín	Carquín
		Huaral	Lomera de Huaral Los Naturales
	Huarochirí	Huarochirí	Huarochirí Lupo Llambilla Suni
		San Lorenzo de Quinti	Huancayá Hualcaralla Rímac Yungalla-Primo
			San Pedro de Huancaire
	Yauyos	Ayauca Huañec Tupe	Allauca Huañec Tupe or Lerida

from preconquest times. "The Indigenous Communities are, in reality, the survival of precolonial ayllu" wrote Ponce de León (1952:166). Peruvian civilization originated in the ayllu whose elan endures "today in the native communities" in the view of Patron (1956:296). "The Indigenous Communities are characterized, insofar as their demographic composition is concerned, by their ethnic, spiritual and social unity. Their inhabitants, who are 80% of aboriginal race, maintain ties of solidarity and cooperation themselves" (Cornejo 1959:144). Again, "The Indigenous Community in Perú is a native institution apart from the official government system, with which it has existed... from time immemorial" (Sabogal 1961:49). This image reflects in large measure the nature of Peruvian intellectual thought about Indians.

The intellectuals' image of the Indigenous Community is, as a matter of fact, shared widely beyond the borders of Perú (Adams 1962:409-410). "The so-called Indigenous Communities are tribal survivals of aboriginal cultures, principally the Quechua and Aymara," the Bolivian Arturo Urquidi (1963:96) wrote recently. "Sociologically they form part of indigenous nationalities included within multi-national states such as Bolivia," he continued, viewing them as remnants of an historical struggle between private property as imposed by the Spanish conquest, and native cultures. The French anthropologist Alfred Metraux (1959:230) concurred that the necessity for resisting encroachment by "great landed proprietors" and mestizos had "strengthened the ties that bind the communities and enabled them to survive" in spite of all the many legislative measures designed to destroy them in the past.

Metraux (1959:229) also noted that the Indigenous Community has attracted attention not only from investigators who viewed it as the "heir to the Inca *ayllu*," but also those who thought it "the forerunner of the present-day co-operative or even the *kilkhos*."

But few commentators have recognized with Bazan (1936:39) that "the community as it is organized corresponds to a primitive state of culture, that in which the individual and the society have no necessities beyond assuring a frugal diet and more or less poor clothing." Bazan (1936:40) concluded that: "The communal production of the *ayllu* is incompatible with modern life" because the latter requires a community to be a large-scale producer and consumer, made up of individuals with many material, spiritual, and social wants. He also viewed governmental intervention as the preferred solution to the problem of changing the ayllu into a modern community. "The state has the obligation of improving the condition of the Peruvian Indian" (Bazan 1936:41).

One major component of Peruvian intellectual perception of Indians is Marxist. One of the most-cited and most-read analyses of Peruvian Indian problems was written by a founder of the Communist Party in Perú, José Carlos Mariátegui. His *Seven Essays Interpreting Peruvian Reality (Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana)* was published in 1928. By 1958, this work had gone into a sixth edition of 50,000 copies, the record for books published in Lima (Patch 1959b:3). Mariátegui argued from doctrinal bases that the historic moment of individual land ownership had passed. Claiming that he was leaving doctrinal reasons aside, he considered "the continued existence of the community and of elements of practical socialism in indigenous life and agriculture" a fundamental factor in Perú's agrarian problem. Although Mariátegui (1928:66) decried the uniform tendency of national writers and legislators during Perú's republican period to condemn Indian communities as survivals of primitive society, and although he attacked this tendency as serving the interest of the landlords, Mariátegui (1928:67) at the same time revealed his own lack of identification with Indians by asking what would be the use to them of "the liberties invented by our civilization" such as the freedom of the press he admitted had its uses for him.

Believing that "robust and tenacious habits of cooperation and solidarity still existed among Indian families even where their land had been lost and communal labor no longer performed," Mariátegui (1928:71) labeled these habits "the empiric expression of the spirit of communism." As Adams (1962:411) commented, the survival of "indigenous communism" validated it for Mariátegui. This idea has often been and continues to be promulgated. To Cornejo (1959:144) the Indigenous Communities "defend the collectivist sense of the organization of the Inca Empire, which still endures in them."

Another major component of Peruvian intellectual perception of Indians is socialist. One of the most prolific and influential writers on Indian affairs has been Hildebrando Castro Pozo, "a better sociologist than Mariátegui" in Adams' (1962:411) opinion. A pillar of the Peruvian Socialist Party, Castro represented his native Piura Department in the Constituent Assembly in 1931 and in the Senate from 1945 to 1951 (Patch 1959b:5). Reacting like Mariátegui against the social evils of the medieval manor system as it survived in Andean Perú, Castro (1936:6-7) concluded that only two alternatives lay open. One was to continue "simple capitalism with its economic enslavement." The other was to help the ayllus preserve their land, to modernize their surviving institutions, and to rationalize their production. He explicitly stated that no intermediate solution was possible because these were mutually exclusive alternatives.

Anthropologist Richard W. Patch (1959b:8-9) has pointed out two major methodological defects in Peruvian Communist and Socialist thought about Andean Indian communities that has gained wide currency among literate Peruvians. His strictures merit attention on methodological grounds. One is the obvious failing of fitting data into preconceived philosophies and political categories. The other is even more telling. Mariátegui and Castro and even that pioneer in Peruvian social anthropology, Dr. Luis E. Valcárcel, to some extent, noted Patch, formulated theories in libraries and offices and all too rarely risked testing them by field observation that could show whether commonly held beliefs about Indian life were fact or fiction.

Patch cited the generalization of Mishkin (1946:421) that: "Practically all arable land in Peru is individually owned today" because collective holdings had been transformed into privately owned plots by a series of historic stages. Patch contrasted Mishkin's several months of field study of one village in Cuzco Department with Castro's knowledge of Indians obtained at his desk as head of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Ministry of Development and Public Works (Patch 1959b:5). He went on to observe that the reality of Indian life in the mountains isolated from cities counted little compared to intellectual interpretation of Spanish chronicles. Patch noted that this interpretation is accomplished oftener by introspection than by observation in Perú because introspection remains a respected mode for arriving at the truth in an intellectual community still dominated by the University of San Marcos.

Yet it was precisely this kind of generalized, unitary conception of Indian communities which permitted the 1919 reform in Peruvian national policy that established the special constitutional status of Indigenous Community almost a decade prior to publication of Mariátegui's most famous works. "It is generally assumed that these indigenous communities also have rather similar or 'typical' social and economic structures," commented Faron (1960:441) adding that "one reads over and over in the official documents" about the Indigenous Communities that they own land and operate with a communal system.

This widespread belief that contemporary Indian communities retain mutual assistance customs from pre-Hispanic times and are healthy communes constitutes, according to Patch (1959:9) an opinion fundamentally important for maintaining the Peruvian *status quo*. He felt that accepting a functionally equivalent belief that the communes have decayed or that Indians are individualists would force the Peruvian intelligentsia to choose between finding means to incorporate Indians into the nation as citizens or new measures encountered to inhibit such a trend toward integration and political egalitarianism.

Yet some Peruvians have recognized in at least general terms the nation's reliance upon Indigenous Community labor. Patron (1956:298) asserted that the "poorly paid labor" of men from the communities "is responsible for the very existence of Coastal agriculture" and the mining industry.

That such recognition occurs from time to time does not invalidate Adams' (1962:409) summary of Latin American political sociology during the past half century. Adams speaks of the development of what he calls a "myth about the community." He sees the classical form of this myth as the concept of indigenous community. It is viewed as "eternal" since it has survived many years in adverse circumstances, yet great measures are advocated to preserve it. "Why," asks Adams, "should the preservation of the eternal be so serious a problem?"

Probably the most striking evidence contradicting the prevailing Peruvian intellectual image of the Indigenous Community culture as unitary and largely aboriginal is the city of Chimbote. The fastest-growing city in Perú encounters very severe urbanization problems because its land base belongs for the most part to a legally-recognized Indigenous Community, that of Chimbote y Coishco. Its membership includes not a single person an anthropologist would classify as Indian, according to Bradfield (1963:22). "In this case the *comunidad* consists of a group of local Mestizos taking advantage of the law to engage in land speculation," Bradfield reported.

Social scientists who have carried out studies of real Indigenous Community culture in recent years have generally come to conclusions quite different from those of Marxist and Socialist theoreticians. Although the social scientist may, when generalizing, follow the general persuasion of strong Indian cultural heritage, in discussing the particular Indigenous Community that he has studied, he stresses the mixed cultural heritage encountered in actuality.

After studying an Aymara-Mestizo village, visiting several towns in central Perú, and spending two and one half years in Arequipa, Tschopik (1947:13) concluded that "the inevitable processes of culture growth and change have served to obliterate the distinctive characteristics of what were, at the time of the Conquest, two discrete cultural heritages, Indian and Spanish." Although the people of Lunahuaná on the south coast are "predominantly Indian in physical type," they "in no way identify with Indian culture," according to Simmons (1960:1019). He concluded that: "They are of mestizo culture, a fusion of Indian and Spanish elements with an overlay of contemporary European and American influences." Simmons (1955:57) employed Lunahuaná data in his characterization of medical beliefs and practices in coastal Mestizo communities.

Tschopik (1947:55) termed the idea that the entire Peruvian Andes is "Indian," backward, and unprogressive a "widespread misconception." Schaedel and Escobar (1959:24) pointed out that modernization is built into the very governmental requirements for conducting Indigenous Community business. The community representative ought to know how to read and write and be registered to vote. These legal prerequisites already imply considerable change from the rural norm in the nature of men serving in such capacity. They usually are Indians obviously in the process of becoming Mestizos. They are often active in national party politics in Puno Department and are often businessmen rather than farmers.

As one Peruvian agricultural engineer (Bellatín 1963:6) pointed out, the legally recognized Indigenous Communities include not only those in fact derived from prehistoric Indian territorial-population units and colonial amalgamations of native populations, but also communities artificially created for political reasons or because small holders sought this special protected status in order to present a united front to the expansion of a large agricultural enterprise.

This echoes the conclusions Mishkin (1946:442) reached years earlier. "Farmers in Central Peru have banded together to found communities as a means of defense against the haciendas . . . They are sophisticated unions created to take advantage of their legal status."

It also echoes Metraux (1959:230) who had also noted that: "There are communities that were created artificially for the sole purpose of being entered as such in a register" so as to enjoy State protection. Metraux commented that one of the "distinctive features" of all Indigenous Communities is their solidarity "whenever" they face the threat of losing their land. Hualcaralla and Huancayá in San Lorenzo de Quinti District appear to be Indigenous Communities which obtained recognition in order to protect their lands, having originated in earlier religious brotherhood organizations (Cotler 1961:127-128). Rímac also sought government recognition because its members wished to terminate their lawsuits (Boluarte 1961:269). Snyder (1960:383) regards the recognized Indigenous Community of Recuayhuanca in Carhuaz Province as precisely this type Community, having been organized only for the purpose of carrying on litigation over land from the protective constitutional status. A non-title holding faction in Recuayhuanca actively prosecutes litigation with the adjacent manor, while title holders are less concerned. The litigation has been under way since anyone can remember, with decisions favoring both parties. One family has borne the brunt of leadership in the litigation, formation of the Indigenous Community as a defense measure, and

guiding its affairs. The title holders have long sought dissolution of the Indigenous Community (Snyder 1960:384-390). Perhaps the most important single finding about Recuayhuanca, in national terms, is the general decision simply to bypass the social barriers local Mestizos erect against upward social mobility by migrating on a large scale to the more socially permeable coast (Snyder 1957:26-27).

A very similar route to social mobility has been followed by several thousand natives of the District of Huaylas (Doughty 1963a:112-119), which includes a legally recognized Indigenous Community. The latter was, as a matter of fact, also organized with the goal of retaining for public use grazing lands in the puna of the Cordillera Negra and elsewhere in the District (Doughty 1963b:233).

Metraux (1959:229) viewed the modern Indigenous Community as constituted by a number of extended families not claiming common descent. He concluded that some of them had been formed by aggregation of various families at different times. Descendants of the most recent settlers receive less respect than descendants of the reputedly autochthonous families in such Communities (Metraux 1959:230).

Tschopik (1947:13) termed the Indigenous Community of Sicaya "a typical contemporary Mestizo town." Having participated in the same study, Muelle (1948:75) observed: "A careful ethnological study is going to reveal to us that the traits of indigenous culture are in great part Spanish. There is no pure indigenous culture today in all of Perú." Indianist studies ought, therefore, to focus upon intergroup contacts, according to Muelle. He observed that: "We cannot dictate special means for the study of the 'Indians' since we shall always be before culturally mestizo groups, more or less Indian, but with mixed culture in all presently foreseeable cases."

Analyzing cultural evolution in central Peruvian Indigenous Communities, Arguedas (1957:122) referred to "a profound process of fusion of cultures which would not have been possible, as it is not in the south, if the contemporaneous castes and cultures had been divided by unmodifiable concepts of superiority and by the observance of substantially different customs."

Adams (1953; 1959:82-86) analyzed a shift from caste to class distinctions among the people of the Indigenous Community of Muquiyauyo. The most overt manifestation of inter-class solidarity Adams (1959:87) found was the Indigenous Community government itself. Arguedas (1957:122) objected to Nuñez del Prado's characterization of the people of this community as *cholos* as having been based on insufficient experience there. Adams (1959:88) emphasized the modification or disappearance of observable criteria with which to distinguish Mestizos from

Indians. What remain are differences of social participation and attitudes.

In Castrovirreyna, an Indigenous Community also the capital of a District and Province in Huancavelica, Tschopik (1947:25) found "the way of life of the town is clearly Mestizo rather than Indian."

In Huayllay in the midst of the Pasco Department mining area, the bulk of the inhabitants were in 1945 considered Mestizos affected by recent contacts with non-Spanish-speaking elites (Tschopik 1947:52).

In the preface to his publication of extensive folk tale and song texts from the Provinces of Jauja and Concepción in Junín Department, Arguedas (1953:120) pointed out that the Indigenous Communities of the Mantaro Valley are culturally Mestizo rather than Indian. The culture of Muquiyauyo "is essentially similar to the Mestizo Indian rural culture of the whole Jauja Valley and the adjacent region" which includes numerous characteristics peculiar to the region, according to Adams (1953:238).

In terms of the Callejón de Huaylas, Snyder (1957:22) found residents of Recuayhuanca "to have a great deal in common" culturally with town residents who labeled the Indigenous Community inhabitants as Indian. The villagers stressed ways in which they differed from serfs at Vicos, locally regarded as the most Indian population in the area (Snyder 1960:92).

In the Chancay Valley on the central coast, Faron (1960:437) considered the Indigenous Communities of Lomeras de Huaral and Los Naturales to have been formed within the "cholo segment of the population," by which he meant "a once relatively homogeneous society of coastal Indians."

In making the point that Indigenous Communities have evolved through time, one official in the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs (Landázuri 1963:12) has noted that the Indigenous Community of Aucallama in the Chancay Valley includes numerous members of predominantly Negroid physical characteristics. The present population resulted from admixture of Negro slaves working adjacent colonial period plantations with members of the native Indian community (Landázuri 1963:13).

Describing the Indigenous Community of Paucartambo on the Andean eastern slope of Pasco Department, Andrews (1963b:194) echoed Tschopik's phraseology. "Members of the class designated as Indian are not the carriers of an unadulterated pre-conquest Inca culture nor are the Mestizos participating in a purely Hispanic culture, for during the four centuries of contact acculturation has occurred in both directions."

The inhabitants of the Rimac and Yungalla-Primo Indigenous Communities as well as three unrecognized communities of like type in Santiago de Anchucaya "find themselves in full

process of cultural change" according to Boluarte (1961:263) who sees this area as having "suffered changes more rapidly reaching a cultural Mestizo-ization or ladino-ization."

Thus the general testimony of anthropologists who have actually studied legally recognized Indigenous Communities is that these entities are culturally a fusion of European and American Indian elements, and in Peruvian terms, at least thirteen of forty Communities studied to date have been characterized as culturally Mestizo.

1.3. INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE

With regard to the widely held image of Indigenous Communities as unitary structures, students of these Communities have assembled useful information, not only about the cultural fusion of cultural traditions at the rural community level, but also about the development of social classes within these culturally Mestizo populations. The members of Peruvian Indigenous Communities as part of the broad subordinate stratum socially defined (regardless of cultural characteristics) as Indian, have in times past received less than an equal per capita share of the economic fruits of land exploitation. Despite the intellectual stereotype of undifferentiated collectivistic Indigenous Community life, the distribution of wealth among their members is seldom equal. The general variation in economic situation of such people is suggested by quantitative data in some of the communities studies already carried out.

In Huarochirí, a group of 150 officially and socially defined Community members could be divided in the mid-1950's into an upper economic level of 8.67% of the total, a middle level made up of one-third of the number, and a lower level constituting 58% of the total.

In Lupo, out of a sample of seventy-three members, only 4.14% were on the upper economic level. On the other hand, proportionately more were in the middle economic level, 49.31% compared to 46.55% in the lower level.

Llambilla maintained an impressive degree of economic equality approximately like that of the classical image of Indigenous Communities. Only 2.42% of a sample of 124 members were found to occupy the higher economic level. At the same time, 93.55% occupied the middle level and only 4.03% the lower level.

In Suni, 4.65% of a sample of eighty-six members occupied the upper economic level. The majority or 54.65% occupied the middle level, and 40.7% were found at the lower economic level (Guillén 1961:85).

In Santiago de Anchucaya which is composed of Rímac, Yungalla-Primo and three unrecognized Indigenous Communities,

Boluarte (1961:302) classified 100 to 105 of the 153 resident families as occupying a median economic level, and the forty-two to forty-eight remaining as on a lower level. Twenty-one families constituted Rímac in 1955, and twenty-six made up Yungalla-Primo (Boluarte 1961:304).

In the District of San Lorenzo de Quinti, Cotler (1961:147) found that at the end of 1955 the eighty-two families in the Indigenous Community of Huancayá could be ranked at 70.7% medium, 25.6% poor and 3.7% rich. In Hualcaralla, thirty-six of thirty-seven families had a median economy and one was poor. Among all the 314 families in this District in two recognized and other unrecognized communities, Cotler recorded seven rich families or 2.5% with 76.1% ranked as median and 21.4% as poor. The population of Huancayá differed little from the District average, but that of Hualcaralla was rather more egalitarian in its economic characteristics.

In Los Naturales in the lower Chancay Valley, Faron (1960:443-444) found a striking difference between some seventy farmers with sufficient land to be allotted taxed irrigation water and declared eligible to purchase guano from the government monopoly, and the remaining 110 or so inscribed members of the Indigenous Community. The members of the group endowed with larger holdings mostly inherited their land so they are not dependent on Indigenous Community status to protect their titles, none takes a very active part in Community politics, and their economic ties are external to the Community systems of economic reciprocity. Cotton buyers advance them credit and they deal with banks, markets and the government. Villagers with a house and garden display, on the other hand, the greatest community spirit, even though they must support themselves by wage labor in town or on nearby plantations.

Eighty per cent of the members of the Indigenous Community of Lomera de Huaral in the same valley "are sharecroppers who derive the bulk of their income from the haciendas." They cannot pasture their cattle on the estates, however, so most are dependent on ridge pasturage "preserved for their use only by their membership in the indigenous community" (Faron 1960:445).

In the mid-1940's, Santa Bárbara in Huancavelica was ninety per cent Indian, the remainder Mestizo occupants of the principal political offices. The two castes dressed distinctively (Tschopik 1947:21). Their houses were alike, but those of Mestizos tended to have rooms built around a patio. Perhaps 80% of the inhabitants lived from pastoralism, while ten men worked in a nearby mine (Tschopik 1947:22). Huaylacucho, a neighboring village which obtained legal recognition as an Indigenous Community in 1956 (Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas

1961:47), was in the mid-1940's populated by Quechua-speaking Indians inhabiting a *ranchería* type settlement (Tschopik 1947:21). "Many men" from this community left to work in mines around Huancavelica after harvesting their potatoes (Tschopik 1947:22), suggesting that it was relatively poorer or more acquisitive than Santa Bárbara.

In Castrovirreyna, Tschopik (1947:25-26) found most of the Mestizos in the District living in town, where the way of life was clearly Mestizo. The political officials, school teachers and resident priest all were Mestizos. Indians were farm oriented, not living year-round in town.

At that period, Sicaya was "essentially a classless community," yet Tschopik (1947:14) did recognize that social status there was based mainly on wealth and to some extent upon education. The landless day laborers tended to form a group apart.

The townsite of Huaychao in Pasco accommodated a dozen Mestizo families and a few Indians in 1945, while some 120 family heads resided outside the village in scattered *estancias* where they herded livestock. The village-dwelling Mestizos again occupied the important political offices, while herding remained the basic economy (Tschopik 1947:53-54).

In Paucartambo in the same Department, Andrews (1963b: 194) encountered three social classes. Mestizos comprise 10%, cholos 20% and Indians 70% of this population.

Until 1926, Puquio was a small city of landlords who constitute high society, and Indians (Arguedas 1956:186). Since the highway reached Puquio, nearly all the aristocratic families have emigrated, so that an embittered survivor can lament that: "There are hierarchies even in Heaven, but no longer in Puquio." In three of the four recognized Indigenous Communities which comprise the city a state of active collaboration exists between Indians and Mestizos. The official recognition of the four Indigenous Communities was sought by Mestizos with the hope that Community government would fall into their hands. Such has been the economic power of the Indian small proprietors and the solidarity of influence by the Indian leaders that the latter retain effective control (Arguedas 1956:187).

In Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc, Tschopik (1947:31-32) encountered Mestizo and Indian classes differing in house size and complexity as well as personal dress and linguistic habits. Classes were organized in 1945 along more rigid lines than elsewhere. Mestizos occupied political offices, taught school, operated the post-office, served as priest, and engaged in commerce. Indians lived on the fringes of town and on farmsteads farming, herding and laboring. Pottery making was the principal village industry, augmented by weaving and trading. Ap-

parently the lowest economic level was made up of some fifteen Indians working regularly on highway maintenance near Ayacucho and sixty who moved to coastal plantations or the guano islands seeking seasonal employment after their April harvests (Tschopik 1947:33).

Muquiyauyo impressed Tschopik (1947:46) as quite uniform in cultural characteristics with a clearly Mestizo way of life. The theme of social unity was stressed by the inhabitants, although a few years earlier Pulgar Vidal (1945:28) reported them as drawing the distinction between Mestizo and Indian, and living in three distinct types of houses reflecting socio-economic differences (Pulgar 1945:32-33). Adams (1953: 238-239) found that endogamous castes existed in the latter part of the last century, with differences in dress, language, names, property ownership, physical appearance, authority patterns and festival sponsorship. By 1943, the birth register stopped differentiating Indians from Mestizos. Yet four persons could all agree that 14% of the inhabitants were Mestizo, that 49% were Indian, and disagreed on 37%. It was the traditional Indian community which evolved into a true town organization including both former castes (Adams 1953:240), yet the cuartel organization itself embodied serious socio-economic status differences (Pulgar 1945:50).

Apparent social and cultural uniformity in Huayllay in Pasco Department results from economic development rather than forming a precondition for it. Huayllay is near the Huarón and Cerro de Pasco mines, so temporary and steady employment has upset any former social equilibrium. "Opportunities for economic advancement are available to all and Indians and Mestizos alike are in demand as laborers and employees" (Tschopik 1947:51).

Pucará is made up of two distinct prestige classes according to Alers (1960:54). The upper class is termed "the visibles" or "notables." The lower class is termed Indian.

Although the members of the Community of Recuayhuanca define themselves as poor people, Snyder (1960:242) distinguished very accurate indices of differential wealth within this small population. Five per cent of the families ranked as wealthy in local terms, and 10% as poor, using a six-category scale. In terms of three broad groupings, the better-off families amounted to 22% of the total, the median group 48% and the lower group 30%.

Thus in twenty-five Indigenous Communities that have been analyzed, all show internal class differences and only one, Llambilla in Huarochirí Province, approximates the ideal type of internal unity and equality. Indigenous Communities are complex.

1.4. INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY MODERNIZATION

Aside from political generalizations about Indigenous Communities and the reasons for the changes they have gone through, little anthropological theorizing about the dynamics of such change has occurred. Arguedas prefaced his song and tale texts with an essay on factors in the transculturation of residents of the Mantaro Valley which have kept it a distinctive cultural area within the Peruvian Andes. A fervor for erecting school-houses in the Mantaro Valley signaled a change in local attitudes toward formal education accompanied, according to Arguedas (1953:120) by: "The conversion of traditional economic production, passive, closed off by the very nature of Indian culture, into production consciously destined to accumulate and invest capital."

Arguedas (1953:118) regarded these as dependent variables, however, and attributed cultural change in the Mantaro Valley communities to four basic precipitating factors, which can be conceptually reduced to three: (1) industrialization in terms of large scale mining in the higher mountains near the Mantaro Valley and rapid communication via the Peruvian Central Railroad which reached La Oroya in 1892 and Huancayo in 1908, and the Central Highway which reached Huancayo thirty years later in 1938; (2) the small-holding pattern of ownership of rich agricultural properties in the valley at the period when industrialization began, and (3) the valley's geographic proximity to the national capital city.

Factors such as this last can have only limited utility in accounting for locally initiated, self-help modernization activities in all the Indigenous Communities in Perú that have undertaken them. Many of these Communities are much more geographically isolated from Lima than are those of the Mantaro Valley.

The integration into all spheres of community economy Arguedas (1953:120) thought the impact industrial wage labor experience had on members of Indigenous Communities in the Mantaro Valley may be less thorough-going than he concluded. Arguedas wrote that: "The capital obtained in the mines served him in order better to exploit his lands and to begin little commercial enterprises, because he had in view an avid and growing market that not only absorbed every type of production, but even sought more and more—Lima." Reporting on his study of one of these communities, Adams (1959:207) on the other hand denied that improved agricultural techniques were used to increase productivity. He wrote that this was one alternative mode of solving the problem that had never been contemplated seriously by any significant portion of people in Muquiyauyo. They possessed at the beginning of the 1950's an

agricultural technology based upon pre-Hispanic and Spanish crops and techniques even though an irrigation system was installed during the past century (Adams 1959:215).

Adams (1959:213) classified industrialization in terms of mining and modern communications as "nondynamic factors" along with proximity to Lima since they opened the way to cultural change if pressure to change was perceived. He concluded that such pressure originated in Muquiyaayo from the growth of the local population and more participation in the national economy. While Adams' argument that increased participation in the national economy arose from internal causes within the Indigenous Community may be questioned in view of rapid cultural changes occurring in Communities with no great land pressure (Andrews 1963b), no one is likely to gainsay the importance of increasing population pressure on the land base as an important factor contributing in some measure to inducing cultural changes.

A French anthropologist observed that Indian communities still maintained the *appearance* of traditional peasantries elsewhere, with a fierce attachment to the soil, and a government under common law. He emphasized that this appearance was not reality. For developing communications systems plus urbanization and industrialization were rapidly breaking down those barriers that formerly enclosed such small enclaves (Metraux 1959:229). He noted that thousands of farming or stockbreeding Indians no longer formed part of Indigenous Communities, and other thousands had become urbanized proletarians.

By 1960 social science analysis of Peruvian Indigenous Communities as a distinctive type of human settlement had progressed only to a limited extent. Metraux's summary was very brief yet concerned with a wider area than Perú. Some scientific hypotheses about the process of change in the Mantaro Valley had appeared in print, but the Institute of Ethnology studies of communities in Huarochirí Province did not appear fully until 1961. Over the slowly building scientific roadway to understanding the nature of Peruvian Indigenous Communities loomed a cloud of high-flown generalizations unchecked by systematic observation.

1.5. CORNELL PERU PROJECT SURVEY

When the author went to Perú as research coordinator for the Cornell Perú Project, he undertook to initiate some systematic collection of comparable information about all the officially recognized Indigenous Communities in the country.

The author undertook a first step toward characterization of these Communities by making with the aid of Ella Carrasco

R. a content analysis of letters written by representatives (*personeros*) of a number of them to the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute. The letters analyzed responded to the stimulus of a printed newspaper mailed by the Institute to the 1,520 then-registered Indigenous Communities. These responses provided a 6.4% sample of the Indigenous Community universe, permitting us to distinguish between self-reliant and dependent type communities, sorted on a variable of local improvement employing local natural or human resources, contrasted with dependency on central government contributions and support.

Self-reliant communities were further classified as "balanced" if they reported local problems and offered proof of successful local problem-solving. They were labeled "positivist" if they requested Peruvian Indian Institute assistance and offered evidence of their local problem-solving capacity without discussing their problems except implicitly in relating the history of self-improvement projects.

Dependent communities were further classed as "retarded" if their letters were so preoccupied with problems that they never got to any other topic. They were termed "balanced" if their representatives posed local problems and requested central government assistance, or "demanding" if their representatives petitioned for governmental aid without discussing either local problems or local problem-solving capacity (Dobyns with Carrasco 1962:4).

The second step toward systematic description of the Indigenous Communities was taken early in 1962. The Peruvian National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population mailed a long questionnaire, in whose formulation the Cornell Perú Project Research Coordinator collaborated, to officially recognized Indigenous Communities plus several hundred applicants for that status. The Cornell Perú Project in turn mailed a shorter questionnaire with different concerns to the 1,600 then officially recognized Communities. The content analysis already carried out on letters from nearly 100 Community representatives provided analytical categories and suggested the wording of questions included on the Cornell Perú Project questionnaire. The information on the questionnaires returned to the Cornell Perú Project is reported and briefly analyzed in this paper.

All quantitative statements about the Cornell Perú Project survey results made in this report are based upon a response of forty per cent or 640 of the 1,600 Indigenous Communities officially registered by the Peruvian Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs at the time the questionnaire was mailed out. The geographic distribution of the 640 Communities whose

characteristics are discussed in this paper is indicated in Table 3, along with the geographic distribution over the country of the entire horizon of recognized Indigenous Communities.

Table 3. Geographic Distribution of Peruvian Indigenous Communities and Percentage of Cornell Peru Project Mail Survey Response by Political Departments in Perú.

Department	Number of Officially Recognized Indigenous Communities	Number of Communities Responding to Survey	Percentage of Response by Political Department
Amazonas	37	13	35.1
Ancash	108	39	36.1
Apurimac	84	40	47.6
Arequipa	12	7	58.3
Ayacucho	175	64	36.6
Cajamarca	49	24	49.0
Cuzco	223	104	46.6
Huancavelica	149	59	39.6
Huanuco	84	34	40.5
Ica	6	0	00.0
Junín	276	118	42.8
La Libertad	12	8	66.7
Lambayeque	12	4	33.3
Lima	236	72	30.5
Loreto	1	0	00.0
Moquegua	12	3	25.0
Pasco	40	6	15.0
Piura	39	22	56.4
Puno	37	18	48.6
Tacna	10	5	50.0
TOTAL	1,600	640	40.0

The Cornell Perú Project survey was conducted during an election year in Perú. Questionnaires were sent out prior to the day of the 1962 presidential and parliamentary election. They were filled in and returned over a period of months, however, extending beyond the election and into the period military junta rule. One reason for this time lag clearly was the Peruvian post office department's difficulty in delivering letters to the representatives of many relatively isolated Indigenous Communities. Another reason was that Community representatives took the questionnaire very seriously, and painstakingly filled it out. In many cases, delegations from

Indigenous Communities returned the questionnaire in person during visits to the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs in Lima. Not infrequently, both the Cornell Perú Project and the National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population questionnaires were both returned together to one organization or the other. Since the National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population questionnaire was not only long, but asked for certain information that might require the Community representative to ask a good many questions of his fellow Community members, this frequently delayed response.

In terms of political perspective, then, the replies to the Cornell Perú Project questionnaire reflect conditions and attitudes in the Indigenous Communities of Perú during the final months of the second administration of President Manuel Prado Ugarteche, and the opening months of military government in 1962.

The data reported here were collected by the Cornell Perú Project, of which Professor Allan R. Holmberg is the Director, with the support of a grant to Cornell University from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

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2.0. Indigenous Community Self-Images

The application of a uniform questionnaire stimulus to the entire group of officially recognized Indigenous Communities revealed that the 6.4% sample which had written to the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute was, as presumed (Dobyns with Carrasco 1962:10), biased. At least some of the differences between the Community self-images revealed in the two samples are worth discussing because of the light they throw on the nature of the social matrix in which Peruvian Indigenous Communities exist.

2.1. ARIDITY

The genuine aridity of the Peruvian Pacific coastal plain outside the forty-odd river valley oases extends up the western slopes of the Andes for several thousand feet. Naturally, the transitional zone from true desert to well-watered highlands is deficient in water for agriculture from the human point of view. Irrigation is, therefore, of critical importance at the intermediate elevations where rural farmers raise crops which require more moisture than falls in the immediate natural environment. The psychology of the mountain irrigator differs little from that of the coastal valley irrigation farmer. Holmberg (1950:367-368) has described what "available water" means in a coastal village which can live only because it has a small river running down the valley. Even so, this is dry during most of the year. Water is so scarce that the farmers can raise only one crop each year and have to pay for irrigation water they use (Holmberg 1950:373). The benign climate would permit year-round cropping were sufficient water available.

In the Indigenous Community of San Pedro de Huancaire available irrigation water in the single main canal is insufficient to water fields under cultivation, despite construction of seven flow-regulating water tanks (Soler 1954:7). Of 600 cultivated hectares, 500 are dry farms raising a single crop annually (Soler 1954:8). Huancayá and Hualcaralla, on the other hand, do not suffer a water shortage (Cotler 1961:40). In Huarochirí, where 80% of the population deserts the city during the day to carry on agricultural and animal husbandry pursuits, "irrigation has great importance in the annual cycle" (Guillén 1961:56). A government water sub-administration supervises

water distribution by turns and areas. "Irrigation is a task that constantly worries the farmer. It usually begins in the month of April when the rains have ended, with the traditional ditch cleaning each community carries out" (Guillén 1961:58). This is a collective labor of cleaning out the springs which supply the various ditches and repairing the latter. The work is conducted in an atmosphere of magical ritual (Guillén 1961:63), which indicates the psychological insecurity of the irrigation-dependent farmers. Canal cleaning in San Pedro de Huancaire also takes place to the accompaniment of ritual (Soler 1954: 12-14).

A very similar deeply felt concern over water supplies is displayed by the Indians of Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao in Puquio in Lucanas Province. They personify the mountains and plains (the earth) as supernatural—termed *Wamani*—and pay them cult (Arguedas 1956:197-198). These natives conceive of water as the gift of the Wamani, the very blood in their veins, the fertilizing patrimony of animals and human beings (Arguedas 1953:200-201). The Indians celebrate two festivals dedicated to the Wamanis (Arguedas 1956:204) during which they sacrifice a llama and a sheep, throwing their hearts into irrigation waters (Arguedas 1956:206-211). The magical aspect of Puquio ritual directed toward irrigation water is reflected in the very terminology. These Indians have accumulated terms for water in their ritual language. Whereas in everyday usage they designate water *yaku*, ritually they join *Umu* (the Cuzco Quechua dialect term for water) and *Aguay Umu* (the Spanish and Cuzco Quechua forms) to refer to water (Arguedas 1956:200).

In Puquio, the *Varayoc* or Indian authorities of the four recognized Indigenous Communities which comprise this provincial capital retained absolute authority over the distribution of irrigation water until the period of the second World War. The local Mestizos were not able to seize this Indian privilege "of fundamental economic importance in a zone in which the scarcity of water causes much anguish" (Arguedas 1956:185). More recently, state intervention has neutralized traditional Indian control over irrigation water. The state appoints a controller on the excuse that the Indian leader is illiterate. The controller turns out to have more power, "and the conflict between the two authorities is very grave."

The Huarochirí and Lucanas provinces lie on the Andean western slope. The Indigenous Community and District of Paucartambo lies on the eastern slope in Pasco Department. "This moist, green, eastern slope of the Andes offers a marked contrast to the dry, barren, western slope" (Andrews 1963b:26). Annual precipitation is estimated at over fifty inches (Andrews 1963b:51).

Of nine Indigenous Communities reported upon, six lack sufficient irrigation water, while three have a plenty. This indicates that approximately two-thirds of the Indigenous Communities might suffer from such a lack.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. In the first place, it may be stated that the men bearing the responsibility for Indigenous Community affairs view themselves and their townsmen as inhabiting an unduly arid environment. Just over 86% of the responses to the Cornell questionnaire characterized the Indigenous Community populations as lacking sufficient domestic or irrigation water or precipitation for dry farming. They see themselves as lacking a socially defined "sufficiency" of water immediately available for household use or economic production. The self-image of aridity emerged from the replies as the most commonly held of all those elicited by the Cornell mail questionnaire.

Aridity held second place among the problems most frequently mentioned to the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute by Indigenous Community correspondents following the newspaper mailings, lagging behind boundary disputes as a cause for complaint. Yet only 12.4% of their letters mentioned lack of sufficient available water of one type or another, leading to a serious under-estimation of the incidence of Indigenous Communities viewing themselves as short of water (Dobyns with Carrasco 1962:12). The response to the systematically applied questionnaire revealed a country-wide preoccupation over water supplies in relation to growing rural populations and rising economic and social aspirations (Dobyns 1963).

2.2. TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Officially recognized Indigenous Communities in Perú can find themselves embroiled in disputes over land ownership for several reasons. First, Perú lacks a uniform land survey system based upon arbitrary units such as that employed in most of the United States. Land boundary descriptions must be expressed in terms of metes and bounds as is the case on the eastern seaboard of the U. S. where natural or manmade landmarks mark off one property from another. A technological difference further differentiates Peruvian property description from that in the United States. Even where property is bounded by natural landmarks in the United States, its actual boundary lines have been laid down by survey transit on the ground. Only infrequently has this occurred in Perú, so that room for disagreement over precise boundary locations naturally exists between partisans of competing interests.

In the second place, Peruvian property titles are not recorded in central government offices as occurs in the offices of

County Recorders or equivalent officials in the United States. Titles are filed with notaries public in Perú. While Peruvian notaries public function as representatives of the government, they remain private businessmen. Thus title papers are scattered through many notarial archives and cross-checking titles is both difficult and expensive. Even the national government maintains only an incomplete register of properties for taxation purposes. This situation opens the way to honest errors and lends itself to dishonest manipulation by members of the governing elite. After the Los Naturales Indigenous Community in the lower Chancay Valley obtained legal recognition, legal investigation "disclosed" in Faron's (1960:443) terms, that one of the adjacent manors lacked clear title to an appreciable area adjacent to community holdings.

Within the general framework outlined, the situation of the government recognized Indigenous Community is complicated by additional factors. While the pre-Hispanic Indians occupying the area of modern Perú probably defined the boundaries between their landholding social units with precision, the same cannot be said of the conquerors. Spanish metes and bounds descriptions are ambiguous in any event, and generally became vague when Indian communities were involved (Guillén 1961:80). Such vagueness derived partly from initial post-conquest difficulties in Spanish-Indian communication, partly from Spanish unfamiliarity with the topographical details of the strange Andean terrain, and perhaps at times from intention.

Under such circumstances, the historical evolution of Indigenous Communities has given rise to border wars. Since Indian towns were usually formed by forcing Indian farmstead dwellers to take up town residence as a matter of Spanish colonial policy (Foster 1960:34, 49) the resulting settlements have not been invariably stable under changing social and economic conditions. Colonial towns have split into two or more settlements with consequent uncertainty over the territorial boundaries between them. Faron (1960:438, 440) noted the case of an Indian reduction or *asiento* achieved in the lower Chancay Valley in 1551 that was in modern times physically divided in half by a trunk railway, part of it becoming a government recognized Indigenous Community.

It is not unknown for members of two communities derived from a common origin to own lands within the exterior boundaries of the other community. This is especially true when members of one community experiencing population growth break new land to cultivation at some distance from the original townsite, found a new town and both gain official recognition as Indigenous Communities. Such is the history of land conflicts between members of the Indigenous Communities of San Benito

and San Francisco de Guzmango in the Contumazá Province of Cajamarca Department (Dobyns FN).

The relatively late historic government policy of granting Indigenous Community status has resulted at times in the recognition of communities of historically recent formation. Faron (1960:440) considered Lomerías de Huaral and Los Naturales to be such recently formed products of "periods of ethnic and cultural consciousness" plus the support of "some of the most influential landlords in the valley."

Since applicants for Indigenous Community status are required to furnish at the outset only a sketch map of their territory, in recognition of the relative poverty of members of many such communities, and the relatively high cost of paying for a land survey, government recognition does not in itself solve land ownership disputes. Survey comes later, and even then cannot resolve many contests for land control. The responsible government agencies have spent a good deal of time, money and effort attempting to resolve disputes involving a number of Indigenous Communities (Sección de Asuntos Indígenas 1929).

Inasmuch as Perú originated by Spanish conquest of a native Indian empire, Spaniards seized great tracts of Indian lands, and uncertainty over boundaries between privately owned and Indigenous Community lands naturally arose within the framework of imprecise descriptions of mutual boundaries. A good deal of Spanish aggression against Indian lands has been carried on since the initial conquest, not by force of arms, but by dominant group manipulation of the legal system. Many a manor has been carved out of Indigenous Community lands by fraudulent purchase, forged documents, judicial bribery and so on. Such procedures clearly generate land disputes between private proprietors and Indigenous Communities. Writing of the Community of Qollana, Arguedas (1956:186) remarked that "the Indians appear to have been despoiled of their lands and converted into sharecroppers or mere hands of the Mestizos."

Finally, Indigenous Communities suffer from internal disputes over land. Individuals holding lands within the Community like land holders anywhere, fall into disagreements. Subsidiary settlements disagree with each other and the primary settlement.

In the Province of Huarochirí, unresolved litigation between the Indigenous Communities of San Pedro de Huancaire and San Juan de Tantaranché prevents the former from extending one of its short irrigation canals although it can now irrigate only about one-sixth of its cultivable lands (Soler 1954:8). Guillén (1961:80-81) found that Huarochirí itself was in conflict with one of its subsidiary settlements and one of its members plus

the Community of Suni. Lupo found itself in conflict with Llambilla and Concha as well as private holders. Llambilla, besides its conflict with Lupo, carried on litigation with Huarochirí and Suni. The Huarochirí-Viscas conflict had reached the point of Huarochirí forces laying armed siege to Viscas which had to be raised by government armed forces after casualties occurred. The Indigenous Communities in this area do not face the problem of competing with adjacent manors for land. They live isolated and autonomous (Matos 1953:184).

Huancarama in Apurimac has existed legally since 1793 when Spanish royal recognition was granted its land titles. When it was recognized by the Peruvian government in 1941, its possession of about 40% of its claimed area was confirmed, so conflicts between the members of the Community and Mestizo encroachers continue. The manor of Pincos lies entirely within the area confirmed to Huancarama in 1793. Recently, its Mestizos have seized some communal pasture of Ccallaspuquio, one of the settlements comprising Huancarama, and offered to sell this area to the Community. According to the Indians, when they refused to pay the Mestizos proceeded to sell the pasture to outside parties (Patch 1959b:13).

The Pararani village of Huancarama claimed title to ten named areas of communal lands held by the Ahuanuque manor. Another of the constituent villages, Saihua, went to court against the Auquibamba manor seeking return of a large tract. Although the Departmental court ruled in favor of the Indians, the manor defied the decision and remained in possession (Patch 1959b:13-15).

Paucartambo and Quiparacra in Pasco Department contest their mutual boundaries. The central government cut short one litigation by expropriating a tract to which Paucartambo later proved title and recovered. Paucartambo also disputes land rights with Ninacaca (Andrews 1963b:297). The Paucartambo-Quiparacra dispute has flared into violence that has claimed half a dozen lives (Andrews 1963b:300-301).

Carquín, situated on the coast end of the Chancay Valley, reduced to fifty-nine cultivable hectares, claims 240 hectares being used by a private owner under authority of a letter of sale, who in turn is selling lots to fishing concerns (Llosa 1962:36-37).

Ayamarca in Cuzco Department suffers from unconstitutional sales of agricultural land by members to non-members of the community, some of whom then claim rights to pasturage commons. Just as serious are disputed water rights—neighboring manors use the water during the day, forcing the Community to irrigate at night. Members lack sufficient water, and are forced to purchase it from outside landlords, although the

Community is responsible for cleaning and maintaining the ditches (Allred et al 1959:66).

Among the most urgent problems facing the Indigenous Community of Qquehuar in Cuzco Department at the end of the past decade were several boundary disputes. One was carried on against the Municipality of Sicuani, a small city eight kilometers distant. Others were with adjacent landlords. The latter were closing off community trails. The community avoided legal action because of its cost (Allred et al 1959:72).

In the District of Andarapa in Apurimac Department, Nuñez del Prado (1959:21) reported 438 hectares under irrigation. Of this total, 402 hectares belonged to manors and only thirty-six to serfs, leaving the small proprietors only dry farms. While his data do not distinguish the Indigenous Community of Andarapa specifically, the implications of the figures are fairly clear—the members of that Community retain the poorest share of the local hydraulic resources.

When Snyder (1960:40) lived in Recuayhuanca, inhabitants of the upper slopes suspected her of working for a neighboring landlord "who had been trying to take land away from the village for many years." Only the river edge of Recuayhuanca is clearly defined. Boundaries with Aco on the ridge above, the manor of Huapra upstream and Pachín downstream are uncertain (Snyder 1960:75). In 1961, representatives of this Indigenous Community expounded to the United States Ambassador to Perú during his visit to neighboring Vicos, their concern over continuing boundary conflicts with the Pachín manor (Dobyns FN).

Cajacay in Bolognesi Province was involved in a land dispute with a private holder in 1961 (La Tribuna 30 Agosto 1961:6). The Community maintained that title papers presented in support of the private claim were forged (La Tribuna 18 Agosto 1961:5). Within the same Department of Ancash, continuous litigation over land has taxed the financial capacity of the Indigenous Community of Huaylas. Twenty-four years after this Community was organized, the same lands whose titles were contested at the beginning were still in litigation. Five of the seven lawsuits over land being carried on by this Community in 1960-1961 were initiated when it was organized. The suits involve disputes with a manor, the local Roman Catholic Church parish, and two large landholding families plus small holders (Doughty 1963b:235).

Huayre in Junín is involved in at least one territorial dispute (Alencastre 1960:9).

Huancayá is embroiled in numerous land boundary disputes, precisely because of the lack of accurate limits, even though nearly all its lands are privately held, because of sales of the latter class of property (Cotler 1961:144).

This makes a total of fifteen Indigenous Communities with reported territorial conflicts, or 37.5% of the forty sample Communities. Within this group, 60% are in conflict with private owners, 33.3% with other Indigenous Communities, and 6.7% with both.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. While systematic surveying of Indigenous Community officials revealed that boundary disputes are perceived as a community problem less often than are water shortages, at the same time it showed the incidence of such disputes to be considerably greater than previous data indicated. Indigenous Community representatives writing the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute brought up boundary disputes oftener than any other problem, but only 17.5% of them did so (Dobyns with Carrasco 1-62:11-12). As indicated above, 37.5% of the Indigenous Communities reported in the literature suffered such conflicts. In contrast, no less than 73.3% of the responses to the mail questionnaire reported boundary conflicts with adjoining landholders.

Indigenous Communities sustain territorial disputes with two major types of landholders on their boundaries, as already indicated. Adjoining Indigenous Communities quite commonly cannot agree upon their mutual limits. Sixty per cent of the Indigenous Communities burdened with boundary disputes carry them on against other Indigenous Communities. Disputes between Indigenous Communities and non-communal holders of adjacent lands are even more frequent since 63.8% of the survey sample of 640 Communities reported them. This sample of Indigenous Community officials reported, in other words, that (a) 30.1% of their Communities were involved in territorial disputes only with other Indigenous Communities, while (b) 33.7% reported carrying on such disputes with other types of landowners, and (c) 30.3% of the reporting Communities suffer from such disputes with both an adjoining Indigenous Community and manor holder (or more than one of either or both types). Six per cent of the sample Communities reported internal rather than exterior land conflicts.

2.3. GAMONAL AGGRESSION

Vocabulary is sometimes a very useful index to social reality. If a language "has a word for it," then what that word designates usually is important to the people speaking the language. Peruvians have a Spanish word for the large landholder who throws his political weight around, who behaves anti-socially with respect to his serfs, sharecroppers, hands or small farmer competitors, who resorts to force and immoral even though legal actions to assert and maintain his social and economic supremacy. In the English language, only

an Irish peasant of many decades ago referring to a British landlord poured the overtones of distaste into an English noun that *gamonal* carries in Peruvian Spanish.

Having a name for such powerful individuals, Peruvian Spanish contains the companion term *gamonalismo* to denote the disliked behavior *gamonales* exhibit toward their less fortunate fellow men. Scientific studies of rural Peruvian communities have typically provided corroboration for the idea that the phenomenon must be important in Perú if there are names for it. Gillin (1947:16) noted Moche complaints that the largest land unit in the District "is favored over the smaller land holdings in the distribution of the water" which is the prime necessity for successful coastal agriculture.

In the Chancay Valley, Faron (1960:440) noted, "The Indigenous Communities follow the lead of the landlords, and the latter manipulate the *comuneros* to their own advantage." He hastened to add that this manipulation did not mean outright coercion, but involved perpetuating "traditional sets of rights and obligations which bind *comunero* to landlord." His conclusion may be questioned inasmuch as coercion—force in the guise of armed national police—was employed by the Chancay Valley landed elite during a labor dispute precipitated at the Torre Blanco estate in 1960 (La Prensa 16 Dic. 1960:1). Faron (1960:452n.6) attributed the local movement that obtained government recognition for the Indigenous Community of Lomera de Huaral to a combination of threats to hill pastures—lumber company logging under an agreement with communal leaders, government threats to incorporate them into the District, and a local landlord's extending his irrigation ditches into parts of the more level pastures so as to reclaim them for his use.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The relation of Indigenous Communities to authorities of all types appears to be closely related to the amount of friction over territorial boundaries characterizing the social matrix of these communities. For the members of the Indigenous Communities generally think and feel in terms of their local sentiment systems that they have lost real property to outsiders through exploitation by rapacious landlords taking advantage of special privileges and power accorded to them by the political structure and through outright seizure by persons occupying political office. Thus long memories of historical injustices color the perceptions of political authority on the part of members of Indigenous Communities. This selectively sensitized perception may lead the legal representatives of Indigenous Communities to overestimate the amount of persecution they suffer, but the incidence of reported persecution is noteworthy.

Over 38% of the respondents to the mail survey claimed that

Indigenous Community representatives are subject to persecution by *gamonales* or by representatives of other Indigenous Communities or powerful figures within the Indigenous Community reported upon. The responses to the specific question clearly reflected a range of *personero* grievances wider than that generated by any single class of sources of social friction. These responses make clear that Indigenous Community representatives feel that they are put upon under various circumstances by individuals occupying positions of power within the community and particularly by powerful individuals outside the Indigenous Community either in other social units of this same type or more individualistic land holders.

2.4. ALIENATION FROM CIVIL GOVERNMENT

To the extent that Peruvian Indigenous Communities have shared in the broad outlines of political action in the nation, the rather negative feelings among inhabitants of rural communities in general toward the central government constitute a significant factor in Indigenous Community sociological environment.

Holmberg (1950:390) noted that few inhabitants of a coastal valley farming village took much interest in politics beyond their own District. Long continued frustration and the flagrant abuse of power had made them suspicious to an extreme of all officials, so that they would rather avoid contacting such when feasible. Holmberg commented wryly that this sentiment did not stop them from complaining constantly about poor government. In the similar town of Moche, people believed that wealthy water users obtained more than "their proper share" by influencing the government administrator (Gillin 1947:16).

The prevalence of a psychology of isolation among members of Indigenous Communities has attracted scientific attention. Everyone who has studied closely the Indigenous Communities has observed their hostility toward and defiance of town dwellers, white men, and even members of other Indian communities, according to Metraux (1959:231). He saw this phenomenon as frequently extended distrustful in an ultra-conservative and even xenophobic manner any innovation.

The constitutional status of Indigenous Community in Perú is a favored one in the sense that it affords special protection to community land base and exemption from some forms of taxation. At the same time, the central government's grant of this special status remains essentially a paternalistic gesture from creole and Mestizo dominant groups in command of the governmental apparatus, to subordinate subcultural enclaves socially defined as Indian and therefore inferior. Social science theory would virtually predict a degree of conflict built into such a situation.

If the grant of constitutional protection brings little perceptible improvement in conditions—the positive variety of experience that Erasmus (1961:22-31) terms “frequency interpretation”—the probability for conflict increases. Snyder (1960:389-400) has indeed recorded how a strong faction in Recuayhuanca seeks to dissolve the Indigenous Community because its adherents can see no benefit they have derived from the protective status, but think that they do perceive consequent hardships. This is a local case.

At the national level of political dialogue, it may be argued that the republican governments of Perú have abandoned the Indigenous Communities (prior to the initiation of the protective policy of government registration, in any event) “to their own luck and the voracity of *gamonalismo* and imperialism,” thus prolonging their agony (Cornejo 1959:153). The growing usurpation of communal lands may be attributed to “the suicidal indifference of the State,” signified by lack of protective legislation which would safeguard existing community patrimonies and even recover for them those unjustly taken away. State indifference, it has been affirmed, is responsible for lack of opportunity, lack of credit which keeps Indigenous Communities at the margin of mercantile speculation, for lack of initiative, for the geographic isolation of the Indigenous Communities (Cornejo 1959:154).

Capital and civic improvement continue to rely upon hand labor in much of rural Perú. Since creoles and Mestizos disdain manual or hand labor as demeaning in a caste society with abundant unskilled laborers, the Indigenous Communities and manor serfs constitute the two great labor pools available for improvement works. In Chucuito, members of the Indian caste were drafted to work free on projects of local or national benefit in the early 1940's, repairing roads and public edifices, cleaning irrigation ditches, etc. (Tschopik 1951:160). In regions without manors, “without the intervention of the communities no work is possible” as Guillén (1961:90) observed with specific reference to Huarochirí Province. Thirty years of appointment of local civil government authorities following the suppression of local elections have afforded plentiful opportunities for discord to arise between appointive officials attempting to muster local labor forces for improvement works, and Indigenous Community authorities forced to muster laborers, and the latter themselves.

Systematic opposition to official initiatives on the part of Community members have resulted. “An environment of disgust or irritation on the part of the community member who must comply with obligations or public works is being created. . . .” The worker “considers that the council ought to perform this task with paid laborers.” The fact that economically well-off

individuals can send a hired substitute to perform the hard manual labor required further irritates the middle or lower economic level Community member who cannot afford this luxury, particularly younger men. Thus the separation between Indigenous Communities and the Municipal Council in Huarochiri Province has widened (Guillén 1961:90).

The Indigenous Communities in the mountain provinces of the Department of Lima impressed Matos (1953:186) as conserving a strong cohesion, possessing a strong spirit of solidarity, which provide an important social and psychological base for converting them into important economic centers from which to provision the capital. At the same time, Matos (1953:186-187) noted that the vital desire of these Communities for improvement is frustrated by disillusionment, accentuating a grave psychological problem of anxiety and maladjustment. "The provincial capitals, which ought to be advanced centers of aid, of encouragement, are converted into the refuges of percentage-men, of large and small scale exploiters."

Even where Peruvian government development programs have penetrated to Indigenous Communities, the immediate impact on their members is not always such as to dispel rural distrust. In Paucartambo in Pasco Department, the people were discouraged by their experiences with a government Indian improvement program, cynical and critical of it in 1960 and 1961. The small amount of material aid made available reached a few persons who least required it (Andrews 1963b:465). An attempt to introduce sprays to protect potatoes against blight was rejected because tubers from sprayed plants tasted unpleasant, and buyers refused them (Andrews 1963b:462).

Official connivance in creole usurpation of Indigenous Community lands has certainly helped foster frustration in Community members. The legal representative of Carquín, for example, discussing a private owner exploiting the bulk of the cultivable lands his Indigenous Community claims, expressed one case of the phenomenon. "The municipal council is partisan to . . . ; the sub-prefecture does not listen to us, and the lack of resources and discouragement due to failure conquers us" (Llosa 1962:37).

In Puquio, the conflict between Indians and Mestizos in administering Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao is symbolized by competition between the Indian *Varayoc* and the state-appointed controllers in distributing irrigation waters traditionally within the power of the native authorities (Arguedas 1956:185).

The government recognized Indigenous Community of Ayamarca in Cuzco Department regarded the District governor in 1959 as abusive for reasons like those of Indigenous Community

members in Huarochirí Province. He employed force and coercion to make members work on public projects, and they protested to the Departmental Prefect without visible effect. The Community officials suspected that the local representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs filed indefinitely their petitions in boundary disputes, and did not accurately inform them of required election procedures (Allred et al 1959:66-67). This representative of central government did in the February, 1958, election permit only literate adults to vote, although the law established no sex nor literacy qualifications for voting for Indigenous Community councilmen (Allred et al 1959:63-64). People in the hamlet of Ccorao lamented that the Ministry of Education had reduced the number of teachers assigned to its new school from ten to four (Allred et al 1959:124).

Quehuar in the same Department was reluctant to take its boundary disputes to court because of monetary and temporal costs involved (Allred et al 1959:72).

The members of the Recauyhuanca Community in Carhuaz Province have ingenious and effective techniques for dealing with orders from Marcará District authorities to turn out men for public works outside the community. The Community officials simply do not attend the weekly sessions at which verbal orders are issued, and Community members usually are not informed of orders that may reach local officials (Snyder 1960:350-352).

In the self-reliant District of Huaylas, the complaint that all levels of government outside this district have forgotten its residents is common. The people express displeasure and resignation over the situation of neglect that they perceive (Doughty 1963b:111). Actually these people are not satisfied to await governmental action and do things for themselves with great pride. This leads to emphasizing local contributions and de-emphasizing external assistance in fact received (Doughty 1963b:112).

A very similar attitude was expressed during Adams' (1959: 175-176) stay in Muquiyauyo when members of the Indigenous Community in a meeting of one of its constituent organizations suggested taking the local school out of the national system and turning it into a communal school, because of dissatisfaction with the way it was being run and the quality students it was producing. These people did not hesitate to suggest such a step since they believed that they could operate the school better themselves than the government was doing. Nor is this attitude a recent phenomenon in Muquiyauyo. When the President visited the Community in 1944, the mayor's speech included a passage asserting: "Only when our own efforts do not suffice do we think of seeking the aid of the State" (Pulgar V. 1945:24).

These fifteen Indigenous Communities constitute 37.5% of the sample of forty in the literature, indicating a minimal incidence of alienation attitudes toward the central government by members of such Communities, or over one-third.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. Closely related to the problems of land tenure and the perception of the use and abuse of power is the role of the national government in settling or not expeditiously settling land tenure disputes. Some complaints by community representatives writing to the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute about open abuses of Indigenous Community members by civil authorities led to inclusion on the questionnaire of a question as to whether community representatives felt they or their peers had access to political power equal to that of other people. Twenty-two per cent of the respondents reported that they or other Community officials or members had been subjected to what they considered abuse on the part of civil authorities. In this regard, disaffection among one-fifth of the Indigenous Communities looms large.

As a result of many frustrating frequency interpretations on the part of Indigenous Community members and officials dealing with powerful individuals and national government officials, a major paradox in the sociological situation of members of Peruvian Indigenous Communities as a category of citizens of the republic singled out for special governmental recognition and legal protection within the national administrative system, is a high prevalence of Indigenous Community alienation from central government. Analysis of the letters to the Secretary General of the Peruvian Indian Institute revealed that many *personeros* felt that their Communities suffered from a general lack of support and services from the central government of the country. A question phrased in terms of feeling such a lack of central government backing elicited from Community representatives responding to the mail questionnaire a 71.6% negative response. It was negative, that is, in terms of Community relations with the central government. This high proportion of respondents felt that Communities did not receive due backing from central government.

To summarize, over one-fifth of the Community representatives reported what they conceived of as active discrimination against Indigenous Communities on the part of officialdom, and seven-tenths reported what they conceived of as central government inaction in the face of necessity if not obligation.

2.5. VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

Few students of Indigenous Communities have mentioned affiliations with the several peasant leagues which exist in

Perú, suggesting a low incidence of such pan-peasantry or pan-Indianism. Snyder (1957:27) commented that the Ancash Peasant League which attracted members in Vicos while it was still a manor found no support in the neighboring Indigenous Community of Recuayhuanca.

Survey Results. Another probable measure of the relative isolation of the Peruvian Indigenous Communities as a type from their national polity may be found in the small proportion of them affiliated with any national peasant organization or regional Community association. Only 14.8% of the Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project survey reported such affiliation, and this was distributed between more than one political party-inspired peasant league in an election year. Since Peruvian migrants from rural communities to Lima are notable for joining voluntary associations based on place of origin (Mangin 1959), Indigenous Community non-participation in peasant leagues cannot be explained away as merely rural reluctance to join voluntary associations. Individualism likely has much more to do with it.

2.6. LACK OF COMMUNICATION

Given the unsystematic nature of selection of Indigenous Communities for study by social scientists, it might be expected that those which have been analyzed would be reached by roads. Yet this has not invariably been the case. Santa Bárbara in Huancavelica Department had streets which were "narrow and crooked, neither intended for nor used by wheeled vehicles" when Tschopik (1947:21) visited it. A "nearby" mine was reached by a "tortuous automobile road" twelve and one-half miles long from Huancavelica.

Castrovirreyna, District and Provincial capital, "has only begun to prosper as a consequence of the recently opened highway to Pisco on the Coast" (Tschopik 1947:25) on the other hand.

Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc in Huamanga Province was connected to Ayacucho by automobile road, but remained relatively isolated in 1945 because no vehicles were locally owned, and trucks passed through only on Saturdays en route elsewhere (Tschopik 1947:32).

Huayllay in Pasco Department lies less than a kilometer from the highway to Cerro de Pasco (Tschopik 1947:50), reached by access road. Huaychao about eight miles northwest of Huayllay is connected to it by a dirt road (Tschopik 1947:53).

Located on the flood plain of the Mantaro River, Muquiyauyo was rarely visited by motor vehicles in 1945, those usually timber-hauling trucks, because its access roads were poor (Tschopik 1947:46). Pucará is linked to the city of Huancayo

nine miles away by unpaved road (Alers 1960:52). Sicaya was connected to Huancayo by seven miles of road prior to 1945 (Tschopik 1947:41).

San Pedro de Cajas in Tarma Province is connected by dirt access roads to the paved central highway through Tarma and the highway from La Oroya to the city of Cerro de Pasco. The down-hill route through Palcamayo to Tarma is very poorly maintained (Arellano FN 4/1 62:1; Dobyms FN). Huayre in Junín District is crossed by the highway and railroad between La Oroya and Cerro de Pasco (Alencastre 1960:1). Palca and San Miguel de Acobamba are both served by the paved central highway from La Oroya to the Amazon Basin (Dobyms FN). Paucartambo lies on the road from Cerro de Pasco into the Amazon Basin (Andrews 1963a).

Suni, Lupo, Llambilla and Huarochirí in Huarochirí Province have been connected to the capital of Perú by mountain road since 1944 (Guillén 1961:52) and Huancayá and Hualcaralla since 1947 (Cotler 1959). Rímac and Yungalla-Primo plus unrecognized hamlets were concerned in the mid-1950's with extending the road to their town of Santiago de Anchucaya (Boluarte 1961:307). So was San Pedro de Huancaire.

The first modern road to Puquio and its constituent Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao was completed in 1926 (Arguedas 1956:186).

In Apurímac, the road from Cuzco is passable only in the dry season, and that between the two major towns, Abancay and Andahuaylas, is not very good. No vehicular road reaches the Community of Huancarama (Patch 1959b:12) so it is accessible only by riding or walking.

Two of the hamlets constituting Ayamarca in Cuzco are connected to each other by graveled all-weather road through the city of Cuzco, a distance of over twenty-five kilometers, whereas there is no direct vehicular road between them. Direct communication by foot or donkey takes three to four hours (Allred et al 1959:61). Qquehuar lies eight kilometers from Sicuani on the main highway between Cuzco and Arequipa.

Recuayhuanca in Carhuaz Province lies about two and a half miles by animal trail beyond the termination of the nearest twisting, unsurfaced farm-market road (Snyder 1960:71). Huaylas has a seventeen kilometer access road plus internal vehicular roads, but many inhabitants prefer to hike up and down the steep slope between Huaylas and Huallanca at the valley bottom. Cajacay is reached by a steep mountain grade (Dobyms FN).

On the coast, Los Naturales and Lomera de Huaral are served by railroad and highway. Carquín has an unsurfaced road (Llosa 1962).

Of thirty-eight Indigenous Communities previously reported

upon, only eight lacked vehicular access roads. So the suspicion that anthropologists follow the improved highway seems confirmed, if 79% of the Communities they have studied boast road communications.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The mail survey results apparently confirm that anthropologists have observed an undue proportion of Indigenous Communities relatively easy to reach, and not enough of those not accessible by automobile. Perhaps related to the Indigenous Community self-image of step-child status before the central government of Perú is a majority self-image of geographic and social isolation. At the forty per cent level of response from 1,600 Communities, 58.9% of their representatives felt that their communities lacked sufficient communication with the outside world. This majority opinion is an artificial analytical category, to be sure, since it lumps together all the Community representatives who responded to a general question about communications with specific comments on the lack of roads, telephone or telegraph lines or mail service. The most widespread perception of geographic isolation is that of lacking roads, as evidenced in the high proportion of Indigenous Communities which has already translated a felt need for better external communications into communal action. No less than 44.7% of the Community representatives responding reported that members of the Indigenous Communities had built their own access roads by Community action.

Only 1.25% of the representatives of Communities reported, on the other hand, that communal work parties had installed or helped to install telephone lines. Apparently communication with Peruvian national society means, generally in the geographically scattered Indigenous Communities, road-building in order to establish wheeled vehicular communication with other settlements connected by the national highway network.

Even at the level of petitioning the central government for aid, projects other than road construction reportedly have not been frequently requested. Only 2.8% of the Community representatives responding said that their Indigenous Communities had asked for the creation of a local post office. Only 2.2% reported that their Communities had petitioned for the installation of telephone lines and offices.

3.0. Community Self-Reliance

One of the outstanding characteristics of the Indigenous Communities of Perú appears to be the capacity of their members to work together cooperatively toward commonly desired goals. Typically the goals shared by Indigenous Community members and achieved by communal labor are physical improvements which together achieve public works that together comprise what may be referred to as "modernization" or as "community development."

There is a tendency among Peruvian social scientists studying Indigenous Communities to view cooperative labor institutions as survivals of the best elements of pre-Columbian society. Arguedas (1953:123) wrote, for example: "The indigenous communities survive; the concept of solidarity between individuals who form them exists" although the Mantaro Valley Communities have taken on some aspects of modern enterprises directed in rational terms of reference. The resident of Huarochiri cannot live apart from the officially recognized Indigenous Communities and the "Association of Independents and Dependents of Communities" which make up the city. "Although the ideas of their origin do not act with force, the collective spirit still endures," according to Guillén (1961:61). "If the rigorous ties of blood no longer exist, the tradition, the heritage and the customs which impose respect are present" with the result that the provincial fulfills his double function of citizen and community member "carrying on works of communal character."

As a matter of fact, what was said toward the beginning of this analysis about the changing character of Indigenous Community culture, and the increasingly Mestizo characteristics of these communities, is not completely consistent with the record of public works to be discussed below. A principal inconsistency arises from the very different values placed upon manual labor by different social classes or Indian and Hispanic castes in Perú.

Placing a high social value upon hard physical labor is clearly an Indian cultural trait in the Andes. Holmberg (1960:85) points out that the peasant must work hard and be frugal if he is to enrich himself in agrarian society, citing the case of Vicos, a former manor with Indian serfs. Escobar and Schaedel

(1959:11) identify the Indian stratum as the lowest class in Puno Department, and cholos as the lower class. They divided Mestizos into a middle class and an upper class (Escobar & Schaedel 1959:12). Discussing the value systems of these "classes," Escobar and Schaedel (1959:16-17) observed that the value of work reigns supreme in the lowest class, and idleness is considered sinful. Incapacity to work produces great apprehension and insecurity. Men are defined by their work capacity. Religious festivals are energetically celebrated in one main use of leisure, and men rest from work in the other. This Indian value system bears striking similarities to what Weber (1958:157-158) labeled the "Protestant ethic" that considers wasting time the worst sin, denigrates idle talk and luxury and even too much rest. This ethic views God as less pleased with contemplation than performing a calling. While the Indian value system may lack the supernatural dimensions of the Protestant ethic, it coincides in admonishing hard bodily labor. Thus it resembles even more closely the utopian work ideal of members of *kibbutzim* in Israel. (Spiro 1963:11-19).

The lower or cholo class in Puno Department displays great ambivalence about work and leisure, according to Escobar and Schaedel (1959:17), as might be expected of a culturally transitional group. The Mestizo middle class considers work a moral duty requiring the spur of family responsibilities and necessity, valuing leisure as just recompense for tasks completed. Yet constant joking about work and leisure betrays ambivalence.

The upper class pays formal obeisance to the value of work, but definitely prefers idleness, which is "assiduously cultivated" while means of giving it greater variety without engaging in manual labor are sought. Acceptable upper class occupations are precisely defined, preference going to those allowing the command of other people. Patch (1959b:15) characterized Apurimac Department Mestizos as using whatever means they can find to force Indians to work for them. Such Peruvian behavior is but one case of the characteristically hispanic belief that "leisure enobles" and labor degrades (Stokes 1958:76).

This clear caste-class difference in the value placed upon manual labor in Perú implies that government recognized Indigenous Communities should not be composed of persons who highly value hard work, given their increasingly Mestizo cultural orientation discussed previously.

The evidence to be cited in the remainder of the present section indicates that, on the contrary, Indigenous Communities do highly value hard work directed toward socially approved community goals and have not in this regard become typically

upper class Mestizo, at any rate. If unanimous acceptance of the value of working toward common ends does not buoy up the spirits of the workers, Indigenous Community social structures provide rewards for the willing worker and sanctions to apply against the reluctant participant in public works parties.

Guillén (1961:65) points out that members of the Indigenous Communities of Huarochirí distinguish between communal and public works partly because they receive half a day's wage from the Indigenous Community when working, but none from the government. She insists, nonetheless, that the workers dislike public projects because they take time from agricultural pursuits or animal husbandry or artesanal activities—which is equally true of communal works—and because they "cannot conceive that the new public works represent basic general benefits" in the same way that communal projects do. Historically, "the structure of the ayllu would have varied little" Guillén (1961:67) claimed, because of the lack of local Spanish residents due to the cold climate and scarcity of mining opportunities plus repeated Indian revolts.

Tschopik (1947:44) made plainer the social structure and sanctions behind communal works in Sicaya. The District is divided into five sections, each with its own annually elected officers. Their chief purpose is to carry out public works—irrigation ditch cleaning and repairing, constructing public buildings, bridges, or to maintain roads. When the mayor issues a call to work, two town criers accompanied by a bugler make their rounds to announce the hour of the work from each street corner. Fines are levied on those who do not appear, the money being used to purchase liquor, coca and cigarettes for those who do come and to hire laborers to replace the absentees.

Tschopik (1947:47) also outlined the social structure of the famous capacity for community improvement in the Indigenous Community of Muquiyauyo. Four geographic sections once comprising the town had been converted by 1945 into "institutions" labeled Workers' Society, Workers' Association, Workers' Future and Progressive Union, each with its own annually elected officers. These institutions organized the public work, and the president of each kept track of participation by members of his unit. Drums were rolled and bells rung to summons members of each institution to work. Absentees, even those away on long trips, were fined although substitution was allowed within limits of social disapproval of continued nonparticipation. Beyond local improvement activities, these institutions operated as labor unions protecting their members, and carried on private enterprises in other towns. Adams (1959:172) observed that Community meetings, even elections of officers, were poorly attended, had to be called more than once to secure a

quorum, and that those in attendance departed as their interest flagged.

In Qquehuar in Cuzco Department, public works parties are recruited by the local representative of the District governor and his assistants. Participation is understood to be "voluntary," but those who refuse to take part are fined one sol which is used to purchase coca and alcohol for those who do work. Sicuani, eight kilometers away, takes advantage of this Community's labor two or three times a year (Allred et al 1959:68).

In Santiago de Anchucaya, communal work parties are convoked by the recognized and unrecognized Communities under orders from the municipal authorities with the approval of the presidents of the Indigenous Communities. In 1953, when the town was threatened by an earth slide, more than 150 workers turned out to cut a protective ditch. Both Rímac and Yungalla-Primo members took part in cutting over 500 meters of deep ditch (Boluarte 1961:289-290).

3.1. SCHOOL BUILDING

In discussing factors in the transculturation of residents of the Mantaro Valley, Arguedas (1953:120) noted that: "School buildings became one of the passionately sought goals of the residents of the valley, and magnificent plants were built in all the communities by initiative of and at the cost of private individuals." In the Mantaro Valley, the general Peruvian Andean predominance of Quechua as the farm language, as opposed to Spanish as the town language, was interrupted at least by 1940 because the majority of the rural population became bilingual (Arguedas 1953:110).

In discussing the "confidence and good will" Andean Indians manifested toward the Andean Mission of the International Labour Organisation, Metraux (1959:240) concluded that they had "at last" learned that it is possible to escape their "humble" conditions. They are "aware that education is the most effective means of rising in the social scale, and the school is the concrete symbol of their hopes" (Metraux 1959:241). He regarded community efforts to build schools as signaling an evolution in Indian cultural tradition which they themselves wished to accelerate.

In Recuayhuanca in Ancash Department, Snyder (1957:21-22) found that in 1951-1952 seventy-seven per cent of the men over age twenty had attended school and that 78% of these adult males spoke Spanish as well as Quechua. Comparable figures for an adjacent manor serf population were one per cent and five per cent. Acceptance of the value of formal classroom instruction may indeed be taken as one good index of psychological



Photograph by H. F. Dobyns
Men of the Indigenous Community of Shumay, Carhuaz Province, Ancash Department, roof a new primary school building being erected by community action in 1961.

modernization of peasant populations (Holmberg & Dobyns 1962:109) provided that this does not involve unquestioning acceptance of the "cult of the doctor" as Stokes (1958:68) termed it. In recent years, Recuayhuanca communal labor has erected a new classroom building (Dobyns FN).

Muelle (1948:79-80) published the autobiography of a resident of Sicaya who felt himself to be somewhat superior because of his education—complete primary school taught by his uncle in Sicaya plus secondary school outside this Indigenous Community. From the point of view of community development, the significant point is that this Indigenous Community afforded complete primary education in 1911. A second category private elementary school was founded in Sicaya in 1902 with economic support from the people. A school society was formed in which

each person gave one or more soles to sustain the school. In 1919, this society sought to create a secondary school. It collected funds from family heads and other enthusiasts, loaned the money at four per cent monthly interest, and paid the teachers with the proceeds (Muelle 1948:82).

Among the reasons for the fame of Muquiyauyo was Castro's (1924:67) accolade on the school buildings as "the most commodious, hygienic and best endowed school edifices there are in all the province." A similar contemporary reason as its rural normal school which was built with the cooperative effort of the whole community (Tschopik 1947:47). The community emphasized education, making primary school attendance compulsory for all children. Municipal scholarships for secondary study are given the most promising students selected by competitive examinations. Public pressure for literacy is considerable (Tschopik 1947:48) and has been for many years. Indian youths who obtained engineering, medical and other professional degrees early in the century created a clear break in the traditional caste statuses, because they achieved higher-ranked occupations than many Mestizos (Adams 1953:242). Mine company hiring policy reinforces Indian occupational achievement through formal education, especially at the French Compagnie des Mines de Huarón (Adams 1951a:37-38). The boys' school was erected by communal labor from 1940 to 1943 (Adams 1959:178).

Pucará has for several years devoted communal labor to erecting a school in hopes that the government would finish the structure (Sabogal 1961:60).

Communal labor built primary school structures in the Indigenous Community of Huarochirí and founded a secondary school (Guillén 1961:65). There as in Sicaya, Indigenous Community initiative began the process of modern formal education. "In the final years of the last century and the first of this one, it was the Communities that sustained schools for the children of their members. They hired the teachers, ceded the locale and provided the necessary equipment" (Guillén 1961:103). A kindergarten operates in the old Huarochirí community building (Guillén 1961:104). A secondary school was started in 1954 under the direct control of students at the Institute of Ethnology at the University of San Marcos (Guillén 1961:106).

Lupo and Llambilla have constructed school buildings for their outlying populations by communal effort (Guillén 1961:105). In 1953, Llambilla budgeted S/. 2,000 of its Community land rental income toward school construction (Matos 1953:188).

In San Pedro de Huancaire, school construction is also a Community labor (Soler & Basto 1953:239) and a school was completed by this method in 1945 (Soler 1961:185).

A mixed school operates in the Community building erected

by members of the Indigenous Community of Hualcaralla (Cotler 1961:129). When a new school building was constructed in San Lorenzo de Quinti, each of the Indigenous Communities in the District took the responsibility for a limited portion of the work, assigned beforehand (Cotler 1961:157). When the recognized and unrecognized Indigenous Communities of San Lorenzo de Quinti obtained approximately S/. 6,000 from the sale of water rights in 1943, they purchased sixteen plots of land and initiated the construction of a pre-vocational school in 1950. The national government aided in roofing the structure which was finished in 1955. Other materials and labor were contributed by members of the Communities (Cotler 1961:165).

The Huañec District capital formed by the Indigenous Communities of Allauca and Huañec has a public primary school (Castro 1946:491), by implication communally built.

In Tarma Province, San Pedro de Cajas has constructed its own primary school buildings by communal effort, aided by some materials donated by the Cerro de Pasco Corporation for which many members have worked, and the national Ministry of Public Education. A girls' school was inaugurated early in February of 1962, having been constructed in this manner (La Tribuna 15 Feb. 1962:2), the author having been among the "notables" invited to attend.

In 1945, the Huayllay Community in the mining region of Pasco Department had recently built two schools, one for girls and one for boys, reflecting considerable local concern over formal education (Tschopik 1947:52).

One of the school buildings in Paucartambo in the same Department was erected by tributary labor called out by the District mayor (Andrews 1963b:301-302).

The members of the four Indigenous Communities of Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao which make up the city of Puqui in Ayacucho have constructed school buildings for their children whom they wish to convert into persons of Mestizo culture (Arguedas 1956:197).

At the end of the last decade, members of Qquehuar Community in Cuzco sought to construct additional rooms for one of their primary schools, with central government aid (Allred et al 1959:71).

Residents of the hamlet of Ccorao within Ayamarca Community in Cuzco built a primary school with communal labor which had 150 students in 1959. Funds were provided by SECPANE, the joint U. S. A.-Peruvian educational service, and the Community contributed its labor (Allred et al 1959:77). Built between 1952 and 1957, this school had awakened considerable pride among Community members who aided in its construction (Allred et al 1959:124).

Tupe in Yauyos Province constructed its school in 1948 and 1949 with communal labor. The Community representative and political and judicial authorities directed the work of family heads divided into eighteen teams of fifteen to twenty individuals (Matos 1951:21). Women took part in the labor (Avalos 1952: 183 No. 11).

Formal education has long been sought by residents in Huaylas District, where a dozen schools have been erected by cooperative work parties between 1932 and 1960. A complete primary school in the central town and two in the uplands are large structures. Smaller rural schools were built in the wards of Yacup, Quecuas, two in Iscap, Huaromapuquio, San Lorenzo and two in Tambo (Doughty 1963b:262). The members of the Indigenous Community reside 57.6% in Santo Toribio, 9.7% in Iscap, 10.2% in Yacup, 11.3% in the central town, and 6.9% in Shuyo ward (Doughty 1963b:236). They work with their own ward mates and their children attend these schools they helped build (Doughty 1963b:243).

This all adds up to a list of twenty-four Indigenous Communities which have erected school buildings with communal labor, out of the forty Communities reported in the literature. This indicates a 60% self reliance in the matter of formal educational physical plant construction, judging from this sample.

Another perspective on the importance of local and Indigenous Community initiative in providing children with school buildings in rural Andean Perú is afforded by data from Parinacochas Province in Ayacucho Department. A listing of primary school facilities published by primary school teachers there in 1951 indicates the origin of the school buildings (García et al 1951: 797-804). Fifty-three towns had a total of seventy-three primary schools. Thirty-seven schools had been donated by the local communities. Twelve had been donated by Indigenous Communities where they were located. Two had been donated by parents of school children, and one by parents and local community in combination. One had been given by townspeople, two by private individual donors. Three buildings had been provided by the provincial council or a municipality. The other fifteen buildings presumably had been constructed by the national government or their origins were not known to the teachers.

Ten of the fifty-three towns were officially recognized Indigenous Communities (Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas 1961:29). Nine of them had donated their primary school buildings. Three of the nine—Sacraca and Sequello and Pacapauza—had donated two school buildings, making a total of twelve buildings out of fourteen existing in all nine Indigenous Communities which had been donated by them. The six Indigenous Communities that had built and donated a single primary school building

were Hurayhuma, Pomacocha, Huayrana, Acos, Calpamayo and Malco.

Of the seventy-three total primary school buildings reported in the Province, 50.8% were donated by communities other than officially recognized Indigenous Communities; 16.4% had been donated by Indigenous Communities; 5.5% had been donated by parents, townspeople and other group actions; while 2.7% were donated by individual philanthropy. The central government had built 20.5% of the primary buildings (or their source was unknown), while local governments built 4.1% of the total. Fifty-three of the buildings had been provided through local group initiative, or in other words 72.6% of all those in the Province.

Stating the situation in a somewhat different way, 90% of the Indigenous Communities in this Province had no primary school buildings other than the ones they themselves provided for their children. The other communities were somewhat better off: thirty-three of the other forty-three communities or 76.7% had no primary school buildings other than those they or parental organizations or other townspeople provided. Both individual donors had provided the only primary school edifice in their respective towns, 4.7% of these communities, making 81.4% dependent upon nongovernmental sources. Two other communities that had donated primary school buildings had apparently obtained a second from the central government, constituting another 4.7% of this group of towns. Six of these towns appear to have received central government school buildings, comprising 14% of this group.

Even when the central government builds school structures, locally donated labor and materials may markedly decrease the cash cost. A British architect conducting an experimental school construction program for the Peruvian Ministry of Public Education found that one-third of total cost was saved by community participation. School buildings bid commercially at an average of S/. 623 per square meter under roof cost only S/. 415.36 per square meter under roof built to Ministry standards in twenty schools in Puno, Cuzco, Arequipa and Moquegua Departments (Crooke 1960:43-44).

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The fervor for formal educational facilities which Arguedas noted in the Mantaro Valley Indigenous Communities is now general among such Communities in the whole country. Formal schooling has long enjoyed high repute in Perú. In the traditional agrarian society, the educated man occupied a position of high prestige. To be educated was, indeed, an almost sure sign of superior status. The functional value of speaking Spanish, reading and writing as well as calculating rapidly and accurately in the market-

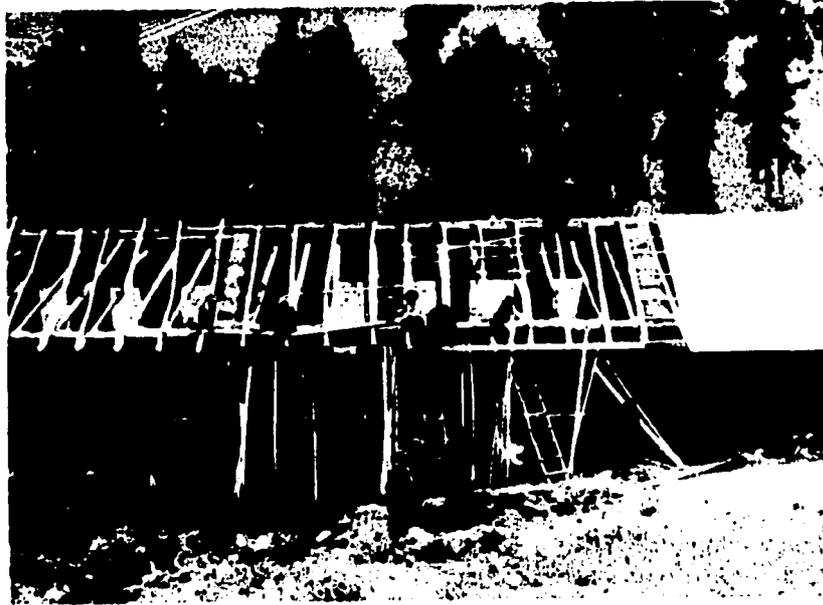
place in a modernizing nation has reinforced the agrarian society's high evaluation of formal education. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find a great thirst for formal education almost throughout the free Indian population of the Peruvian Andes. Central government moves to end the former elite monopoly on formal educational facilities have evoked nothing short of an overwhelming response and participation on the part of the free Indigenous Communities. The construction of local school buildings is the single communal labor project most often carried out by members of Indigenous Communities. No less than 83.75% of the Communities surveyed have built one or more school buildings with communal labor. This survey figure is appreciably higher than both the 60% based on Indigenous Communities reported upon previously by anthropologists and others, and not far under the 90% figure for the very small sample of Indigenous Communities in Parinacochas Province.

This does not necessarily mean that these Indigenous Communities have constructed all of their school buildings with communal labor and locally contributed materials, but such is frequently the case. It does mean that over four-fifths of the legally recognized Indigenous Communities surveyed in Perú report having contributed materially to erecting their own local educational facilities in a country whose legal code makes provision of teachers and rural school buildings and equipment a function of central government.

The fundamental importance of the Indigenous Community achievement in Perú represented in these figures may be better appreciated, perhaps, if compared to the situation in neighboring Bolivia. There the national planning board considers it worth noting that "several hundred" of the 5,295 rural school buildings in existence in 1963 had been paid for by peasant communities (Junta 1963:30). One example comprises some 20,000 members of indigenous communities in the Sacaba-Melga zone of Chapare Province in Cochabamba Department. Reportedly they built forty schools during the decade following the revolution, spontaneously and without any outside assistance. Twelve rural schools existed in the area previously (Caviedes 1964:125). This works out as 77% of the area's schools built during the immediate post-revolutionary decade by community action. Thus, only the *pace* of construction would appear to be faster in Bolivia than in Perú. The total *proportion* of construction by community action appears to be just as great or greater in Peruvian Indigenous Communities than in Bolivian.

The educational transformation underway in rural Perú would seem, therefore, to be little different from that going on in post-revolutionary Bolivia. It seems farther advanced in

Perú and less violent, but equally thorough-going. Such a conclusion runs counter to a frequent Peruvian stereotype of the nation as made up of a relatively static society with little vertical social mobility.



Photograph by Cara E. Richards
Members of the Indigenous Community of Pucará, Huancayo Province, Junín Department, roof a new school building constructed by community action. June, 1964.

3.2. COMMUNITY HEADQUARTERS CONSTRUCTION

The construction of buildings to house Indigenous Community officials or other local authorities long antedates central government recognition as Indigenous Communities in many cases. Huarochiri, for example, has two structures, one dating from 1861 according to inscriptions on its roof beams, and the second finished in 1953.

Llambilla completed its Community building in 1920 after four years' labor. It was roofed with metal that had to be packed in on animals and purchased with cash raised by members of the Community.

In the same Province, Lupo has a modern Community building started about 1947 which stands out because of its water and sewage disposal installations. The two-story building was erected upon a purchased lot over a period of four years. Fourteen communal work parties were called during the first

year, ten the second, and five each during the third and fourth years. Each member of the Community was also obliged to furnish 150 sun-dried bricks and one roof beam six meters long. The value of donated labor and materials is estimated at S/. 120,000 (Guillén 1961:62).

San Pedro de Cajas in Tarma Province erected its own Community center building with communal labor (Dobyns FN).

Muquiyauyo constructed a large two-story municipal building in 1917, built another at the 1919-1920 period but did not roof it until 1937 (Adams 1959:177-178).

The Huañec District capital constituted by the Indigenous Communities of Huañec and Allauca has its Community building (Castro 1946:491).

Hualcaralla began to construct its Community building in 1924, finishing in 1929. The building houses a mixed school (Cotler 1961:129).

Huancayá in the same District of San Lorenzo de Quinti finished its headquarters building in 1932. Its lower floor houses a national police post (Cotler 1961:129).

The Santiago de Anchucaya Indigenous Communities long had their meeting places or *huayruna*, large rooms roofed with thatch. During the present century these have been modernized. Rimac built a new two-story center with sun-dried brick walls and metal roof in 1951, roofing it in 1952. Yungalla-Primo was constructing a new one in 1955 (Boluarte 1961:271).

This makes a total of ten Community buildings for eleven Indigenous Communities, or 25% of those reported in the literature having constructed them (considering the Huañec-Allauca case as one building and communally constructed).

Survey. The members of Perú's officially recognized Indigenous Communities are nothing if not enthusiastic builders of Community headquarters according to the information obtained by the Cornell Perú Project mail survey. The second most widespread form of co-operative local improvement in the Communities responding to the questionnaire has been constructing Community buildings to house offices of one sort or another. Some 57% of the sample Communities have carried out such projects within living memory. Thus the Communities studied individually previously appear to be unrepresentative of all Indigenous Communities, or communally built Community structures have been under-reported by observers.

3.3. PLAYING FIELDS

The District Capital made up of Indigenous Communities Huañec and Allauca in Yauyos Province has its playing field (Castro 1946:491). This sports area used jointly by two legally recognized indigenous Communities is the only one of which

mention has been found in analyzing the published reports about forty Indigenous Communities. This implies only a 0.5% frequency of sports fields made by communal labor, at best.

If it were true that the British Empire was built upon the playing fields of its public schools, then it should follow that the future of Perú is being built upon the soccer fields of the common people of the country. The government recognized Indigenous Communities are, in fact, not behindhand in this regard, as the previously published reports might suggest. Almost exactly half of the Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project survey, 49.7%, reported having made sports fields with community labor. Leveling playing fields, often a very difficult task on the slopes inhabited in the Andes, turns up as the third most frequent type of cooperative communal labor project among free Indigenous Communities registered by the government of Perú.

3.4. ROAD BUILDING

The role wheeled vehicles powered by internal combustion engines have played in the modernization of rural Perú would be difficult to overemphasize. In a community served by a well-traveled paved road, "Young men, instead of looking forward to becoming stewards of religious fiestas, are thinking in terms of becoming truck drivers and mechanics" (Holmberg 1950: 415). Arguedas (1953:119) has written of one Andean area with numerous Indigenous Communities: "The Central Highway has exercised an influence that we could characterize as explosive upon the Mantaro Valley, whose population has already undergone radical changes under the truly revolutionary transforming influence of the factors" such as industrialization, small-holding and proximity to the national capital.

Guillén considered roads a key factor in the historic process of transculturation in the Indigenous Community of Huarochirí. Historically, she (Guillén 1961:48-49) decided that the first steps in Indian social and cultural change, above all in economic, religious and political organization and language derived from the advantageous situation of Huarochirí on the main colonial road from Lima to Huamanga and Cuzco. In recent years, "the arrival of the highway" in 1944 constituted a milestone in structural change (Guillén 1961:52). Population growth, the process of change and the proximity of Huarochirí to Lima have led many of its natives to emigrate to other parts of the republic (Guillén 1961:54). The Lima-Huarochirí highway was built with communal labor (Guillén 1961:65), including that of Huarochirí, Llambilla, Lupo, Suni, San Pedro de Huancabre, Huancayá, Hualcaralla (Cotler 1961:157), Rímac and Yungalla-Primo (Boluarte 1961:297).

The Indigenous Communities of the Province cooperated with each other to build this highway over a twenty-five year period. They took turns of eight to fifteen days of labor, risking inclement weather, bandit attacks, and the inherent dangers of construction on steep mountain slopes (Guillén 1961:81-82). In 1953, these Indigenous Communities were served by climbing traffic on Tuesday and Friday, with two buses and four or five cargo trucks, the number increasing during the dry season and decreasing in the rainy period (Guillén 1953:207). In the early 1950's San Pedro de Huancaire allocated income obtained by collectively working communal lands to road construction (Soler & Basto 1953:239).

The modern highway that has transformed the economy of Puquio, capital of Lucanas Province, was first built by the Indians of the four constituent officially recognized Indigenous Communities of Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao in 1926 (Arguedas 1956:186).

The vehicular road from Carhuamayo to Paucartambo in Pasco Department was opened by tributary labor gangs of 150 men from the latter (Andrews 1963b:301). They began work on this route in 1945, and built perhaps thirty kilometers (Andrews 1963a:144). The Cerro de Pasco Corporation then improved and extended the road. In 1961, several hamlets were building their own access roads. The Indigenous Community governing Council is often consulted on works projects, but the District Mayor issues the call to work in Paucartambo (Andrews 1963b:302).

Quechuar in Cuzco Department maintained its roads and trails by community labor at the end of the last decade (Allred et al 1959:71), but they were narrow and poorly maintained (Allred et al 1959:104).

Huaylas is served by a seventeen kilometer access road constructed by popular action between 1927 and 1942. The role of the Indigenous Community was only incidental, however, to its members' residence in the District, for it was District community labor that made this road. A road from the central town to the more elevated Santo Toribio area was built in 1945, and additional roads in the area in 1946. A road was built into the Iscap ward in 1955. A road down the mountains to the railhead at Huallanca has been worked on intermittently in 1922, 1946-1947, 1947, and since 1961 (Doughty 1963b:262).

The Community of Cajacay in Bolognesi Province some years ago built by communal effort a short access road from its public square to the trunk highway clinging to the steep slope of the Fortaleza River Valley (Dobyns FN).

In 1959, a highway being constructed by popular action was still six kilometers away from Andarapa in Andahuaylas Province (Nuñez del Prado 1959:6).

Tupe in Yauyos Province has employed communal labor to repair its roads (Matos 1951:21).

San Pedro de Cajas in Tarma Province employs communal labor parties to improve and maintain its internal access roads across the high altitude puna range lands it exploits (Dobyns FN). The people of this community also operate a transportation cooperative with buses which run between San Pedro de Cajas and the cities of Tarma and La Oroya. Economical fares have left the cooperative with problems of financing replacement vehicles, so members have sought U. S. loan assistance directly from Embassy and Agency for International Development officials.

Of the forty Indigenous Communities described at greater or lesser length in published sources, eighteen or 45% are credited with having constructed access roads through communal labor.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The fourth most widespread form of Community cooperative self-improvement found by the survey is road building. As mentioned above, 44.7% of the Indigenous Communities responding to the mail survey reported building access roads themselves. This is for practical purposes the same proportion exactly as reported in the literature. This proportion is the more impressive when it is considered that road building requires very hard physical labor in large amounts over long periods of time—particularly where access roads must be measured not only in level kilometers but also in hundreds or even thousands of meters of rise or fall in elevation across the steep, unstable and severely eroded slopes of one of the world's major mountain ranges. The construction of automobile roads through the Andes during the decades since the introduction of wheeled vehicles powered by internal combustion engines comprises without question the greatest single outpouring of human and mechanical energy for such purposes since imperial Incaic times. More, it comprises the greatest single output and application of harnessed energy to changing the face of nature in the Andes since the Inca Empire fell to Spanish conquerors. The speed of highway and access road construction in Perú since 1900 has far exceeded, in all probability, the most rapid stone road building program in prehistoric times.

The number of free Indigenous Communities that have contributed their own labor to cutting their own access roads across the isolating mountain sides to link up with the national highway network testifies to the tremendous part Indian hand labor has played in building modern Perú. For while the national government road building programs have at times, particularly under the regime of Augusto Leguia (1919-1930) mobilized local labor for road construction projects, machines and

explosives have greatly facilitated and speeded up national highway construction at the same time that they lightened the human burden of such attacks on nature. The members of the isolated Indigenous Communities left to hack out their own access roads have done so for the most part with very few machines, mainly with their own tools and only occasionally some dynamite obtained free from the Ministry of Development and Public Works or purchased with Community funds.

At the same time that free men in officially recognized Indigenous Communities have been building their own access roads, many thousands of Indian serfs on Andean manors have also built farm-market roads tying the manors to which they are bound into the highway network. In other words, while the Peruvian government has built the major trunk routes with contract, army and at times *corvée* labor, local Indian labor—free and serf—has built most of the farm-market and access roads in the abrupt Peruvian Andes.

3.5. BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION

Given the steeply sloping character of much of the surface of the Andean highlands, with the natural concentration of surface runoff along the lowest canyon channels, bridges have been necessary for human communication across many streams since early prehistoric times. Considerable emphasis was placed upon bridge construction and maintenance under the Inca Empire. Some Indigenous Communities continued to maintain bridges into colonial and republican times. Tupe and Catahuasi, for example, in 1807 received fifty pesos annually out of eighty-five a leasor paid for the Llangas bridges, apparently for the right to operate it on a toll basis. The fifty pesos the Tupe and Catahuasi Indians received paid 130 men for four or five days they spent rebuilding and maintaining the bridge each year (Matos 1956:148).

Muquiyauyo's main source of income until 1886 was a toll bridge built with community funds. Then the bridge was nationalized (Pulgar 1945:48). It had previously been managed by auctioning off the toll rights to the highest bidder and fixing tolls, members of this Community crossing free (Adams 1959:183). In 1931-1933 communal labor re-bridged the Mantaro River (Adams 1959:177).

Bridges around Paucartambo in Pasco Department have been built by tribute labor convoked by the mayor in consultation with the Indigenous Community council (Andrews 1963b:301-302).

Bridge construction is community work under the Community board of San Pedro de Huancaire in Huarochiri Province (Soler & Basto 1953:239).

During historic times, at least three bridges crossed the Santa River within Huaylas territory. The most important

bridge at Yuramarca was repaired almost annually by Huaylas work parties up until the central government replaced it with a large steel structure after 1910. The District rented the bridge concession at auction to the highest bidder, who operated it as a toll bridge (Doughty 1963b:261). Small eucalyptus-beam bridges have been installed as part of the Huaylas District access road construction, one being replaced in 1961 (Dobyns FN).

Thus at least five of the forty Indigenous Communities described in published reports, or 12.5%, have a history of communal bridge construction and maintenance.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. Bridge building in modern times is closely related, of course, to road construction. Over one-third of the Indigenous Communities replying to the Cornell Perú Project mail questionnaire—34.7% to be precise—reported building bridges of one kind or another with community labor. Not all these bridges carry vehicular traffic since some are located on trails traversed only by men and animals. Yet this high proportion of bridge-building Communities again shows a high degree of self-reliance in matters of communications improvement in rural Perú.

3.6. PUBLIC BUILDING

One form of public building often erected in rural Peruvian Communities by voluntary local labor is the church. In 1862, Antonio Raimondi found the church in Tupe under construction. Rituals were then carried out in a chapel (Matos 1956:149). Tupe has employed communal labor to build a house for the priest who visits once a year, repair the cemetery, the jail, etc. (Matos 1951:21).

Teresa Guillén (1961:65) reported that the parish residence in Huarochiri had been constructed with communal labor. Public buildings in San Pedro de Huancaire are constructed by communal labor (Soler & Basto 1953:239). Llambilla in 1953 budgeted S/. 2,000 of its Community land rental income toward constructing burial niches in its cemetery (Matos 1953:188).

Chaupi apparently has a great capacity for communal improvement. Arguedas (1956:187) noted in passing that members of this Community "have carried out important public works, having remodeled the urban configuration of the ward." In the course of his field work there, probably in 1956, Arguedas (1956:229) encountered an Indian chieftain over eighty years old taking part in the communal work party constructing a new chapel for the ward.

Quehuar in Cuzco had underway the repair of its church at the end of the last decade, a project costing an estimated S/. 12,000 and half completed by community effort at the time of observation (Allred et al 1959:72).

The people in the Ccorao hamlet of Ayamarca in Cuzco were repairing their church at the same time, each family donating 150 sun-dried bricks and fifty soles plus labor (Allred et al 1959:78).

The District of Huaylas has constructed numerous public buildings with group labor, most of them before the Indigenous Community of Huaylas was organized. A municipal office was built in 1899-1901, a market in 1919, a library building in 1934-1937, a public square with sidewalks during the same period. The parish church was reconstructed in 1959 by voluntary labor (Doughty 1963b:262).

In the mid-1940's, the governing board of Sicaya collected rent on communal fields in advance so as to amass capital for building a public square (Escoibar 1947:25).

Muquiyaayo constructed a new cemetery wall with communal labor in 1948-1949 (Adams 1959:178).

The Huañec District capital composed of Allauca and Huañec had its building and public square (Castro 1946:491) evidently made by community effort.

This makes a total of twelve Indigenous Communities reported to have made diverse public buildings, squares or cemeteries with communal labor, or 30% of those thus far reported upon. Chapels received the most attention, from 41.7% of the Communities reported to have carried out communal works of this character, followed by public squares at 33.3% and cemeteries at 25%.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The fifth most frequent type of Indigenous Community cooperative labor project in the sample Communities is construction of public buildings other than headquarters for the Community organization itself. Well over one-third of the responding Communities, actually 37.3%, reported having built chapels or churches for religious purposes, or municipal buildings for civil governments other than the Indigenous Community organization. A bare 1.7% more of these Communities had built a post for a local contingent of the national police force.

Related forms of community improvement include central square construction, public parks and cemeteries. One or another of these public facilities has been built by community labor in 3.9% of the Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project Survey. This is not to suggest that so small a percentage of these Communities actually possess such facilities. All these Communities must have cemeteries, for if the Andean resident has learned anything, it is to die. The very small proportion of cemeteries made by Community labor within living memory simply reflects the construction of this particular Community facility long ago in most cases. This

cannot be classed as a component of contemporary development. Central squares often have long been in existence, although observation indicates that many an Indigenous Community can take little pride in its unimproved square precisely because no Community spirit has organized communal labor to improve it.

3.7. PUBLIC UTILITY PROJECTS

The very concept of public utilities implies a certain degree of modernization of urban population nuclei. Potable domestic water supplies delivered safely to the consumer, sewage disposal systems, public power distribution systems—all require a considerable level of complexity of social organization and a relatively high per capita level of investment to build and maintain. These are obtainable only from highly motivated people. As Holmberg (1950:372) observed in the coastal village of Virú, the typical resident has only recently gained any acquaintance with the idea of disease being caused by germs, so has not shown much concern over lacking pure water, garbage disposal and toilets.

The Indigenous Community of Sicaya proved organizationally unequal to the task of utility installation in 1929. In 1928, Sicaya officials contracted with a German firm in Lima to install works to provide irrigation water, potable water, and hydroelectric power. The following year a new set of officials annulled the contract and Sicaya paid a S/. 4,980 penalty. The imported machinery was taken over by the contractor (Muelle 1948:80).

Huarochirí enjoys those national services available in any Peruvian District capital plus utilities installed by local cooperative action (Guillén 1961:56) which are discussed below. Few Indigenous Communities are so lucky.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. The surest generalization that can be made about the officially recognized Indigenous Communities of Perú is that their members live under unsanitary conditions. Relatively arid microclimates and abundant tropical sunlight mitigate what would otherwise be even worse public health conditions, but lack of access to modern scientific medicine and lack of elementary sanitary safeguards expose the population of the Indigenous Communities to epidemics of preventable infectious diseases and a host of endemic ills.

Judging by a three-item index (presence or absence in the Community of potable water installation, sewage disposal system and medical post) no less than 93.9% of the Indigenous Communities responding to the questionnaire turned out to lack two or all three items, so their members are to be viewed as living under relatively dangerous sanitary conditions.

3.8. POTABLE WATER

Lack of potable water systems and sewage disposal facilities often is closely related to lack of available water. Adams (1959: 204) remarked that the people of Muquiyauyo considered themselves in luck because they have a regular water supply, especially when they think of other Mantaro Valley towns desperately in need of water. Another factor in scarcity of potable water systems and sewage disposal systems is the slow rate of diffusion of modern medical concepts to rural Peruvian populations. As Adams pointed out, in rural Perú the only people who feel a need for better drinking water are generally those who have been outside their home communities and learned about the nature of water contamination and been persuaded by their experience that it can be avoided. Most people become unhappy with local water supplies only when they are muddied. Erasmus (1961:28) has reported acceptance of an urban potable water system in Ecuador on the same grounds of the water's not being muddy.

In many Indigenous Communities, domestic water supplies are threats to human health because they are taken from contaminated ditch waters. In others, domestic water is reasonably safe because it comes from springs less subject to contamination. Such is the case at Santa Bárbara in Huanavelica Province where "the village's supply of drinking water comes from nearby springs" (Tschopik 1947:21).

The rural city of Huarochiri' boasts water pipe and faucets installed to provide spring water to the town, a communal labor project (Guillén 1961:65). San Pedro de Huancaire also installed potable water by community labor (Soler & Basto 1953:239) in 1950-1951 (Soler 1961:185).

As already mentioned, municipal officials in Sicaya sought in 1928 to contract for the installation of potable water without success (Muelle 1948:80). The town is situated on an old lake terrace. Irrigated fields begin at the base of the terrace and extend to the Mantaro River bank, bordered "by broad, swift-flowing irrigation ditches" (Tschopik 1947:41). Livestock was being driven to this area to water in 1945, "much of the town's water supply is hauled in wooden kegs on burro back up the face of the steep terrace," clothing was washed and people bathed in the ditch water (Tschopik 1947:42). Irrigation ditches formerly carried water through the streets of the town itself, which suffers constantly from acute water shortage. A remote spring west of Sicaya is piped through an inadequate system of pipes to two public faucets. "On the infrequent occasions when these are in operation, the townspeople are obliged to stand in line for hours while jugs, barrels, and buckets are laboriously filled" (Tschopik 1947:43).

Muquiyauyo, which is also in the Mantaro Valley, lies on the river flood plain. Down most of its well kept streets flow open "irrigation ditches, for the town is abundantly supplied with river water provided by two principal channels" (Tschopik 1947:46). Small canals in the center of most east-west streets carried water used for irrigation, drinking, washing, and refuse disposal in an unplanned manner when Adams (1959:6) studied Muquiyauyo.

Huayllay in Pasco Department "must depend for its drinking water on that piped from several near-by springs," the small river nearby being contaminated with waste from the Huarón mines (Tschopik 1947:50). Huaychao eight miles away also "must depend for its water supply upon springs and seepages which are marked by green marshy patches on the slopes of the surrounding hillsides" (Tschopik 1947:53).

Drinking and household water in Huayre comes from some springs and wells close to the developing townsite which are not adequately protected from contamination and are used for stock watering (Alencastre 1960:2).

The water system of Castrovirreyna in Huancavelica in the mid-1940's consisted of "a mountain stream which flows behind the main street through an open, stone-lined channel" (Tschopik 1947:25).

In Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc in Huamanga Province, "The streets in the center of town are cobblestoned and have narrow open channels which carry the water, supplied by two springs in the nearby hills, through the village and to the fields for the purpose of irrigation" (Tschopik 1947:31).

In 1962, the coastal Community of Carquín in the Chancay Valley still lacked a potable water supply (Llosa 1962:39).

In Ccorao, a hamlet of Ayamarca in Cuzco Department, in the late 1950's even the municipal agent's family used water from a convenient ditch (Allred et al 1959:109).

In the District of Andarapa, Nuñez del Prado (1959:18) found that 100% of the inhabitants drink waters contaminated to some degree. Still, 77% of the population drank spring water, 7% drank river water, 8% drank well water, and 7 1/2% drank ditch water.

The people of Recuayhuanca in Carhuaz Province have half a dozen small springs to meet all their needs. None provides a flow more than six inches deep. They provide drinking water and a small flow never more than two inches deep in ditches used for laundering, washing grain, human bathing and animal watering (Snyder 1960:74-75). In recent years, communal effort has been directed toward piping spring water to spigots in the lower residence area of compact settlement, under a small rural development projects program of the Peruvian National Plan for Integrating the Aboriginal Population (Dobyns FN).

Cajacay in Bolognesi Province has, as part of its program of planned benefits to the town, installed a water system (Snyder 1960:383). The claimed cash cost was S/. 58,000 not counting communal labor (El Comercio 2 Sept. 1960:9).

The central townsite of Huaylas was provided with a piped water system by community labor parties in 1929 to 1934, prior to the organization of an Indigenous Community in the District of Huaylas (Doughty 1963b:262). Those members of the Community who live in the urban area served benefit nonetheless from this installation.

These are a total of sixteen Indigenous Communities whose water sources have been reported. The nine drinking spring water constitute 56.2% of this sample, but of the nine, two are reported as contaminated springs and in two other Communities the spring water is taken from ditches for use so it is almost certainly contaminated. Six of these Communities or 37.5% drink ditch water, 25% drink piped water. Only two, or 12.5%, are reported to have potable water to drink.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. Governmental financing of public utility installations has in Perú been largely limited to the larger urban centers of population, so that the almost entirely rural towns and villages that are officially recognized as Indigenous Communities have been left to their own devices in providing such utilities. They have barely begun the task of installing them. Potable water distribution systems have been installed by communal labor in 8.6% of the Indigenous Communities replying to the mail questionnaire, assuming that Community representatives reported truly potable water systems.

3.9. ELECTRICITY

Few rural communities in Perú benefit from electric lights, and those which do boast a generator and distribution system typically can see little in the illumination obtained.

Huarochirí had electric wiring strung up with Community labor in 1912 (Guillén 1961:65). In Castrovirreyña in Huancaavelica, "Owing to the lack of sufficient water power, the electric system is inadequate and there is no motion picture theater," Tschopik (1947:25) reported of the mid-1940's.

The sterling example of rural electrification by local initiative in Andean Perú is the Indigenous Community of Muquiyauyo. The Muquiyauyo Electric Co. in 1945 supplied lighting, power for a municipal mill in the town, and sold excess current to the town of Jauja and other villages in the area (Tschopik 1947:46). The hydroelectric plant was erected with communal labor in 1920 (Adams 1959:177). This was the crowning achievement that led Castro (1924:66) to label Muquiyauyo "the communal institution par excellence" where indigenous customs had not

been relaxed but taken advantage of to carry out this enterprising work in the same way as it might build a Community building. The sale of electricity to Jauja and the districts of Concepción, Mito, Muqui, Sincos, and Huaripampa led Patron (1956:300) to cite Muquiyauyo as his only specific example in discussing the Peruvian Indigenous Community before an international sociological conclave.

The Huarón mines supply Huayllay in Pasco Department with electricity for street illumination in partial payment for use of Community lands (Tschopik 1947:51).

A hydroelectric plant built by the Peruvian government supplies Paucartambo with electricity (Andrews 1963b:203 Fig. 4), but tributary labor called out by the District mayor constructed an older hydroelectric plant (Andrews 1963b:302).

The national government also helped to construct the recently completed hydroelectric plant which has a thirty-six kilowatt turbine to supply Pucará in the Jauja Valley. The government's investment amounted to nearly one million soles. After constructing 800 meters of useless canal because an employee of the Ministry of Development and Public Works laid it out wrong, the members of the Community turned out in numerous work parties to cut another 1,800 meter canal. They also contributed eucalyptus tree posts to carry the wiring (Sabogal 1962:25). Work on this project began in 1955 (Sabogal 1961:63).

As part of its planned local improvement program, Cajacay in Bolognesi Province has installed electricity (Snyder 1960:383).

Huaylas in the same Ancash Department enjoys all-day electrical service installed by voluntary labor parties in 1960-1961. The project of building a ten-kilometer transmission line from Santa Corporation generating facilities below Huaylas was initiated and carried through by the District organization, however, not by the Indigenous Community. Its members obtained electrical service as residents of the District and participants in District public works parties (Doughty 1963b:269-281).

San Pedro de Cajas in Tarma Province also enjoys electric service installed by cooperative action in the form of a corporation formed by shareholders who belong to the Community. The hydroelectric plant was completed in 1957 (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:167). Installation cost was S/. 273,000 and the plant provides power during sixteen hours of the day.

San Miguel de Acobamba in the same Province receives 15 Kw. for its lighting system for 176 households from the Tarma Electric Service. Charges are S/. 30 monthly for twenty-four hour illumination or S/. 15 for twelve hours and S/. 8 for a radio. The service is sufficient to make lamp bulbs glow with the brightness of a candle flame (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:160).

Palca, another Tarma Province Indigenous Community, has a small hydroelectric plant of about 10 Kw. installed by the cooperative effort of private individuals in 1925. Consumers own shares in the enterprise, and pay charges assessed according to the number of bulbs used, and the maintenance required. The aging installation is no longer dependable, and the members of the Community depend on gasoline lanterns (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:162).

The town of Santiago de Anchucaya in Huarochirí Province enjoys electricity generated by a hydroelectric plant built with communal labor from Rímac, Yungalla-Primo and three unrecognized Indigenous Communities (Boluarte 1961:289). Having purchased the dynamo in 1935, the Indigenous Communities installed it and obtained electricity in 1950 (Boluarte 1961:307).

Municipal officers of Sicaya contracted for an electric lighting system in 1928, but the project failed (Muelle 1948:80).

Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc in Huamanga Province lacked electric lights in 1945 (Tschopik 1947:32). So did Huaychao in Pasco Department at that time (Tschopik 1947:53). So did Carquín in Chancay Province in 1962 (Llosa 1962:39). So did Palcamayo in Tarma Province. An attempt was made to form a corporation to set up a 40 Kw. diesel generator about 1950, but failed (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:162).

Information about electric current in eighteen Indigenous Communities has been encountered in published reports. Only five or 27.8% of these sample Communities lacked electrical service, for 72.2% enjoyed it, however weak the lighting obtained might be. Exactly half these Indigenous Communities had installed their own electrical systems with communal labor. The Indigenous Communities selected for study by anthropologists appear to constitute a very biased sample with regard to electrical services.

Cornell Survey. Electrical systems have been established by communal work in only 5.2% of the sample Indigenous Communities surveyed by the Cornell Perú Project. The survey did not inquire into the number of such Communities provided with some form of electricity by means other than communal labor.

4.0. Economic Development Potential

When the nations of the world are engaged in a general race toward affluence by means of accelerated economic growth and development, the potential contribution of the Indigenous Community to Peruvian national development is a matter of more than national concern.

One widespread Peruvian intellectual view of the backward Indigenous Community tends toward pessimism. "The major production of the Indigenous Communities scarcely produces enough for domestic consumption" wrote Cornejo (1959:151). More recently, Sotelo (1963:9) asserted that the Indigenous Communities own "great tracts of land" which are for the most part "abandoned or uncultivated and as a consequence produce nothing" with a few exceptions. Cornejo saw the Community member as lacking in productive capacity owing to illiteracy, lack of all sense of refinement which impedes intensive agricultural production, and even the aspiration of civilized men to improve their lot. He views the Community member as resigned under the double weight of landlordism and imperialism to producing only that necessary for family consumption, existing almost parasitically at the margin of progress and the commercial and industrial world. Small scale cultivation is another cause of restricted agricultural production insufficient to supply the market and weakening the national economy, in Cornejo's terms. He thought this was due to the Indigenous Communities having only common property so that the "rigor of individualistic interest" was missing (Cornejo 1959:152).

The results of the Cornell Perú Project survey, on the other hand, indicate that considerable grounds for optimism as to the future of Peruvian Indigenous Communities exists in terms of local development capacities. At a time when economic development of relatively impoverished rural populations constitutes a common and central concern the world over, the labor contribution Peruvian Indigenous Communities are making to their own economic development is both noteworthy and encouraging. Metraux (1959:243) has already cited changing farm practices in Puno Department as evidence of Indian receptivity toward technical advice on the part of Aymara-speakers who had been "considered the most traditionalist of all the Andean Indians." Only 350 sacks of guano were used

in the area in 1952 when an experimental station was established, but 8,000 sacks were used in 1953. Patron (1956:298) claimed that when 1,392 Indigenous Communities were registered by the government, agricultural yield per hectare in these populations equaled that from privately owned farms in Perú.

The evidence for the frequency of communal and private land tenure in government recognized Indigenous Communities will be taken up in the next section. Here we shall summarize some of the available evidence about Indigenous Community productive capacity. The word *capacity* is the key concept in this analysis. There is no prior assumption that the Indigenous Community is storehouse of action and developmental energy (Adams 1962:409). Nor is any assumption made as to the presence of a particular kind of social relationship among members of all Indigenous Communities (Adams 1962:410). This analysis assumes merely that there is a *record* of Indigenous Community achievement in terms of local improvement which can be analyzed as a clue to future community behavior if past and present conditions continue to obtain.

Paucartambo in Pasco Department on the eastern slope of the Andes far from the metropolitan Lima market ships up to twelve truckloads daily of *rocotos* (hot peppers) and potatoes during its harvest periods notwithstanding its distance from the urban market (Andrews 1963a:144).

Nearer the Lima metropolitan area, agricultural specialization and commercial production become even more clearly marked. The Indigenous Communities of the Tarma Valley grow a varied list of truck gardening produce for the urban market in Cerro de Pasco, La Oroya and Lima—artichokes, carrots, spinach, lettuce, cabbages, onions, green maize, potatoes, barley and beans. Peaches and alfalfa are also important crops. Cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and chickens are sold for cash (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:158).

In the broad Mantaro Valley, truck gardening is also widespread and profitable. Pucará has long produced commercial quantities of barley, potatoes, maize and wheat to sell in Lima 195 miles away (Alers 1960:52). It now specializes in growing cabbage and onions under irrigation for the Lima and Huancayo urban markets (Sabogal 1962:23-24). It has upon occasion grown large quantities of potatoes (Alers 1960:57). Some of its truck farmers earn over S/. 10,000 annually (Sabogal 1961:58).

In Muquiyauyo, milk, chickens and their eggs, and the greater part of the guinea pigs produced "are destined for sale in the neighboring cities" (Pulgar 1945:20-30).

Sicaya in the mid 1940's relied on barley, wheat and potatoes as its main cash crops (Tschopik 1947:44). At the same time,

Sicaya has long exported emigrants (Tschopik 1947:45). Trucks and buses carried thirty to 100 persons per day out of Sicaya to Huancayo, Jauja and other towns in 1945, not counting those who walked or rode donkeys (Escobar 1947:5). Ready-made clothing manufactured by Sicaya women on 150 Singer sewing machines constituted a major export in 1945 (Escobar 1947:10) which kept workers in the Community while realizing cash from their labors.

Dairy cattle constitute the basic units of economic production in Rímac and Yungalla-Primo in Huarochirí Province. They produce milk to be processed into cheese, and are sold for meat as well (Boluarte 1961:287). In Allauca and Huañec, the people live from the proceeds of maize, banana, barley, potato, and llama and alpaca wool production (Castro 1946:491).

In Tupe, hogs are raised for sale (Matos 1951a:28). Chickens are raised to sell or exchange for coastal products and eggs are either eaten locally or sold (Matos 1951a:29). Cattle, sheep and alpacas are grazed on communal puna and sheep wool is the major product sold (Matos 1951a:8). Milk cows are sold on the coast (Matos 1951a:16) as are lambs (Matos 1951a:22) and kids (Matos 1951a:25).

The Indigenous Communities of the Province of Huarochirí have increasingly specialized in cheese making. Llambilla with eighty families selling an average of 16,000 kilograms of cheese worth S/. 112,000 per month at the average price of S/. 7 per kilogram during the early 1950's occupied a favorable economic situation. Sun-dried meat and field crops including peas and potatoes were also sold (Matos 1953:188-189). Cheese constitutes the principal item of commerce of the recognized Indigenous Communities of Huancayá and Hualcaralla (Cotler 1961:140). Six of the ten cheese middlemen in San Lorenzo de Quinti come from Huancayá (Cotler 1961:142). Hualcaralla is entirely agricultural in income (Cotler 1961:143). San Pedro de Huancaire sold half its potato production until blight struck in 1948 and cut production below local requirements (Soler 1954:32). Maize is sold for cash and traded for other foods (Soler 1954:38). Barley from Huancaire also enters the regional barter market (Soler 1954:42). Peas are an important cash income crop (Soler 1954:45). Cheese is a major source of income (Soler 1954:50), and its sale the main motive for pasturing 425 cows in 1952 (Soler 1961:201), or just over one cow per capita for Huancaire's 422 inhabitants (Soler 1961:164). The latter constituted 75% of those native to the Community (561). Lima had attracted 17% and other places 8% (Solar 1961:74).

In Lucanas Province the four legally recognized Indigenous Communities comprising the provincial capital of Puquio—Qollana, Chaupi, Pichqachuri and Qayao—produce agricultural

and livestock surpluses to sell to Mestizo merchants in a complementary economic system (Arguedas 1956:187).

The District of Andarapa in Apurimac, including the officially recognized Indigenous Community of the same name, is a major agricultural producer in that Department. Much barley is grown for the *Compañía Cervecera del Sur* to make beer (Nuñez del Prado 1959:22). A small quantity of cane alcohol is shipped out of the area (Nuñez del Prado 1949:24). Flour mills in Andahuaylas purchase Andarapa District wheat (Nuñez del Prado 1959:25).

Cajacay is currently bidding to become a major supplier of eucalyptus timber with an irrigated planting of over 100,000 trees. Although most agricultural production in Huaylas is consumed there, some upper class farmers send a surplus to Caraz. A Lima brewery contracts for barley, and Huaylas alfalfa seed sells all over the nation (Doughty 1963b:186). Sheepskins are sold to a Yungay tanner (Doughty 1963b:192).

There are, of course, many other Indigenous Communities that export laborers who need to be fed. Yet mobile labor is required for industrialization, so the food contribution of Indigenous Communities to the Peruvian economy should not constitute the only standard by which they are judged. Emigrants from Recuayhuanca in Carhuaz Province congregate on the W. R. Grace Co. sugar, alcohol, paper and caustic soda producing plantation at Paramonga (Patch 1959a:3-4; Snyder 1957:25), thus putting their labor to work raising much more than they could on the very small land base of their native town. Even such a poor Indigenous Community as Huaychao in Pasco produces surplus wool, some hides and pelts, and makes charqui and chalonga (sun-dried llama meat and mutton) to trade for grains and other agricultural products that cannot be produced at its high altitude. In addition, Huaychao sells milk and some mutton and beef in Huarón (Tschopik 1947:54). Although Castrovirreyna, which is both a District and Provincial capital, is a trading and commercial center, it does produce potatoes for sale in Pisco and Lima and Indian farmers produce wool and livestock for coastal sale (Tschopik 1947:26). Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc grows potatoes, quinoa, peas, wheat, and barley on a small scale, but its principal crop is maize. The proportion of labor export was small in the mid-1940's, about seventy-five men in an Indian population of 4,700 (Tschopik 1947:32-33).

San Pedro de Cajas, which realizes about S/. 1,000,000 from its communal grange from wool and sheep sales, also markets potatoes, its largest cash crop, in La Oroya (General Engineering Laboratory 1962:167; Arellano FN 4/1/62).

The coastal Community of Lomera de Huaral also contributes hands to plantation sugar cultivation in the Chancay Valley (Faron 1960:445). A majority of the small holders in

Los Naturales support themselves by labor on nearby plantations or in valley towns (Faron 1960:444). In like case is Carquín on the coast end of this valley, except that it supplies labor for fishing schooners and fish meal factories (Llosa 1962:40).

The fish meal plants in Chimbote, as well as the steel mill and other industries there, the Santa Corporation plants in Huallanca, and the city of Lima attract migrants from the District of Huaylas, including the Indigenous Community of that name (Doughty 1963a:113-115; Bradfield 1963).

Industrial employment in the mines of central Perú occupies most of the adult males in immediately adjacent Huayllay in Pasco Department (Tschopik 1947:50-52). Its situation is ecologically comparable to that of Lomera de Huaral, Los Naturales or Carquín with relation to large industrial operations with heavy labor demand. The mines also attract skilled and unskilled migrants or temporary workers from Mantaro Valley Indigenous Communities such as Muquiyauyo (Adams 1959:90-91). There "the men" left town on days free from agricultural labors to seek employment in nearby factories and towns during the early 1940's (Pulgar 1945:28).

To sum up, available published descriptions of government recognized Indigenous Communities clearly refute the intellectual stereotype of such Communities as non-producers of surplus foodstuffs entering into the national cash market and feeding the burgeoning urban population. This stereotype remains current even among trained agricultural technicians in Perú, as evidenced in the opening paragraph of an article in the October, 1963, issue of a leading Peruvian farm journal. The author asserted that the government-registered Indigenous Communities are "owners of great expanses of lands that are abandoned for the most part or are uncultivated and consequently produce nothing save for a very few exceptions" (Sotelo 1963:9). Few images could reflect reality less accurately than this one, judging from data available from Indigenous Communities.

Among forty Indigenous Communities for which published information is available, the list of agricultural, forest and livestock product exporters contains thirty names (see Table 4). This amounts to 75% of the available and probably biased sample.

Indigenous Communities exporting labor include Lomera de Huaral, Los Naturales, Carquín, Huaylas, Huayllay, Recuayhuanca, Huancarama, Tupe, Muquiyauyo, where only 40% of the population is entirely dependent on agriculture (Adams 1959:117), Quechuar where about half the population has very small fields and the rest works for wages on nearby manors or the railroad or trades (Allred et al 1959:68), and Huayre where Alencastre (1960:6) found 51% of the population living outside the Com-

Table 4. Indigenous Community Agricultural Specialization.

Column 1 = slaughter animals and dried meat.
 Column 2 = hides and wool. Column 3 = cheese and milk.
 Column 4 = fresh vegetables. Column 5 = potatoes and other tubers.
 Column 6 = cereal grains. Column 7 = peppers.
 Column 8 = timber. Column 9 = eggs.
 Column 10 = chickens or other fowl and guinea pigs.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Palca	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
2. Acobamba	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3. Palcamayo	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
4. Llambilla	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
5. Tupe	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
6. Allauca	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
7. S. P. de Cajas	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
8. Castrovirreyna	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
9. Huancaire	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
10. Huañec	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
11. Huaychao	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Muquiayuyo	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
13. Paucartambo	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
14. Pucara	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
15. Huaylas	?	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
16. Chaupi	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
17. Pichqachuri	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
18. Qayao	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
19. Qollana	?	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-
20. Huancaya	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
21. Rímac	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22. Sicaya	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
23. Yungalla-Primo	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. Andarapa	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
25. Cajacay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fut.	-	-
26. Hualcarallo	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27. Huarochirí	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28. Lupo	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29. Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
30. Suni	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

munity, nearly all the adult males working as miners, and estimated nearly four-fifths of the income came from wages (Alencastre 1960:9). This is 27.5% of the sample of forty Indigenous Communities. Huaylacucho (Tschopik 1947:22n43) falls in this group, but so little other information about it is available that it has been excluded from this calculation.

It should be noted that certain Indigenous Communities such as Huaylas and Muquiyauyo and Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc and Castrovirreyna and Cajacay and Sicaya export both labor and some agricultural products to feed it.

Then there remain those Indigenous Communities which appear to survive on the thin edge of subsistence without producing much surplus from the land to sell nor sending out many migrants to earn cash incomes. These include Santa Bárbara, which barter some wool and dried meat and potatoes and sends out a few miners (Tschopik 1947:22), and Ayamarca, whose economy is "almost autonomous" although its members barter small amounts of agricultural produce in Cuzco for salt, sugar, alcohol, coca, kerosene, etc. (Allred et al 1959:60). This is two Communities or 5% of the sample that coincides with the Peruvian intellectual stereotype.

4.1. COMMUNITY PLANTINGS

One form of economic farm production unit that has proved its utility for rapid rural economic development in the expanding national economy of Perú may be described as the "Vicos model." This organizational form has been and is being worked out by the Indian ex-serfs on what was formerly an Andean manor in north-central Perú, at first under the direct guidance of the Cornell Perú Project, and later with its counsel and advice only. This model combines family farming which has expanded economically from subsistence or less to commercial scale farming through technological improvement in both production and marketing practices, with a community farm enterprise carried out on approximately fifteen per cent of the cultivated area with communal labor (Holmberg 1955, 1958, 1959, 1960). Thus this model is not so extreme as the Israeli *kibbutz* which has also proved useful in rapidly expanding the agricultural sector of a burgeoning national economy—although not so efficient as the *moshavim* (Schultz 1964:18-19) or workers' settlement in which each family retains the profits from its own assigned plot (Spiro 1963:4). The *kibbutz* subordinates private farming and indeed private property ownership to collective ownership and individual to community interests, and defines group experience as having intrinsic value (Spiro 1963:xii). The Vicos model is also very significant for the Andean region because an existing serf population was converted into a self-governing and free-holding community without any special selection or screening of participants, such as inevitably occurs in recruiting *kibbutz* members. The social and economic improvement achieved has attracted back into Vicos many natives who had emigrated to escape the manor system (Vázquez 1963:98-101), and they have been accommodated within the emerging socio-economic system

in almost the only known example of migration into a highland rural farm area in the central Andes. Numerous communities seek to copy the Vicos model, therefore, as a hopeful social and technological innovation (Dobyns, Monge and Vázquez 1962). The *kibbutz*, on the other hand, is a frankly utopian type of settlement made up of very highly motivated members (Spiro 1963:x-xii, 128-129, 176-178). The fact that only two *kibbutzim* were settled in Israel between 1954 and 1959 suggests that the *kibbutz* movement has ceased to expand for lack of sufficiently highly motivated new recruits among non-European immigrants (Spiro 1963:xv).

One prerequisite for following the Vicos community farm enterprise model is that the population concerned possess some poolable resources to exploit with communal labor. In Vicos the pooled resource is cultivable land formerly exploited for the benefit of a long series of manor leasors. When the ex-serfs took over the responsibility for managing their own affairs, they chose to continue this land in commercial production for community benefit rather than parcel it out in bits and pieces to augment family subsistence plots. Many Peruvian Indigenous Communities have at some point in their histories decided to break up their communal land holdings into individually held plots. "Usually there is no true...commons" (Mishkin 1946:421). The true situation of real property in the Indigenous Communities is that: "Few are those that really still preserve the common proprietorship of cultivated lands and their annual redistribution" (Ponce de León 1952:167). As Metraux (1959:230) observed, there exist in Perú Communities owning no commons with members able to dispose of their lands as they wish, even to sell to outsiders.

Thus such Communities are today handicapped in initiating community farm or livestock enterprises by the necessity of somehow converting individual holdings into pooled communally exploited holdings.

This economic production fact, given the structure of the Peruvian economy outside the Indigenous Communities, gives rise to heated political polemics, and lends a practical immediacy to the otherwise academic investigations of the social scientist. In analyzing the history of Quechua Indians under the Spanish empire, Kubler (1946:409) concluded that the Quechua-speaking commune was the culture-carrying unit and final repository of Quechua "culture." He felt that survival of the commune meant survival of Indian society, and that its extinction would bring about the disappearance of any recognizably Indian culture. Kubler saw "retention of a communal regime of property by Indian villages" as the main issue. Recognizing that the communes had withstood attacks for generations, Kubler suspected

that the reason might be that no system of labor exploitation can survive in the Andes without the labor reservoir of the communes to depend upon. As long as the commune survives in a depressed condition, he felt, new exploiters would be attracted.

Having stated that the special status of Indigenous Communities helps to maintain the Peruvian *status quo*, Patch (1959:10) claimed that no Peruvian historian he had read had faced the possibility that protecting Indians amounted to maintaining them in subordination so that they would not be able to protect themselves. He pointed out that the Indian land base continued to shrink despite constitutional status for some communities, while Indian population as socially defined continued to grow.

This interpretation classes Mariátegui, however much he would dislike the label, as an arch-conservative. It runs directly counter to the sentiments of Valcárcel. "The persistence of the Ayllu, which to myopic persons is an obstacle to the economic development of the country, comes to be, on the contrary, one of the most efficacious means for fostering it" Valcárcel (1953:11) asserted.

Dynamics of Indigenous Community Land Loss. Perhaps the clearest field evidence of functional interdependence between the large labor-exploiting private farming enterprise and the legally recognized Indigenous Community has been furnished by Faron and Patch. Faron (1960:438-439) analyzed the formation of two coastal Indigenous Communities formed by descendents of natives governed in colonial times by the *repartimiento-encomienda* systems, and in republican times under the creole modified manor system. "The indigenous community, whether viewed in the context of colonial, early republican, or present-day society, has always formed part of the labor structure of the hacienda system." A fundamental characteristic of the Indigenous Community has been its potential as a source of stable and dependable cheap or even free labor. The rights and obligations that have closely tied community members to large landlords have been distinctly asymmetrical. Faron (1960:440) regarded the manor system as fundamental in developing and formalizing Indigenous Communities through intimate, reciprocal relations between large estates and free Indian groups. "It is generally recognized that the landlords' interest is in assuring themselves tractable local labor." The social distance between members of Indigenous Communities and landlords thus cultivated, Faron (1960:440-441) saw, like Patch, as supporting "the structure of caste and class stratification."

Describing how Mestizos on manors that had been usurped from the officially recognized Indigenous Community of Huan-

carama turned to any means of forcing Indians to work their lands, Patch (1959:19) summed up the theory of government-protected Indigenous Communities preserving a distinct segment of the national heritage as it operated in that part of Apurimac Department as a reaffirmation of a system which has bound Indians to the land in such communities solely to provide manors with labor.

Among the Indigenous Communities studied to date, those in Huarochiri Province are marked by an historic conversion of communal land resources into individual holdings. "There exists, then, a superposition of the two types of property, the individual in cultivable lands and the communal in puna zones of natural pasture, and in lands for the church, the municipality and the school" (Matos 1953:185). Guillén (1961:67) observed that: "Collective or communal property was the underpinning of the economy and cultural stability in ancient Perú." It is equally the keystone in the edifice of a community farm or livestock enterprise. Guillén (1961:52) singled out the War of the Pacific as a key event leading to "dismembering the system of collective or communal property" of Huarochiri. The inhabitants of the area resisted the Chilean occupation of Perú, but when Chilean forces approached Huarochiri with the intention of putting it to the torch after having burned Santiago de Tuna and San Mateo, the bellicose natives chose to pay a ransom. Lacking cash, the communities raised it by borrowing from wealthy individuals by mortgaging communal lands. Lupo attempted to impose a ten-year maximum period on its "loan" of pasture lands. Llambilla had to sell additional lands. In some cases, money-lenders forged sale papers (Guillén 1961:71).

A similar phenomenon apparently occurred in the Huarochiri Province about 1904. Today members of Indigenous Communities there believe that a decree was issued which had the effect of charging certain local governmental costs to community property, although no such decree seems to exist in fact. Whether this belief represents *ex post facto* rationalization or whether it reflects a rumor of that period, Suni and Llambilla both voluntarily divided up communal lands among their members. Some obtained two hectares (five acres) for five soles (Guillén 1961:72-73). On occasion, the very struggle to protect communal title to remaining communal lands cost money that was raised by further land sales (Guillén 1961:74-75).

Another reason for the transfer of land from communal to individual control was the religious fervor of the members of Indigenous Communities. When, for example, the Huarochiri church was repaired in 1878, not all the communities in the Province were solvent enough to meet the costs out of current income. Lupo and Llambilla both resorted to selling capital in

the form of communal lands conveyed to members of the communities, along with pleas that these parcels be resold only to other members of the community should the purchasers not have issue (Guillén 1961:71).

In the Chancay Valley, a crop shift into cotton cultivation on the large estates at the beginning of the present century led to reductions in native-held lands. Indians had moved onto idle estate fields after the economic depression following the War of the Pacific created a crisis for sugar cane growers (Faron 1960:439). Cotton made estate land desirable again, "gave a special emphasis to private ownership of land, production for market, and cash-credit" (Faron 1960:441). Then Indian squatters faced the choice between accepting sharecropper status—which most of them apparently did—or leaving. "At the same time, other comuneros began to sell properties in that part of the old *asiento de indígenas*, long called the *campiña*, which was gradually becoming urbanized" (Faron 1960:440).

Communal Land Base. A number of Indigenous Communities on the eastern slope of the Peruvian Andes possess considerably more territory than their present populations can exploit, much of it rich Amazon Basin rain forest. Paucartambo in Pasco Department is one such Community (Andrews 1963b:295). It receives what may well be the highest cash income from unimproved communal land of any officially recognized Indigenous Community in the country. The Cerro de Pasco Corporation began in 1958 to pay this Indigenous Community S/. 150,000 annually for ten years for timber cutting rights. Andrews (1963b:284) doubts whether the governing council of the Indigenous Community would have much importance apart from this income. He (1963b:430) found records that the municipal council took over when a priest departed lands formerly cultivated for the church by brotherhoods, and the Community holds pasture commons (Andrews 1963b:282).

Palca in the lower Tarma Valley is another eastern slope Community with extensive rain forest tracts. A small colonization movement from the nuclear Community in the highlands to cut and saw timber within the Community's rain forest domain is underway (Dobyns FN).

Tupe in Yauyos Province retains pasture commons and upland potato plots in community ownership, although each family owns its house, stock pens and cultivated fields at the lower elevations. The pasture commons are rented to members of the Community by auction the first of each year. Upland potato areas may be used freely by the various families according to their capacity for working them (Matos 1951:11).

Llambilla, which was forming a new town two hours above the rural city of Huarochiri in the early 1950's, at that time

received S/. 9,000 rental annually from its communal lands (Matos 1953:188).

Lupo obtained S/. 21,178.54 in rental for communally held lands in 1953, spending that year S/. 16,000 (Guillén 1953:210).

San Pedro de Huancaire retains communal lands mixed with privately held plots (Soler & Basto 1953:237). The communal holdings are worked by collective labor parties, the profits of production being destined to public works and religious festivals (Soler & Basto 1953:239) or in the case of pasture commons in the uplands, rented annually to the highest bidder among members of the Community (Soler & Basto 1953:240). The puna pastures belong exclusively to the Community (Soler 1961:169). Divisions of communal lands were carried out in 1880 to recompense victims of Chilean ransoms during the War of the Pacific (Soler 1961:188-189), in 1911 and in 1940 (Soler 1951:189), and finally in 1953 to landless youths (Soler 1961:191).

Huancayá possesses one cultivable field and a bit of pasturage but nearly all its land was privately held prior to its official recognition (Cotler 1961:127). Hualcaralla is in the same District of San Lorenzo de Quinti and lacks communally held lands.

Rímac and Yungalla-Primo and the unrecognized communities in Santiago de Anchucaya possess three types of commons. These are (1) irrigated fields not larger than four hectares (9.884 acres) fenced and almost all planted to alfalfa and rented out by the Community; (2) potential dry farms usually pastured, generally rented out for moderate sums to Community members, and (3) mountainous puna above 4,000 meters (13,123 feet) altitude retained by the Communities for the most part and used to pasture sheep, llamas and alpacas. In general, Community members organize herding groups which take turns caring for stock concentrated at central cabins (Boluarte 1961:277).

In 1955, Rímac obtained S/. 1,050 rental for three plots of irrigated land, and S/. 4,400 rental for mountain pastures.

In the same year, Yungalla-Primo received S/. 1,500 rental for irrigated fields, S/. 4,000 for potential dry farm pasturage, and S/. 1,200 for three mountain pastures (Boluarte 1961:278-279). Land rentals have increased as Community members became more interested in cheese production (Boluarte 1961:280).

Historically, these Indigenous Communities have, on the other hand, broken up many communally owned plots into privately held lands. Yungalla-Primo did so in 1883, again in 1915 in combination with other communities, again between 1925 and 1932. Opposed to the 1915 division, Rímac divided up one area between 1925 and 1932 (Boluarte 1961:282-283).

Despite all its losses of communal lands to private ownership, Huarochirí still retains two tracts of communal agri-

cultural land. One is planted by members of the Community and the other is rented out (Guillén 1961:75), the proceeds going into the Community treasury along with the rent from eight pastures. All produced S/.22,600 for the Community in one year in the 1950's (Guillén 1961:76). Another year, 1953, brought the Community S/.18,533.92 income from communal land, of which S/.16,957 was spent that same year (Guillén 1961:210). Several religious brotherhoods formerly held lands, but only one retains fields cultivated by the Community (Guillén 1953:208).

Suni, on the other hand, was on the way to extinction by the mid-1950's because of successive divisions of its communal lands, and their subsequent sale not only to individuals not members of the Community, but even to other towns (Guillén 1961:78).

Lurinsayacc y Anansayacc in Huamanga Province in 1945 owned communal grazing land in the uplands, although its economy was primarily agricultural and most of the land was owned by local inhabitants and there were four small manors in the District of Quinoa (Tschopik 1947:33). Animals were herded by paid shepherds.

There being only one small manor in Sicaya District, most of its lands belong to freeholders, but repeated inheritance has fractionated the holdings, pushing younger people into emigration. In 1926, the Community confiscated agricultural lands formerly donated to the sodalities which had been farmed by devotees belonging to the brotherhoods, the products being sold to pay for religious festivals, or consumed during these celebrations. These lands were rented out, and the income applied to public works (Tschopik 1947:44). The Community held about one-quarter of its total lands communally in 1945, renting it out to fifty individuals for S/. 8 per *yugada* (Escobar 1947:24).

Communal planting provided a major capital accumulation device for Muquiyauyo beginning in 1901. In order to replace Community income lost with toll-bridge nationalization, the members of the Community opened up a canal to irrigate communal lands where alfalfa was planted. The cut alfalfa was sold at reduced prices to dairymen. The sales proceeds mounted rapidly and two treasurers were named to manage them. These funds were loaned out for economic purposes in small sums at high interest for short terms (Pulgar 1945:49). Over a five-year period, some 18,000 soles were accumulated which financed construction of a community building that later became a rural normal school. Later, some of the communally held lands of Muquiyauyo were sold to individuals in order to raise additional Community capital (Pulgar 1945:50; Adams

1953:238). In 1945, the Indigenous Community nonetheless owned communal grazing and agricultural lands. Like Sicaya, Muquiyauyo recovered agricultural lands that formerly belonged to church brotherhoods, purchasing rather than confiscating them. Each of the four "institutions" making up the Indigenous Community plants, cultivates and harvests its fields communally, and the produce is divided or sold and the profits shared among those working. The "institutions" charge their members grazing fees for livestock they run on institutional pastures, the proceeds going into institutional operation (Tschopik 1947:48).

Huayllay in Pasco Department, most of whose males are employed by the mining industry, owns common pasture lands, although it competes with manors and individual owners. In 1945, members of this Community paid a grazing fee based on number of head of livestock pastured. Proceeds were used for public works (Tschopik 1947:52).

Huaychao eight miles distant also retained some pastures rented out for Community benefit, although most of its grazing land was in private hands by 1945. It is a stock-raising community lying above the upper limits of agriculture (Tschopik 1947:54).

Huancarama in Apurimac Department still possesses commons of a sort. Members hold land under three types of tenure: commons, private and joint holdings. The private plots on lower slopes or in valley bottoms are oft-times irrigated and somewhat leveler than the other plots. The commons are higher up the mountains, steeper, stonier, and unirrigated. While they are owned by the Community, they are in practice divided into small plots assigned to members of the Community who work them individually. The legal representative of the Indigenous Community currently redistributes such common land assignments when a tenant dies. Usufruct possession usually is not disturbed. Patch (1959a:15) found that the Indians would prefer to abolish the individual farming system of the commons and institute collective cultivation. This was no evidence of an aboriginal drive toward collectivization, but a realistic project for dislodging Mestizo exploiters who had obtained usufruct plots. The Indians knew that the Mestizos would not work the land, so would lose their rights under a collective labor system. The Mestizos opposed collectivization because in grabbing Indian land they desired it not only for its own sake, but in order to keep the Indians from gaining a large enough land base to gain a subsistence. Under existing conditions, the Indians were forced to work for the Mestizos because they could not subsist themselves.

The remaining Community land base at altitudes above

10,000 feet is not adequate even to pasture the livestock the Indians try to raise in order to close the gap between their agricultural production and their subsistence requirements. Adjacent manors occupying lands confirmed to Huancarama in 1793 allow the Indians to graze their stock for fees ranging from sixty cents to two dollars per head of cattle. The manor collects one sheep for every ten head grazed. The Mestizos refuse to accept cash payment for grazing fees, requiring Indians to pay in labor at eight to twelve cents daily. In this way up to twenty-five days labor may be required to pay the grazing fee for one cow. The result is that the ostensibly free and independent land-owning Indians of Huancarama differ little from those Indians who are serfs bound to the manors by labor obligations in return for assignments of subsistence plots (Patch 1959b:16).

On the coast, a parallel situation exists in Carquín. The Community receives about S/. 600 per month in grazing fees from members who pay twenty centavos per head per day to pasture the grassy river banks. The members pay S/. 5 per month cuotas, however, gained by wage labor in fish meal companies. Six such enterprises employ 300 workers and as many more were under construction in 1962 (Llosa 1962:38). Here is another case of an Indigenous Community supplying abundant local labor for modern industry in this instance rather than for feudal manors. "We are today a population dedicated to fishing" (Llosa 1962:39).

The Community council of Ayamarca in Cuzco Department has nearly ten *topos* of land under its direct control which it rented five years ago for S/. 700 annually, a niggardly sum in terms of Community financial requirements, so that voluntary contributions were asked from the members from time to time (Allred et al 1959:65).

Only a few hectares of land are employed as communal pastures in Qquehuar in Cuzco Department eight kilometers outside Sicuani (Allred et al 1959:68).

Pucará owned about seventy acres of unirrigated farm land in the early 1950's, having reclaimed it from the church in 1941. Under church ownership, this land was rented to individuals who had to sponsor large religious festivals. Between 1941 and 1953 when an agricultural cooperative was launched, this cropland was rented to up to 100 individual farmers of the Community. Pucará also owns communal about 7,000 acres of pasture (Alers 1960:53). With a cropland loan from the Agricultural Development Bank and technical advice from the Agricultural Research and Extension Service members of this Indigenous Community formed a cooperative farm enterprise to raise potatoes for sale (Alers 1960:54-56).

Bank and extension service advice overlapped, and local community leadership was alienated by an administrator the bank placed over the project, so labor was hard to come by. Even so, potato yields were double the national average. Only first and second grade tubers could be sold, the third grade potatoes being distributed among the members of the cooperative. The cash return fell short of repaying the crop loan, which the bank insisted upon recovering (Alers 1960:57-58). Pucará donated land to its school and works it communally with the aid of a tractor and the pupils (Sabogal 1961:60).

Recuayhuanca in Carhuaz Province retains a small area of communal land which was rented out to an outsider until 1952 (Snyder 1960:405).

Most of the communal lands of the indigenous Community of Huaylas are in the highest parts of the District, above the limits of agriculture. Cattle and sheep of the members graze the unfenced pampas. There is no communal herd. Individual members release cattle, and roundups are held almost every year. An annual grazing fee of S/. 24 per head is assessed after the roundup. Attempts to hire a herder to guard the herds failed because Community members did not fulfill their promises to cultivate his fields while he watched the stock (Doughty 1963b:240-241).

The lands of Huayre in Junín Province are divided between 3,137 hectares of communal land and 4,181 hectares privately held (Alencastre 1960:7). A large part of the communal holding is also used by individuals under a usufruct system. Some eight to ten per cent of the pasture commons are utilized collectively by the communal grange. Crop lands are distributed annually by lot (Alencastre 1960:8).

Allauca and Huañec, historically Santísima Trinidad de Huañec in Yauyos Province have communally owned plots that were parceled out, one plot per family head, in 1888 and again in 1908. Both Communities retain pasture commons which are grazed in common by the herds of all the inhabitants of the two recognized Indigenous Communities (Castro 1946:491).

Anthropologists who have studied individual Communities have provided data on land tenure systems in twenty-seven Communities. Two lack commons altogether, leaving twenty-five with some form of common land holding, or 92.6% of this sample. Of the twenty-five Communities with commons, 84% hold pasture commons, while 53% hold agricultural commons and 8% hold forest commons. Clearly several of these Indigenous Communities hold more than one type of land in common. Such is the case in at least 36% of these Communities.

Not all land held communally is exploited communally, however, for 47.6% of the Communities with pasture commons

are reported to rent them out, and another 14.3% collects grazing fees from members. Among the fourteen Communities with agricultural commons, 28.6% reportedly work them communally.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. In view of the proof of the economic advantage found in a community farm enterprise under nearly experimental conditions at Vicos, it is important to note that over one-quarter of the officially recognized Indigenous Communities in Perú responding to questioning, report either planting fields communally or having done so within living memory. Twenty-seven per cent of the sample Communities reported communal plantings, only slightly lower than the estimate based on previously published reports, which must be assumed in view of the Vicos experience to play a very important part in rural capital formation (Dobyns 1961).

4.2. COMMUNITY LIVESTOCK ENTERPRISES

Peruvian Indigenous Communities may be grouped roughly into three ideal land use types: (1) farming communities with an agricultural land base on which mixed farming is typically carried out, (2) stock raising communities with a range land base, usually at altitudes too high for cropping, and (3) mixed farming and stock raising communities with both cultivated and range lands. Mishkin (1946:421) observed that many contemporary Quechua-speaking communities possess no pasture commons. In the village of Kauri, "a sharp increase in the number of livestock, with the resultant competition for pasturage, has removed any vestige of pasture commons" concurrent with a rapid increase in the human population. Naturally, those Communities which lack range lands can graze only those animals that their agricultural fields can support. Those which possess range lands only, or range lands in addition to cultivable fields, can raise stock on a communal basis, particularly where range continues to be treated as common land.

In 1951, Llambilla in Huarochirí Province founded a community sheep grange with eight associates. Chilean Corriedales were purchased through the Agricultural Development Bank. In 1953, S/. 2,000 of the community rental income was allocated toward building a house for the enterprise (Matos 1953:188). Dipping vats and sorting pens were constructed. Lupo was in a short time following the lead of Llambilla and erecting its stock enterprise house (Guillén 1961:59), planning to pasture grazing areas then rented out. The Peruvian Agricultural Development Bank was supporting these efforts and that of Huarochirí (Guillén 1961:60). The latter provided its sheep grange with one of its eight communal pastures free (Guillén 1961:76). This community project dates only from 1959, as

does that in Lupo (Guillén 1961:77). The Llambilla sheep cooperative enterprise was the first established in its area (Guillén 1961:79).

While Paucartambo in Pasco Department owns pasture commons, membership in the Community entitles individuals to graze their livestock on such areas (Andrews 1963b:282). At the same time, Paucartambo operates a Community grange. One manor owner whose land adjoins this Indigenous Community rents some of its pasture commons where he grazes his stock. Although he formerly paid cash fees, he currently pays one half the increase of his sheep flock to the Community. These animals have increased the Community grange flock to several thousand sheep (Andrews 1963b:295-296).

On the windswept uplands of Junín Department, San Pedro de Cajas also operates a communal grange. This effort has antecedents dating back into the measures of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to foster the formation of such enterprises in the 1940's (Guevara s.f.:35). At that time, 348 members joined (Guevara s.f.:32-33). In 1962, the communal grange possessed approximately 1,800 sheep yielding approximately S/. 1,000,000 annually (Arellano FN 4/1/62) to be divided among 377 shareholders.

Huayre operates a communal grange using about 310 hectares principally on the Pampa de Huayre (Alencastre 1960:7-9). The principal sale of locally produced items is the wool sale the communal grange makes to the Peruvian Agricultural Development Bank (Alencastre 1960:17).

Rímac organized some years prior to 1955 a sheep grange, the first of its kind in the Santiago de Anchucaya area, obtaining a gift of twelve rams from the State. Privately owned livestock predominates, however, in these communities (Boluarte 1961:287).

Pucará has a communal sheep grange taking advantage of natural pasturage on its puna lands, although most of this area is rented out. The grange is composed of Community members who voluntarily joined for one sheep or ten soles in 1942. The shareholders take little part in grange management, since professional although lowly paid shepherds are employed under the orders of a few Community leaders. After eighteen years of existence, the grange really is managed by the Agricultural Development Bank which provided its initial capital. Still, the local sheep have been bred up, the flock includes good rams, and the grange shows annual profits (Sabogal 1961:60-61).

Muquiyauyo derived Community income from the sale of communally owned cattle in the early 1940's (Pulgar 1945:52) but the fate of this herd is not known to the author.

Livestock owners in Tupe organized a Stockgrowers' Asso-

ciation over a decade ago, building a dipping tank and sorting corral under technical guidance from the Ministry of Agriculture with a gift of 800 sacks of cement from that ministry (Matos 1951a:7).

Ten Indigenous Communities among the forty described in published reports have communal grange organizations, or 25% of the sample.

The Cornell Perú Project survey found that only five per cent of those Indigenous Communities responding to its questionnaire reported organizing community livestock centers and herds and flocks. The Communities hitherto studied appear to constitute a more progressive group with regard to communal granges than the total universe of Peruvian Indigenous Communities.

4.3. IRRIGATION CANALS

A social consequence of attempting to cultivate plants beyond the capacity of natural precipitation to support them is some form of social organization capable of constructing and maintaining irrigation works and regulating irrigation water allotment.

In Huarochirí Province, even though the officially recognized Indigenous Communities carry on litigation over land with one another, they have cooperated in expanding their supplies of irrigation water. The Collpa ditch apparently was constructed around 1863 by the cooperative effort of the various communities, and since repeatedly improved (Guillen 1961:81).

Irrigation ditches have been built by tributary labor convoked by the District mayor at the Indigenous Community of Paucartambo in Pasco Department (Andrews 1963b:301-302).

San Pedro de Huancaire allocates income from collectively worked communal lands to irrigation ditch construction (Soler & Basto 1953:239). Besides the main canal, four supplemental short canals of 400, 600, 200 and 800 meters are employed by farmers in this Community (Soler 1954:8).

Ayamarca in Cuzco Department a few years ago devoted considerable public work to building an irrigation canal with financial aid from the Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento de Cuzco. This organization budgeted S/. 20,000 to help line with concrete the canal crossing a gravel deposit which absorbed much water. Then the Corporación left the project about half finished, arguing that S/. 15,000 had been spent, and the balance was more urgently needed elsewhere (Allred et al 1959:65).

A fundamental basis for the prosperity of Muquiyauyo, electrification aside, is irrigation agriculture carried on with waters carried in communally built canals dating from around the middle of the past century (Adams 1959:177).

The future prosperity of Cajacay in Bolognesi Province will rest in part upon the economic results of a four-kilometer canal opened in 1961 by communal labor (Obando 1961:6).

Thus nine of the forty Indigenous Communities described



—Photograph by Paul L. Doughty
Members of the Indigenous Community of Cajacay, Bolognesi Province, Ancash Department, open a new irrigation canal in 1961 to irrigate a steep hillside to be planted to eucalyptus trees.

in published reports have constructed irrigation canals, a 22.5% proportion.

Cornell Perú Project Survey. In the context of international concern over economic development, the number of Peruvian Indigenous Communities that have recently constructed capital improvements in their agricultural systems bears impressive witness to the optimistic struggle being carried on by this population to improve its own lot. Over one-fifth of the Indigenous Communities responding to the questionnaire reported having constructed irrigation canals by communal effort within living memory. Again, it must be stressed that under Andean highland conditions, most Indigenous Communities are more or less dependent upon irrigation to raise crops successfully. Members of these Communities have, in other words, irrigated their fields out of irrigation ditches all along, in most cases employing irrigation systems built in Incaic times or earlier. The fact that 21.25% report constructing irrigation canals with community labor recently signifies that extensive expansion of historic local irrigation systems has occurred within the past few years. The survey results coincide quite closely with the much smaller sample of Indigenous Communities previously reported upon, indicating their representativeness with regard to canal construction.

4.4. WATER STORAGE RESERVOIRS

Given Peruvian Indigenous Community concern over perceived aridity (Dobyns 1963) and the frequency of irrigation canal construction just discussed, the question arises as to the size of capital improvements the Indigenous Community is capable of carrying out. A canal is relatively easy to cut compared to the problems involved in building water-impounding dams.

The members of the Indigenous Communities in the Province of Huarochirí turned out at intervals during 1952, 1953 and 1954 to construct a dam to impound Lake Chumpicocha. This dam inaugurated in August of 1954 was built according to technical direction provided by the Peruvian government and subsidized by one sol per day per person working. Members of the Indigenous Communities of Huarochirí, Llambilla, Suni, Lupo, Huancata, Quiripa, Sangallaya, San Pedro de Huancaire, Rímac and Yungalla-Primo worked on the dam (Guillén 1961:65; Soler 1954:15; Boluarte 1961:297). The project approximately doubled the irrigated area available to these farmers (Guillén 1961:66). In the same Province, the Indigenous Community of San Pedro de Huancaire builds reservoirs with communal labor (Soler & Basto 1953:239). Seven tanks have been made

in an effort to regularize the flow of water in the main irrigation canal (Soler 1954: 7).

The Mantaro Dam which stores water to operate the Muqui-yauyo hydroelectric company generators was built by the cooperative efforts of the entire community, women and children not excluded (Tschopik 1947:47).

Huancayá and Hualcaralla had spent fourteen years building a water storage reservoir *Marca-huayque* when Cotler (1961:140) studied them.

This is a total of ten Indigenous Communities reported engaged in water storage reservoir construction, out of the forty described in published reports, or 25% of the total.

The high proportion of Indigenous Communities engaged upon cutting new irrigation canals as discussed in the previous section cannot be discounted as reflecting mere expansion of or repair of existing irrigation systems. For more than canals are involved. Nearly 13% of the Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project survey have also built dams for water storage of one kind or another, using communal labor. This figure is only about half that for the forty-Community sample, indicating the latter is disproportionately high with regard to expanding irrigation storage capacity. Since it is more than half the proportion of Communities reporting construction of new irrigation canals, it is, nonetheless, a significant confirmation of the energetic expansion of basic irrigation systems in rural Perú.

4.5. FORESTATION

A notable example of forestation by an Indigenous Community is the program carried out by Cajacay in the Province of Bolognesi during 1960 and 1961. The members of this legally recognized Community opened new irrigation ditches along a previously uncultivated hillside near the national highway rising from Patavilca on the coast to the Conacocha Pass into the Callejón de Huaylas intermontane valley. They planted a large number of eucalyptus trees under irrigation on the steep slope. The artificial young forest created by Community effort provided a marked innovation in the human and plant ecology of the Fortaleza River Valley on the Andean western slope (Dobyns FN). The communal labor of the men of Cajacay cut an irrigation canal four kilometers long to carry water from the Tingo River to irrigate approximately fifty-three hectares with a calculated capacity for 120,000 white eucalyptus trees. Work parties of 150 men with picks, shovels, crow bars, opened a forty-centimeter square profile ditch on six Sundays of work (Obando 1961:6). The anticipated profits from this planting on com-

munally owned land were promptly allocated, in imagination at least, to schools, secondary and primary, a hospital, hotel, recreational club, scholarships, additional irrigation, capitalization of a provincial cooperative communal bank, etc. (La Tribuna 3 Abril 1961:5).

In Muquiyauyo, tree planting has been important for a long time. Adams (1959:125) found the earliest references to a Community work party planting alder trees on the promenade in 1887. Eucalyptus trees were purchased by the District in 1911, and in 1920 it was resolved to plant this species along a new promenade back to the mountains. In 1931, 3,000 eucalyptus trees were brought into the Community.

Two Indigenous Communities carrying out forestation projects among the forty reported in the published literature indicates only a 5% proportion engaged in such activities.

The Cornell Perú Project survey found that only two-tenths of one per cent of those Indigenous Communities responding have undertaken forestation on a Community basis. This indicates that the number of Communities engaged in large-scale forestation is so small as to be insignificant, although many eucalyptus trees are planted and raised by individuals.

The difference between forestation and irrigation works construction incidence reflects Indigenous Community concentration upon irrigation agriculture as the central economic activity. Perhaps it reflects the limitation of possibilities inherent in irrigation agriculture which forces cooperation for successful operation of the water distributing system, but does not force cooperation in animal husbandry. As the Cornell Perú Project discovered at Vicos, forestation is difficult in a mixed farming area with a large population of goats, which browse on tree seedlings as readily as on other forage. Perhaps the difference in emphasis on Community capital improvement projects also reflects a lesser knowledge of genetically controlled animal breeding principles, scientific range management practices, and soil conservation techniques as well as the difficulties of cooperation between individuals whose principal capital consists of livestock. Belaunde (1959: 152) has emphasized from a political point of view the prevailing lack of capital which could finance pasture improvement and fencing that would permit rotation grazing.

4.6. CAPITAL INVESTMENT

While the creation of new capital improvements in Peruvian Indigenous Communities through inversion of communal labor is perhaps the most spectacular aspect of their current economic development, these Communities also invest cash in acquiring additional capital goods.

Land. As might be expected in the Andean rural farming environment with its fierce competition for scarce land and water resources, the most widespread single form of Indigenous Community investment appears to be land purchase. Among the Cornell Perú Project survey sample Communities, 21.9% reported purchasing more lands on a Community basis within living memory. The Indigenous Community land base certainly cannot, therefore, be characterized as entirely stable. Neither can changes in it be thought of as entirely unidirectional toward loss despite all of the accumulated bitterness on the part of Indigenous Community members toward manor owners for trespass and encroachment. A significant proportion of the Indigenous Communities appears to be adding to its land base at the same time that another larger proportion seems still to be losing land.

Machinery and Tools. An even larger number of officially recognized Indigenous Communities reported cash investment of Community funds in exploitative materials of all kinds. Community purchases of tools or machinery of various sorts or construction and other materials was reported by 37.7% of the sample Communities. Only 1.3% reported communal purchases of such items as electric wiring or trucks. The great bulk of Indigenous Community collective buying power seems to be invested in equipment used directly in agriculture or construction, rather than more advanced industries, even at the relatively simple although costly level of public utilities or transport.

5.0. Conclusions

The mail survey conducted by the Cornell Perú Project received a very satisfactory measure of cooperation from Peruvian Indigenous Communities. Those replying to the questionnaire provided information showing that this type of Community typically exists in Perú under relatively disheartening circumstances, but that its members often have already undertaken to pull themselves out of these circumstances by their own bootstraps.

The mail questionnaire replies show that water constitutes a key natural resource for human exploitation of the rural Andes, as does agricultural and grazing land. At the same time, socio-political factors strongly influence the practical availability of water and land to members of these Indigenous Communities, and technological factors greatly affect the efficiency of utilization of those resources which are available. Since the past experience of members of the Indigenous Communities has been mainly one of deprivation of resources through social means, there exists a considerable resentment toward large private land holders, and an important segment of opinion alienated from central government.

The Indigenous Communities as a group are characterized, on the other hand, by a positive problem-solving approach to their present straits compounded from increasing populations, rising social and economic aspirations, and historical deprivations. These Indigenous Communities are digging their own way out of their Andean isolation, punching through their own farm-market and access roads, bridging the gullies that cut them off from the national economy, providing school rooms for their children, quarters for their local officials, and starting on the task of providing basic modern public utilities. There can be no question as to the readiness of the great majority of these Indigenous Communities to change their natural and social environments. They need no further persuasion, save perhaps in some particulars such as the germ theory of disease causation, soil erosion mechanics, and optimum irrigation application. They are receptive to technological changes whose purposes they comprehend, and have proved their capacity to execute technological works. This capacity appears related to the pragmatic approach to problem solving

by rural community leaders who by and large are not sufficiently well educated to be classed as intellectuals. They appear to lack, therefore, the hispanic prejudice against technological innovation and labor Stokes (1958:56) labeled "the drag of the thinkers" in Latin America. From a developmental point of view, these Indigenous Communities do need strategic aid which will stimulate integration into national economy and society without stifling local self reliance and initiatives.

Much that has previously been written about Indigenous Communities in Perú has been romantic rather than scientific, in its idealization of Community life. Much that has been written reflects deduction from political ideology rather than synthesis of observations of real Community behavior. Even scientific studies of particular Indigenous Communities have had to bear too heavy a burden of extrapolation for lack of systematic knowledge of the whole universe of Communities. This report of outstanding characteristics of 640 Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project mail survey provides a number of "contour lines" with which to begin sketching in the map of the Indigenous Community universe.

6.0. Peruvian Indigenous Community Initiative for Social and Economic Development

This section presents a series of tables listing communal labor projects that the representatives of the various Indigenous Communities responding to the Cornell Perú Project mail survey in 1962 claimed had been carried out in their respective Communities. No attempt is made in this report to record all the information obtained by the survey which has been summarized in the preceding pages. What is presented here are the data about Community improvements, or the apparent record of Community self-improvement as of the year 1962. It should be clear in the mind of the reader that these are data obtained by a mail survey and not checked by independent field observation.

Reasons for reproducing this class of data are several. In the first place, members of the Indigenous Communities cooperating with the Cornell Perú Project in collecting these data are entitled to see how each one compares with the others in terms of self-reliance and social and economic development efforts. In the second place, the tables which follow will provide useful guidance to Peruvian administrators concerned with programs related to Indigenous Communities. Inasmuch as the prime responsibility of the Cornell Perú Project in Perú is to the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs, inclusion of these data in the present report accords with the research responsibility of the Project.

Representatives of international agencies and non-Peruvian governments and non-official organizations cooperating with Peruvians are also likely to find these tables useful guides insofar as their programs affect Indigenous Communities.

Because of the variety of communal labor endeavours carried out in the Indigenous Communities, and the space limitations inherent in the format of this report, the tables are presented with numbered columns. These columns refer to the following types of communal improvement projects:

1. School building
2. Community headquarters construction
3. Chapel construction
4. Tool purchases

Table 6. Ancash Department: Bolognesi and Recuay

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Bolognesi Province														
Cajacay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16
Huayllacayan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	10
Raquia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	9
Congas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	9
Copa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	8
Huanri	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	7
Chilcas	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	7
Colquiyoc	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	7
Macheos	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	6
Gorgorillo	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Aquia	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Yamor	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	5
Sagrado Corazon de Jesus de la Esperanza	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Choque	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Corpanqui	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	3
Recuay Province														
Chaucayan	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
San Jeronimo de Pacllu	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Catac	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Pampas Chico	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	4
Tapacocha	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	4
Huayllapampa	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	3

Table 9. Apurimac Department: Antabamba, Aymaraes and Grau Provinces.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Antabamba Province														
Calcauso	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	10
Sabaino	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	10
Huancaray	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	6
Huaquirca	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	3
Vito	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	3
Aymaraes Province														
San Miguel de Mestizas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	9
Sañayca	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	8
Sarayca	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Ancobamba	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	4
Ihuayllo	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Pocohuanca	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	3
Tiaparo	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Capaya	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Grau Province														
Santa Rosa	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Ccayau	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table 10. Arequipa Department.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Arequipa Province														
Chiguata	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	10
Piaca	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Caraveli Province														
Atiquipa-Jaqui- Yauca	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	4
Huanu-Huanu	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	4
Condesuyos Province														
Charco	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	6
Izpacas	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	3
La Union Province														
Locrohuanca	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	4

Table 11. Ayacucho Department: Cangallo and Parinacochas.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Cangallo Province														
Incaraccay	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	8
Quspillacta	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	8
San Juan de Ocros	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	7
Totos	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
Pongoccocha	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	6
Pucapaccana- Lambrasnioc	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	5
Runcua	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	5
Saurama	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	5
Accomarca	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	4
Cocha	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Huamanmarca	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Huaccaña	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Muchacapata	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Raymi Alto	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	3
Quihuas y Ocros	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Toma	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	3
Huarcas	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2
Parcco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	1
San Francisco de Pujas	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Parinacochas Province														
Pomacocha	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	9
San Sebastian de Sacraca	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	6
Colpamayo	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	6
Malco	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	5
Sequello	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Pacapauza	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Sacsara	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Pullo	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	3

Table 12. Ayacucho Department: Fajardo and Huamanga.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Fajardo Province														
Apongo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	8
Asquipata	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	7
Huambo	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Umasi	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	6
Auquilla	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	6
Raccaya	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Manchiri	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	5
Porta-Cruz	+	+	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Espite	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	5
Tiquihua	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Huarcaya	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Llocita	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Circamarca	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	2
Huamanga Province														
Pampamarca	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	8
Anchac-Huasi	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	7
Opancca	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	6
Guayacondo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Santa Bárbara	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	6
Huascahura	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Manallasac	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Atacocha	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	5
Santiago de Colca	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Niño Jesus de Neque	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

Table 15. Cajamarca Department: Cutervo, Jaen and Santa Cruz Provinces.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Cutervo Province														
Cujillo	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Chipuluc	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jaen Province														
San Antonio de Huarango	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	6
Perico	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Chirinos	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Zapotal	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
San Jose de Lourdes	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
La Yunga	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sallique	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Santa Cruz Province														
Yauyucan	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	6
Puchuden y Yanayaco	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

Table 25. Huanuco Department: Huamalies, Huanuco and
Marañon Provinces.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Huamalies Province														
Palanca	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	7
Puños	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	6
Quipran	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Cascanga	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Jacas Grande	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	4
Jircan	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Huanuco Province														
San Damian de Huancapallac	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	6
Margos	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Yacus	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
San Pedro de Cani	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Malconga	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Tambogan	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	3
Santa Maria del Valle	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yarumayo	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
San Francisco de Cairan	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cascay	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Marañon Province														
San Buenaventura	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	5

Table 27. Junín Department: Huancayo Province Communities Reporting Seven to Nine Projects Carried Out.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Carhuacallanga-														
Antacocha-														
Yanacorral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	9
Colca	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	9
Pucará	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	9
Antapampa	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	9
Casacancha	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	9
Iscos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	8
Oylumpo	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	8
Potaca	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	8
Santa Rosa de														
Huacramasana	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	8
Sapallanga	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	8
Copca	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	7
Pampa-Cruz	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	7
Chongos Altos	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	7
Cullpas y														
Cochas Chico	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	7
San Juan de Jarpa	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	7
Yanacancha	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	7
Huachicna	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	7
Panti	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	7

Table 27. Junín Department: Huancayo Province Communities Reporting One to Six Projects Carried Out.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Azapampa	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Chupuro	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	6
Ingenio	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Chucupata	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Rangras	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Saño	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	6
Viques	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	6
Chuamba	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Laria	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Carhuapaccha	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Cochas	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Huahuanca	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Achipampa	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	5
Shicuy	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	5
Chaquicocha	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Roccha	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Chucos	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Pachachaca	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
San Agustín de Cajas	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	5
Santa Rosa de Chaquicocha	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	5
Lampa	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	4
Pilcomayo	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Paccha	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	3
Acac Bellavista	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Huallhuas	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2
Azacruz	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Santa Rosa de Ila	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	1

Table 29. Junín Department: Junín, Tarma and Yauli Provinces.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Junín Province														
Quilcacta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	12
Villa de Junín	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	9
Pari	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	6
Piscurruray	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Tarma Province														
Palcamayo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	11
San Miguel de Acobamba	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	8
Huaracayo	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	6
Palca	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	6
Tarmatambo	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	6
Picoy	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	5
Pian Sanyacancha	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	5
Urahuchuc	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	4
Durazniocc Sanyacancha	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Huaripampa	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yauli Province														
Yauli	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	11
Marcapomacocha	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	8
Pomacocha	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	8
Chacapalpa	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	7
Huari	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	7
Santa Rosa de Saco	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	7
Suitucancha	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	6
Carhuacayan	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

Table 34. Lima Department: Cañete and Yauyos Provinces.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Cañete Province														
Mala	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	9
Coaylo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yauyos Province														
Allauca	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	11
Santísima Trinidad de Huañec	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	11
Tupe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	10
Miraflores	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	10
Huañec	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	10
Santiago de Quinches	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	9
Hongos	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	8
Cochas	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	7
Thomas	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	7
Tauripampa	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	7
Achin	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	6
Tinco	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	5
Huampara	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	5
Huancaya	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	5
Putinza	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	4

Table 35. Moquegua Department.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Mariscal Nieto Province														
Bellavista	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	7
Sanchez Cerro Province														
Chilata	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	7
Huarina	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	5

Table 36. Pasco Department.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Daniel Carrion Province														
Paucar	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	6
Michivilca	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Pasco Province														
Chinchan	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Cochamarca	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	4
Sunec	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	4
Chaupimarca	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2

Table 37. Tacna Department

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Tacna Province														
Ataspaca	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Palca	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tarata Province														
Camilaca	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	7
Ticaco	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	6

Table 38. Piura Department.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Ayabaca Province														
Sicchez	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	5
Socchabamba	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Aragoto	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Arreipite Pingola	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Cuyas Cuchayo	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Naranyo y Molinos	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	2
Tacalpo	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Chocan	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Marmas	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mostazas	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Suyupampa	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Huancabamba Province														
Huaricancha	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	7
Segunda y Cajas	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	5
Quispampa	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Morropon Province														
Santa Catalina de Moza	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Yamango	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	4
Paita Province														
Miramar	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	8
San Lucas de Colan	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	2
Piura Province														
Castilla	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	5
Catacaos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	1

Table 39. Puno Department.

Community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Tot.
Carabaya Province														
Upina	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Oruro	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4
Uchuuma-Chaca- marca-Anana	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Qquete	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Pacaje	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chucuito Province														
Aurincota	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Totorama	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Patacollo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Huancane Province														
Napa	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Urinsaya-Hilata	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	4
Bajos Jilata	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	4
Sandia Province														
Puna Laquiqui	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	8
Melgar Province														
Huamanruro	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Santa Lucia de Macari	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Quishuara	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	4
Umasuyo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	1

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