

PACHA AND VERTICALITY: REASSERTING ETHNIC IDENTITY, COMMUNITY AND
PLACE IN THE ECUADOREAN ANDES

Marcelo Cruz
University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

Prepared for delivery at the 1997 meeting of
the Latin American Studies Association

Continental Plaza Hotel
Guadalajara, Mexico

April 17-19, 1997

PACHA AND VERTICALITY: REASSERTING ETHNIC IDENTITY, COMMUNITY AND PLACE IN THE ECUADOREAN ANDES

Marcelo Cruz
University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

These matters of production, consumption, and exchange illuminate two contradictory aspects of the household: its image as a self-sufficient, internalized sphere, and the actuality of the producing, consuming and redistributing activities that connect it to the other households within Zumbagua, to the ecological zones above or below it, and to the economic systems of the nation and the world

Mary Weismantel (American Anthropologist)

Abstract

In order to understand Cacha survival strategies, it is important to explore the complex relationships between the symbolic concept of land and ethnic identity construction with the system of reciprocity and complementarity among the Cacha. Cacha identity has its roots to place. Place is, however, defined in terms of social and physical relationships. The study analyzes how Cacha survival strategies of reciprocity and complementarity are intricately tied to land use, family social structure and symbolic meanings embedded in the cultural landscape of the Cacha. The paper is based on research done in the central Ecuadorean Andes between 1989 and 1993.

Physical Setting: the micro-region of Flores

Located in the central Ecuadorean Andes, the region of Flores is under the jurisdiction of the parish that carries the same name and is located in the extreme southern part of Riobamba county in the province of Chimborazo. Topographically, the region varies in altitude from 3000 to 3500 meters above sea level (just below 10,000 ft to 12,000 ft), and is characterized by steep slopes, with some inclines that are as much as 50 percent. The grade of erosion is between medium to severe. Ecologically, the region is classified primarily as dry mountainous forest and secondarily as steppe (Bs), characterized by grasslands. The temperature oscillates between 53 degrees and 60 degrees fahrenheit during the midday sun and dips down below freezing at night. Annual precipitation ranges from 400 and 500 mm, experiencing periods of drought and torrential rain. Winds are registered the strongest in the dry cold month of August along with frost.

Settlement patterns in the the region of Flores is semi-dispersed, the micro-region under study is

comprised of 20 communities that comprise approximately 1,609 families with a total population of 7,712 inhabitants in 1990. Of this population, approximately 46 percent are male while 54 percent are women. 99 percent of the population is Native American¹. Illiteracy was just under half of the population (49 percent) over ten years of age. Of this group, 67 percent were women.

The twenty settlements are semi-dispersed roughly evenly between three stratas based on elevation. Six settlements are located in the lower elevations between 3080 and 3130 meters. These lower communities are made up of 2,750 inhabitants.² Eight settlements are found in the mid elevations of between 3200 and 3340 meters comprising a population of 1,911. The remaining six settlements make up the higher communities with elevations of between 3400 and 3500 meters having a population of 3,051. The largest settlements in terms of population are Santa Rosa with 1,000 inhabitants, located at the lower zone, and Naubug with 1,344 inhabitants located at the highest zone.

Each of these twenty settlements are organized politically around the concept of a *comuna* or comunal organization recognized by the State as a territorial unit with certain jurisdictions. The *comuna* is organized around five elected officials headed by the president of the *comuna* elected annually from the members of the settlement. The Native Americans in this region pertain to an ethnic sub-group of the Puruhá-Quichuas, the Cacha.

According to informants, what unites these different semi-dispersed settlements to each other is the *páramo*. All the settlements are said to be next to each, despite the physical distance, because

¹Field Surveys conducted by CIACH-CESA and myself in the summer of 1990.

²Because of the difficulties of arriving at an accurate population count due to temporary migrations and the tending of livestock and fields away from the settlements make these figures approximates for the actual population size.

they share the same high plateau. The Cacha describe this union by the use of metaphor. Metaphorically, the plateau forms the head and the settlements the different body parts of a living unit of physical, biological and social geographies that make up the various ecological niches of the Flores micro-region.

Demographic pressure is great in the micro-region. With approximately 7,712 inhabitants occupying 3,512 hectares makes for a density of 2.20 persons per hectare. There are no communal lands left in the micro-region since these lands have been parceled off to individual households. Given the steep topography, *puna* climatic conditions,³ and poor soils due to high rates of erosion, the increased population of the micro-region must continue to subdivide into smaller parcels and combine migration in order to reproduce the household. Demographic pressure on the land is manifested spatially by the land tenure pattern.

Land tenure in the micro-region is one of minifundio in which the average land holding is of Less than one hectare (See Table 1). The average is approximately half a hectare. There are no communal lands for communal grazing.

Table 1 Average Individual Land and Holdings by Sector 1989

Sector	Average of Individual land holdings
Low Settlements	0.4
Medium Settlements	0.7
High Settlements	0.4

Source: Field Survey conducted by CIACH-CESA
 Colegio de Ingenieros Agronomos de Chimborazo, CIACH
 Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agricolas, CESA

³Puna is associated with annual precipitation of only 300 to 500 mm. This makes for periodic extensions of drought.

The particular households upon which this research is based are no exception, each household has its small *chacra* or parcel of land. Major extensions of the micro-region are in the lower and medium stratas, however these areas have thin soils. The scenery is one of eroded hillsides with little precipitation. The principle crops rotate around subsistent products such as corn, barley, wheat and potato. Settlements in the higher strata have more developed soil horizons that can retain more humidity, soil texture being clay rich or sandy/clayish, permitting additional crops such as *haba* or lima bean, garlic and onion. Sheep grazing is practiced in the lower and mid-stratas, whereas at least one household has one head of cattle, along with pigs and *cuyes*.⁴ The settlements in this micro-region are mainly subsistent farmers which are going through a process of increased pauperization. This is due to declining yields. Reduced yields are caused, in part, by the parcelization of larger land holdings to progressively smaller land holdings that are intensively farmed.

Increased intensification of agriculture on soils that usually require fallow times of up to seven years contribute to erosion. The lack of water resources is an important ecological constraint that makes agriculture precarious. Yet, unlike other Native American groups in the Andes, the Cacha communities have demonstrated a resistance, until recently, to completely entering market relationships with whites. This sense of market independence is based on the particular history of the micro-region as well as economic strategies stressing increased family ties, artisan production and temporary migration. Each one of these strategies is a response to these ecological constraints and the challenge to reproduced household livelihood. These communities are known as "free" communities in that they have not been a part of the hacienda system, therefore they have been historically relatively independent from local market dynamics.

⁴A type of guinea pig that is eaten during festivals and special occasions.

Despite these ecological limitations, the principle sources of income are derived from farming and stock breeding. Access to better lands have intensified familial ties both through sanguine and ritual kinship. Migration also plays an important and growing importance to the household's income comprising half of household incomes (see table 2). Although proportionately a small contributor to Cacha income, artisan products are growing in importance in the establishment of networks beyond the micro-region.

Table 2 Composition of Household Income

Sector	farming	livestock	artesanry	commerce	migration
low	37%	14%	2%	3%	44%
mid	36%	18%	4%	1%	41%
high	32%	16%	2%	0	50%

Source: Field Survey CIACH-CESA
 Colegio de Ingenieros Agronomos de Chimborazo, CIACH
 Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agricolas, CESA

In order to understand these various survival strategies, however, it is important to explore the complex relationships between the symbolic concept of land and ethnic identity construction with the system of reciprocity and complementarity among the Cacha. Cacha identity has its roots to place. Place is, however, defined in terms of social and physical relationships. It is defined by the occurrences of activities in everyday life, rather than, a set of locations in an abstracted space. Places and events in ordinary everyday life become linked and infused with meaning. Despite the centuries of de-structurization of indigenous institutions and conceptions of history as a people, there is a strong autochtonous inspiration that creates images and incessant symbolisms. These can be strongly seen in the treatment of the "natural world" and the world of animals. The mystification of these worlds engulf the contemporary Cacha. Nature is deified and, at the same time, takes on human characteristics.

The habitat in which the Cacha gives meaning to place is a comunal habitat in communion with *pachamama*, the Andean mother earth. The *comuna* is not just a physical agglomeration of population density, despite the effort made by the State to group the "indian mass" and in that way be able to control them with more ease. The physical design and spatial distribution of each settlement reveals much about Puruhá-Quichua affinity with the environment. The indigenous house or *choza* is a continuity of the natural world. Puruhá-Quichua vernacular architecture attempts to imitate the surrounding Andean landscape. Indigenous housing design assimilates and blends in perfectly into the hills and surrounding mountains and can be confused with the Andean landscape. Its imbeddedness into the landscape with its round- shaped form, walls of adobe mud bricks, and thatched roofs reveal that close identification with the andean landscape. This is why there are no windows, nor light and the doors are low as if it were an opening into the earth itself. Indeed, the circular cone shaped roofs made from *páramo* grass is a way of imitating the surrounding Andean hills.

To construct a house for the Puruhá-Quichua is to make an artificial incision onto the land that disturbs *pachamama*. Once construction is completed, the house must be reintegrated into mother earth with the specific ritual of *buluhuay*, a puruhá word that has survived among the Cachas which has the same meaning of *huasipichay*⁵ known in Quichua. In this ritual the extended family participates by the sprinkling of *ashua* or fermented maiz beer on the land and by excessive drinking among the family members that would transport the family towards a communion with *pachamama*. In this way, the boldness of this artificial disturbance on the landscape is exorcised. This gesture of

⁵ The quichua term *huasipichay* literally means here, "in this house" and is a celebration of which is similar to our notions of housewarming.

forgiveness is evident even at the beginning of construction in which the family offers a small ritual in which it asks forgiveness and permission to *pachamama*.

The particular settlement in which research was done is Basquitay Quillincocha located at 3500 meters above sea level and comprised of 120 families with a total population of 480 Quichua speakers.

In Quillincocha, the primary source of income is from migration, followed by farming and stock breeding. A third of the migrants find work in the coastal province of Guayas in the plantations and in urban areas as construction and domestic workers. The individual houses are dispersed spatially seemingly without any apparent order. Quillincocha, at first, seems to be a grouping of houses each isolated from one another. Yet, they form a complex micro-habitat. Each family constructs dual structures or bodies of similar size that are separated from each other, at times by a third structure of less size. In this way the physical layout of the familial housing represents the family structure. For example, the family which was my source of information had two structures, one representing the paternal and the other the maternal families. Three hundred meters separated the two structures. The eldest son lived in the paternal house with his family and his widowed mother lived in the house representing her kin-lineage. What is of interest here is the spatial representation of the family structure imbedded in the landscape. This landscape would change according to changes in the family structure. The last year I was there (1992), there were two new structures added, as another brother married and formed a new household and a paternal cousin with his wife came to live in the community. Quillincocha is divided by a *chaquiñan* (a Quichua term meaning path), which intersects the settlement into two parts, *hañan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower)⁶ neighborhoods. The path connects the settlement of Quillincocha with the

⁶I wouldn't venture to say that the separation of Quillincocha into two parts is the same as the andean division of a moitie in the incaic sense. The discussion of andean conceptions of dualism and moities is too complex to elaborate here. However, the internal rivalries between upper and lower Quillincocha is strikingly similar to

other settlements sharing the same high elevations and the lower settlements. The path is yet another representation of the environment. Like the streams that run through the region of Flores, the cohesion formed by the path is mute and silent, meandering without breaking; like the stream, the path winds down without interrupting the rhythm.

Colonial domination has forced its footprint onto the andean landscape contrasting with the symbolism of Puruhá-Quichua architecture. The plaza, chapel, and cementaries are institutionalized substitutes for Cacha sacred places or *huacas* in Quichua. These places demarcate communal space where the various households participate in rituals that reinforce bonds with the past and future relations among family and neighbors. The design of the adobe chapel is a mixture between the christian temple and the *pacarina* Quichua or sacred place. It has integrated the catholic practice of giving homage to a patron saint for protection with the Quichua function of sacred place or *huaca* or *pacarina* protecting the households from *mal aire* or danger brought about by the elements of their environment and symbolizes for the households as a group the maternal breast of the Andean mother earth just as the *choza* does for the individual household. The chapel is constructed in that space of most intensity that harmonizes the Cacha cyclical conception of space and time. It is an *ucu* or one of many centers of Cacha mental maps. The chapel in Quillincocha is situated on a mountain over which all travelers must pass. This mountain overlooks the settlement as well as the surrounding settlement making up the micro-region of Flores. The mountain is also part of Cacha origin myth in which the mountain is the offspring of "*taita chimborazo* and *mama tungurahua*"⁷ and is that from

accounts of research done in the central andes of Bolivia and Peru and the historical accounts of the moitie concept in pre-hispanic Aymara and Quechua spatial organization.

⁷Mt. Chimborazo, at over 6,000 meters is the highest peak in Ecuador and dominates the Province of the same name. Mt Tungurahua towers at over 5,000 meters and is given female characteristics.

which the ancestors of the Cacha came. It is thus the communal space par excellence, for it is the space in which *pachamama* gives access to all of the *ayllus*⁸ making up the village of Quillincocha.

Communal space is not just, then, a measurable object; it is constructed daily and is intimately linked with metaphor and symbolism. Symbols however, are not static; they are recreated through time, taking on new significance for every generation. This historical aspect of symbol creation is intimately linked to the landscape. Moreover, the material base for the reproduction of communal space lies within an economic system that is determined by mechanisms of intense reciprocity, complementarity and redistribution of resources that are maintained and developed by the members of each household creating community in the process. Cacha culture is the medium in which these mechanisms are contested, negotiated and played out. This economy is legitimized and given meaning through symbol and ritual embedded in the landscape. Changes in the economy are understood by changes in the system of symbols and rituals.

Thus, simultaneously, the material bases of household reproduction is the relationship between access to land and labor. Culture, or if you will, this space of contention, at the same time transforms and is transformed by this material relationship. One cannot understand Cacha land use behavior without understanding how communal meaning is constructed. Both the subjective and the objective come together dialectically in the construction of community.

⁸The quichua term "ayllu" has many meanings among contemporary quichuas. It is translated to mean family or extended kin in certain parts of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and the southern Andes of Chile and Argentina. It can also refer to all households making up a "comuna" or village as in Ecuador and Argentina. It can also refer to just the nuclear family or one household as in studies done in Peru. The term has evolved throughout the centuries and has been used by colonial and republican governments to reorganize the indigenous population into villages. The term as used in Quillincocha refers to family and extended kin.

The Grammar of Solidarity: The Making of Cacha Community

The basis of understanding how identity and community is created among the Cacha lies in analyzing the network of social relationships. It is in the placing of the individual within the context of social relationships that individual identity is constructed. Cacha identity begins at the household level through a process of constructing kin relationships. Mexican anthropologist Larissa Lomnitz identifies two social categories of culturally defined individuals--the real and imaginary kinship network and the network of friendship. These two categories, I believe are helpful in aiding us to see how work is done by different households in order to create Cacha identity and community. In each category a specific normative, logically structured grammar of social behavior is in operation. Trust, favors, and respect are the culturally based criteria used in the construction of this grammar.

Lomnitz best describes this grammar of social behavior:

...that imposes on individuals forms of action, representations of the world, and ways of organizing their own network of relationships. But the functioning of this grammar is governed by historical circumstances of class and individuals--the language of social life--which imperceptibly modify its rules and norms. In this way the networks of kinship and friendship must be codified by this grammar of social behavior and by its actual functioning, which creates, recreates, and also transforms it (Lomnitz, 1988)

What Lomnitz alludes to is that these networks do not exist in a vacuum but rather must be put within its material context of daily life and power relationships. In addition, this material context, bounded by ecological and economic constraints has a history. It is this historical dimension that Lomnitz alludes to, one of changing power relationships that require interpretive work on the part of individuals in order to maintain, acquire and resist power through space and time. This power is one of controlling access to resources that would guarantee a livelihood and the reproduction of the household in a harsh environment that sets limits to the production of livelihood. For households

to be able to reproduce themselves, then, households must maneuver within a power structure that is primarily constructed by solidifying kinship relationships.

If individuals wish to preserve their kinship network as a source of solidarity, they must make an effort to adapt their economic, social and residential circumstances to the traditions and expectations of the extended family. In exchange, they receive economic support and social recognition, and they are able to take part in family rituals. These last are of particular importance to the participants, for they mean the broadest reunion of the family network--uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces and nephews--which comprise the Cacha quichua term *ayllu*. If the network of the extended family is the nucleus of the grammar of solidarity among the Cacha household, then, the remaining family networks add to it, one upon the other, according to cultural criteria (with greater or lesser trust), like layers of kinship. The nucleus and these layers form the whole kinship network, which each individual depends on, contributes to, and cooperates with and where, ideally, the individual finds support. The kinship network is, in short, a cultural structure that in theory has the strength to regenerate and preserve itself in time and space.

Among the Cacha, rituals are an important medium through which to establish and maintain social networks and of acquiring and maintaining control of power. During the lifecycle of a household, the rituals of what I call "passing," of baptism, matrimony and funeral, connect the household members with the ancestors of the *ayllu* as well as establish or reaffirm kinship ties among the present members. In the ritual of baptism, the child is introduced to the *ayllu* and the ancestors are evoked asking for protection for the newborn. The evocation of the *ayllu's* ancestors is also a reaffirmation of that collective memory in which the newborn is introduced and becomes part of a continuous interconnectedness between the newborn, the *ayllu* and place. The ritual of evoking ancestors symbolically ties the newborn to the collective memory of the household to this place, Quillincocha.

Through rite of baptism, the newborn is given a specific identity and a particular bond within the household. The baptismal ritual also functions as an introduction of the new born to the community and reconstructs solidarity with the household tied to place through their ancestors. These extend not only to the immediate relationship of the household, between parents and children but to other households as well. The selection of godparents for the child is one of political maneuvering. The designation of godparents for the child can be used as a means of reaffirming social networks that have been strained during the course of time, or it can establish new ties, although the latter is rare from what I observed during my field work.

The solidarity between parents and children does not lessen with the marriage of children, but the expectation of mutual help and support often increases. The formation of a new household is an important event in the community. The union not only reaffirms or establishes solidarity with another pre-existing household, but creates a new household from which to tap resources.

The passing ritual of marriage in Quillincocha is an opportunity to enhance one's position in the community as well as to increase access to resources. Those that are to be married go through this ritual as one of becoming responsible adults in the community. The importance, then, of this ritual is that it gives a new dimension of Cacha identity to the individuals getting married. The passing from childhood to adult is more than a time of celebration, it is the event in which the newlyweds inherit and establish new networks within Quillincocha. Likewise, the parents of the newlyweds gain access to resources. Marriage as a Cacha institution is seen as a logical and "natural" step in the lifecycle⁹. It is seen as "natural" as birth and death.

⁹In fact, during my field work, many Cacha thought I was poor, if not strange, because I didn't have a female companion. Cacha sense of wealth is part of the resources available to you upon marrying.

The passing ritual of death is the culminating point in which the individual returns to the world of his/her ancestors. The ritual of bathing and dressing the dead for burial symbolizes preparation of the journey home. On this journey the dead would need their favorite foods, instruments, weapon and/or pottery. These articles are often buried with the deceased. The individual now becomes the group's connection with the *ayllu's* ancestors possessing the power of giving favors and protecting those left behind. This ritual also completes the cycle of life and enhances the prestige of the individual. The deceased is given yet another layer of Cacha identity by becoming an ancestor.

These events in an individual's life are marked by rituals in which the household members and kin relations actively participate. It is in the doing of family through household rituals that the individual Cacha gains identity. Furthermore, this identity is tied to place. The separation of the two is difficult for the Cacha to comprehend.

Relations of solidarity between households are constructed through a series of rituals which I call those of intensification. There is a strong linkage of these rituals to place as well. These revolve around the agricultural cycles of Quillincocha and the micro-region as a whole. The agricultural cycles marked by sowing and harvesting are times in which households come together and give offerings and thanks to the andean mother earth for providing food. These are two activities within the agricultural cycle that require the most labor. Households come to each others aid in the sowing and harvesting of the neighbor's parcel. The first drops of *chicha*¹⁰ is dropped to the earth at the time of sowing symbolizing the gesture of an offering to *pachamama*, asking for a bountiful crop. This is a community affair in which every household recognizes its dependence on each other to sow and

¹⁰*Chicha* or *Ashwa* is a prehispanic beverage known throughout the Andes. It is fermented maize beer. The brewing of which is done by the female members of the household. Chicha can have various grads of intoxication. The Chicha de jora is the most potent, usually reserved for festive occasions.

harvest the subsistent crop. Mutual aid is based on this recognition, and each household expects aid in labor because of each household's respect and trust in the other household's ability to reproduce itself. This acknowledgement intensifies the social networks within Quillincocha.

Harvesting is the other occasion in which the ritual of giving the first drops of *chicha* to the earth diety is done in order to give thanks for the crop. Again, the entire community participates in the ritual and in the gathering of everyone's harvest. The ritual of drinking *chicha* in both occasions is a manifestation of communication between the households as a group with *pachamama*. The gestures of imploring and of gratitude is communicated through the maize beer that is elaborated by the Cacha from the fruits of the land are in turn, returned to their maternal earth.

*Inti Raymi*¹¹, a prehispanic festive observance of the solstice that is observed in June, falls also along St. John and Peter's day and ends with Corpus Christi. This week long festive occasion is the beginning of the new year for the Puruhá-Quichua. The entire community again participates and the ritual of *chicha* drinking, going from household to household, reinforcing the household's identity with each other, intrically tying them to place. It is one of comunal rejoicing of surviving and successfully reproducing the household in yet another cycle ensuring community for another year.

Carnaval, which takes place during the months of February or March depending on the Christian calendar marking Easter, is another ritual in which the households in Quillincocha participate as a group. Much has been written as to why Carnaval, a European ritual brought over to America by the Spanish has taken on so much significance among the Puruhá-Quichua,¹² yet carnaval is a time

¹¹Inti Raymi is the shortest day of the year in the southern hemisphere and is time of harvest and marks the beginning of the new agricultural cycle. This incaic celebration has survived the centuries although there has been mixing of andean and christian religious traditions.

¹²Sanchez-Parga has written extensively on the subject. Refer to Sanchez-Parga 1985, 1986 and 1990. Costales (1958) has also written on the subject as well has Burgos (1990).

in which households in Quillincocha participate in dancing, drinking and ritual fighting between the two neighborhoods (high and low) that make up the settlement. The ritual fight known as *makanakuy* is the confrontation between upper and lower neighborhoods and dancing parties, *yumbos* (wild men), and other costumed ritual players.¹³ This ritual fighting gives clues to the amount of rivalry and competition that exists between households that seemingly form a cohesive community of solidarity.

Households in Andean communities have been interpreted to follow a moral economy based on reciprocity and mutual aid, giving the impression of a harmonious community struggling in solidarity for survival, however at least among the Cacha in Quillincocha, there is much competition and internal conflicts among households. Indeed, I would argue that it is this internal conflict that motivates reciprocal ties and in the process recreates Cacha community in Quillincocha. Anthropologists have studied mechanisms of reciprocity in rural societies and Cacha institutions promoting reciprocity and mutual aid are no exception. In the micro-region of Flores these mechanisms can be divided between two types of institutions of reciprocity. The first are mechanisms of labor exchange and the second are object exchange. It is important to note that reciprocity among the Cacha defers a form of payment, but this payment is not calculated to the equivalent of a labor wage or the value of a sack of potatoes, but rather it takes into consideration the resources of the families involved. In other words, the benefits derived from the agricultural year, the extent of linkages of various degrees with internal and external resources and the respective

¹³It is unclear to me from oral historical accounts whether in historical times these ritual confrontations took place at the close of carnival, in the middle, or more than once. On *Runa Punlla* (January 21) in some regions among the puruha-quichuas human bullfighting is played out between peasants from different haciendas. During the ritual duel to see who was tougher, hacienda peasants reportedly engaged in "simulated warfare."

roles that the giver and receiver play in the community with respect to power and prestige all enter in the calculation of communal exchanges. Reciprocity, then, not only is a direct transaction between the participants in the productive process, but also takes into consideration the prestige of family members, and therefore, power relationships, and/or even those that reside in other places beyond Quillincocha.

The utilization of labor is intensified and diversified within the household in proportion to the degree in which all the family members contribute their labor. The household division of labor is differentiated according to age, sex, capacity and prestige. The possibility that a household can resort to a greater quantity of labor depends on the internal structure of power that each household possesses; in other words, it depends on the level of differentiation, both materially and the degree of prestige of the household in relation to other households, and, on the types of social relationships the household is able to build and maintain in this hierarchy.

This situation confers a high degree of autonomy within the *comuna*, despite the hierarchical structure. Each household attempts to ensure access to resources found in at least two distinct ecological niches, and the establishment and maintenance of a series of social relationships varying in intensity and direction within the affinal group and other groups beyond the village. Local institutions of reciprocity and mutual aid facilitate the establishment of these social relationships. But before discussing these institutions of reciprocity it is important to discuss briefly the concept of friendship.

The social network that makes non-kin institutional relationships work is that of friendship. Friendship is one of the great themes that has yet to be dealt with adequately by the social sciences. Perhaps its obviousness makes it seem trivial. Yet in the daily lived-experience the making of

friendship is a shared experience. Close friendships grow continually in trust and reciprocity and, therefore, in friendliness, or at the other end of the scale, they are ill-starred, and some obstacle fractures them. Thus friendship is ranked between "close friends," "friends" and "acquaintance." Such subtle nuances and rank help individuals evaluate friends and their circumstances and place them on mental maps of friendship.¹⁴

We can contextualize this discussion by exploring the different forms of reciprocal labor and object exchanges between households in Quillincocha. The most common form of labor exchange in the Andes and in Quillincocha is the *minga*. The *minga* is made up of households engaging in a form of collective labor. *Mingas* are organized weekly or monthly in which one day is set aside for cleaning irrigation ditches, the building of community buildings, etc. This incaic institution has survived, in part, because of its ability to organize labor cheaply and quickly.

In Quillincocha, it is an institution that goes hand in hand with the communal rituals surrounding the periods of sowing and harvesting, intensifying household ties with one another to a particular

¹⁴ To understand the function and the tensions peculiar to each friendship network, it is necessary to reconstruct it anthropologically. The criterion of trust, a culturally determined category, can be used to explain the real social distances between individuals in a friendship network. Trust regulates the nature and type of resources that can and should be interchanged; it assigns positions and provides friendships with symbolic content. Trust, however, is not stored up; it is lost or won, given and taken away. Sometimes individuals compete for more trust, at other times they try to shake off the trust they have. Trust integrates and discriminates between individuals and types of behavior; it determines privileges and induces loyalties. In short, trust is the basic, subtle, ineffable criterion that sets out the distinctions and boundaries between the "close friend," "friend," and "acquaintance." The mental map of friendship is basically a map of rankings of trust. A friend, for example, can go back to being an acquaintance if he/she fails to maintain the expectations that won him/her her/his initial position the scale of social distances; likewise, an acquaintance can become a close friend, in other words, can accumulate trust by rendering a particularly worthwhile service or by being the repository of trust.

Because each friend and family member has her/his own kinship and friendship network, a potential network of solidarity and cooperation is created that can be mobilized according to the degree of trust and need. In this way, relatives and friends are also intermediaries in potential networks of cooperation that stay on the periphery of basic networks of solidarity--those of kinship and friendship. These are not two mutually exclusive groups, however, for close friends through the ritual of *compadrazgo* become kin in a process of imagined kin bridging the two networks.

place, mutually reconstructing meaning and significance to place and self. Mingas in Quillincocha are organized around kin and friends. The bifurcation of the community into two halves bounds these networks within either the lower and upper neighborhood. Close friendships are made within these boundaries. Informants would refer to those of the other neighborhood as "acquaintances."

Another mechanism for mobilizing labor is known as *maqui mañachi*. In quichua the term literally means "to lend hands." With frequency, it has become a manner of urgency to be able to sow and harvest within a timely manner due to the shortage of labor. These two agricultural activities are time contingent, that is, the planting season must begin and end before the first rains. The same occurs during the harvest season; crops will ruin if the harvest does not occur in a timely fashion. *Maqui mañachi* is the action of requesting supplementary help for completing these tasks. However, the compensation for this helping "hands" at times can be costly. As retribution it is customary to give livestock such as sheep and pigs. Friendships are gained or lost if the type of retribution received falls short of expectations. Information in the form of gossip make the suspect household aware of its failings. *Randimpac* is a form of *maqui mañachi* and is used specifically for the construction of the newlywed's house. *Randimpac* accentuates the sense of community. Yet, this institution has its costs, the newlyweds must provide the food and drink for those who participate in the construction of the new house.

Another institution of mutual aid involving labor organization practiced in Quillincocha is the *cambi manus*. Taken from the spanish *cambia manos*, meaning exchanging hands, it involves the exchange of agricultural labor between households within the extended family. Despite the similarity with *maqui manachi*, it is quite different in that in the former the labor is compensated in

the form of non-labor, that is, either by crops or more commonly by livestock. The later, on the other hand, requires an equivalent exchange of labor.

These types of exchanges increasingly recognize the existence of differentiation within Quillincocha. These differences derive from the relation between major and minor access to resources, the availability of labor force, of tools, knowledge, the possession of livestock, and the differences in the agricultural cycles located at different parcels occupying different ecological niches. Redistribution of these differences, in the possession of goods, labor and knowledge is done through the utilization and taking advantage of the demand by other families and individuals for the rights of use of those goods and services offered without a calculated exchange but rather through a cultural ceremonial normative or symbolism in which trust, kinship, friendship and internal social standing or prestige is what is being constructed.

For example, the family in which I was a guest, took advantage of a particular institution called *randi-randi*. This institution takes advantage of social differentiation within Quillincocha by developing asymmetrical relationships. This unequal exchange of assistance allows the household with more power to call on less powerful households in mobilizing labor. Due to the family's successful ability to acquire land and extensive participation in the community's festivities, it developed a status of prestige and trust within Quillincocha. They were able to call upon related households with access to less resources for needed labor. This creates a sense of dependency within and between ayllus in Quillincocha. The dependency creates the appearance of a cohesive, harmonic sense of community, yet there is much resentment and tension in these types of relationships. However, it is this very tension and dependency that adds to the making of community and the grammar of solidarity.

The institutions described above are vital for the reproduction of individuals and community. Without them, families would not be able to survive given the ecological constraints and the community would break up. These institutions are linked with the model of Andean occupation of land, with the types of products produced, with the ecology and with available resources that kinship and friendship networks can offer. When these conditions are altered, these institutions are modified and some disappear. An example of the latter is the institution of *raquina*. *Raquina* is another Puruhá-Quichua institution that consists of redistributing anything that has been produced collectively by all the households of the community. This institution, however, is disappearing from this region as well as for the rest of the province. The better-off households now produce designated parcels strictly for the market. This shift among the most powerful households towards the market away from the growing of subsistence crops for the community's consumption, makes this institution obsolete. The fact that this institution is disappearing among the Cachas has much to do with the reconceptualization of Cacha identity. Due to the ecological and social constraints that provide the material context upon which Cacha culture is created and in turn transforms that same material context, Cachas have been forced to migrate and expand their interaction with other households beyond the micro-region to other ethnic groups both regionally and nationally, thus transforming their concept of themselves and the material world around them. Interaction has always gone on among different groups, but it is within special market relations that is new. Such a dialectical view of the social relations revolving around the ecological constraints of the Andean region that is home to the Cachas suggests an approach that focuses on praxis. Culture conceived as structure or a set of principles or traits does not readily lend itself to the analysis of day-to-day political agency. A

more fluid, everyday notion is required. Culture then can be a series of arguments among people about the common things of their everyday lives. David Sabean has defined culture as:

... the 'medium' as it were, in which conflicts are worked out, faulty and partial visions are adjusted, domination is attempted and resistance set into play; then we can use the concept as an instrument for investigating the dynamics of power, the distribution of resources, and the nature of hierarchy. In this very essential way, culture is part of a struggle over things, meanings and positions. It is precisely because it is an argument, or set of exchanges, or an attempt to wield or resist power, that we learn more about it by starting with the relations of the people who share a culture, than we do by assuming that culture is about a set of tools or ideas, a unified set of notions which a people share. (Sabean 1984 p.95).

This is a historicized notion of culture; in other words, it focuses on the transformations of culture which acts as a medium of struggle over things and meanings. Methodologically, this is how identity and community can be analyzed for understanding better the everyday ethnic politics of the Puruhá-Quichua. Thus, through these local institutions one can see the construction of identity and community among the Cacha. Cacha ethnic identity and community can be understood within the issue of control of land and territory and the solidifying role of ritual. Relations between households revolve around the enhancement and resistance to power relations measured by the ability of each household to guarantee its reproduction and thus ensuring a continuous identity with the land. Social interaction between the households of Quillincocha are based on obligations and expectations that are articulated through the local institutions, which by doing or praxis within the everyday experience of the Cacha in Quillincocha, creates a seemingly comunal solidarity, which at the same time hides the tension and conflict within these interactions.

A person with access to any sort of resources among his/her personal networks has the chance and the obligation to distribute those resources among his/her personal network. The distribution will be according to her/his map of trust, which is continually redrawn, and to her/his existing material and symbolic debts. This can be analyzed through the Cacha ethnic discourse revolving

around land. The Andean concept of the *ayllu* is not only one of lateral kin relationships established through time but it is also territorially based, meaning the ability to claim rights and obligations on particular parcels of land. The exchanges and social transactions between different households in Quillincocha are about enhancing territoriality of the household. Indeed, there is competition for access to resources among the different households that make up Quillincocha. Tensions and conflicts are created in the very process of constructing territoriality. These struggles are, in part, played out through rituals and local indigenous institutions of reciprocity and mutual aid.

If according to Levi Strauss the social is always and no more than space and the expressions of symbols, then, we can understand that social groups of the Andes, the land, and the relations of production mediated through her constitute the symbolic focal point on which the social is organized; from the structure of kinship to even the forms of representation that the *comuna* takes; from the persistence of ritual order and to the degree of identity formation of individuals to communal traditions and history. Seen in this light, we can see the mythization of the economy; wherein the land is transformed to *pachamama* or the Andean mother earth and this becomes the source of subsistence. This mythic vision of the environment with all its symbolisms and rituals determines the specifics of Cacha economy. The concept of production falls on the environment itself. She is the primary producer and the action of the Cacha is secondary but necessary. The environment becomes that living being, the maternal breast whose funcundity is made with the necessary help of the Cacha. Likewise, the concept of consumption is ritualized. The intimate relation between a giving mother and her children is clearly exemplified in the act of eating. For the Cacha the act of eating is a rite, much like in my own culture, but the rite is associated with the reverence given to the andean mother earth. Therefore, the Cacha eats in silence. This Cacha etiquette is a communion with simultaneously the invisible and the visible

pachamama. Wealth and the accumulation of wealth, then, is seen based in the products of the environment, the land and animals that are susceptible of being increased by accumulation. This idealized wealth can never be understood by functionary thinking. As long as we see the land as merely a function of production and wealth, this idealized wealth will always remain as the wealth of the other. This focal point forms a particular spatiality. This spatiality is constructed of being, of doing Cacha. In analyzing this spatiality we can understand the structure of power within Quillincocha.

Cacha Spatiality: Political Structure of Quillincocha

Before discussing Cacha spatiality and territoriality, it is important to note that not all the productive resources operate in the same manner within the strategies making a community and as factors of power. Their function within a political economy is conditioned by the structure of each community and its historical process with the State and the national economy. Furthermore, the household unit does not always control this or that resource, but it could be the extended *ayllu* to which that particular family is a member; or the use or ownership of a particular resource can be shared with another family that is kin-ed either ritually or sanguinely. The fundamental logic that guides the political economy of Andean organization is the constant search for equilibrium between autonomy and complementarity. The attempt to resolve the tension between individualism and communalism is the motivation in the establishment of social networks. Thus, the internal power structure changes through time as the households attempt to resolve this tension.

Where the social relations of production and of survival acquire asymmetrical characteristics and where the management of economic resources determine a new form of control and political

exercises, there tends to be a decline or loss of reciprocal institutions. Salaried or cash modes of retribution increase and the households at the top of the hierarchical structure tend to reinforce their alliances and relations that are bilateral with other households that possess a similar or convergent socio-economic strategy. This weakens at the same time horizontal relations with households that are dependent on the former's productive resources. Within this scheme, one begins to see a social stratification emerging within the community between those that have access to productive resources and are becoming the leading sector and those that have less or are losing access to the same productive resources. As intra-comunal solidarity weakens, inter-comunal solidarity increases.

Studies focused on this materialist observation have interpreted Andean communities in terms of increasing class differentiation. This process of proletarianization and emerging entrepreneurial qualities observed in rural indigenous groups has been one-sided. Much of the marxist literature has focused on capitalist penetration of the rural Andes, and its impact on indigenous communities. In particular, there has been an emphasis on the notion of the declining importance of ethnicity in identity formation. Yet, such an analysis fails to look at the interpretive process of indigenous peoples and the role of ritual.

Thus the third element within this concept of internal political organization is the symbolic ritualism that exists within a community. The resultant product is the notion of prestige. The annual process of electing a new council (*cabildo*) itself can be seen as a ritual process that bestows an element of prestige. The ritualism during feast days and important events in the agricultural cycle bestows prestige on the household sponsoring the festivity. At the same time, because of the cost involved in being a sponsor one is redistributing wealth within the community and reinforcing alliances and obligations within familial groups of various degrees of internal prestige and wealth.

Power thus is diffused throughout the community. For analytical purposes one can separate formal and informal (real) power. Depending on the historical processes that shape a particular community and the situation it perceives itself to be in, the formal power of the *cabildo* can have different characteristics. The *cabildo* or council since its inception and implementation from above is the apparatus by which the State has or makes contact with the community. Thus, the State's modernization ideology penetrates into the community via the council's contact with the ministries of education, health, public works, agriculture and development agrarian reform agencies. Sometimes prestige is bestowed on council members, but at least in the case of Quillincocha, it is a functional position in which members of the community who have dealt with the outside can communicate in the language of the white man and know his customs are selected to be council members. Ideally, the council looks after comunal interests. However, it has become the mechanism by which Andean communities "consume development". In other words, they consume integrated rural projects, electrification and irrigation improvements and health care. The institution of *rama* is used to acquire those objects necessary for recognizing deals closed with State agencies and private development organizations. The council itself, however, does not propose development or the use of household resources for improved production. That is in the realm of the informal power of individual households.

Households located at the apex of the internal hierarchical structure of power (ability to summon and prestige) are conferred a political role of importance that at times is translated in the control and leadership of the *cabildo*. As in the case of the household that provided my primary informants, a kin member was elected president of the *comuna* in 1990. The household has been able to control land resources in four distinct ecological niches and sees the necessity to have access or control

water resources that outside development agencies can offer. It is precisely the attractiveness of some of these "development strategies" within the community that politically motivates those who, through their own socio-economic agenda or their competence in relations with the white/mestizo culture, are designated to be negotiators for the community. The following year the presidency of the council went to a rival household with ample access to land and connections with the outside. This control of the *cabildo* in Quillincocha by those households that are at the top of the community hierarchy contributes to the continued process of differentiation within the community.

Migrants form another political sector within Quillincocha. Migrants from the community act as a modernizing sector within Quillincocha. They become the vehicle from which development projects are introduced and are the sector within Quillincocha that promotes such projects. This sector sees the benefits of certain development programs in facilitating their acquisition of land. They contribute to increasing differentiation by their ability to successfully find work allowing for the accumulation of cash to purchase land. They introduce changes in consumption patterns as well. For example, the introduction and consumption of noodles in the community has taken on a symbol of prestige and status. Remarks such as "they want to be like white people" and "they think they are white" is as much a commentary on the growing differentiation within Quillincocha than on singling out certain households for ridicule. The group that resist this differentiation process are the "poor" sector of the community. These are households that have little access to land, and lack developed alliances and networks. They do not benefit from development projects, since these projects tend to be dominated by the households that are in a better position to take advantage of new methods in farming and husbandry. Members of this poor sector perceive the growing differentiation with alarm and are quite vocal in their protest of such "foreign ideas," and are the most vocal in adherence to

ethnicity. Many are devoted to a messianic movement known as *katari*. The movement awaits the arrival of a new Inca that would restore *taihuantinsuyo* and order to 500 years of *pachacutic*. The term refers to universal imbalance caused by the arrival of Europeans to America.

The role of women should not be discarded. Even though they are absent in the *cabildo*¹⁵, they participate in debate during assemblies and many form part of the informal real power structure. Furthermore, they decide what to plant and take an equal part in the decisions of the households and fostering familial links in matters of production and the family economy. They openly criticize and spread rumors on decisions that the council (*cabildo*) is about to take or has taken that are important to the community. The democratic ability to openly criticize is an important daily activity within andean communities. The women can be a pressure that can be quite effective.¹⁶ Indeed, women are the bridge between the formal and informal power within andean communities. Since it is the informal power that dominates the individual households decision making on the use of productive resources, women are often bestowed prestige and have a significant role in the internal informal power. They are responsible for the maintenance of family and familial ties within the *ayllu*. Thus, they hold a pivotal role in the maintenance and the enhancement of resources for the household and *ayllu*.

In looking at the *ayllu*, then, as a political economic institution, it is important to note that it is territorially based. In other words, space is intricately tied to the internal power structure of the

¹⁵Traditionally the posts in the *cabildo* have been dominated by males, this can be partly explained by the fact that they have had more contact with the white/mestizo culture through their migration experiences and the fact that they have a working knowledge of Spanish.

¹⁶Andean women have their own land inherited from her family that is held separate from her husband's. This asset adds to her independence. With the changes within the community (increased male migration for longer periods of stay) the types of changes in the role of women in relation to formal power represented by the council is yet to be seen or better studied.

andean community. The control of environmental resources is basic for the reproduction of the household. Moreover, culture, through myth and ritual is ideologically integrated to this temporal/spatial dialectic giving meaning to the continuous interpretation done on the part of household members as they negotiate and contest changes that attempt to remap andean community.

The *ayllu*, then is continuously going through change as it responds to internal and external changes that influence the member households ability to reproduce themselves. An important result of these internal and external changes is the increasing differentiation between households.

The spatiality of the modalities of differentiation within Quillincocha can be divided into four socio-spatial levels that make up subsistant relationships. Level one is the nucleus of affinity, consisting of the household, closest kin and friends. Level two is the location of the parcels in relation to the neighborhood. One hectare can be divided into small parcels not necessarily adjacent to the house. Level three is the location of the extended family having special skills. These would be brick layers, carpenters, artesans, and shamans. Level four is the location of families with a strategic productive specialization that require relatively little labor such as cash crops, onions or livestock, in particular sheep. Their level of reciprocity and redistribution is based on their relationship to access and demand for communal resources. Thus, these spatial modalities appear to cause disarticulate or multiple survival strategies; yet it is their diversity that articulates within communal space constructing identity and community in the process. The *comuna* of Quillincocha is actively constructed through the spatial organization of diverse linkages of reciprocity, complementarity and redistribution. Ritual is the cohesive language that binds households together.

For example, in the rituals of passing, such as matrimony, the political manueuvoring of families seeking suitable marriage partners for their children is given legitimacy in the eyes of the rest of the

households through ritual. In Quillincocha, this comes in the form of establishing family, via in-laws, at the lower stratas; in other words, in households located in ecological niches that are different from their own. In this way households can have access to additional agricultural resources. In the case of Quillincocha, marriages are consummated with households in the lower stratas where one can have access to maize and sheep¹⁷. Twenty-seven families in Quillincocha had in-laws in Llactapamba located in the middle strata, and eight had made in-laws with families in Santa Rosa located in the lower strata. Access to non-agricultural resources is also now to be expected between households tied to marriage kinships. This type of mutual help can be in the form of supplying information on work opportunities along the coast or helping economically during times of drought. Although rare, the godparents at baptism have acquired certain expectations of them through the symbolism of imagined kinship associated with the ritual. More and more, these expectations involve exchanges between the god parents and the natural parents of the child. What is important is the changing significance of the rituals of passing. These rituals not only serve as a legitimizing action of bestowing identity and manifesting solidarity between households, but also recognizes the right of participating household's access to the network of mutual aid and resources for livelihood. In this process the making of community is one of interaction of social and spatial integration with identity; in other words, the work involved in becoming Cacha.

Access to the basic resource internal to Quillincocha is translated to access of better lands. Because of the increased demographic pressure and the continued deterioration of relatively poor

¹⁷Much has been written in Andean literature about the strategic use of different ecological niches. Sanchez-Parga (1984, 1986) is the most prolific writer in this matter in the Ecuadorean Andes. This preoccupation with control and access of different ecological niches has been a part of Andean agriculture since prehispanic times for a more detailed study see Solomon for the northern Andes and Murra for the central Andean region.

quality of the soils and the lack of water, the search for more and better parcels has transformed the ritual of passing as ways in which households can acquire land. Competition among households is intense, and rivalries and allies are formed and reformed. The tensions can be seen in the fighting ritual of *makanakuy*. This fighting ritual has been transformed in Quillincocha to pit rival families and their allies against each other. At times the rivalries become quite intense during these fights that people get hurt as stones are slung from one band against another during the ritual.

Yet, at the same time, increased out-migration has created labor shortages that intensify the need for cooperation and reciprocal ties between households. The changing significance of reciprocal institutions reflects the absence of males for longer periods of time, requiring women to take on jobs traditionally set aside for males, adding to the tasks required by women. Thus a reciprocal institution such as *cambi manus* for example is actually not only restricted to agricultural labor, but has diversified to include all types of household work. Likewise the institution of *maqui mañachi* has used livestock in the past as retribution for work done. Because of the fragmentation of resources among a growing number of households, many of the new households do not possess livestock. Cash and prepared food have replaced livestock in many of the households, reflecting the growing differentiation occurring among the households in Quillincocha.

Households act independently and animosity among households are common in the daily lives among the Cacha. Gossip is the means by which one is kept abreast of the news within Quillincocha. Although gossip-making is certainly not exclusively attributed to women, women use gossip as a means of making sure individuals and households keep their obligations, and making sure one's rights are recognized and respected. This strong sense of individualism has been overlooked by many researchers in emphasizing a moral economy based on solidarity and reciprocity. The

solidarity is real and, indeed exists; however it is in the process of doing community that the grammar of solidarity is expressed. This expression of solidarity is intrically linked to a great extent to the individual struggle for land.¹⁸ This individualism is fomented within the communal context of identity with the land. The metaphor of mother and motherhood bestowed on the land creates a bond of family between the anthropomorphic *pachamama* and each individual household. Furthermore, the deification of the land is reconstructed daily through the rituals associated with Cacha daily life. Thus, the close bond between families and the land become sacred through this dieification process.

Cacha territoriality then, is one of internal competition and negotiation for the control of land. It is given meaning through ritual and legitimized through Cacha collective memory and mythology. In dealing with these changes, it is vital to emphasize that the community members are not simply reacting to external factors, but are interpreting such changes through their own symbols of meaning. The need for access to land (the primary source of production) among increasingly differentiated households has led households to develop several strategies but it is also one of external resistance for the group as a whole.

The resistance of households in Quillincocha to abandon their community of origin and to loosen the familial and friendship ties is the same as the resistance to denying their identity with the land. For example, the widely known social relation throughout rural Latin America, the condition of being *arrimado* (cultivating the parcels of one's parents or in-laws), which in both cases could be his

¹⁸Bolivian anthropologist Javier Albo has noticed the same individualist behavior among the Aymara in what he calls "group individualism." This individualism is expressed within community. In other words it is within the communal framework that Cacha individualism is constructed and functions.

or hers one day, is limited in its use and practice. That is, when the status of *arrimado* is identified with the productive relation of *al partir* (the use of land in return for labor), even if this situation is transitory between two related households (parents-son, brothers or brother-in-laws), the preferred relations of *al partir* is established in the first instance among the familial nucleus and groups of affinity, second within the community of Quillincocha, and lastly among neighboring communities. *Al partir* constitutes a productive relation and access to land that assumes internal differentiation. In other words, the Cacha are quite conscious of this reality. This differentiation is mediated by trying to contain it within the *ayllu*. Thus, it becomes part of the *ayllu* structure giving Cacha territoriality added meaning. The sharing of production can establish a control of the means of exchange of the labor force, as well as the means of production (land and tools) within the nucleus of affinity. In this way, there is an attempt to achieve maintenance of a certain degree of reciprocity within the asymmetrical relationships, impeding the possibility that these adopt a more formal relationship of exploitation based on wages and debt between asymmetrical relationships between Cachas and groups beyond the territorial control of the *ayllu*.

In Quillincocha, households practice various combinations of *al partir* relationships. This has included the incorporation of non-agricultural productive activities, such as livestock grazing and artesany, as well as services such as work done by mid-wives and traditional medicine practioners (*jambicuna*) and those aiding in the search for work beyond the community and micro-region always looking for ways to complement or combine complementary spaces. Although new and even foreign to traditional andean interpretations, some of these changing strategies are a continuation of trying to complement resources within the households; therefore they are responding to an Andean rationality. However, without a doubt, the contents of what we would actually consider a control

of different socio-economic spaces within Andean communities has changed, and this diversity and complementarity of different survival strategies is no longer regulated specifically by an "Andean rationality," but by the rationality of a market economy. However, the degree to which capitalist development has not de-peasantized nor "de-Cachatized" totally the familial tie within the household nor the basic economic political institution of the *ayllu* is due to this resistance on the part of the Cacha to enter more fully into market relations with the dominant culture. In other words, the interpretation process has selectively "Cachatized" certain market relations.

Yet what has occurred is that with the increasing limitations of land resource which, in part, has been caused by their own institutions (subdividing comunal lands of the *páramo*, exhausting land arrangement through kinship networks in the micro-region), there is a tendency to diversify their relationships within the market setting, in particular in the sale of their labor well beyond the micro-region, combining capitalist relationships (salary, labor and consumption markets) with Cacha institutions. The displacing of the Cacha workforce from their original productive territory, imposed by their own conditions of survival, does not distance them spatially nor temporally from the family unit and community of place. The inclusion of a cash economy has the sole purpose of increasing land through the real estate market and the purchasing of better lands within and beyond the micro-region of Flores. The strategy of salaried work is closely linked with the familial land parcels and the community of origin, despite the extreme limitations of existing resources for survival. Salaried work, obtained through the process of migration has the economic motive of increasing land ownership within the *ayllu*; and in the process, individual members recreate the meaning of being Cacha, resisting State notions of integration that violate Cacha conceptions of self, livelihood, and territorial autonomy.

Cacha territoriality can be explained, then, by this interrelationship between the internal and external meaning of Cacha use of space and place. Migration is an important component of Cacha income and survival strategies. An important part of this migratory process is the function that migration has on the extension of Cacha identity and community. This fine mesh of personal relationships created and legitimized by the rituals of passing and intensification spreads to urban and rural areas that lie outside the micro region. The *ayllu*, then, is extended to ties in other rural regions as well as in urban centers. Ritual kinship is expanded to individuals with access to urban or white institutions and the formal power structures of the State.

Migration also is the principle means for acquiring salaried work in the hope of buying land. The strategy of acquiring land through traditional means in Quillincocha within Cacha households is now virtually exhausted. The buying of better lands below 3000 meters requires cash and dealing with the white judicial institutions. In Quillincocha, almost every *ayllu* had at least one member working in an urban center or rural area beyond the micro-region. *Ayllus* also reported that most land acquisitions were either through inheritance or the purchase of small parcels. Migrations are temporary and involve work in construction or provide domestic services such as laundry and cooking for urban dwellers. There was also work on the coastal plantations. Cash is a means for the acquisition of lands in ecological niches, located between 2000 and 3000 meters, suitable for maize and other cash crops. The acquisition of land in the household also ensures the continuity of reciprocal ties of production and consumption within Quillincocha. Moreover, it has allowed for the recreation of Cacha culture in Quillincocha. Because land is an integral part of being Cacha, new acquisitions ensure the growth of the *ayllu* and reconstruct community in Quillincocha. At the same time, access to land also changes land use in Quillincocha and contributes to further internal social

differentiation. Those households that have land located in ecological niches favorable for agricultural production, begin to specialize production for market, adopting a monocrop productive cycle.

Power is organized in Quillincocha around the ability of redistributing resources within one's *ayllu*. In order to do this, it is necessary to possess various parcels located at different ecological niches so that one can influence the amount of resources available to members of affinity but also the neighbors of the different parcels. The more relative redistribution of goods and services a household can exert, the more power a household possesses within the community. There is a hierarchy of power which I call informal power to distinguish it from formal power of the *cabildo* or elected officials that deal with the State, development agencies, and other white institutions external to the community. This duality of power, so much a part of andean social organization,¹⁹ is important in order to understand the internal political structure of Cacha community. The *cabildo* is responsible for the political necessities and services to the community as a whole offered by outside organizations. In essence it is the spokesperson for the community in dealing with white/mestizos. The *cabildo*, however, does not have any say in the particular productive aspects of each household. This is left to the nuclear group of affinal relationships within and between each household. This informal power derived from the alliances of different groups of affinity creates the image from the outside looking in of a communal centralized source of survival strategy. This has been the emphasis that authors writing on the moral economy have observed and analyzed, yet this grammar of solidarity veils the differentiation and tensions within the community. This

¹⁹Zuidema writes on kinship age-classes of the Inca State and the duality of power among Incas and territoriality in *Inca Civilization in Cuzco* University of Texas Press 1990.

centralization of diversity or communal individualism is the *comuna's* force and weakness. There is always the threat of atomization and disintegration of the community, yet it is this democracy, based on each individual household's decision-making capacity to reproduce itself through the diverse strategies mentioned above, that reconstructs community.

Conclusion

Access to land, then, involves the decision-making process of each individual household given the ecological constraints and the social status of each household. However, this decisionmaking process is also exhibited within a changing regional and national economy. In Quillincocha, the strategies for increasing access to land, and therefore, more power within the community, can be categorized into two spatialities²⁰ that are linked in the making of community. The internal spatiality of Quillincocha and the external spatiality of its members with other places. Thus, in the former category households can have access to land through owning of different lots by different members of the nuclear family, reciprocity between equals and unequal exchange of assistance. The latter category revolves around the relationships beyond Quillincocha. These involve inter-ethnic relations and they play an important role in the construction of Cacha identity. These include access to lands outside of the jurisdiction of the community through in-laws, or, if the wife and husband comes from a different community, buying land outside of the jurisdiction of the community; establishing a relation between Quillincocha and speculative capital in rural towns; and borrowing money.

²⁰The term spatiality, here, is used to mean the construction of meaning through the everyday lived experience of human beings in their daily transactions with each other.

Not only are strategies to acquire land the motive for inter-ethnic relations but also provide for the transactions involved with the destination of household production. In other words, the primary purpose of household production is for the immediate consumption of the household; but surplus is targeted for market and trade with other quichua ethnic groups. In better off households of Quillincocha, the cultivation of at least one parcel is devoted for the market and trade and for purposes of reciprocity among neighbors and kin. Although individual households are confronted with the dilemma of maneuvering their own resources and needs, and of responding to the compromises and requirements of the *ayllu* and those that are created as a community as a whole, the individual household tends to function as a separate segment in constant search for its own autonomy that implies an independent politics. The family with whom I lived continuously complained about having to bail out an "irresponsible" (unproductive) kin. They also were continuously concerned about what the other households in Quillincocha might say if they failed to live up to their expectations to this particular kin. Yet, they were continuously searching for ways to improve the quality of land at their disposal.

In this sense, if the productive "infrastructure" of each individual household requires real and sustained solidarities in order to reproduce itself, the *ayllu* would not constrain the household to the point of forcing it to give up its autonomy. For this reason the household and its extended group, the *ayllu*, regulate themselves from within through the complex web of ritual. In the same manner, the community represented by the formal power of the *cabildo*, and the *ayllu* self regulate themselves internally as the community guarantees access to diverse resources to all the *ayllus* that comprise Quillincocha, without compromising the autonomy of the *ayllu*, through a complex web of ritual and networking.

What must be understood of the dynamics of creating community in Quillincocha is that individual households are continuously diversifying strategies to improve their accessibility to resources. This has been the story of Puruhá-Quichua communities prior to the arrival of Europeans to these lands. Along this course of history of interaction with other groups that have dominated their society, the Inca, Spanish, and *Criollo*, Cacha communities have adapted, modified and resisted the dominant culture, creating a new and different layer of what it means to be Cacha. Social differentiation has always existed at least among the Puruhá-Quichua, as each *ayllu* interpreted their changing ecological and socio-political situation. Yet community identity is recreated through the tension created by these changes in the material world. What it means to be Cacha, in turn, changes the material world of Quillincocha. Land use patterns in Quillincocha are changing, reflecting increasing differentiation and interaction with market mechanisms; but this land use is dictated by a particular way in which the Cacha identifies herself with *pachamama* and the other households that make up her community.

Bibliography

- Aguiló, Federico, (1987) El Hombre del Chimborazo Abya Yala Quito.
- Aguirre, Boris, (1986) Cosmovisión Andina Quito.
- Ares, Berta. (1988) Los Corazas: Ritual Andino de Otavalo Quito.
- Azocar, Alonso, (1987) Comunidades del Maíz y Papa CIRE Quito.
- Babb, Florence (1989) Between Field and Cooking Pot: A Political Economy of Marketwomen in Peru University of Texas Press.
- Bacal, Azril (1990) "The Emergence of Ethno-Development in the Social Sciences" Paper presented at the Cultural Studies Conference in Stockholm.
- Barsky, Osvaldo. (1984) Acumulación Campesina En El Ecuador Quito, FLASCO.
- Barth, Fredrik (ed) (1989) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference Boston.
- Basso, Keith (1983) "'Stalking with Stories' Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache" in Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. E Brunner & S. Plattner, (Eds) Washington D.C.
- Bastein, Joseph (1978) Mountain of the Condor; Metaphor and Ritual in an Andean Ayllu West Publishing House, St. Paul.
- Colegio de Ingenieros Agronomos de Chimborazo (CIACH); Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agrícolas (CESA) (1989) Chimborazo Agropecuario: Diagnostico Socio-Economico Areas Deprimidas de Chimborazo Quito.
- Guevara, Hugo Burgos (1970) Relaciones Interétnicas en Riobamba: Dominio y Dependencia en una Región Indígena Ecuatoriana Instituto Indigenista Interamericano México.
- Lomnitz, Larissa, (1977) Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shanty Town. New York.
- Martinez V., Luciano, (1987) Economía Política de las Comunidades Indígenas CIRE Quito.
- Ramirez, Susan E., (1993) "Recent Writings on the Peoples of the Andes" in Latin American Research Review Vol.28 no.3 1993

Sabean, David Warren (1984) Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany Cambridge University Press.

Sack, Robert David (1980) Conceptions of Space in Social Thought: A Geographic Prospective MacMillan Press.

Sánchez-Parga, Jose, (1990) ed. Etnia, Poder, y Diferencia Quito.

Sánchez-Parga, Jose, (1989) La Observación, La Memoria Y La Palabra CAAP Quito.

Sánchez-Parga, Jose, (1986) La Trama del Poder en la Comunidad Andina CAAP Quito.

Solomon, Frank, (1980) Ethnic Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas

Zuidema, R. Tom, (1990) Inca Civilization in Cuzco University of Texas Press.