

# CAPITALIST EXPANSION AND THE ANDEAN PEASANTRY

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- EL DESAFIO DE HUAYOPAMPA: COMUNEROS Y EMPRESARIOS.* By FERNANDO FUENZALIDA, TERESA VALIENTE, JOSE LUIS VILLARAN, JÜRGEN GOLTE, CARLOS IVAN DEGREGORI, and JUVENAL CASAVARDE. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982. Pp. 449.)
- THE DEFENSE OF COMMUNITY IN PERU'S CENTRAL HIGHLANDS: PEASANT STRUGGLE AND CAPITALIST TRANSITION, 1860-1940.* By FLORENCIA E. MALLON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. Pp. 384. \$32.50 cloth, \$14.50 paper.)
- ECOLOGY AND EXCHANGE IN THE ANDES.* Edited by DAVID LEHMANN. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Pp. 245. \$39.50.)
- MINERS, PEASANTS, AND ENTREPRENEURS: REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS OF PERU.* By NORMAN LONG and BRYAN ROBERTS. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Pp. 288. \$49.50.)
- LAND AND POWER IN LATIN AMERICA: AGRARIAN ECONOMIES AND SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE ANDES.* Edited by BENJAMIN S. ORLOVE and GLYNN CUSTRED. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980. Pp. 258. \$39.50.)
- CRISE AGRAIRE ET CONSCIENCE CREOLE AU PEROU.* By JEAN PIEL. (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982. Pp. 119.)
- CAPITALISME AGRAIRE AU PEROU: L'ESSOR DU NEO-LATIFUNDISME DANS LE PEROU REPUBLICAIN.* By JEAN PIEL. (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1983. Pp. 380.)
- THE PEASANTS OF EL DORADO: CONFLICT AND CONTRADICTION IN A PERUVIAN FRONTIER SETTLEMENT.* By ROBIN SHOEMAKER. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981. Pp. 265. \$19.50.)

In recent years, social science scholarship on the Andean region has evolved considerably. During the 1950s and 1960s, studies were rather descriptive and generally restricted to a single community or hacienda, or to the relations between communities and a contiguous hacienda. The primary analytical question was why a site had progressed, or why it had not, and the answers were sought primarily

from within the site, not beyond it. Cultural explanations were often favored in these studies.

Despite their relatively narrow parameters, these studies opened new social science frontiers to a considerable degree, providing valuable information about places that had never before been systematically studied.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the best known examples of the genre are the studies of Vicos initiated by the Cornell Peru project and those of Muquiyauyo by Richard Adams.<sup>2</sup> Some of the concepts developed through these studies—such as Julio Cotler's "baseless triangle" image describing social relations among peones and the patrón on a traditional hacienda—were powerful and enduring ideas.<sup>3</sup>

The works of the 1970s and early 1980s represent perhaps a "second generation" of scholarship that, while benefiting from previous scholarship, have moved well beyond it. First, they are much more interdisciplinary, and in most cases very successfully so. The "second-generation" scholars are more sensitive to ecology, to history, and to economics. Yet, despite their broad interdisciplinary orientation, the works reviewed here are unusually cohesive analytically. With the exception of *Land and Power in Latin America* by Benjamin Orlove and Glynn Custred, the central theme of these studies is the impact of capitalist expansion on the Andean peasantry. Also important, the "second-generation" scholars are geographically more ambitious, usually examining the social and economic trajectories not of communities but of regions.

These scholarly achievements have been facilitated by a number of circumstances. First, during the Peruvian agrarian reform of the 1970s, a new historical archive was inaugurated in Lima that assembled documents and records from Peru's haciendas for scholars. Also, as a result of the reform, former haciendas were more accessible to field researchers. On a more intellectual level, the anthropologists and historians discussed here would seem to have gained a great deal from ongoing discussion of the merits and demerits of dependency theory among Latin Americanists of all disciplines. Another important factor has been the vitality of Peruvian social science over the last decade; for example, in David Lehmann's collection, *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes*, two of the most interesting articles are by Peruvian scholars.

History is the disciplinary base of two of the scholars whose work is reviewed here, Jean Piel and Florencia Mallon. Both authors focus on the character of the capitalist expansion in Peru from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s, but Piel explores this issue for the nation as a whole whereas Mallon primarily analyzes Peru's central highlands. Piel's work is likely to be the definitive economic history of Peru in French. His *Capitalisme agraire au Pérou* is the second in his series on Peruvian economic history; the origins of agrarian capitalism before the

nineteenth century is the topic of the first volume. A third volume on the post-1930 era seems probable. Piel's *Crise agraire et conscience créole au Pérou* is in many respects a companion to *Capitalisme agraire au Pérou*. The former work describes peasant movements and the emergence of social concerns among Peruvian intellectuals during the 1920s, thereby complementing the analyses of Peruvian elites and general economic trends in the latter study.

The scope of Piel's work is grand, and thus almost inevitably, his scholarly contribution lies more in synthesis and integration than in theoretical innovation. For example, as Piel acknowledges, his analysis of the guano era in *Capitalisme agraire au Pérou* owes a great deal to the work of Peruvian historian Heraclio Bonilla. In general, the themes of Piel's books are somewhat familiar: the speculative, *rentista* orientation of Peru's oligarchy and its eschewal of productive investment, and the extent to which the expansion of the elites' latifundia in the early twentieth century dispossessed indigenous peasant communities and exacerbated social tensions in the countryside. Piel, who writes from a Marxist perspective, finds little in the process of agricultural capitalist expansion that benefited Peru's indigenous peasantry. Despite the familiarity of Piel's themes for the scholar who reads Spanish or English, his works are meticulous and well documented. His archival and bibliographic research, especially with respect to the speculative orientation of the Peruvian oligarchy, is thorough, and much of the material will be of great interest to scholars of Peru.

Mallon's *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* is outstanding in every respect. Despite the fact that much research has already been done on Peru's central highlands, Mallon's study is innovative. To the same question posed in most of the other works reviewed here—the impact of capitalist expansion upon the Andean peasantry—Mallon brings a concise, yet richly detailed and nuanced, answer. Loosely corroborating dependency perspectives, Mallon concludes that capitalist expansion challenged village self-sufficiency in the central highlands as early as the 1930s and meant increasing socioeconomic differentiation directly within the peasant community. As some peasants gained and others lost, an agrarian bourgeoisie and a rural proletariat were created.

This thesis is thoroughly, indeed brilliantly, documented. On relatively well-studied topics, such as the dispossession of indigenous peasants' land by the latifundistas, Mallon only briefly reviews and cites the relevant literature. But on topics that have received little previous analysis, such as the fighting of the War of the Pacific in the central highlands between 1881 and 1883, she provides a wealth of new information. Her thorough archival research, including even archives in the central highlands, stresses that Peruvian elites in the region feared

the mobilization of the peasantry against the Chilean invaders because they believed that the peasants, after defeating the Chileans, might ultimately turn against them.

The topic at the heart of *The Defense of Community* is the development of the mining enterprises of the central highlands and their impact on the peasant communities in the surrounding region. Although this subject had been studied previously, Mallon's treatment stands out by many criteria. First, it is particularly diligent, as exemplified by her meticulous description of the smoke damage inflicted on peasant communities by the construction of the Oroya mining smelter in 1918. Second, the work has been enriched by oral histories from a great variety of residents of the area. Migrants to the mines tell about the vicious cycle of indebtedness instigated by the practice of *enganche* (a labor acquisition system in which peasants were advanced cash but were obligated to work off the debt under terms manipulated by employers), the severe safety hazards of the work, and the tremendous sacrifices of some family members for others. But migrants also speak of the new skills and funds that they were able to gain through employment in the mining enterprises. Many migrants found these new skills an asset in building professional careers or even in returning to the land to become capitalist farmers. By the 1920s, however, migration had become so common that traditional community solidarity had eroded; consequently, during the depression of the 1930s, villages could not provide the traditional refuge of subsistence for the peasantry.

The only significant shortcoming in Mallon's work is probably impossible to correct: it contains little actual economic data on the central highland communities. About how many peasants rose to become the agrarian bourgeoisie, and how many fell into the rural proletariat? Data on occupations, property holdings, nutrition, infant mortality, and the like, even if available for only some villages, would have been revealing. Presumably, such data are not available.

In *Miners, Peasants, and Entrepreneurs*, Norman Long and Bryan Roberts address virtually the same question that Mallon does—the impact of capitalism, particularly large-scale mining enterprise, upon the peasantry—and for the same region. But as anthropologists, rather than historians, their book deals primarily with the twentieth century.

Long and Roberts believe that the major analytical contribution of their work is the elaboration of the concept of regional development. They point out that in Latin America, regions such as Peru's central highlands develop distinctively, according to their particular production characteristics and economic opportunities. In the case of the central highlands, Long and Roberts argue that mining opportunities largely determined the character of economic growth in the region. Among the peasantry, migration became the essential strategy for advancement,

and in the main town of the region, Huancayo, services became the most important kind of economic activity because they supplied the mines. This perspective is an interesting one, although it is not the kind of precise hypothesis that would generate a lively scholarly debate.

Implicitly rejecting dependency arguments, Long and Roberts are enthusiastic about the impact of the large-scale mining enterprises on the central highland region. For example, they affirm that "The main economic impact of the Cerro de Pasco Corporation was through the wages paid to its workers which were spent locally, and through the supplies and services which it purchased in the region" (p. 67). Elsewhere they state, "The poor *comuneros* are those who, for various reasons, have been unable to develop stable relationships with the mines" (p. 105); and they note that Huancayo's economy "has a vitality that belies its apparently peripheral position with respect to the coastal region" (p. 23).

To support these statements, Long and Roberts use a variety of data from several kinds of sites. In particular, they examine the sixteen communities close to the mines that became part of SAIS Túpac Amaru (a large and unusual agrarian cooperative established under the agrarian reform), and they show that the most prosperous of these communities pursued economic well-being through employment in the mines as well as through more traditional agriculture and livestock production in the village. In the next chapter, Julian Laite looks at two villages further from the mines and closer to the town of Huancayo, located in the Mantaro valley at lower altitudes. In Ataura almost all the men have migrated to the mines for many years. But in Matahuasi some men have remained in the village, providing an agricultural base for traders, and those who migrated have gone to more diverse places. Because Ataura has become a poor, dying village while Matahuasi has prospered and given rise to a class of well-to-do agricultural entrepreneurs, Laite concludes that the distinctive migration patterns were crucial to their contrasting economic trajectories. Laite perceives Ataura as an example of the pauperization that may befall a village of "dependent worker-peasants," and he seems more concerned about social and class differentiation in the region than Long and Roberts are. In their subsequent chapter on Matahuasi and another valley village, Long and Roberts recognize this problem but focus mostly on the prosperous Matahuasinos. They analyze the life histories of several successful agricultural, marketing, and transport entrepreneurs and emphasize the importance in their success of strong and diverse social links, especially through clubs.

In another chapter on Huancayo based on their 1972 sample survey, Long and Roberts describe the proliferation of small informal businesses in the town and the rise in employment in government and

administration. Long and Roberts perceive Huancayo as a city with considerable economic opportunities open to its inhabitants and not controlled by any provincial elite.

I agree with Long and Roberts that in some respects the expansion of capitalism was a boon for the central highland region. They could have provided more evidence for their thesis by comparing the region more rigorously with other parts of highland Peru. For example, as of 1961, mean resident income in the region of Pasco (also a mining area) was the highest for all highland regions, and the figure for Junín (in the central highlands) was the second highest.<sup>4</sup> Mean resident income was almost double that for southern highland regions, where capitalism has impinged much less directly on peasant villages.<sup>5</sup> The southern highlands became the home of Peru's Maoist guerillas, the Sendero Luminoso.

In my view, however, Long and Roberts underplay the more negative aspects of capitalist expansion. If they had considered dependency perspectives more seriously, their work might have been analytically more powerful and predictive. In particular, Long and Roberts look at the central highland region primarily during the early 1970s, a "boom" era for Peru, and they do not foresee the "bust" that followed. Their description of national economic trends during the period is restricted to a cursory discussion of the agrarian reform (which I believe underestimates its significance). For example, as Teófilo Altamirano and Gavin Alderson-Smith indicate in their contributions, during the period of limited opportunities in the mines in the 1960s and 1970s, more and more central highland villagers migrated to Lima to earn a living. But with the depression that has ravaged Peru since the mid-1970s, by 1985 unemployment and underemployment had skyrocketed to about 65 percent and the real minimum wage was barely a dollar a day, less than half the 1973 wage.<sup>6</sup> In virtually every respect, Huancayo has been worse off in the early 1980s than it was in the early 1970s.

Citizens are asking if there are not better economic paths. Long and Roberts claim that political attitudes in the region were virtually the same in 1963 and 1980, with plurality support for the centrist Acción Popular (p. 255). In fact, support for Marxist groups has grown rapidly in the Junín region, where they finished first in the 1978 Constituent Assembly elections and won 40 percent of the vote in the 1985 presidential election.<sup>7</sup> This observation does not imply that inhabitants of the region are still not looking outward; it is just that now, like millions of other Latin Americans, they are looking toward the United States.

The impact of capitalist expansion is also the key theme of *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes*, edited by the anthropologist David Lehmann. This collection includes various views on the extent and character of capitalist expansion. Although most of the authors deal

with the Peruvian Andes, Tristan Platt and Olivia Harris discuss the Northern Potosí region of Bolivia. These articles are especially interesting for their emphasis on the role of ecological levels.

Two particularly significant essays are those by Adolfo Figueroa and Rodrigo Sánchez. Both Peruvian scholars (the former an economist and the latter a sociologist), they are drawing on longer works of their own. The material in Figueroa's chapter is developed in greater detail in his books, *La economía campesina de la sierra del Perú* (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1983) and *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru* (Cambridge University Press, 1984). Rodrigo Sánchez writes in the Lehmann volume about economic changes in the southern highland province of Andahuaylas, but he has also written a more general study of this province analyzing the political impact of the agrarian reform, entitled *Toma de tierras y conciencia política campesina* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981).

Figueroa and Sánchez provide the rigorous data on proletarianization and economic differentiation in highland Peru that has unfortunately been absent from most previous studies. Drawing from their own surveys of villages in the southern highlands (generally considered the most "traditional" region of Peru), both Figueroa and Sánchez show that by the mid-1970s, the national capitalist economy, and labor markets in particular, affected the peasantry in this region to a much greater extent than had been realized.<sup>8</sup> From his sample, Figueroa finds that 40 percent of the typical family's monetary income comes from labor markets (p. 156). Similarly, Sánchez concludes that "in order to complete its minimum level of consumption . . . the household head, if there are no other working members in the household, is compelled to labor at least 61 percent of the days of the year for cash or goods outside the household" (p. 188). The carefully gathered and analyzed information of Figueroa and Sánchez should be very helpful to Peruvian government officials in their effort to formulate policies to enhance rural highland incomes.

A second edited volume is Benjamin Orlove's and Glynn Custred's *Land and Power in Latin America*, the only book in the group that does not explicitly address the question of capitalism's impact on the Andean peasantry. In their overview pieces for the volume, anthropologists Orlove and Custred offer an alternative conceptualization for Andean economic and social processes. The central argument is that "the household, rather than the hacienda and the community, should be considered the basic unit of social and economic organization in the Andes" (p. 23). Orlove and Custred believe that the traditional dichotomy between hacienda and community oversimplifies Andean realities and pushes Andean society into rigid conceptual boxes. They assert that peasant households are more autonomous in their actions

than the traditional model suggests and that more attention should be paid to the ways in which households cope with a changing world, particularly through social and economic networks.

Because the chapters of *Land and Power* deal with a variety of topics, however, they do not build much on Orlove and Custred's model. Indeed, three of the remaining ten chapters (those by Karen Spalding, Laura Maltby, and Pierre van den Berghe) actually emphasize the hacienda, rather than the household, and van den Berghe explicitly rejects Orlove and Custred's conceptualization. The topics of the other chapters cover a broad spectrum that includes the historical development of thought about rural Peru and the reality (Karl Yambert), dispersed rural settlements in Colombia (Sutti Ortiz), the political role of mestizo schoolteachers in Indian communities (George Primov), banditry in the Andes (Orlove), and inter-Andean migration (Stephen Brush).

Certainly, the variety of subject matter in the book attests to numerous interesting dimensions of Andean reality beyond the hacienda-community issue, more true than ever since Peru's agrarian reform and the virtual demise of the hacienda. But I suspect that Orlove and Custred themselves would agree that their household model needs elaboration. The concept should be more rigorously defined and specific relationships posited. A focus on the household would also seem to require substantial attention to the role of women, a topic absent from the book despite the fact that it has been carefully studied by social scientists Susan Bourque and Kay Warren.

Two of the books reviewed here, *The Peasants of El Dorado* and *El desafío de Huayopampa*, are substantially narrower in their geographical focus than the other volumes, yet they contain much of interest. In *The Peasants of El Dorado*, anthropologist Robin Shoemaker analyzes the character of development in the Peruvian frontier settlement of Satipo during the mid-1970s. This important topic has not received the attention it deserves, and Shoemaker's book is thus especially welcome.

Shoemaker's first chapter convincingly states that he did not approach his subject matter with an ideological bias (and his study is jargon-free), but he concludes that dependency theory applies rather nicely to the process of Peruvian frontier settlement. His conclusion is well supported by his evidence, especially that on ecological deterioration and the antirural bias in national government policy. Shoemaker gives special attention to the important and understudied problem of agricultural marketing monopolies. My only quibble with the book is that although the biographical portraits of seven men and women from the region are illuminating, general economic data on Satipo of the kind presented by Figueroa and Sánchez would have been helpful too.

*El desafío de Huayopampa: comuneros y empresarios*, written by a



group of anthropologists at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, is fascinating for another reason. The first part of the volume was originally published by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in 1968 under the title *Estructuras tradicionales y economía de mercado: la comunidad indígena de Huayopampa*. The second and third parts of the book assess the development process in the community over the following fifteen years, reflecting also on changes in the analytical concerns of Peruvian anthropologists.

The 1960s study, which was based on a sample survey of village attitudes as well as anthropological research, describes the remarkable progress of Huayopampa, due primarily to its successful and innovative cultivation of peaches for urban markets. In the follow-up study, the Peruvian anthropologists place the Huayopampa “miracle” in a larger national economic context. The community has remained prosperous, and the former peasants are now entrepreneurs, managing irrigation and fertilizer technologies. But socioeconomic differentiation within the community is acute, as many landowners no longer directly work their parcels but hire both permanent and temporary workers, and the landowners are now outnumbered by the workers. The book attests to the strengths of both the “first generation” and the “second generation” of scholarship: the in-depth, comprehensive description of a community by the first generation, with special insights into cultural changes, and the placement of the community in a larger historical and economic context by the second generation, who are particularly concerned about socioeconomic differentiation.

Overall, the contribution of these works to our understanding of agrarian society in Peru is considerable. Spurred by the debates on dependency theory, most of the authors share an analytical interest in the effects of capitalist expansion on the Andean peasantry and, through solid research, add valuable information and insights to this debate.

Yet some gaps exist in these recent studies, especially for political scientists. Most obviously, the works under review have neglected the more remote and impoverished parts of the Peruvian highlands, in particular the area around Ayacucho, where the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas have been active since the 1960s. Also, although the authors focused on economics and peasant society, they did not develop a similar interest in politics and peasant society. Some of these social scientists used survey techniques on economic questions, but none seemed to consider asking peasants directly about political issues. In this era of Peruvian political turbulence, when government policy is even more important to the economic and social fate of the Andean peasantry, it seems especially critical to incorporate the political dimension into social science scholarship on rural Peru.

NOTES

1. See, for example, José Matos Mar, William F. Whyte, Julio Cotler, Lawrence K. Williams, J. Oscar Alers, Fernando Fuenzalida, and Giorgio Alberti, *Dominación y cambios en el Perú rural: la micro-región del Valle de Chancay* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1969); and Thomas C. Greaves, *The Dying Chálán: Case Studies of Change on Four Haciendas of the Peruvian Coast*, Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1968.
2. Henry F. Dobyns, Paul L. Doughty, and Harold D. Lasswell, *Peasants, Power, and Applied Social Change* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1964); and Richard N. Adams, *A Community in the Andes: Problems and Progress in Muquiyauyo* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959).
3. Julio Cotler, "Actuales pautas de cambio en la sociedad rural del Perú," in *Dominación y cambios en el Perú rural*, 60–79.
4. Richard Charles Webb, *Government Policy and the Distribution of Income in Peru, 1963–1973* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 136–45.
5. Ibid.
6. Thomas G. Sanders, *Peru's Economy: Underemployment and the Informal Sector*, Universities Field Staff International Reports, no. 39 (Hanover, N.H.: Universities Field Staff International, 1984), p. 3; *The Andean Report* 12, no. 6 (July 1985):1; and Latin America Bureau, *Peru: Paths to Poverty* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1985), 128.
7. Henry Pease García, *A un año del segundo belaundismo: un perfil del proceso político peruano* (Lima: DESCO, 1981), 76; and Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Peru 1985: el derrotero de una nueva elección* (Lima: Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico and Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1986), 33.
8. José María Caballero's work is probably the only real precedent. Caballero's conclusions are similar, but his data are taken primarily from secondary sources. See José María Caballero, *Economía agraria de la sierra peruana* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981).