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Imagine, if you can, a U.S. university as landlord of a feudal estate. Imagine a succession of North American academics working hard at trying to understand a community of Indians who dress, farm, and speak much as did the Inca in colonial times. Then imagine those same people trying to introduce democratic principles and appropriate bits of modern know-how, while simultaneously "looking over their shoulders" (figuratively) in an effort to understand the complex processes of cultural change and the equally complex phenomenon of selective resistance to change, or continuity.

It all really happened, and the Vicos project was famous as an enlightened initial experiment in "participant intervention." Controversial, in Peru and elsewhere, it remains unique in terms of local impact combined with anthropological research, as explained here by Doughty, who played a number of different roles at different times.

The self-consciously developmental concern of this project contrasts markedly with the more academically oriented Harvard-Chiapas project (Vogt, chapter 5). The degree of sustained political and administrative involvement was unusual and contrasts markedly with the more consultative approach used by Stearman (chapter 20), or the more revolutionary approach described by Collier (chapter 17).

Ending Serfdom in Peru The Struggle for Land and Freedom in Vicos

Paul L. Doughty

In 1948 Peru and the other Andean nations were only beginning to confront the negative legacies of three centuries of colonial rule. The Spanish adventurer, Francisco Pizarro, encountered and conquered the Inca Empire, converting its diverse peoples into reluctant subjects of a distant monarchy dedicated to the extraction of all the wealth that could be mined, produced, captured and subsequently exported.¹ A critical element in that colonial process was the unremitting exploitation of the native population.

As this cataclysm unfolded, Andean peoples were subordinated to a colonial system that made them permanent servants of the conquerors, with diminishing ability to control their lives. It was a regime Andean peoples little understood but a domination they had to survive from 1532–1821. By the end of that regime, the Incas had been reduced to a denigrated ethnic class called Indians—*indios*. Ironically, those trends only deepened after the Andean nations won independence from Spain in the 1820s. The creole elites who took over envisioned themselves as the heirs of the colonial regime with rights to the wealth and power that had been the preserve of the Spanish Crown and its agents, including the right to utilize and control the labor and productivity of the Andean peoples. This pattern of sociocultural, economic and political relationships continued with few if any significant changes favoring the native peoples.

THE "INDIAN PROBLEM"

From the earliest colonial years, the survivors of the conquest posed difficulties for the conquerors: they spoke non-European languages; their beliefs and behaviors were

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puzzling, and they seemed unresponsive to, or incapable of, any progress or improvement. As decades passed their situation became classified as "the Indian problem" in government and social circles. Thus, the presumed inferiority of Indians served to validate the power and status of elites who claimed to "protect" them from their inadequacies and ignorance.

Although numerous uprisings of peasants and serfs occurred throughout the Andean highlands where the Indian peoples were concentrated, such efforts to lighten the onerous weight of exploitation had only very limited regional and temporal impacts. The onset of the twentieth century saw this former heartland of the Incas struggling to modernize itself through newly established public education, road building, and the re-establishment, in 1919–20, of Indian Communities as corporate landholders (if they could prove they had been awarded a community title under Spanish rule). By the early 1960s, about 1,500 Peruvian indigenous communities succeeded in being reinstated after onerous bureaucratic procedures but an estimated 3,000 communities had not been so recognized. Thus, most of the Indian peoples benefited little from even those ostensibly "liberal" laws and policies.

From early colonial times, a majority of Andean Indians had found refuge in the obscurity of remote hamlets where they were at the fringes of governmental control, or, they lived within the boundaries of large private estates, isolated from participation in national or even regional affairs as landlords "protected" their agricultural labor force from outside contact, sustaining their control of it. Those estates, called *haciendas*, were owned by families belonging to the regional or national upper classes, and, in the 1900s, by corporations such as mining companies or agribusiness operations. Acquired and aggregated through inheritance, purchase, or fraud, such properties included not only former Indian lands but the people who had always lived there. At mid-twentieth century there were some such estates as large as 150,000 hectares, on which lived and worked almost five percent of all Peruvians.² The *hacienda* system with its tradition of control and subordination through peonage was a hallmark of Peruvian and South American society in general.

HACIENDA VICOS

A good example of such an estate was one called Vicos, located in the high Andes about 200 miles north of Peru's capital, Lima. Situated in the middle of the 125 mile-long intermontane valley called the Callejón de Huaylas, Vicos occupied hilly lands which rise upward from the valley floor at 9,500 feet, into the spectacular Cordillera Blanca,³ reaching over 22,000 feet above sea level. With the snow and glaciers of the Cordillera looming overhead, Vicos in 1949 was home to 1,702 serfs (called *colonos*) who were permitted to live on the 43,750 acre estate serving the landlord as farm workers and as unpaid servants for three days a week in "exchange" for tiny plots used as homesites and for planting subsistence crops. As a reward or *temple* for fulfilling these obligations, the landlord provided workers with a daily tip of twenty *centavos* (worth about 6 U.S. cents), a shot of alcohol, and a handful of coca leaf to chew while working. The *colonos* did not own the houses they built, nor were they free to sell their labor or the products thereof outside the *hacienda* without permission of the landlord or his agent.

This form of manor, often likened to Europe's feudal system of the Middle Ages, was the norm for such estates, with the owners usually living elsewhere, visiting the property only at planting or harvest times, if they came at all. In the case of Vicos, the owner was not an individual but ironically, a government welfare agency, The Public Beneficent Society of Huaraz, an institution established in early colonial times when Vicos became one of its properties (in 1594).⁴ As one of 55 such estates owned by the

Beneficent Society, Vicos was leased to a bidder on 5–10 year contracts. Hacienda Vicos thus not only had an absentee institutional owner, but a temporary landlord as well who managed the estate through an administrative employee. In a final contradiction, the Beneficent Society used the rents generated from the thousands of impoverished *colonos* like those at Vicos to maintain a hospital for the poor in Huaraz, a place where Vicosinos rarely if ever were allowed to go.

The administrator of the manor held absolute control over the peons, giving or denying permission for them to travel to market or elsewhere in search of paid employment, to seek education, or even to get married. In the name of the landlord, he could incarcerate malcontents in the private *hacienda* jail, administer whippings and alter the distribution of subsistence land without any protection being available to the *colonos* and their families. If asked, the people of Vicos described themselves as “slaves,” owned by the landlords. For people living in the industrialized world at mid-twentieth century, it was a shocking revelation that such conditions could not only exist in “modern” times, but be a common characteristic of many countries in the Americas.⁵

THE CONTEXTS OF CHANGE

The enormous impact of a colonial system through which Spain ruled its world-wide empire from 1500 to 1820 and its cultural, economic and political legacy provided the guidelines for the people who subsequently governed the independent nations. In 1948 Peru was a nation not only with great socioeconomic disparities, but one which was deeply segregated by region, culture and class. Eighty-seven percent of the country could only be reached on horseback or on foot, and people living on the eastern Andean slopes and Amazon basin were largely untouched by national affairs. In the Andean highlands, where a majority of Peruvians then lived, most Quechua and Aymara Indians as well as many *cholos* and *mestizos*⁶ worked as peons or were enmeshed in *hacienda* systems like the one at Vicos.

Consequently in 1950, it was commonly thought that one could not “do much” with the Indians, or expect them to be capable of self-help. Nevertheless, with the end of World War II, a watershed moment arrived; worldwide currents of change began to have their impact in Peru. Demands for resources created new economic conditions for the country; the population was increasing rapidly; and numerous international programs sought to educate, develop, and stimulate societies such as that of Peru. Just as the world was increasingly caught up in vast political, economic and cultural changes (then referred to as “Westernization” or “modernization”), Peru sought to engage itself in this movement. Having signed on to the new United Nations’ initiatives, issues of national development, dormant since the 1920s, again became an important concern for Peru.

The government embarked on various programs of agricultural and industrial development seeking investments to improve the productive infrastructure. One of these was the construction of a major hydroelectric plant in the Callejón de Huaylas. At the northern end of the valley, electricity was to be generated by the Santa River as it plunged towards the Pacific coast. The power was destined to drive a French-designed steel mill that was to be built in the small Pacific port of Chimbote, which was already being transformed from a proverbially sleepy fishing town into a sprawling city of squatter settlements by the explosive growth of the fishing industry that made Peru at that time the world’s leading fishing nation. In Peru, these developments were considered a harbinger of the industrialization and progress which would elevate the nation to economic leadership in Latin America.⁷

Attracted by these events in 1948, San Marcos University’s⁸ newly organized Institute of Ethnology, led by two of its professors, Jorge Muelle and Allan R. Holm-

berg of the Smithsonian Institution, initiated a series of studies designed to examine the changes which would take place in forthcoming years in traditional Andean societies. Undertaking field surveys with their students, they visited the Callejón de Huaylas, studying several of the small provincial towns and villages, including Hacienda Vicos, touted by many as the "most typical" of Andean estates.

Located six kilometers uphill from the small district capital of Marcará, Vicos was rarely visited by any outsiders and seemed isolated from contemporary events in almost every way. The anthropologists thought that the *hacienda* should be included in any larger study of social change as representative of the least modernized and poorest population in the Callejón. Mario C. Vazquez, a Peruvian graduate student, undertook a study of the Vicosinos (people of Vicos) under Holmberg's tutelage, living on the *hacienda* for many months in 1949-50.⁹ By this time, Holmberg had joined the Anthropology faculty at Cornell University and incorporated Vazquez's study as part of a bold proposal to assist the Vicosinos as part of Cornell's far-flung studies of socio-cultural change.¹⁰ They thought that Vicos would be an excellent place to demonstrate a strategy for improving the lives of people, contrary to the prevailing opinions of many Peruvians, who considered Indians unworthy of such attention and incapable of "advancement."

Enlisting the support of Dr. Carlos Monge Medrano, a prestigious research physician and president of the Instituto Indigenista Peruano,¹¹ they developed a plan to "attend to the improvement of living standards of the inhabitants of Hacienda Vicos, until the moment that they can take a progressive role in the modern world."¹² They outlined several broad theoretical goals dealing with social change and research methodology in applied contexts and included a plan to train students to deal with Peru's rural development issue. In addition, there was a multifaceted program of activities in the fields of agricultural production and animal husbandry, social organization and cooperatives, marketing, nutrition, health, and education.

THE PROJECT BEGINS

To do this, the Peruvian government signed a unique agreement with Cornell University establishing the basis for project operations and responsibilities. In late 1951, the Cornell-Peru Project (CPP)¹³ took over the lease on the estate from a bankrupt agribusiness company at the going rate of about 600 U.S. dollars a year, to be paid the Beneficent Society for a five-year period. This gave the university usufruct of not only the 43,750 acres¹⁴ of the estate for any productive purpose, but also the use of the "free" labor of the resident *colonos* according to custom: as field hands, household servants, shepherds or any other task to be assigned. It was a unique experiment for a university.

Based on Vazquez's initial research and that done by Holmberg and his collaborators in 1951-53, the situation at Vicos was clearly defined with respect to levels of living and estate operations. The initial strategy announced was only a starting point; subsequent actions evolved as all parties to the project gained experience. The anthropologists approached the task with the elementary theoretical and methodological tools that were at their disposal at the time, developed from community studies and ethnographic styles of the era. Holmberg himself had done research in Peru, as well as pioneering studies in the Bolivian Amazon for several years where concerns about the fate of native peoples and his interests in directed cultural change were launched.¹⁵

The immediate project tasks were clear. The agribusiness concern that had rented the *hacienda* was unsuccessfully raising flax and paid no attention to food crops, a fact which contributed to substantial caloric deficits among the people because, under the *hacienda*, they had customarily lived by stealing a portion of the landlord's crop when

they gleaned the fields.¹⁶ The situation therefore was critical for Vicosinos, who, as research revealed, were suffering from endemic malnutrition on about 76% of the minimum daily requirements as determined by the Ministry of Health survey in 1952.¹⁷ Depending upon a largely vegetarian diet, the production of their staple crop, potatoes, had also declined severely as had other important food crops such as corn. This, with all the restraints imposed by peonage, made their situation acute with respect to general health and well-being. They suffered universally from a plethora of gastrointestinal, respiratory and other common diseases to a degree not found in neighboring non-Indian, mestizo towns such as Marcará.

The other indicators which characterized this typical Andean population of Quechua-speaking *colonos*, are summarized by Vazquez:¹⁸

In 1952 Vicos was a typical case of Andean socio-economic backwardness: 100% of the population was rural and (96%) illiterate, only 4% were bilingual (Spanish and Quechua), and people lived not knowing about the world outside and shrinking from national institutions: for example they knew nothing of the national government, had no active participation in the modern economy of the country, they did not vote in national elections, they avoided the (obligatory) military service and had no interest in the education of their children.

The most significant fact of life for the Vicosinos however was their subordination to the *hacienda* system of peonage and the absolute control of their lives by the landlord, of which these other characteristics were symptomatic. As one elderly Vicosino explained to me in 1960, "back then, we were just slaves of the *patrón*, worth nothing." The distribution of power in Vicos was controlled by the *patrón* and his agent, who appointed the field bosses and foremen, determined the distribution, size and location of *chacras*¹⁹ to the *colonos*, denied or gave permission for people to work outside the estate, assigned people to work various service tasks at no pay, and administered corporal punishment or incarceration in the *hacienda* jail.

No Vicosinos voted and the only organization that was permitted them on the estate was that of the religious hierarchy, the *varayoc* (staff carriers) who organized the annual calendar of fiestas at the behest of the parish priest in the district capital of Marcará. The priest, however, while using the *varayoc* as his errand boys, rarely put in a appearance at Vicos because Vicosinos usually had no money with which to pay his fees. Hence most Vicosinos, although counted as Catholics, were unbaptized, unconfirmed, and went to their final resting places in the rustic *hacienda* cemetery without clerical attendance.

To alter this situation, the project aimed primarily at encouraging such changes as would enhance the community and average Vicosino's levels of living and ability to function successfully in Peruvian society instead of being largely exploited by it without other recourse. The native Quechua culture of Vicos, although strongly linked to its pre-conquest past, had been heavily modified by almost four centuries of unrelied serfdom. In a very real sense, the *hacienda* molded the people to its interests, systematically denying them any options to change and thus preserving a particular kind of native culture and society that was introverted, riven with fear and deprivation, and ignorant of alternatives.²⁰ In this restricted context, a zero-sum game was played out, resulting in feuds, fights, theft and poor social relationships, a situation even more acute than the Mexican case described by Foster, which handicapped constructive growth and change in the community.²¹ Unfortunately, in their capacity as dependent *hacienda* serfs, Vicosinos enjoyed no respect from their mestizo neighbors as erstwhile "heirs of the Incas," but rather were denigrated because of it. Indeed, the townspeople in Marcará often referred to them as the "animals closest to man."²²

In the face of these challenges, the CPP laid out an "integrated plan of action" which eventually covered a wide range of activities carried out with the community by various experts, either hired by the project or working as part of government programs operating in the region. One of the first tasks was to resurrect the decrepit infrastructure of the *hacienda* and build places for outsiders to live. As this proceeded, more detailed studies of the *hacienda* were undertaken, which continued operating with the same administrator but now working for the project. A number of changes were introduced in agricultural operations, and the work and social relations of the *colonos* with the estate were gradually modified to become increasingly less onerous.²³ Over the next five years, the program developed and normal national institutions were brought into Vicos for the first time. Among the numerous events and changes that were manifested in the community were the following:

- Initial nutritional studies carried out by the Ministry of Health led to the introduction of a school lunch program and more research on diet that aided in dramatically improving the nutritional status of the community;
- With technical assistance from the agricultural extension service, a better grade of potatoes was flourishing on both *hacienda* and Vicosino *chacras*; and more food became available to families;
- A primary school was built to replace the small one-room school house and a staff of qualified teachers lived at Vicos during the week;
- The *colonos* began working on *hacienda* lands only as needed, leaving people free to find outside work as they wished;
- The role of the administrator and landlord was gradually altered, as the Vicosino foremen (*mayorales*) were encouraged and trained to assume ever larger roles in the management of the *hacienda*; by 1956, when the community began to operate the estate directly for itself, serfdom had been abolished and the *hacienda* lands became community lands, with work done under the emerging elected community council;
- With profits of increasing potato sales to Lima, people were paid for their work on the *hacienda* and common lands; money was available for various other activities and construction; and a community savings account was started, to be used eventually in buying the estate.

As the project continued, the Vicosinos who had long desired their freedom from patronal power took an increasing role as decision makers as they gained experience, working towards the day when they would be able to assume control of the *hacienda* for themselves. Previously, they had protested against landlords and petitioned the government for relief from peonage in 1912, 1928 and 1946.²⁴ By 1956-7, when Cornell's lease on the property was over, the government had agreed to permit the community to gain title of the land through an expropriation process, with the community itself paying the value of the estate over the next five to six years, as well as the year-to-year lease, until the sale was completed. The regional elites who controlled the Beneficent Society were strongly opposed to this plan to sell Vicos to the people and repeatedly thwarted attempts to proceed. In their delaying tactics they had the behind-the-scenes support of President Manuel Prado y Ugarteche and his prime minister, Pedro Beltran Espantoso, both of whom were large landowners and feared the precedent it would set if the sale proceeded, as there were over a hundred such requests pending around the country. As adherents of the conservative National Agrarian Society's stand against any serious land reform, they were a formidable barrier to the successful conclusion of the project. Obviously the challenge was to oblige the government to fulfill its agreement.

FEELING PROGRAM IMPACT

In the meantime, inspired by the success of the Vicos project, the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs, cooperating with the Health, Agriculture and Education ministries, established in 1957 a widespread program to begin work in the strongly Indian regions in the central and southern highlands to promote development as well as to continue work at Vicos with the CPP.²⁵ It was the first time a Peruvian government had attempted such a program. Word of the project had spread widely by this time; the Peruvian press ran articles such as "The Peru-Cornell Project is the first firm and sure step for a peaceful agrarian revolution," and a *Readers' Digest* piece entitled "Miracle at Vicos" in both Spanish and English.²⁶ In addition, the Ministry of Labor's Indigenist Institute distributed circulars and "wall newspapers" about the CPP to all 1500 recognized Indigenous Communities, creating vast interest around the nation among peasants and serfs engaged in struggles against *hacienda* domination. As a result, the project was besieged by community delegations to its Lima office, and multi-page letters written in elementary Spanish arrived recounting abuses and requesting project assistance to "do what you did at Vicos." The CPP conducted a nationwide survey of Indigenous Community conditions in 1961–2, resulting in the first collection of such data²⁷ and significantly furthering peasant interest in Vicos.

Peru's agrarian problems were beginning to crystallize as national political campaigns in 1962–3 provoked much discussion. In the wake of Fernando Belaunde's election in 1963, there was an immediate reaction throughout the nation. Andean communities, thinking that the new government would support land reform, invaded hundreds of *haciendas* throughout the highlands, precipitating a national crisis. Forced to withdraw, the Indigenous Communities and *hacienda* serfs had to await future policies that would aid them. Understanding the volatile nature of those tensions that were building, it is easy to understand why the Prado government was stonewalling the Vicos agreement. It was, in effect, the worst nightmare for the large-scale landlords.

Critical to project success was the development of a sustaining agricultural base that could provide both sustenance and income to families and operating funds for the community. The management of the farm enterprise also became central to the emergence of an effective community system of governance. The pioneering agricultural credit program built upon the project's successful introduction of new farming methods on *hacienda* lands after 1952. Sharp increases in production were convincing evidence for cautious Vicosinos and led them to accept innovations in their own farming strategies, including the use of credit for new seed and fertilizer. At first utilizing CPP funds, the program was subsequently taken over by a newly organized national program of supervised credit which the CPP had helped to pioneer.²⁸ Later, the community itself was able to offer crop loans to its members on a limited basis. As the major potato producer in the region, Vicos was visited by peasant delegations from the surrounding area seeking assistance; the community eventually underwrote loans to two other communities in the valley and lent some of its new equipment to one of them.

The Vicos potato crop was shipped directly to the Lima wholesale market, where in 1957–8 they sold 182.9 metric tons—about two percent of the reported yearly total there. In addition, family profits from their own produce sales increased dramatically, with people turning their earnings to their many domestic needs, as family possessions increased as much as four hundred percent for some. They also turned their new wealth to improving their housing, adding rooms, better roofs, doors and windows to their small two-room stone and adobe homes, and by building new houses altogether. The CPP did little directly to guide these family-level investments on the principle

that people would need little special pleading to live in more comfortable domestic settings once their own preferences for making such improvements could be based upon their growing outside experience and knowledge of options open to them.

Throughout the CPP's tenure at Vicos, 93 students and senior researchers had lived, worked and researched in the community, producing theses, dissertations, and almost 200 books, articles and monographs. Although much of this work was academic and not directed at immediate project needs, the diversity and flow of research gave constant feedback to the staff. It was an essential "pulse-taking" of program effectiveness and problems, which served to broaden the perspectives of Vicosinos as well as CPP personnel as they came to know each other. At the busiest times, therefore, there might be as many as twenty-five outsiders living at Vicos. These would include from 7-10 primary school teachers, 3-6 PNIPA staff, 1-2 Cornell staff, and up to 8 students. This body of outsiders from other parts of Peru and the United States, not to mention occasional other international visitors, provided Vicos with a cosmopolitan dimension not found elsewhere in the region.

Once the program became known through its publications or articles in the press, there was a constant flow of "intellectual" tourists arriving to "see" the project for a few minutes or hours.²⁹ Some of these tourists were disappointed to discover that the CPP was not about infrastructure or monumental buildings, although the school buildings, teachers' and project "apartments" and the two-story reconstructed adobe *hacienda* house complemented the old chapel on the grassy plaza and lent a modest village air to the otherwise bucolic scene.³⁰ Many persons of course, confuse construction with development, and in this case the important changes were occurring in the sociocultural, political and economic areas of life that over the long run would produce the more obvious symptoms of change to the casual visitor.

An illustration of this point came in 1961 when a hostile delegation of members of the Peruvian parliament arrived to "inspect" the project. One of them harangued the community chairman, asking rhetorically where the great buildings and physical signs of the "*gringo*" development investments were. Their absence to him was convincing evidence of failure, coupled with his observation that many Vicosinos continued to chew coca leaf³¹—proof to him and members of Peru's middle and upper classes of the uneducable nature of Indians. The Vicosino leader, Celso León, responded by asking him why he continued to smoke cigarettes when studies showed that it was bad for one's health. Stunned, the parliamentarian did not know what to make of this upstart Indian peon. The changes were there, although not always visible at first!

The Vicosino perception of their community and of themselves changed, becoming less fearful of the surrounding world and more confident to deal with it, even though their anxieties over newly confronted choices increased as the "security" of the *hacienda's* paternalism diminished. Under the *hacienda* the *patrón*, however repressive, had made life predictable by being protective and making all the decisions. While it seems an easy step to move from the certainty and simplicity of dependency to freedom and autonomy, accepting the new complexity of life is not quickly accomplished. For some, especially older Vicosinos, the changes were unsettling.³²

Another significant factor in these changes came from the school, which for the first time introduced Vicosinos to formal learning and vastly opened their horizons. The first group of teachers was selected with an eye towards finding instructors who would be sympathetic to the goals of the project and effective in working with impoverished, often fearful children who came to school in rags. The impact of the school was quickly seen and felt: literacy is a major tool in development and the ability to speak the national language, Spanish, critical for all work outside the community. With "learned" children, families could deal more confidently in the stores and mar-

ketplace in Marcará and not be cheated. Schooling therefore had a payoff in very practical terms as well as serving to raise both self-esteem and levels of social respect accorded Vicosinos by outsiders. By 1960, the first Vicosino was beginning secondary school in the provincial capital of Carhuaz where his presence caused considerable comment among mestizo townspeople. He was soon followed by other Vicos boys, all of whom were much admired by the community and under great pressure to perform well, which they did.

The impact of so many simultaneous modifications and innovations in *hacienda* life was not without problems or dilemmas, however. By deliberately exposing the community to national and international influences, their social isolation was stripped away by school and adult education classes, trips to the Lima potato market, close contact with the project staff, young men being drafted into the army for the first time, and vastly increased commercial activity and interaction with Peruvian and foreign visitors. The Vicos worldview was vastly expanded. They acquired the ability to compare their lives with the different experiences of others, to evaluate them and have a broader basis for their decisions and choices to make which had never been available to them.

Peruvian society in the 1950s was strongly biased in favor of boys and men³³ and thus female attendance in schools was much less than that of boys, especially in all rural and Indian areas of the country, as revealed by census data. On one hand, Vicos families were reticent and fearful about sending their daughters to classrooms with male mestizo teachers, and on the other, the androcentric values of Vicosinos themselves led them to place little importance on educating girls. One of the factors in these attitudes stemmed from the nature of Vicos' patrilineal kinship system, in which everyone was classified as members of only the male line of descent. The patrilineages in Vicos are called *castas*, and were important in the establishment of personal identity and place in the community.³⁴ These factors combined with the fact that, as in farming communities worldwide, children form an essential part of the workforce and may be held back from regular school attendance. Thus, the young men were the ones who benefited first from educational opportunities, despite project attempts to increase female enrollment, which remained very low until the mid-1960s, and only now is approaching parity with males. A side effect of the school system, particularly, has been the increasing use of Peru's Hispanic kinship terminology with its recognition of the maternal as well as the paternal line of descent in personal names.³⁵

Women gradually increased their participation in CPP programs and in other ways enlarged their roles in the society. They were the most active in petty commerce, notably in the weekend market in Marcará. The PNIPA program began a popular "Women's Club" which featured classes in new domestic skills, entertainment and, most attractive to all, learning how to use the project's treadle sewing machines. As elementary or even anachronistic in today's terms as such activities may appear, they were nothing less than revolutionary as far as women were concerned at the time; to be accorded such attention and offered the opportunity to learn within the context of their own organization was truly innovative in light of Vicos' historical experience. An almost immediate effect was to enhance women's status by elevating and increasing their technological skills in areas that were widely appealing to them and so increase their self-respect and recognition by others. Since one's personal appearance is important in all cultures and closely related to concepts of respect, status, and role, Vicosinos' appearance and the "presentation of self," both within their own community and outside it, are useful measures of sociocultural change.

A consequence of the acquisition of sewing skills by Vicos women, therefore, had considerable impact in the community: there was an "explosion" of Vicos dress styles

and elaboration of the traditional clothing, which was almost entirely made in the community or neighboring villages. Heavy woolen homespun was, and to a large extent still is, the basis of all traditional dress in Vicos. Normal Vicos men's attire was a woven suit consisting of black pants with ankle slits, held in place by a woven sash of wool with geometric designs; a muslin or wool baize shirt; and a black waist-length wool vest or jacket with pockets.³⁶ All men had black woolen ponchos. Frequently, as part of their attire, stiff braided leather ropes used for carrying heavy loads on their backs were looped around their shoulders at the ready. In *hacienda* times, most men walked barefoot and a minority used the rubber-tire sandals.

Both sexes wore stiff white felt hats, the women's often having small woolen bangles dangling on the brim. Women's attire featured two to four ankle-length, heavy woolen, red or black skirts and petticoats embroidered at the hem, a muslin blouse with crocheted collars and wristlets, several brass finger rings, and often multiple woven woolen sashes. They also used an embroidered, hood-like shawl which covered the back of their hats and shoulders, sometimes obscuring their braided hair in which red ribbons were frequently interwoven as protection from "evil eye" disease.³⁷ Augmenting this striking attire, women universally used a red wool baize carrying-cloth which covered their backs and was used to transport babies or anything else. Completing this traditional picture, women's hands were constantly occupied with the spinning of wool as they trudged barefoot along the trails, pastured the family animals or conversed.

This distinctive and striking dress was one of but two areas in which artistic interest could be expressed in *hacienda* times, the other being in decorating the impoverished saints housed in the chapel. The ability to utilize a sewing machine, coupled with greatly increased incomes, created the opportunity for sartorial splendor, Vicos style: more color, more embroidery, and additional sets of clothing where none previously existed. As family incomes rose, both men and women purchased sandals as soon as they were able. In the poverty of *hacienda* times, most children of both sexes were rarely given their "own" clothes until they had survived to 6 or 7 years of age, but instead were wrapped in old pieces of discarded skirts or ponchos. In view of the high infant and child mortality, families could not afford to invest resources in them. As project impacts increased, so did the availability of clothing for children.

CRISIS AND OPPORTUNITY

By 1960, the community was prepared to purchase the estate according to the agreement with the government four years earlier. The sticking point, however, was that a price could not be agreed upon. Through the assessment process the Beneficent Society and its supporters elevated the asking price by nine hundred percent, which greatly exceeded the community accounts. Loans were sought but no lenders could be found who would charge interest that was not confiscatory. As the community became more frustrated, the Beneficent Society hinted of again renting the estate to a new landlord.

In the summer of 1960, as two students watched with horror, a detachment of police passed through Vicos to enter the adjacent *hacienda* of Huapra, where the *colonos* of that estate were trying to build a school like that of Vicos over the objections of the landlord. The police confronted the serfs in a wheat field and shot the defenseless *colonos*, leaving three dead and five wounded as they fled back through Vicos and left. The students had taken photographs of the event and Mario Vazquez immediately took the film to Lima where, the next day, with CPP coordinator Henry Dobyms, he placed an illustrated account of the event on the desks of government officials. This forestalled an anti-project reaction by the Prado government, which, it was feared, would use the event as an excuse to end the program and void the obligation to permit the sale of Vicos to its people.³⁸

The situation remained in uncomfortable limbo until the following year when, by happenstance, Vicos received a visitor sent by the then U.S. *chargé d'affaires*, (an old friend of Holmberg's from his Bolivia work) to "learn about Peru" from the CPP. Young Edward Kennedy was preparing to run for the Senate for the first time and visited the Callejón, accompanied by Harvard professor John Plank and others, making stops arranged by this writer and others connected with the CPP. While at Vicos, he was moved by the firsthand accounts of the massacre by Huaprinós, and by the Vicosinos' description of their stalemate with the government. Upon returning to Lima he spoke with the Peruvian president, Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, and suggested that the something must be done about the situation if the Alliance for Progress was to be successful. At first dissembling, Prado agreed to "look into" the matter. Over the next year, Monge and Vazquez insistently lobbied the government for a solution and finally succeeded: the community was to pay the Beneficent Society two million *soles* for the estate. On June 13, 1962, the Vicosinos purchased the land with their own money and took possession where they and their ancestors had labored in peonage for 368 years.

UNDERSTANDING HOW THE PROJECT WORKED

To conceptualize the project in terms of its impact on all areas of Vicos life, Holmberg adapted the "policy science" approach developed by Harold Lasswell and Myres McDougal at Yale University to analyze and assess the work. Along with his own theory of "dynamic functionalism"³⁹ Holmberg viewed social institutions and the cultural values and behaviors which drive them as flexible, inter-related elements of sociocultural systems in which a change in one part precipitates reactions and adjustments throughout them. The character and nature of linkages in all sociocultural systems can be viewed comparatively and through time by using the Lasswellian concepts of institutional cultural values and studying the extent and character of people's participation in each sphere. The basic value-domains with which all societies must be concerned—power, wealth, skill, affection, well-being, enlightenment, rectitude and respect—are orchestrated through the cultural institutions that have been created and have evolved in all communities and nations. Because the access to, organization of, and distribution of these values varies widely both within and among societies, those patterns can be studied and compared in both space and time. In some places, their allocation among group members may be relatively fair and equal, while, in others, be extremely inequitable to the point of deprivation, as was the case in Vicos.⁴⁰

In the case of Vicos, the identification of such inequities indicated the critical conditions which the CPP should attempt to change in order to induce and optimize subsequent alterations in other areas as well. Using these value-constructs in the chart on pp. 242–3 to view what happened, we see the course of changes initiated by the project in one value area and how these impacted among the other value-domains.

For example, by the increasing empowerment of the Vicos community through the reduction (and eventual disappearance) of the traditional roles of *hacienda patrón* and administrator, the way opened for broader and freer sociopolitical participation in Vicos community life and was accompanied by linked, advantageous changes in economic activity, skill, education and well-being which, in turn, earned Vicosinos greater respect and sense of moral worth. The changes were self-reinforcing and have continued to be so. This was the kind of holistic impact across the breadth of community life that was sought and achieved by the strategies employed.

The instrumental method used by the Project was one of "participant intervention" in which the researchers and staff living at Vicos took an active part in studying, analyzing, and creating the conditions for change in various direct and indirect

ways.⁴¹ Even though the CPP employed some of the old *hacienda* mannerisms as *patrón* in the first years, important structural adjustments were promoted which were desired by the people but beyond their power to achieve. These included the abolishment of servitude and the conspicuous and unnecessary monopolization of peon labor. This gave Vicosinos the freedom to work as they wished and enjoy a greater sense of self-respect. By constantly obliging Vicosinos to take on managerial responsibilities and to make decisions regarding the operations of the farm enterprise over a period of five years, the Project systematically and increasingly devolved control and governance onto Vicosinos until they took these tasks over completely. This was not easily accomplished since Vicosinos throughout the history of the *hacienda* would have been severely punished for usurping the rights of the *patrón* in such regards. Such power and status was, by definition, not the province of Indians, and the mestizo landlords in the region, seeing what was happening at Vicos, were extremely hostile to such changes for fear of the precedent they would set.

Significantly, the project also served as a shield against those traditional elite interests which opposed such changes, and it was able to harness critical outside support occasionally when required, as evidenced by the role of the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs and Carlos Monge Medrano on one hand, and the critical use of Kennedy's brief but adventitious appearance on the scene. Peruvian sociopolitical affairs closely follow the linkages of kinship, background, and economic interest. The power networks available to the project were well-utilized and essential throughout its history. In similar fashion, the CPP was able to engage the services of existing Peruvian agencies to work at Vicos in a coordinated fashion, something which rarely happened then or even now, but which represents one of the project's singular achievements and a model for any development effort. Because of this capacity, it was possible to carry out an integrated, holistic program touching the broad spectrum of Vicos life and needs, and build the "social capital" necessary to carry developments forward. With the continuous involvement of the people, the "hands-on" research-and-development strategy that coordinated the efforts of various agencies and experts already assigned to such tasks, the final costs of the project (an estimated \$711,000 or about \$35.00 per capita per year) were modest when compared to large-scale "trickle-down" development schemes so much in favor, with per capita expenditures many times that amount.⁴²

AFTERMATH

After the community purchased its lands in 1962, numerous changes occurred in its area and with outside institutions. A U.S. Peace Corps contingent arrived to work there under the erstwhile direction of the PNIPA program, which continued to coordinate government agencies in the area.⁴³ Although the work of some of the volunteers at Vicos was successful in broadening educational opportunities and providing some management skills to community leaders, there were problems. Hostilities developed over misunderstandings regarding the community purchase of the adjacent estate and hot spring "resort" of Chancos⁴⁴ in which the volunteers had taken the lead. Ultimately, this brought about a protest resulting in the expulsion of the Peace Corps in 1964, the first such occurrence in the world. Nevertheless, as things settled down, two volunteers were invited back to continue their teaching in new outlying primary schools. Meanwhile, the community welcomed the 63 Chancos *colonos* as Vicos community members and began farming its newly acquired farmland, the only things at that time which interested the Vicosinos.

The small Chancos resort was tentatively operated by the Peace Corps on behalf of its owners, the Beneficent Society. After the Peace Corps finally retired from the

scene, Chancos was rented to two Vicosinos, in a paradoxical twist. Since then, the resort has been privately operated by some Vicosinos and their partners.

Several years later, Marcará leaders attempted to take the resort through a bogus legal maneuver but were thwarted at the critical moment by a large group of Vicosinos headed by the senior community leaders. Since that time, the community has operated the rustic Chancos hot springs and restaurant, although its legal status still remains in doubt. After all these years, the popular local spa, despite its decrepit condition, remains the focus of Vicos-Marcará discord.

In retrospect, despite the confusion of the moment and the various actors involved, the expulsion of the Peace Corps was a definitive validation of community authority and the act put various local mestizo interests and government agencies on notice to that effect. Vicosinos, yes; *patrones*, no! In subsequent years, Vicosinos expelled teachers who were behaving badly, and they said “no” to high-handed land reform bureaucrats who attempted to force the reorganization of the community in 1971 with prior consultation, justifying their actions on the grounds that the CPP was an “imperialist scheme” and that the community had been deceived. The public meeting exploded in anger, forcing the bureaucrats to leave. Although the reorganization eventually went forward because of changes in laws governing Peasant Communities,⁴⁵ the Vicosinos were prepared to manage the process. Later they expelled agricultural extension representatives who swindled the community in a dairy and ranching scam.⁴⁶ In the late 1980s they captured and sent to jail some members of the *Sendero Luminoso* guerrilla group who entered Vicos and Huapra to infiltrate the region. As a result of all these and other similar actions, Vicos has earned a reputation in the region for its “attitude” and independent manner vis-à-vis the mestizo authorities.

In the decades since the end of the project, the community has experienced numerous successes as well as failures as an independent community. Its attempts to diversify the economic base were often thwarted and the farming enterprise was affected by plant diseases, bad market prices, and the like, which harmed the entire region. For several years from 1974–80, self-serving government agency manipulations left the people in the community confused, corrupted their leadership, and eroded their confidence.

In part, Vicos experienced some of those things because the community was famous, having been precursor of the national agrarian reform, which finally got underway in 1969. For a long time after the project was finished, successive government programs (beginning with the first Belaunde presidential administration) attempted to remake the community, to “capture” its aura, so to speak, and use it politically. For good or ill, this is not an uncommon event in the aftermath of programs that gain public attention and hold political interest. Fortunately for Vicos, none of these ill-planned efforts lasted long or were systematically pursued, although they produced mischievous and negative effects by misleading community leaders or by recommending poor development investments.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS LATER . . .

In July of 1997, I returned again to Vicos to visit old friends and reacquaint myself with the community and its current circumstances. Political signs urging the support of various local and regional candidates are painted on the houses in the budding urban area, where the population reportedly is 598 persons. Electricity is carried over the landscape on concrete poles sporting street lights, and wires snake down from them into the adobe homes to power lights, televisions, radios, blenders, tools, stoves and other instruments of contemporary life. Just off the old and still grassy plaza, tall

eucalyptus poles rise behind adjacent houses and sport the antennae of Vicos' two competing radio stations, located in the *colcas*⁴⁷ of their respective houses.

Today, as the Vicos population approaches an estimated 5,500 persons, the community supports a high school, one large and 9 small primary schools, and a kindergarten, eclipsing its own district capital, Marcará, in all of these respects. In view of the fact that Vicosinos have held the highest elective offices in the province, the politically experienced community now seeks to become a separate municipality, to take its evolution further along the road of empowerment. This is a far cry from the place I first visited in 1960, and Vicos today is the antithesis of what it was in 1952.

The biggest change in Vicos life since the onset of the CPP, however, took place in 1996 when the community decided (as have many other communities in Peru) to parcel out its communal farmlands to its members, following the national and international predilection and policies to "privatize" public holdings and minimize the role of cooperatives. Was this a wise choice? In Vicos, given its dense rural population, the decision has resulted in the formation of an instant "minifundia" system of property ownership, with the average family plot being about one hectare. The only remaining community enterprises are the sale of timber from the project-era reforestation project and, ironically, the Chancos hot springs resort in which the community is building a two-story brick hotel. These changes portend dramatic alterations in Vicos's social organization and class structure in the next few years.

Intending to offer a public slide show illustrating the past 45 years of Vicos life and the role of the Cornell-Peru Project, I paid fifty cents to interrupt a radio broadcast of popular music for the youthful owner *cum* disk-jockey to make an announcement in Quechua and Spanish to that effect over his radio station. An hour later, a crowd of about 50 was jammed into the old community building with more outside. For the older people, it was a chance to "prove" to youthful skeptics how they had lived in the old days; for everyone under 50 it was the first time they had actually seen what the *hacienda* had been like, and how much Vicos had changed. The excitement in the room was palpable as people pointed, identified relatives, and exclaimed their surprise. From their reactions of delight and curiosity, it seemed clear enough that this community, like so many others, needs to treat the past as a living experience which might inform contemporary decisions.

As a new century begins, we see that Vicos is very much a part of its political, economic and cultural environment as it continues to evidence many of the trends initiated by the Cornell-Peru project so long ago. Although these long-enduring impacts in the wider sharing of values that people enjoy are visible to the long-time outside observer, they may not be so apparent to others, even the people who have benefited the most. Vicosinos are now entering an era that is much different from that of just a generation ago. With its people's needs now surpassing the traditional agricultural resources of its lands, and with the full impact of modern wants felt in nearly every family as conveyed through television, radio, migration and education, contemporary changes are inspired by forces which have only indirect ties to past priorities as such.

The Cornell Peru Project is obviously not the source of all that happened during its tenure nor certainly what happened afterwards, but it did set in motion many changes and trends by introducing key innovations and interventions that opened the pathways to power, wealth, enlightenment and the other values which had been almost completely closed to Vicosinos in 1952. Then, the issues had to do with the people gaining equitable shares of those value-domains through a well planned and executed program that would demonstrate the capacity of the Indian peasantry to take control of their lives and improve their conditions, contrary to prevailing national policy and opinion. Secondly, the project provided confirmation as to the effectiveness of applied research,

employing a holistic approach that successfully addressed fundamental problems. As a result, Vicosinos altered their society from one of denigrated serfdom and subordination to an autonomous community of Quechua highlanders fending for themselves on a par with others in Peru's complex and uncertain milieu in the new millennium.

Notes

- ¹ There are many excellent works dealing with this period, including John Hemming, 1970, *The Conquest of the Incas*, Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, New York, and Steve J. Stern, 1993, *Peru's Indian People and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. The pre-conquest past is capably described and illustrated by Michael Moseley, 1992, *The Incas and Their Ancestors*, Thames and Hudson, New York.
- ² One hectare equals 2.47 acres. *Haciendas* with resident serf populations in Peru constituted over 80 percent of all agricultural land in 1961. The largest single landholding comprised an estimated 557,000 hectares (2,151 square miles) of land, 10 percent larger than the state of Delaware, with almost the same population, i.e., about 200,000 persons. Interesting to note, however, is the fact that while studies of land holdings in Peru often count the numbers of cattle and sheep on them, the number of people living there is not recorded! In contrast, 96 percent of rural Peruvians lived and worked on farmland averaging less than 10 hectares in size and constituted only 10 percent of all agricultural land. See CIDA, 1966, *Perú: Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Socio-Económico del Sector Agrícola*, Organization of American States, Washington, DC, pp. 31–49; Carlos Malpica, 1968, *Los Dueños del Perú*, 3ra. Edición, Ediciones Ensayos Sociales, Lima. A brief, classic description of the *hacienda* regimen is found in M. C. Vazquez, 1961, *Hacienda, Peonaje y Servidumbre en los Andes Peruanos*, Editorial Estudios Andinos, Monografías Andinas, No. 1, p. 8–10.
- ³ Called "Yuraq Janka" in Quechua—"White Range"—second highest of Andean ranges. See John F. Ricker, 1977, *Yuraq Janka: Guide to the Peruvian Andes, Part I, Cordilleras Blanca and Rosko*, The American Alpine Club of New York, Pacific Press of Seattle; or the beautiful description by Hans Kinzl and Erwin Schneider, 1950, *Cordillera Blanca, Peru*, Universitäts-Verlag, Wagner, Innsbruck, Austria.
- ⁴ *La Beneficencia Pública* is located in the departmental (state) capital of Huaraz, 30 kilometers south of Vicos. See Henry F. Dobyns, 1966, "The Struggle for Land in Peru: The Hacienda Vicos Case," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 13, Nos. 3–4, pp. 97–122.
- ⁵ At that time, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil had various forms of the *hacienda* system. The Bolivian Revolution in 1952 destroyed the system there, as had the Mexican revolution in 1910–20 and the Cuban Revolution in 1959 in those nations. Such remnants of these systems continue to endure in obscure corners of the world, however, even within the perimeters of advanced industrial nations such as the United Kingdom. On the isle of Eigg off the Scottish coast, tenant farmers just purchased their freedom from the absentee landlord of the island estate on April 4, 1997. See Warren Hoge, June 6, 1997, "Isle of Eigg Journal: Island Tenants Triumph: They're Lairds Now," *The New York Times International*, p. 3.
- ⁶ In the Peruvian Andes, the term "mestizo," which derives from colonial usages, refers to individuals of mixed European and Indian heritage, in both biological and/or cultural terms. The common term of similar origins, "cholo," generally identifies a person of such a background, but who is perhaps poorer and "more Indian" in behavior, dress, language, or phenotype. The word "cholo" is commonly used in daily discourse as a term of address or reference. Andean peoples in either of these very loosely defined statuses are, in varying degrees, bilingual in Spanish and Quechua or Aymara.
- ⁷ In 1951 an avalanche severely damaged the still incomplete hydroelectric plant, postponing its completion for eight years. A description of this project and analysis of its impact is in P. L. Doughty, 1987, "Engineers and Energy in the Andes," and "Update," in H. R. Bernard & P. Pelto, Editors, *Technology and Social Change*, Waveland Press (second edition), pp. 11–36 & 369–73.
- ⁸ Considered to be the oldest university in the New World, founded in 1551 in Lima.
- ⁹ Vazquez was from the same general region in Ancash department and was a native speaker of Quechua. His first research in Vicos is reported in Mario C. Vazquez, 1952, "La Antropología Cultural y Nuestro Problema del Indio: Vicos, Un Caso de Antropología Aplicada," *Perú Indígena*, Vol. 11: 5–6, pp. 7–157.
- ¹⁰ Cornell University's new Anthropology Department embarked on a worldwide study of the impacts of modern technology in the post WW2 era in its ambitious "Program of Studies in Culture and Applied Science." Research over many years was conducted in Thailand, India, Burma, Canada, the southwestern U.S., and Peru.

- ¹¹ The Peruvian Indigenist Institute was a dependency of the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs. Monge was the leading Peruvian scientist of his day and a pioneer in the field of research in high-altitude biology and altitude stress on humans. See Carlos Monge, 1948, *Acclimatization in the Andes*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- ¹² Allan R. Holmberg and Mario C. Vazquez, 1951, "Un proyecto de antropología aplicada en el Perú," *Revista del Museo Nacional*, Tomos XIX-XX, p. 312 (author's translation).
- ¹³ In Spanish the name is reversed, *Proyecto Perú-Cornell*. There are several summaries of the project, including that by Allan R. Holmberg, 1960, "Changing Community Attitudes and Values in Peru," in *Social Change in Latin America Today*, Council on Foreign Relations, Harper, New York; H. F. Dobyns, P. L. Doughty, and H. D. Lasswell, Editors, 1971, *Peasants, Power and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model*, Sage Publications, Berkeley; and P. L. Doughty, 1986, "Vicos: Success, Rejection and Rediscovery of a Classic Program," in E. M. Eddy and W. Partridge, Editors, *Applied Anthropology in America*, Second Edition, Colombia University Press, New York, pp. 145-169.
- ¹⁴ The actual area of *hacienda* Vicos had never been measured until undertaken by the project, and was unknown to the Beneficent Society.
- ¹⁵ His first work turned out to be one of the classics of Amazonian ethnography: Allan R. Holmberg, 1950, *Nomads of the Longbow: The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia*, Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; and "Adventures in Cultural Change," in R. Spencer, Editor, *Method and Perspective in Anthropology*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. For a follow-up of these works see the excellent restudy by Allyn Maclean Stearman, 1987, *No Longer Nomads: The Siriono Revisited*, Hamilton Press, New York.
- ¹⁶ Strictly organized by the field foremen, the *colonos* harvested the fields by hand in an almost military way, row by row, piling the potatoes behind them. Vazquez filmed the harvest procedure and, on studying the film, noticed that the workers were surreptitiously hiding many potatoes in the furrows. When the field was finished, their families were permitted to glean the field, finding what they could. Because their own plots were inadequate, the gleaning process contributed much to the Vicos diet.
- ¹⁷ Nutritional data are reviewed by J. Oscar Alers, 1971, "Well-Being," in H. F. Dobyns, P. L. Doughty, and H. D. Lasswell, Editors, *Peasants, Power and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model*, Sage Publications, Berkeley.
- ¹⁸ Mario C. Vazquez, 1965, *Educación Rural en el Callejón de Huaylas: Vicos*, Editorial Estudios Andinos, Lima, p. 12.
- ¹⁹ The word *chacra* is the generic Andean word for cultivated field.
- ²⁰ Allan R. Holmberg, 1967, "Algunas Relaciones entre la Privación Psico-biológico y el Cambio Cultural en los Andes," *América Indígena*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 3-24.
- ²¹ George Foster, 1965, "Peasant Society and the Image of a Limited Good," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 67, pp. 293-315.
- ²² There are numerous analyses about the status of native Andean peoples which demonstrate this denigration as a widespread phenomenon. The project's study of Marcará by Humberto Gherzi, 1959-61, "El Indio y el Mestizo en la Comunidad de Marcará," *Revista del Museo Nacional*, Vols. XXVIII, XXIX, and XXX illustrates this relationship between the two populations.
- ²³ The *hacienda* administrator, Enrique Luna, was a powerful local personage in Marcará, known for his stern treatment of Indians. Nevertheless he became a friend of Holmberg, Vazquez and other project participants and, as he says, "they changed me to a man who saw the need to change things and be of assistance to the Vicosinos rather than one who used to whip them" (personal communication). In his new role, Luna played an important role in the early period of the CPP, and later with his long friendship with the community.
- ²⁴ Mario C. Vazquez, 1952, pp. 36-7. An old photograph shows a Vicos delegation in 1912, standing with Peruvian President Guillermo Billinghurst in his office.
- ²⁵ Known as the *Plan Nacional de Integración de la Población Aborigen*, or PNIPA, this bureaucratic agency provided funding for the work of 3-4 specialists in Vicos: a community development trainer and assistant and a social worker. The nuclear school operated from Vicos, reaching out to small hamlets in the vicinity and provided a rural education specialist, agronomist, and, intermittently, a medical doctor. One of its projects in Kuyo Chico, Cuzco, resembled the Vicos effort and met with hard-fought success. Oscar Nuñez del Prado (with W. F. Whyte), 1973, *Kuyo Chico, Applied Anthropology in an Indian Community*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- ²⁶ See Henry F. Dobyns and Mario C. Vazquez, 1963, *The Cornell Peru Project Bibliography and Personnel*, Cornell Peru Project Pamphlet No. 2, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca.

- ²⁷ Henry F. Dobyns, 1964, *The Social Matrix of Peruvian Indigenous Communities*, Cornell Peru Project Monographs, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca.
- ²⁸ Allan R. Holmberg and Henry F. Dobyns, 1969, "Case Study: The Cornell Program in Vicos, Peru," in Clifford R. Wharton, Jr., Editor, *Subsistence Agriculture and Economic Development*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, pp. 392–414.
- ²⁹ One tourist guidebook recommended Vicos as a morning stop-over.
- ³⁰ Originally in 1952, the 363 Vicos households were scattered over the mountainous slopes, in association with their small *chacras*. As things progressed, however, three families built new houses adjacent to the plaza in 1960–1 and a trend was established that would increasingly lead to a denser settlement pattern.
- ³¹ In the manner of chewing tobacco, the mastication of coca leaves lightly mixed with slaked lime is a 5,000-year-old custom in the Andes. It is often done at rest-periods during the working day and after meals and also is associated with healing and divination practices. For modern Peruvians, traditional coca use is a definitive trait of backward Indians and thought to induce stupidity and maliciousness. Coca-chewing, however, does neither: it is not addictive, nor does it produce the "rush" associated with its chemical derivative, cocaine. Original research done at Vicos was instrumental in leading the way to scientific examination of the effects of coca-chewing. Norman Fine, 1960, "Coca chewing: A Social Versus Nutritional Interpretation" (Cornell, Columbia, Harvard Undergraduate Summer Studies Program), Colombia University, New York, and Cornell Peru Project Papers. Some of the modern studies of traditional coca leaf use are found in D. Pacini and C. Franquemont, Editors, 1986, *Coca and Cocaine: Effects on People and Policy in Latin America*, Report No. 23, Cultural Survival, Cambridge; Roderick Burchard, 1992, "Coca Chewing and Diet," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 1–24; and Catherine J. Allen, 1988, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- ³² See Alers, 1971, pp. 128–9.
- ³³ Women's suffrage in Peru was only granted in 1956, and became a reality in that year's presidential elections. However, Vicosinos, as illiterate, Quechua-speaking Indians, were not permitted to vote in number by Marcará district officials until the presidential elections of 1962–3.
- ³⁴ Mario C. Vazquez and Allan R. Holmberg, 1966, "The Castas: Unilineal Kin Groups in Vicos, Peru," *Ethnology*, Vol. 5, pp. 283–303.
- ³⁵ Traditionally, in Vicos a person's name would consist of a given name and the father's last (castal) name alone; in the Spanish system, the given name is always followed in order by the paternal last name and the maternal last name. Thus, Maria Tafur in the Vicos school would now be called Maria Tafur Gonzalez.
- ³⁶ This style, worn by all men, is a replica of sixteenth-century peasant dress from Extremadura, Spain and was introduced in early colonial times by Spanish landlords. Ironically, therefore, one of the most distinguishing "Indian" traits today is Spanish and a legacy of colonial serfdom.
- ³⁷ Women and children are thought to be particularly vulnerable to *mal de ojo* before "powerful" strangers, whose gaze is believed to cause illness, even inadvertently. Thus, eye contact with strangers is often avoided and mothers may cover a child's face from even the affectionate looks of well-intentioned persons.
- ³⁸ For accounts of this episode see Paul L. Doughty, 1986, "Directed Change and the Hope for Peace," in Mary LeCron Foster and Robert A. Rubinstein, Editors, *Peace and War, Cross Cultural Perspectives*, Transaction Books, New Brunswick, pp. 105–118; and William P. Mangin, 1979, "Thoughts on Twenty-Four Years of Work in Peru: The Vicos Project and Me," in George M. Foster et al., Editors, *Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 65–84.
- ³⁹ Allan R. Holmberg, 1958, "The Research and Development Approach to Change," *Human Organization*, Vol. 17, pp. 12–16; A. R. Holmberg, 1969, "Dynamic Functionalism," in A. S. Rogow, Editor, *Politics, Personality, and Social Science in the Twentieth Century*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago; Harold D. Lasswell and Allan R. Holmberg, 1969, "Toward a General Theory of Directed Value Accumulation and International Development," in R. Braibanti, Editor, *Political and Administrative Development*, Duke University Press, Durham. See also Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and Lung-chu Chen, *Human Rights and World Public Order*, Yale University Press, 1980.
- ⁴⁰ With relatively few exceptions in the long record of human experience can it be said that balanced and "true" equality of access to values is a relative rarity. Indeed, one may consider all modern state societies as instruments through which values are not only regulated but always unequally distributed among members despite the theoretical entitlements of citizenship. The onus of human rights concern and action rests in correcting the misery and deprivation resulting from the most oppressive, inequitable, and inhumane distributions of values.

- ⁴¹ See Allan R. Holmberg, 1955, "Participant Intervention in the Field," *Human Organization*, Vol. 14, pp. 23-6.
- ⁴² The costs of the project were met in several ways: on the Cornell side, through two grants from The Carnegie Corporation, which met the "academic" expenses and paid the salaries of the field director and coordinator; earnings from the community produce sales, which financed construction and general operations of the hacienda/community; and the ongoing regular Peruvian ministerial programs in Agriculture, Education and Labor and Indian Affairs. Paul L. Doughty, 1987, "Against the Odds: Collaboration and Development at Vicos," in Donald D. Stull and Jean J. Schensul, Editors, *Collaborative Research and Social Change: Applied Anthropology in Action*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 152-3.
- ⁴³ See Paul L. Doughty, 1966, "Pitfalls and Progress in the Peruvian Sierra," in Robert B. Textor, Editor, *The Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps*, The M.I.T. Press, pp. 221-240.
- ⁴⁴ Also a property of the Beneficence Society.
- ⁴⁵ After the military government announced a sweeping land reform in 1969, they changed the official name of corporate native communities from Indigenous Community (*Comunidad Indígena*) to Peasant Community (*Comunidad Campesina*) on the grounds that the word "peasant" is less negative than "indigenous," the polite term for "Indian"!
- ⁴⁶ This was a severe blow to the community in 1973-4, creating financial difficulties, undermining Vicosino confidence in their leaders and cooperative, and producing a strong distrust of government agencies and programs for several years. See Hector Martinez, 1989, "Vicos: Continuidad y Cambio," *Socialismo y Participación*, No. 48, Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Participación, Lima, p. 54.
- ⁴⁷ A *colca* is a loft where grain and produce are stored in rural houses.

A Summary of Value Sector Changes and Development in Vicos

1952 Baseline Conditions	Project Decade 1952-1962	Post-Project Changes to 1997
Power		
Exclusive power & control of landlord limits access to all value domains in Vicos; patrilineal male dominance focused within family and religious institutions; exploitation and abuse by mestizos unchecked; no access to citizen or legal rights; no freedom of travel; fear of outsiders prevalent	Elected community council comes to control all decisions by 1962; strong public participation in governance and cooperative management; power within family opening to women & educated children freedom to gain outside employment and movement; sharp decline of fear & organized ability to defend interests increases	Elected community council continues to run affairs; outside, Vicosinos have held highest elective offices in both district and province; one man has held office in a national peasant/farm organization; access to legal and citizen rights equal to that of others in region; Vicos seeking autonomous status as a new district
Enlightenment		
Literacy limited to less than 1% of male population; less than 25% have been more than 30 km from Vicos; most do not recognize their citizenship in Peru; little if any knowledge of wider world; 2% could speak Spanish	Complete primary school is full; female attendance about 8%; 4 Vicos boys attend high school; most Vicosinos travel to regional markets; about half the men & many women have been to Lima; 17% adults could speak Spanish & 35% of children could; battery radios common	Vicos has constructed its own high school & kindergarten; female attendance over 40% of pupils; many university graduates; travel and migration common, including 30 Vicosinos in the US; TV widespread, community satellite dish in use; frequent daily bus service; two Vicos radio stations broadcast to the community and surrounding villages in Quechua and Spanish
Wealth		
No cash savings and little available; daily wage 10¢ if paid; few allowed to leave estate for employment; food resources controlled by landlord on a "share-cropping" basis; local market participation limited; heavy exploitation of women and men by mestizo townspeople; equipment limited to hoes, axes, plow, loom, knives and few other hand tools; the richest 8% of people in Vicos serve landlord interests & pay bribes to maintain their status	Wage labor paid at legal competitive rates; use of money normal; household possessions increase by 200%; Vicos is a major supplier to Lima potato market; widespread regional market & economic participation; farm cooperative buys the hacienda & pays for community mortgage & member wages; community runs crop loan program; work equipment increases substantially; class status no longer depends upon landlord favoritism; class structure greatly broadens with sharp increases in incomes	Community cooperative ended in 1996 and land distributed to member families; potato production variable; other crops good; reforested timber producing income; remittances from migrants spur household improvements & development in community and family projects; personal possessions extensive with widespread electric service and appliances; some ownership of trucks and cars; many new houses in budding "urban" area reflect growth of new social class indicators; the 1996 privatization of community land foretells class restructuring once again

A Summary of Value Sector Changes and Development in Vicos (cont'd)

1952 Baseline Conditions

Project Decade 1952–1962

Post-Project Changes to 1997

Basic survival skills in manual farm & domestic activities; spinning and weaving cloth; manufacture of homespun clothing; musical skill limited to three instruments; no carpentry, masonry or mechanical knowledge; strong work ethic valued; physical strength and endurance considered the principal skills for both men and women

Skill
Skill increases of up to 400% opening a variety of employment opportunities; positions forestry, trade, construction; farming, domestic and market skills widened; strong work ethic prevails; strength and endurance values augmented by mental skills stemming from education and literacy

Marked rise in skill levels and variety; Vicosinos now hold teaching, clerical, managerial and technical positions in regional private and government agencies; many Vicosinos work as professional musicians; others work as mechanics and chauffeurs; many women and men engaged in petty business and commerce yet more than two-thirds are full-time farmers

Population: 1702; 363 households; nutrition levels 76% of recommended daily level; parasites and infectious diseases rampant; no modern medical services; high fear of landlord; housing of poor quality; clothing scarce and limited to local manufacture; theft and feuding common; alcohol use high; birth and death rates high; high vulnerability to epidemic diseases

Well-being
Population: 2102; 461 households; food & nutrition near 100% of recommended level; some medical service, but inadequate and unreliable; some anxieties over changes; fighting declines; alcohol use remains high; ample clothing; housing improvements widespread; birth and death rates actually increase; continued vulnerability to disease

Population (est.): 5500; 977 households; nutrition levels high; community-built and staffed clinic being replaced by a small government hospital with a full medical staff; alcohol use remains high; levels of household sanitation conforms to regional patterns; nucleated settlement brings street lights; alcohol abuse continues; many new, large houses; lower morbidity; in 1996 family planning program was underway

Patterns of affection limited to family and fictive kin; quarrels and fights frequent; inter-family feuding; abuse by mestizo townspeople; relations with Marcará marked by hostility and avoidance; witchcraft and rumor mongering serve as methods of defense and aggression

Affection
Wider circles of friendship develop through school and community participation; reduction in interpersonal conflict aided by development of community council which mediates some disputes; children receive better care and clothing; social universe expands; relationships with Marcará remain antagonistic

Continuation of changing patterns of affect; general reduction of abusive relations; broader social universe and confidence in dealing legal means of resolving disputes; relations with mestizo townspeople remain problematic

Little respect shown Vicosinos; their culture and their humanity often ridiculed by mestizos who regard them only as servants; in Vicos, children are often considered a burden until they can work; hard workers respected but little rewarded; limited community recognition of achievement except in religious activity

Respect
CPP awards achievement and honors participation in community affairs; personal recognition for success becomes prized; educational prowess is rewarded; Vicosinos gain self-respect at being able to earn money; the purchase of Vicos lands gains recognition and respect in region and nationally; strong work ethic admired

Vicos remains the object of interest and study and thus derives respect outside of area; locally, Vicos enjoys political respect for its strong role in provincial politics, equaled by no other similar community; educational performance a source of prestige

Vicosinos denied any moral status by society; the church rarely serves them; national culture does not recognize the validity of their culture or language; Indians are classified and treated as incompetent children before the law

Rectitude
Authorities of both church and state recognize the status of Vicosinos as citizens vested with and entitled to rights under the law as moral persons; a sign, emblazoned on the Vicos-owned truck proclaims the rightness of their situation: "Vicos Community Property" and "Shout of Reform"

Patterns continue; Vicosinos remain comfortable with the correctness of their role; the community retains a strong regional identity and autonomy
