

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Juan Carlos Ocaña for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Anthropology presented on April 3, 1996. Title: Theoretical Perspectives on Latin American Indigenous Development, With Reference to a Case Study of Cebadas, Ecuador.

Abstract approved: \_\_\_ **Redacted for Privacy** \_\_\_\_\_

This thesis presents a discussion of the main materialistic theories proposed to explain the process of development among the indigenous population of Latin America. Four theoretical approaches are presented and discussed. The first one deals with the social group referred to as peasants. The second one explains the process of economic development at the global level. The third one deals with agroecology and its implications. The fourth and final one refers to ethnicity studies. These four theories are related to the case study of the Indian peasants of Cebadas, Ecuador. These people have experienced and continue to experience processes of economic development and ethnic revitalization, thus providing a good example of how all the theories discussed interplay in a local setting.

The element that brings all pieces together is an agroforestry development project carried out in Cebadas by an Ecuadorian non-governmental organization. The rejection by the Indian peasants of the agroecological orientation of the agroforestry project, in the context of the historical and current sociocultural processes of the area represent a choice for a special kind of modernization. The modernization that the Indian peasants want does not create loss of ethnic specificity, but rather reinforces their self-organization and increases their economic opportunities. Results show a relationship between use of exotic tree species and modern technology and the emergence of an incipient Indian ethnic movement.

©Copyright by Juan Carlos Ocaña

April 3, 1996

All Rights Reserved

Theoretical Perspectives on Latin American Indigenous Development,  
With Reference to a Case Study of Cebadas, Ecuador

by  
Juan Carlos Ocaña

A THESIS  
submitted to  
Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of

Master of Arts

Presented April 3, 1996  
Commencement June 1996

Master of Arts thesis of Juan Carlos Ocaña presented on April 3, 1996

APPROVED:

**Redacted for Privacy**

---

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

**Redacted for Privacy**

---

Chair of Department of Anthropology

**Redacted for Privacy**

---

Dean of Graduate School

I understand my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

**Redacted for Privacy**

---

Juan Carlos Ocaña, Author

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research is never a solitary task. Many people and institutions have contributed to the completion of this thesis, and I want to express my gratitude to all of them, although I will be able to mention just a few here. The members of my committee, Dr. John Young, my major professor, Dr. Court Smith, and Dr. Charles Langford contributed with their helpful comments and criticism to the manuscript, and reinforced my interest in anthropology and social science in general through their teaching. The people at the department of anthropology, especially the cultural faculty members and the staff, provided quality teaching and helped me cope with the different, and sometimes difficult, aspects of life at Oregon State University. My fellow graduate students at OSU and elsewhere, Rossana Viteri, Jennifer Gilden, Carla Guerrón, Annette Sherry, Hernán Vidal, and the people of the panel group created a stimulating intellectual atmosphere and provided personal support along the way. Paul Primak and the people at the Office of International Education also helped me in many ways.

In Ecuador, the administrative staff of CESA generously offered me an internship opportunity. The members of the Cebadas project team, Oswaldo Pozo, Jorge Peñafiel, Héctor Cruz, Rafael Muenala, and Harvey Paredes gladly received me among them and took time to share with me their profound knowledge of rural development. My special thanks to the Indian peasants of Cebadas, especially to Carmelo Aucancela, for accepting the presence of this stranger and patiently answering my questions. Without their cooperation, this research would not have been possible.

The wonderful people that I have met in Oregon, especially in Corvallis, deserve special recognition: Tom and Hilary Lipman, for adopting me into their family, Steve Adamson, for his friendship, the people of the Association of Latin American Students, and all the friends that I met in the classroom or in other activities. Finally, despite their physical absence, I want to thank my family and friends, in Ecuador and abroad, for their continuous support and encouragement. *Muchas gracias a todos ustedes, de todo corazón.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
PEASANT STUDIES: THE LATIN AMERICAN CASE .....	5
Concepts of “peasant” .....	5
Principal theories about the peasants .....	9
Peasant studies in Latin America .....	13
THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ECUADOR .....	23
Theoretical perspectives on Latin American development .....	23
The process of economic development in Ecuador .....	33
THE CEBADAS AREA AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT .....	42
Ecological characteristics of the Cebadas area .....	42
Historical process in the Ecuadorian Sierra .....	44
Contemporary sociocultural dynamics in Cebadas .....	49
Development in Cebadas .....	54
CESA and the Cebadas development project .....	56
THE AGROFORESTRY PROJECT IN CEBADAS .....	59
Agroecology and Rural People’s Knowledge .....	59
The agroforestry project in Cebadas .....	61
Research problem: the rejection of the use of native species in the agroforestry project .....	65
The attitudes of the Indian peasants of Cebadas toward the agroforestry project .....	67
Research methodology .....	67
The results: general trends in the attitudes of the Cebadas peasants toward the agroforestry project .....	71
Interpretation of the results .....	75

**TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)**

CONCLUSIONS .....	81
The Indian peasants of Cebadas and the theories of the peasantry and development .....	81
A new direction in Ecuadorian peasant studies .....	85
Applied anthropology and grassroots development .....	91
REFERENCES .....	94
APPENDICES .....	104
Appendix A Political map of Ecuador .....	105
Appendix B Political map of Chimborazo .....	106
Appendix C List of Informants .....	107

To Víctor Manuel Chiu (1898-1994), my grandfather, who without knowing it got me interested in anthropology.



# **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LATIN AMERICAN INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT, WITH REFERENCE TO A CASE STUDY OF CEBADAS, ECUADOR**

## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

The process of economic development is the direct result of the expansion of the capitalist system since the fifteenth century. This process has not been evenly nor peacefully carried out, and its impact on the indigenous populations around the world has usually translated into genocide and ethnocide. This process, which has taken place all over the world, has been the subject of abundant social science scholarship. Modernization theory is by far the most widely used theory of, and guideline for, economic development. The rise of this theory after World War II is linked to the emergence of the United States as the world hegemonic power (So 1990; Poole 1992).

Based on neoclassic economics, modernization theory characterizes the world as divided into modern developed countries and traditional underdeveloped countries. This dichotomy is also found within the underdeveloped countries, where there is a traditional stagnant agricultural sector in opposition to a modern industrial sector. The key element for the development of the traditional sector is the transference of technology and capital from the modern sector in order to increase agricultural production (So 1990). Within this theory, most of the rural population is considered to be extremely conservative and resistant to change, hindering economic development in the countryside. The prescription for development, then, holds that rural residents need to adopt modern values and to be assimilated into the modern economic and cultural sector in order for a country to achieve development (Heynig 1982).

In the academic world, however, modernization theory has been criticized by two schools of thought primarily inspired by Marxism: dependency theory (Frank 1972a, 1972b; Cardoso and Faletto 1979), and world-system theory (Wallerstein 1974, 1984). In addition to these academic critiques, development practitioners created theoretical and practical frameworks that challenged the basic assumptions of modernization theory, such

as agroecology (Hecht 1988; Moles 1989; Butzer 1990) and the closely related “farmer first” approach (Chambers 1983; Bebbington 1993).

All social scientists, including anthropologists, have been actively involved in the process of development at different levels, and following different theories. Some social scientists work for large international and state development agencies that are guided by the prescriptions of modernization theory. Other scientists work for non-governmental organization and/or grassroots organizations that reject the dominant model of development, and use the alternative strategies available or create new ones. The former group has been the target of strong critiques (Escobar 1995) because of their involvement with agencies that contribute to the ethnocide and cultural destruction of indigenous groups all over the world. The work of the latter group commands a greater amount of sympathy and support from progressive sectors because of their activist role in the preservation of cultural diversity.

Personally, I consider the work of anthropologists and other social scientists who are related to local grassroots and/or non-governmental organizations to make greater contributions to the cultural survival of indigenous populations. However, the clear-cut theoretical dichotomies found in different academic debates about the nature and direction of development are not usually that clearly defined in the field. There are cases when indigenous peoples combine elements that appear to academics to be completely incompatible with achieving their own goals of organization and struggle for self-determination.

This thesis addresses one of those cases. Its principal objective is to provide a framework for understanding the particular dynamics of the process of development among the indigenous population of Cebadas, a parish in the Ecuadorian highlands. I concentrate on the different theories that have been formulated in order to explain the social and economic behavior of the indigenous population of Latin America, of the Andean region in general, and especially of the Central Ecuadorian highlands. I emphasize the historical trajectory of the different processes that have shaped the present social, cultural, and economic situation of the Cebadas area.

The indigenous inhabitants of Cebadas, and of most of rural Latin America, have been described as either “Indians” or “peasants,” and sometimes as both. Although these categories are loaded with what can be perceived as negative connotations, I believe both are important factors in the creation of identity of the native population of the Ecuadorian highlands, and I decided to use these terms throughout the thesis.

In addition to the presentation and discussion of the basic elements of these theories, I contrast them with the data that I obtained during a brief period of research in Cebadas. I worked eight weeks as an intern for an Ecuadorian non-governmental organization that was implementing a development project for the benefit of the Indian peasants of that area. I conducted research about problems that emerged with the agroforestry component of the project, concentrating on the reasons that the Indian peasants of Cebadas gave for their refusal to adopt the agroforestry practices designed by the project staff.

The short duration of the internship and the lack of more abundant and detailed data prevent me from focusing entirely on the case of the Cebadas project. For this reason, I give a preponderant role in this thesis to the theoretical context and debates in which the case study is inscribed. Through a detailed understanding of the pertinent theories involved, it is possible to achieve an adequate explanation of the observed behavior of the Indian peasants, as well as of the complexity of the situation and of the processes that the Indian peasants are currently going through.

With these introductory elements in mind, I will present a brief overview of the thesis. The second chapter is devoted to the concept of “peasant” in anthropology, and the materialistic theories regarding the peasantry. From a discussion of these global theories of peasantry, I explore the current debates about the nature and future of Latin American peasants, especially those of the Andean region.

The third chapter focuses on the theories of development that deal more directly with Latin America. The theories presented are critiques of modernization theory. In order to provide a macro-scale context for the case of the Cebadas area, I include in this chapter an overview of the historical process of economic development as it has taken place in Ecuador since the 1940's.

The fourth chapter presents the ecological setting of the Cebadas area as well as the historical processes that have taken place in the Ecuadorian highlands since the fifteenth century. I also present the current sociocultural dynamics of the area, and the background for the development project in which I was an intern.

The fifth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the agroforestry project in Cebadas: the theoretical guidelines that it followed, the difficulties that it faced, the research that I conducted, the results of that research, and the interpretation of those results.

Finally, in the sixth chapter I relate the principal elements of the different theories presented throughout the thesis with the research results. In this chapter I discuss the theoretical elements that I consider adequate for the explanation of the Cebadas area case. I also point out to a new direction in social research regarding the Indian peasants of Cebadas, and of the Ecuadorian highlands as a whole. Finally, I provide recommendations for applied anthropologists who want to work in grassroots development.

## CHAPTER 2

### PEASANT STUDIES: THE LATIN AMERICAN CASE

This chapter is a review of the principal concepts and theories about the social group known as “peasants” or “the peasantry.” The objective is to present some of the concepts and theories frequently used in anthropological studies, but it is necessary to notice that the study of the peasants is by no means restricted to our discipline. This field is mostly a cross-disciplinary endeavor that uses multiple perspectives to account for this social group in an adequate manner (Smith 1989). Several definitions of the concept of peasant are offered, followed by characterizations of the principal theories about the peasantry and their applications to the Latin American context, with reference to the Andean region. This review of concepts and theories does not pretend to be exhaustive, but rather to provide a background for the Cebadas case study.

#### Concepts of “peasant”

As Sidney Mintz mentions in the beginning of a paper on this subject, there is “a persisting lack of consensus among scholars about the definition of the peasantry” (Mintz 1973:91). The use of the word “peasant” in anthropology can be traced to the 1930’s, although that term did not correspond to an analytic category; that is, “peasant” did not embody a concept in those early days (Silverman 1979:49).

One of the first anthropologists to use the term “peasant,” although in a descriptive rather than analytical way, was Robert Redfield (Silverman 1979; Winthrop 1991:210-211). Alfred Kroeber receives credit as the first scholar to provide a definitive concept of peasantry in his book *Anthropology* (Kroeber 1948:284; Silverman 1979). He defined the peasantries as “part-societies with part-cultures;” that is, as groups that did not fit into the categories of “primitive” or “civilized” peoples. This definition must be considered within the context of that era: anthropologists who were trained to draw conceptual boundaries around primitive villages in order to do ethnographic fieldwork found it difficult to account in the same fashion for certain social groups that were partially integrated to larger national economies, politics, and cultures (Roseberry 1989a).

According to Sydel Silverman (1979), there are two major theoretical trends devoted to the peasant studies within US anthropology. The first trend's principal figure was Robert Redfield. In his earlier works (such as Redfield 1941), he used the term "peasant" in a casual way because his principal concern was the characterization of folk communities as part of his folk-urban continuum model (Silverman 1979:53-57). According to this model, urban society is the segment that exercises domination over and promotes social change among the peasants. The distinction between peasants and primitives is that the latter are supposedly not related to the city. The peasants, in this view, constitute an intermediate social category in between the primitives and the civilized urbanites (Heynig 1982:118).

In later works, Redfield developed a concept of peasant that emphasized the cultural aspects of this group as part of a certain cultural tradition. Other principal concerns of this author were the communities that peasants formed, and their way of life (Redfield 1956). According to Silverman, the research approach used by Redfield and his disciples, which emphasized "a search for relationships among societal and ideational patterns that form part of coherent schemes of meaning" (Silverman 1979:64-65), was adopted by modernization theory.

The theory of modernization is based on neoclassic economics and characterizes the peasants as part of the modern-traditional dichotomy that is present in underdeveloped countries. From this point of view, there is a modern capitalist industrial sector opposed to a traditional stagnant agricultural sector. The key for the development of the traditional sector lies in the transference of modern technology and capital in order to increase the economic output of agriculture. The peasants are considered to be extremely conservative and resistant to change, thus being a hindrance for economic development in the countryside. They need to be modernized in order to achieve progress (Heynig 1982:120-123).

For Silverman (1979), the other major trend of anthropologists who have studied the peasantry is formed by the students of Julian Steward. Steward himself did not focus on the peasants as his main study interest, but he directed a research project in Puerto Rico, in the 1940's and 50's, in which the other participants made important contributions

to the field of peasant studies. The best-known contributors to this project were Eric Wolf and Sydney Mintz, who not only incorporated Steward's ecological perspective to their research, but also focused on aspects of political economy and power relations in the countryside (ibid.:61).

Wolf (1955) defined the Latin American peasants based on three principal criteria: (1) exclusive agricultural production, (2) effective control of the cultivated land, and (3) subsistence production instead of reinvestment. Following these criteria, he established a tentative typology of peasants and the communities in which they live. Wolf recognized seven possible types of peasants, but he only dealt with the two main ones: the peasants who live in closed corporate communities, and those who inhabit open communities. In spite of Wolf's emphasis on communities, he did not consider them as a "way of life" (Redfield 1956), but rather as forms of social organization based on structural social relations instead of shared cultural traits. Wolf also emphasized the importance that historical processes of articulation to the larger society have had on the development of these communities (Wolf 1955:454-455).

In a classic synthesis work, Peasants (1966), Wolf characterized the peasants as rural producers who have a family-based economy without the farmers' drive to maximize profits. The peasants need to produce enough to satisfy the minimum caloric intake needs, and they need to have a fund to replace their means of production, another fund to comply with the ceremonial requirements of their societies, and finally another fund of rent to pay for the right to use the land to the individual or group who has control over it. This is the basic distinction between the peasant and the primitive: the peasants do not own the means of production nor freely control their labor; they have to pay rent in order to achieve their reproduction. The surplus of value and/or labor that the peasants generate is transferred to the dominant group (Wolf 1966:10).

The peasants are caught up in a web of asymmetrical power relations defined by the social formation in which they live. This social formation is not the city (as Redfield had put it) but the state. The peasants experience opposed demands to satisfy their internal needs and those of the outsiders, and they struggle to keep a balance. They have two alternatives in order to survive: to increase production or to decrease consumption.

The peasants are likely to adopt one of the two according to particular historical circumstances. Thus, it is not accurate to regard the peasants as static nor passive: they combine these two strategies in order to achieve their social reproduction as peasants (Wolf 1966: 12-17).

This second theoretical trend on the peasantry, which can be labeled as “materialistic,” appears to be more adequate in order to explain the historical trajectory and economic behavior of the peasants. The theoretical trend informed and inspired by Redfield’s work emphasizes the existence of shared cultural traits and cognitive orientations, such as the “image of the limited good” (Foster 1965), which are certainly important but convey a picture of the peasants as static traditional people (Silverman 1979:65). The materialistic approach to the peasants has a higher explanatory potential because it calls for the inclusion of internal and external influences on the analysis of this social group. I believe, however, that it is necessary not to restrict the study focus to the material economic elements only, but also to incorporate other perspectives that account for cultural elements in the lives of the peasants, as the recent revival of ethnic identity in the Andean region clearly shows. This will be discussed further along in the thesis.

Mintz (1973) provides a summary of the relevant points in the definition of peasants: (1) Peasants need to be considered not only as externally dominated, but also as internally heterogeneous and differentiated; internal differentiation often leads to internal exploitation of peasants by peasants as well. (2) Peasants live in association with other social groups, rural and urban, which affect the strength and reproductive ability of the peasants. (3) Peasants’ capacity for maneuver within the social system (Wolf, in Mintz 1973) indicates that their “traditional culture” and “small-community way of life” are not remnants from the past, “but rather a pattern of and for behavior that remains viable, though its actual utility may have become quite different” (ibid.:97). (4) History has a significant role in the creation and development of different types of peasants.



### **Principal theories about the peasants**

Aside from the characterization of the peasants as a social group with particular social, cultural, and economic attributes, the two principal theoretical positions from which scholars have tried to account for the dynamics and ultimate fate of the peasants are Marx's historical materialism and Chayanov's theory of peasant economy. These two theories have been the core of a long and still ongoing debate about the nature and future of the peasants (de Janvry 1981:95), therefore the attention devoted to them in this chapter. A succinct review of both theories and of the work produced by some of their followers is offered here.

It is common to find references to Marx's negative position regarding the peasants, but Heynig (1982:123-125) argues that his approach is rather ambiguous. In many occasions Marx considered the peasants to be a residual class or a fraction of a class, but in a few times he referred to the small free agrarian property as a "mode of production." While for some authors this is evidence of the existence of a full-fledged peasant mode of production as an abstract model with dialectically related structures, William Roseberry (1989b:155-156) and Alain de Janvry (1981:95) argue that Marx's use of the term "mode of production" does not consistently refer to such a model. According to de Janvry, when Marx wrote about the "peasant mode of production," he referred to the technological and social organization of the peasants' labor process and not to an independent stage in the historical evolution of society. In the end, Marx held that the peasants and their economy will eventually disappear because of the contradictions between them and the capitalist economy that inevitably penetrates the countryside and changes the old relations of production (Heynig 1982).

It was Lenin who developed a model for the disintegration of the peasantry. In his book The development of capitalism in Russia (Lenin 1960), he analyzed the agrarian situation of his country and concluded that the increasing penetration of capitalism in the agricultural sector created a process of differentiation of the peasants into two polarized classes:

The old peasantry is not only 'differentiating,' it is being completely dissolved, it is                    ceasing to exist, it is being ousted by absolutely new types

of rural inhabitants - types that are the basis of a society in which commodity economy and capitalist production prevail. These types are the rural bourgeoisie (chiefly petty bourgeoisie) and the rural proletariat - a class of commodity producers in agriculture and a class of agricultural wage-workers (ibid.:174).

These two classes emerge at the expense of the middle peasants, who are rapidly absorbed into the two main classes. Only a small fraction of the peasantry makes it to the ranks of the bourgeoisie, while the majority of them become rural proletarians (ibid.:176-177). The purpose of this differentiation is to create an internal home market for capitalism (ibid.:181).

From this perspective, the wealthier peasants will adopt a capitalist style of agricultural production which outcompetes the production of small plots that belong to the less wealthy peasants, forcing the latter to undergo a process of impoverishment and loss of control of their means of production. Ultimately, the only way for the poor peasants to survive will be selling their labor force, thus becoming rural proletarians. Lenin mentioned that rural proletarians often carry on “insignificant farming on a patch of land, inability to exist without the sale of labour-power, an extremely low standard of living (probably lower than that of the worker without an allotment)” (ibid.:177). He criticized the idea that the existence of these allotments is evidence of the persistence of the peasantry, and pointed out that the existence of the allotment-holding proletarian is maintained because it favors the rural employers themselves (ibid.:178).

The importance of the classical Marxist approach is that it emphasizes and explains internal differentiation among the peasants, an issue ignored by many early social scientists who dealt with this group. This approach has inspired many similar studies in Latin America (see Martínez 1980, de Janvry 1981, Mallon 1983, Heynig 1982 for a review). The main critique to this theory is that despite the obvious penetration of capitalist production in the countryside, there are still peasants who continue to maintain their specific socioeconomic organization. This point will be more elaborated later on.

The other principal theory about the peasants was developed by V. A. Chayanov, a Russian agricultural economist who construed a theory of the internal dynamics of peasant family farms that was opposed to the classic Marxist ideas about peasant

economy and its fate. Chayanov's theory had important policy implications for the future development of the Russian peasants (he proposed a network of cooperatives of peasant farms instead of large collective farms; see Durrenberger 1984a:1-4) which were against the official Soviet policy. In 1930, Chayanov and other colleagues who maintained a similar position were accused of counter-revolutionary activities and disappeared amidst the Stalinist repression (Kerblay 1986:lxxi).

Chayanov started from the consideration that peasant family farms do not hire labor nor pay wages, and therefore they cannot be analyzed with the standard economic categories; peasant economic production is not capitalistic (Chayanov 1986a:3-4). The economic logic of the peasants does not pursue maximization of profits nor wealth accumulation. The peasants themselves determine the amount and intensity of their work. This is the "modest pre-requisite" of Chayanov's theory, from which the other elements are logically derived (*ibid.*:42).

The unit of analysis in Chayanov's works is the family farm, which has a logic of production based on the family labor force, and whose goal is to achieve and maintain a culturally determined level of subsistence (Chayanov 1986b:218; Thorner 1986:xvii). The key element in this theory is the labor-consumer equilibrium between the satisfaction of family needs and the drudgery of labor (Durrenberger 1984a; Thorner 1986).

The amount of the labor product is mainly determined by the size and composition of the working family, the number of its members capable of work, then by the productivity of the labor unit, and -this is especially important- by the degree of labor effort- the degree of self-exploitation through which the working members effect a certain quantity of labor units in the course of the year (Chayanov 1986a:5-6).

He goes on to state the following thesis: "the degree of self-exploitation is determined by a peculiar equilibrium between family demand satisfaction and the drudgery of labor itself" (*ibid.*:6). A peasant family will produce the amount of labor necessary to cover its needs, but it will not work beyond a point where the drudgery ("irksomeness" [translator's note in Chayanov 1986a:6] or "noxiousness" [Tannenbaum 1984:28]) of labor outweighs the profit to be obtained. The incorporation of technological innovations

and other means of production will be decided following the same rationale (Chayanov 1986b:208-210; Durrenberger 1984a:10-11).

This point of equilibrium is also affected by the size of the family and the ratio of working to non-working members (Chayanov 1986b:84). The more consumers there are, the more units of work will be needed to satisfy their needs. Chayanov paid attention to the domestic cycle of the peasant families in order to explain the size of their farms: bigger farms belong to larger families. This is the basic premise of the concept of demographic differentiation (Thorner 1986:xvii).

Lenin considered that capitalist production would be more efficient than peasant production. Chayanov saw that the peasants can take a high amount of self-exploitation and accept disadvantageous economic conditions in order to maintain their economy, something that a capitalist production unit does not. Thus, Chayanov concluded that, under normal circumstances, peasant farms have a comparative advantage over capitalist production, one that allows the former to resist and survive the advance of capitalism in the countryside (Chayanov 1986b:88-89; Heynig 1982:130-131; Thorner 1986:xviii).

Chayanov has been strongly criticized because he ignored the existence of socioeconomic differentiation among the peasants; rich peasants and poor peasants do not have a place in his scheme. Chayanov concentrated on the peasant family unit as his object of study, with the result that he considered the peasants as practically isolated from the outside world, as if they did not have relations among peasant units or with the landholders. His notion of labor-consumption equilibrium requires that the control of the land and of the labor force and time be in hands of the peasants. The requirements for Chayanov's theory to be applicable are not realistic. However, Chayanov's theory is important because it is the only one that focuses specifically on the internal organization of peasant economy and because it deals with the principal elements used to analyze peasant economy up to our times (Heynig 1982:115).

The debate between the two positions exemplified by Lenin and Chayanov has been going on since the last century. However, it is important to notice that the complementarity of these two theories has been proposed (Tannenbaum 1984:35). In this respect, the orthodox Marxist analysis is regarded useful in order to explain the larger

social and economical structure where the peasants exist and are dominated, while Chayanov's theory would account for the internal organization of peasant family farms. This proposed combination would utilize historical materialism at the macro level and the theory of peasant economy at the micro level. Although examples of the combination of both theories do exist (de Janvry 1981:100), many Marxist scholars have avoided them due to the strict observance of the party line that considered such non-orthodox approaches as unacceptable (Heynig 1982:135-136).

### **Peasant studies in Latin America**

The debate about the nature and future of the peasantry that started in Europe in the nineteenth century is still alive, and it has found fertile ground in the studies about the agrarian situation of Latin America, the majority of which can be ascribed to the two main theories presented above (de Janvry 1981:95-96; Heynig 1982:134-137; Smith 1989).

Thus, with respect to the situation and future of the peasants in Latin America, two groups of scholars have been distinguished and labeled as "campesinistas" ("peasantists") and "descampesinistas" ("depeasantists"). Broadly speaking, these categories can also be labeled as "Chayanovian" or "Leninist." The principal geographical focus of this debate is the Mexican countryside. In general terms, the first group claims that the peasants have a specific type of economy that allows them to maintain their peasant status despite the negative impact that capitalism penetration in agriculture has on them. The second group holds that the peasants have entered in a relationship with capitalist enterprises that will inevitably lead to the transformation of the small landholders into rural proletarians (Heynig 1982:134-135; Barsky 1984:26-27)

De Janvry distinguishes two main positions among those who assert the persistence of the peasantry. There are authors who consider the peasantry as a specific economy in terms of the organization of the household in the process of production, and those who consider the peasantry to constitute a full-fledged mode of production. Within this second group there are further internal differences about what kind of mode of production the peasants belong to: (1) Proponents of the peasantry as part of the simple

commodity mode of production indicate that this mode is based on family labor; people in this mode pursue simple reproduction, with no search of profit, and an important part of the production is destined for sale on the market. (2) Proponents of a specific peasant mode of production differ in the sense that, for them, peasant production is fundamentally for home consumption. In the end, both sides agree that either of these modes of production will always be dominated in any socioeconomic formation where they occur. And since peasants are economically motivated to achieve subsistence instead of profit, they will become functional to the dominant capitalist mode by supplying cheap food and labor, so their existence will be guaranteed (de Janvry 1981:100-2).

Rodolfo Stavenhagen, a peasantist scholar, states that in capitalist dependent and peripheral countries such as the Latin American ones, peasant economy is not eliminated by capitalist relations of production. It is rather constantly recreated by the capitalist system because this economy is functional to the dominant economy (Stavenhagen 1978:34-5). This author also claims that the ejido, a peasant form of agricultural production found in Mexico, is more productive --in relative terms-- than other forms of capitalist agriculture because it uses the scarce capital resources they have in a more efficient way. This despite the lack of state support to ejido agriculture, support that is channeled mostly to private modern farms (Stavenhagen 1970a:249-250). The inefficiency of the ejido is a self-perpetuating myth, but this form of production is not exempt of problems that must be solved for it to increase its productivity in absolute terms and thus achieve its reproduction in favorable terms (ibid.:251-255).

Another peasantist scholar, Arturo Warman, maintains that the internal relations and logic of peasant economy are different from those of the capitalist mode of production. However, the relations of exploitation and class domination that articulate the peasantry to the dominant mode of production are definitely capitalist in nature. Warman also points out that the peasants carry out diverse economic activities: production, collection and extraction of natural resources, manufacture of handicrafts, and sale of labor force. In these activities, the peasants produce an amount of surplus that they are not able to keep, which is transferred to the bourgeoisie. In this sense, the peasants form a single class (Warman, in Heynig 1982:135).

On the other side of the debate there are the depeasantists. These scholars argue that the penetration of capitalism in the rural sector has significantly changed the previous modes of production, provoking the more or less rapid differentiation and transformation of the peasants. They have formed a small rural bourgeois group and a mass of landless rural proletarians.

According to Roger Bartra (1993), peasants and craftsmen do constitute a specific mode of production, the simple commodity one, different from capitalism but subordinated to it:

In this system [simple commodity]...the producer possesses the means of production (tools, land, etc.), works directly in the productive process, and sells in the market a more or less significant portion of his production. This mode of production is secondary by nature for a simple reason: it is not a class-based system; that is, no dominant class that could subjugate the whole society arises out of it (Bartra 1993:10).

The specificity of this mode of production lies in the dual nature of the peasants and craftsmen: they, as direct producers, are capitalists and workers at the same time. These producers are exploited by capital, and at the same time they exploit themselves by working under conditions of production worse than those of the “pure” proletariat (ibid.:17).

The principal mechanism of articulation between capitalist and simple commodity modes of production is unequal exchange in the market. The commodities that the peasants and craftsmen sell are priced lower than their actual value. The prices are set by market dynamics, and the market is under bourgeois monopoly. Thus, the surplus value generated by the peasants is transferred to the bourgeoisie in commercial exchanges. Since peasants and craftsmen do not achieve the conditions for social reproduction in the market, this situation provokes the disintegration of the peasantry and their polarization into bourgeoisie and proletariat (ibid.:10-13).

For Ernest Feder (in Heynig 1982:135-136), the recovery of the peasantry is a romantic myth because capitalist expansion will gradually but rapidly eliminate the peasants. Thus, any initiative to improve and strengthen peasant economy is considered as anti-historical and backward. Bartra mentions an alliance among the World Bank, state

agencies, and populist movements which want to enhance peasant agriculture as an alternative way of development. For these depeasantist authors, this alliance is highly suspicious (Bartra 1993:xii-xiii).

De Janvry claims that Latin American peasants exist within a situation of “functional dualism” that characterizes the economies with disarticulated accumulation in the periphery of the capitalist world system. In these economies, labor represents only a cost for capital, so wages are kept low and the creation of a big internal market is not pursued. In this context, labor cost can be reduced even more by maintaining a subsistence economy that will absorb that cost. The modern capitalist sector pays wages below the cost of maintenance and reproduction of the labor force, which has to rely on the production of the traditional economic sector, of the peasantry, in order to meet the basic needs. This is the essence of functional dualism (de Janvry 1981:36).

The development of the capitalist sector, then, will not create a tendency to immediately eliminate the peasants. In the long run, however, capitalist penetration in agriculture will displace small landholders from their land, who will increasingly proletarianize and/or join the ranks of the informal sector. Functional dualism is only a stage of capitalist development in the periphery, and not a specific mode of production (ibid.:36-37, 40). De Janvry adheres to the classic Marxist approach to the peasantry that considers this group as a transitory fraction of a class within capitalism. The lack of profit in peasant production is not a result of a different economic logic, but of the exploitative class relations in which the peasants live. These social relations of production are thoroughly capitalist, and not the product of an articulation of a hypothetical peasant mode of production to the capitalist dominant mode of production (ibid.:102-106).

The peasantist and depeasantist theoretical positions have also characterized the peasant studies in the Andean region, presenting similar divides on the issue of the persistence or extinction of this social group confronted to the increasing presence of capitalist forms of production in the countryside (see Lehmann 1982b, Smith 1989).

According to David Lehmann (1982a:2), the development of a theory of peasant economy for the entire Andean region is a very difficult task because of the variety of the extant forms of social organization and their relations with the capitalist system.



Depending on the local ecological conditions and particular history, some regions of the Andes will present capitalistic characteristics, while others will exhibit “traditional” peasant characteristics. Conceptual categories such as family, kinship, money exchanges, labor, risk reduction, forms of organization, community, among others, will have different content in different locations in the Andes. Not even ecological conditions are the same throughout this region; they also vary from place to place. What Lehmann sees as the unifying trend for the rural inhabitants of the region is the element of

inequality which ‘has always been there’ while the institutional and ideological framework of inequality has changed. Where once inequalities were imposed by imperial systems or by flaccid republican states in need of labour and money, they are now the result of the interaction between advanced and underdeveloped capitalist economies in a unified world trading system, and the apparent continuities of Andean society are few and far between (ibid.:25-26).

This diversity of situations is also reflected in the studies of the Andean peasantries. For instance, there are the studies of the Mantaro Valley in the Peruvian central highlands. Some authors, such as Mallon (1983:340-341), emphasize the existence of a process of social differentiation and disintegration of the peasantry in that region; this process has particular characteristics that obscure the existence of classes, but Mallon claims that this process definitely takes place. Other authors like Long and Roberts (1978) convey a more optimistic vision of the future survival and reproduction of that peasantry; there are no “pure” forms of either peasants or proletarians, but the former do find opportunities to survive.

Authors who have studied the agrarian situation of the Ecuadorian highlands have also come up with different results according to their theoretical agendas and to the regions where they have carried out their research. For instance, Luciano Martínez’s study of peasant communities in the Northern Central highlands, in the province of Cotopaxi (Martínez 1980), emphasizes the changing nature of peasant production in that area. The main result of the agrarian reform laws passed in Ecuador in the 1960’s and 70’s was the beginning of a slow process of social differentiation and proletarianization of the peasants (ibid.:9-10). Most peasants ended up with small plots that do not allow for their

reproduction through agricultural practices, so they have resorted to migration and sale of their labor force in order to earn enough money to survive. Peasants who obtained bigger plots are in a better situation and can achieve their social reproduction by commercializing their crops in the regional marketplaces (ibid.:46-48). From this perspective, this situation marks the beginning of the formation of the rural bourgeoisie and proletariat which will replace the peasantry.

On the other side, Barsky (1984) and briefly Lehmann (1982a) point out to the Northern Ecuadorian highlands, the province of Carchi, which presents the opposite process: that of peasant accumulation. According to Barsky (1984:59-67), the peasants of this province shifted their productive orientation from cereals to potatoes, taking advantage of technologies associated with this new crop as well as of available credit lines. The result of the combination of these factors is a process of accumulation and capitalization of the peasants. Thus, this study shows that the peasants are not just passive beings who are transformed into proletarians by the process of capitalist penetration in agriculture; they are capable of seizing advantageous opportunities in order to achieve a higher level of reproduction (ibid.:130-131).

The existence of a strong indigenous cultural component in the Andes is another factor that needs to be discussed. There is a tendency to emphasize the existence and prevalence of pre-Columbian cultural traits in current forms of socioeconomic organization. These elements are supposedly remains from the distant past that continue to exert strong influence on the behavior and institutions of present day Andean societies. This essentialist position ignores the historical process of domination by the Inca, Spanish, and independent states that the Andean societies have gone through in the last five centuries. These successive forms of domination --the changing institutional and ideological framework of inequality that Lehmann (1982a) refers to-- have indubitably had enormous influence on the configuration of present forms of socioeconomic organization, which thus cannot be considered as manifestations of a "pure" indigenous Andean tradition (Poole 1992:219-221).

There are certainly cases of people who have economic systems characterized by elements derived from the organization of the ethnic group, such as the Laymi in Bolivia

(Harris 1982). The salient characteristic of the Laymi economic system is not only that access to the means of production is regulated through membership in the ethnic group, but also the existence of a system of circulation of substantial amounts of labor and produce that does not depend on established marketplaces. According to Olivia Harris (ibid.), the circulation of these goods delineate the Laymi ethnic boundaries, so she labeled this as an “ethnic economy.” However, this author recognizes that ethnic economy is a category that should not be granted high theoretical status. The Laymi ethnic economy is ultimately understood as a peasant economy with particular ethnic characteristics (ibid.:72).

Lehmann (1982a) stresses the idea that “traditional” elements, especially kinship relations and communities, present in the economies of the Andean peasantries are many times reshaped by capitalist dynamics in order to transform them into functional elements of the dominant mode of production. Following the same trend, Mallon emphasizes that the indigenous community is an institution whose existence has been used to legitimize interests of both the peasant bourgeoisie and the peasant proletariat, according to the historical circumstances (Mallon 1983:340-343).

The peasantist-depeasantist debate does not have an end in sight. Confronted with the process of capitalist penetration in agriculture, and depending on their theoretical orientation, authors tend to find patterns of resistance and survival of the peasants, or patterns of social differentiation of this social group into rural bourgeoisie and rural proletariat. The existence of a peasant stratum that cannot rely exclusively on agricultural production to obtain their livelihood and therefore has to sell labor in the rural market is interpreted in different ways. Lenin (1960) considered this stratum, also known as the semiproletariat (de Janvry 1981:99), not to be part of the peasantry but of the proletariat. Peasantist authors like Warman (in Heynig 1982), on the other hand, consider this stratum to be the empirical proof of the persistence of the peasantry.

It has also been noticed that the peasantist and depeasantist approaches present certain similarities (de Janvry 1981:100; Heynig 1982:136). Heynig (ibid.) mentions that authors from these two positions share a Marxist theoretical and ideological orientation:

both use (sometimes exclusively) categories taken from historical materialism, both reject dualist interpretations of the agrarian situation, both (with exceptions like Bartra) accept implicitly or explicitly that Latin American countries are capitalist but dependent or peripheral with respect to the US and European economies, and many times both agree that the solution for the problems in the Latin American countryside must come in the form of a radical transformation, that is, through a revolution.

The problem with these two opposite positions is that their followers tend to apply the theoretical categories in a very rigid and schematic way. Gavin Smith (1989:19) argues that neither Lenin's nor Chayanov's original positions are as dogmatic as their followers made them seem. Lenin (1960) himself recognized that the process of differentiation is not fast nor automatic and advances at different pace in different locations because of the unevenness of capitalist development in the countryside. Goodman and Redclift (1982:11-14) mention that agriculture is less susceptible to the rules that govern industrial activities because it depends more on nature than on technology, so it poses more difficulties to capitalist penetration, which explains in part the survival of the peasants. Because of these reasons, Smith (1989:19) argues that it is more useful for the field of peasant studies to move beyond the seemingly irreconcilable positions in the debate by researching in depth the central points of the two Russian theorists' work: "the logical imperatives of *forms of production* on the one hand and the contextual determinations of *a larger social formation* on the other" (ibid., emphasis in the original).

Smith proposes is the recognition that peasants are not homogeneous, and to concentrate on the study of "culture ... [as] an engagement with the present mediated by the past" (ibid:26). Both the economic and political elements of social life must be considered as intimately intertwined and inseparable from the beginning in any study. Historical moments of political mobilization of the peasants are privileged points to observe the production of culture as a process of negotiation of meaning, identity, and membership within the local society, and with the outside larger national society. In this perspective, the peasants are not just dominated by the reigning socioeconomic system, but they also have ways of resisting and advancing their own goals (ibid.:27-28).

William Roseberry (1983, 1989b) proposes a similar path to improve the study of the peasantries from a materialistic perspective. Roseberry (1983:205) criticizes studies that emphasize the persistence of the peasantry because it fulfills an important role in the recreation of capitalist economy in peripheral or dependent countries (see Stavenhagen 1978; de Janvry 1981). These studies portray an image of capitalism as a completed, totally coherent system that is able to satisfy its own needs, when the cyclical crises of the system show a different picture. In the case of de Janvry's (1981) model of functional dualism for the Latin American peasants, Roseberry (1989b:185) argues that this is a good theoretical elaboration, but he points out that the assumption of full proletarianization of the labor force in the center and semiproletarianization in the periphery (de Janvry 1981:36-37) is seriously questionable. But more importantly, de Janvry's functional dualism does not show the capacity for action that the peasants have.

It cannot have escaped notice that peasants, as *actors*, are not present in de Janvry's model. They function within a particular model of accumulation, are called up in the twentieth century as part of a functional dualism between traditional and modern sectors, provide cheap food and cheap labor to the modern sector, and eventually disappear. Likewise, the traditional sector (composed in part of peasants) is devoid of content (Roseberry 1989b:186-187, emphasis in the original).

In view of this and other problems, Roseberry (1983:203-204) calls for a move from peasant studies to proletarianization studies. This does not imply the acceptance of or limitation to mechanistic unilinear studies of depeasantization. Instead, the idea is to study the world-wide process of proletarianization through capitalist advance. This is an uneven process which creates and destroys peasantries at the same time, encouraging also the formation of other types of rural inhabitants according to the diverse historical relations between different regions and the capitalist system. The peasants serve their own interests of reproduction at the same time that they serve capitalists' needs; they do not accept domination in a passive way, but they actively resist and contribute to the creation of their particular classes (*ibid.*:207).

The contributions of Smith and Roseberry are important for this thesis. The proletarianization trend that the latter refers to is definitely present in the central

highlands of Ecuador, where Cebadas is located. The peasants of that region have endured successive processes of domination (the Inca and Spanish conquests, and the colonial and republican administrations) and proletarianization (with the insertion of Ecuador in the capitalist system). However, they have resisted and continue to resist in their own ways, particularly through the maintenance of their ethnic identity. At present, as it will be presented in the following chapters, there is an on-going struggle for the recognition of this identity between the Indian peoples of Ecuador and the nation-state apparatus. The resurgence of the ethnic element can be interpreted as one strategy in the process of creation of culture that Smith (1989) refers to, and/or as a manifestation of the capabilities for social action that this social group has (Roseberry 1983, 1989b). It is also a call of attention for anthropologists and other social scientists who, following a narrow version of Marxism, have tried to explain the behavior of these people on a purely economic basis, rejecting cultural elements as mere ideology or second-class superstructure (see Martínez 1980).

The next chapters of the thesis are an attempt to go beyond this orthodoxy and dogmatic debates, and to characterize the fluid and always changing forms of struggle and resistance of the Indian peasants of Cebadas, as they are expressed in the context of a development project.

### CHAPTER 3

## THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ECUADOR

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a concise historical review of the process of economic development in Ecuador. This review wants to be the context within which the main object of research, the response of the indigenous people of Cebadas to the CESA development project, will be situated. The process of development of Ecuador presents similarities and differences with respect to other Latin American countries, some of which will be pointed out. To begin, I present a brief discussion of three theoretical perspectives that have emerged to account for the process of economic development in Latin America and beyond. The first two theories were formulated by people who worked within the Latin American context, which makes them more relevant for this discussion.

#### **Theoretical perspectives on Latin American development**

The process of economic development in Latin America has been interpreted, analyzed, and directed from different perspectives. Since the 1940's, the main theories of economic development that have been developed in and applied to the subcontinent's case, in chronological order, are: (1) the structural theory proposed by the Comisión Económica Para América Latina, CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America, ECLA), (2) the dependency theory, represented by André Gunder Frank and Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, and (3) the world-system theory, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein.

The theory of and program for development formulated by CEPAL is considered as the first distinctively Latin American one (Lehmann 1990:4; So 1990:93). The main theorist was Raúl Prebisch, an Argentinean economist who was the head of CEPAL, a research center affiliated with the UN. The point of departure of this model was a critique of the international division of labor. Latin America produces food and raw materials for export to the countries of the center of the capitalist system, and receives industrialized

goods from those central countries. After World War Two, the United States emerged as the dominant economic power, and it was regarded as having a lower tendency to import. From this perspective, this situation together with the deteriorating terms of trade for raw materials that Latin American countries produce, put them in a disadvantaged position that does not allow for capital accumulation in the peripheral countries, and that leads to social problems (Lehmann 1990:5-6, So 1990:93).

The solution that CEPAL formulated was to promote a process of industrialization in Latin America by substituting imports with domestically-produced goods. Measures such as protective tariffs, manipulation of foreign exchange rates, subsidized credit for industrial investment, use of income generated by raw material exports to subsidize the inputs needed in the industrial sector, and the presence of a strong state apparatus to coordinate the process were implemented (Lehmann 1990:7; So 1990:93-94). This development program also emphasized other structural reforms besides import substitution industrialization (ISI) such as the need to reduce income distribution inequality and to redistribute the land, all of these aiming at the reduction of social problems (Lehmann 1990:8-9).

The CEPAL program has been labeled as “structuralist” because it follows the belief that the implementation of a few key measures directed to create structural socio-economic reforms in a country could actually solve most of its problems (ibid:9-10; So 1990:94). It is important to notice, however, that the main CEPAL theoreticians did not encourage the adoption of purely monetary structural reforms, but they always considered the impact of those reforms on the social whole.

Latin American countries did not receive this development program with open arms. ISI was more or less rapidly adopted by most of the countries in the region in the 1940's, but other measures such as land reforms were rejected at that time. The results of ISI were encouraging at the beginning. However, as time passed, it became evident that this strategy did not reduce the need for imported capital, it was not self-sustaining, it created and benefited a new state-subsidized industrial elite, and the protected industries were not willing to give up their privileges nor were able to compete in the international market. James Mahon (1992:246-252) mentions that Latin America faced great structural



and political difficulties to make ISI a viable competitive alternative in the world market, and the measures that were required would have resulted extremely severe. Moreover, he points out to internal conflict within the Latin American states, where the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie were opposed to those of the powerful group of export-oriented landholders. In sum, the ISI component of the CEPAL development program was not the solution required for Latin America to achieve full economic development (Lehmann 1990; So 1990; Mahon 1992).

The new generation of economists who worked at CEPAL became disenchanted with the proposed development program. They started to criticize it from a non-orthodox non-official Marxist perspective, and from their own structuralist background. This theoretical combination of non-official Marxism and economic structuralism came to be known as the dependency theory (Lehmann 1990:12-13; Roseberry 1989b:149; So 1990:93). The best-known authors in this school of thought are André Gunder Frank, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto.

Frank's version of dependency begins with the assertion that development or underdevelopment are not just the result of the interaction of forces internal to a particular country. "Contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries" (Frank 1972a:3). Frank goes against the assumption of modernization theory that holds that the transference of capital, technology, and values from the developed countries will suffice to prompt the underdeveloped ones to the developed status. This author also rejects the "modern versus traditional" dichotomy, and he replaces it with the "metropolis-satellite relations" model (ibid.:4-5; So 1990:96-97).

Frank (1972b:19) conceptualizes dependence as "the result of the historical development and the contemporary structure of world capitalism, to which Latin America is subordinated, and the economic, political social, and cultural policies generated by the resulting class structure, especially by the class interests of the dominant bourgeoisie."

The historical development of the world economic system shows that the metropolitan countries extract and appropriate the capital and economic surplus of the satellite countries. This tendency leads to the development of the metropolis and to the limited development of the satellites, that is, to underdevelopment. This hierarchical division of the world economy is recreated at the national level: the regions that achieve a higher level of development, usually through industrialization, become internal metropolises that increasingly underdevelop other regions of the country that are related to them. In the satellite countries, development efforts will remain limited because of the capitalist economic, political, and social framework (Frank 1972a:6-8). "Within this world-embracing metropolis-satellite structure the metropolises tend to develop and the satellites to underdevelop" (ibid.:9).

The author goes on to formulate five hypotheses about the nature of dependency in the world economic system, which can be summarized like this: (1) Development of satellites and subordinated metropolises is limited by their status of subordination. (2) Satellites achieve greatest economic development when their ties to the metropolis are weak; when those ties strengthen, satellite development is choked off or diverted from its original goals. (3) The most underdeveloped regions of today are the ones that had the closest ties to the metropolis in the past; these regions were the most exploited ones. (4) The latifundium emerged as a commercial enterprise to respond to increasing market demands, and in this process it created its own institutions. (5) The subsistence-based semi-feudal latifundium of today --or of the 1960's, at least-- is found in regions whose economic activity declined in general (ibid.:9-14).

Frank (1972b) reviews the process of dependency and underdevelopment that Latin America has gone through since the arrival of mercantile capitalism, which created new social relations of production and new classes. The reforms to the colonial administration, the political emancipation movements, liberal reforms, industrialization, and foreign investment are considered by the author as mechanisms of the changing forms of Latin American dependence.

The works of Frank caused a lot of controversy at the time of their formulation. However, the most influential version of dependency theory in Latin America was the one

developed by two Brazilian social scientists: Fernando Henrique Cardoso<sup>1</sup> and Enzo Faletto. They stress the need to analyze each and every situation of dependency in its own terms, looking for similarities and especially differences with other situations of dependence. Their approach is “historical-structural:” the study of the structural conditionings of social life, and of the historical transformation of those structures by conflict, social movements, and class struggles (Cardoso and Faletto 1979:x-xiii).

One of the distinctive features of the work of these authors is the importance that they give to the role that the local dominant classes play in the system of domination. They do not believe that the situations of dependency are the result of the mechanical interaction of factors. They consider that the internal and external forces are structurally linked by means of the coincidence of interests between the local dominant classes and the international ones. Imperialist penetration is external, but the system of domination assumes an internal form which is explainable only in relation to the local-external links. Thus, dependency is not just an external variable any more (ibid.:xvi, 22).

In economic terms, a local productive system is dependent if it does not have the essential dynamic component that leads to the expansion and accumulation of capital. This dynamic component is technological innovation in the production of capital goods. At the world scale, capitalism is not evenly developed. Parts of the global system (the periphery) are in a disadvantaged position that makes them dependent on other parts of the system (the center) in technological, financial, and organizational terms (ibid.:xx-xxii).

The situation of underdevelopment of Latin America began with its incorporation to the world market and to the capitalist system. Underdevelopment “refers to a type of economic system with a predominant primary sector, a high concentration of income, little diversification in its production system, and above all, an external market far outweighing the internal” (ibid.:17). But purely economic changes do not alter the situation of underdevelopment nor make a country more autonomous, like the examples of Argentina and Brazil, which achieved high rates of economic growth but not

---

<sup>1</sup> Cardoso became involved in politics, and he was elected president of Brazil in 1994.

development, show. However, a country can achieve a higher degree of autonomy without having to change its economic structure (ibid.:18-19).

According to Cardoso and Faletto, the current form of capitalist expansion and dependency is dominated by multinational corporations. Once the USA assumed the position of leadership in the world after World War Two, corporations based on this hegemonic country expanded to the periphery and to European countries by means of investments and increased control of the local economies. The success of multinational corporations abroad is related to their links with the dominant classes in the host countries. In the more capitalist peripheral countries, this kind of dependence allows for the existence of associated development, always with the collaboration of the local state apparatus (ibid.:182-188).

The case of Brazilian development is a good example of what Cardoso called “associated-dependent development” (Cardoso, in So 1990:140-143). In this model, the expansion of multinational corporations and industrial capitalism to the peripheral countries creates the conditions for a limited compatibility between the interests of the corporations and the development of the host countries. The main limitations of this kind of development are the lack of autonomous technology, of fully developed capital goods sector, and of a large internal market in the host country. The situation of dependency continues since the host country has to rely on the central economies to obtain what it lacks and to commercialize its products. Finally, an important point of this model is the existence of dynamic local actors like the bureaucratic (usually military) state and the local bourgeoisie, which forge changing alliances with the multinational corporations in order to reach an improved position within the system.

Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1984) developed another interpretation of economic development that he called the world-system theory. According this author, the expansion of the economic system of some European countries to the rest of the world since the sixteenth century has created a world-system, defined as “a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension, and tear it apart as

each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage” (Wallerstein 1974:347). The author maintains that there are only two types of social systems: (1) small autonomous subsistence economies, and (2) world-systems. There are two types of world-systems: (a) world-empires that occur when a single political unit extends over most of the world’s area, and (b) world-economies that occur when a single political unit does not cover all or most of the world’s space (ibid.:348).

The current world-system is a world-economy which has a capitalist mode of production. According to Wallerstein, for a world-economy to survive for a long time, as in the present case, it requires of the capitalist mode of production (1984:14-15). The world-economy has survived for more than 500 years without becoming a world-empire, and this is the secret of its strength: capitalism is free to expand itself adopting any political form according to the particular circumstances of a region (1974:248).

This world-economy utilizes the social relationship between capital and labor: the groups who control capital appropriate the surplus-value generated by the direct producers. The surplus-value is then distributed to a network of beneficiaries through market processes. The world-economy has an imperative of accumulation which encourages profit maximization. This, in turn, creates a drive to increase the absolute volume of production. Since demand for production is not stable and can decline, and since there is not an overall regulating entity, there have been periods of over-accumulation and subsequent economic stagnation, which Wallerstein calls “the Kondratieff cycles” (1984:15-16)

Wallerstein’s hierarchical division of the capitalist world-economy contains (1) core areas that carry out economic activities which require higher levels of skill and capitalization, and that also have strong national cultures and state apparatuses; (2) peripheral areas that execute low-skills low-capital economic activities, and also have weak state apparatuses or absence of state; and (3) semi-peripheral areas that combine characteristics of the other two. However, these roles are not totally fixed, and they change constantly as the world-system expands thanks to technological advances. This structure of the world-economy encourages unequal exchange of goods and services

between core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral areas. Unequal exchange favors almost exclusively the core and semi-periphery (1974:349-350, 1984:15-16).

Wallerstein points out that the world-economy does not present perfect cycles but secular trends. The three principal trends are: (1) mechanization in order to reduce costs of production, (2) commodification of all factors of production, and (3) contractualization of economic transactions in order to facilitate accumulation. These trends do not unfold in a lineal way, but rather follow the Kondratieff cycles. These trends account for the continuous expansion of the boundaries of the world-economy. The expansion of the "outer" physical boundaries of the world-economy (the incorporation of small social systems to it) is practically complete, but there is room for expansion in the direction of the commodification of labor (1984:17-18).

These secular trends of capitalist expansion have shaped the households, the peoples, and the states of the world-economy. I will concentrate in the dynamics of states and peoples, which are motivated by the expansion of the outer boundaries of the world-economy, and by inter-bourgeoisie competition. In the core areas, the bourgeoisie has increased the definition (power) of the state in order to limit and moderate the economic demands of the local work force, to shape the world market in search of advantageous terms of competition with other bourgeoisies, and to incorporate new areas into the world-economy. This definition of the state has changed the organization of the peoples: some became "nations" when they defined themselves as having the moral right to control states; if they did not achieve that right, they became "minorities" or "ethnic groups." In semi-peripheral areas, nationalism has been either a source of integration or resistance to the system (*ibid.*:19-20).

"Class" and "nation" have become the center of antisystemic movements, especially in places where there is concentration of oppressed groups (*ibid.*:20). Within the world-system there are many occupational interest groups and also status-groups defined by ethnic, linguistic, and religious criteria. These groups forge multiple alliances until they eventually consolidate into two self-conscious classes. The bourgeoisie has claimed to be the universal class, and it often advances its purposes through the construction of national sentiment and culture. Nationalism is useful to deflect conflict

created by increasing lower-class consciousness (1974:351-353). Both social and nationalist movements have not been able to change the whole system, but they have been more successful when their focus is more restricted (1984:21).

The bourgeoisie of the core hegemonic country has tried to impose “a world bourgeois cultural framework” on the bourgeoisies and middle strata of other non-hegemonic core countries, which can be summarized as an exaltation of progress and modernization. Bourgeoisies of semi-peripheral and non-hegemonic core countries have resisted this civilizational project, and they have asserted national alternatives to it (ibid.:22-23).

Wallerstein (ibid.:23-24) points out that the two mechanisms that have propelled the world-economy to overcome the stagnation periods, the expansion of the outer boundaries of the system and the increase in world demand by proletarianization, are reaching their limits. This situation, plus the constraints for individual mobility, have led to the escalation of antisystemic movements, which in turn has drawn the system into a crisis at least since the days of the Russian Revolution. The state of crisis does not mean that the end of the world-economy is immediate. The crisis can go on for a long period.

With the exception of the CEPAL perspective, which was more of a program for development than an analytical theory, the schools of thought on economic development that I have presented here (dependency and world-system theories) share some basic concepts and assumptions. They were inspired to a big extent by historical materialism, and they have taken from it the notion of development of capitalism as a process that leads to exploitation of one set of countries by another, and of one class by another. The metaphors that each theorist uses change, but there is the common understanding of the world as divided in hierarchical regions: center and periphery (Cardoso and Faletto 1979); metropolis and satellites (Frank 1972a, 1972b); core, semi-periphery, and periphery (Wallerstein 1974, 1984).

Dependency and world-system theories emphasize the need to start from a historical appraisal of the incorporation of different regions of the world to the capitalist system in order to understand the current situations of dependency and underdevelopment

of the non-central countries. Both theories oppose the principle of modernization theory that explains underdevelopment as a result of causes internal to "traditional" backward countries.

However, dependency and world-system theories should not be confused nor treated as if they were the same. There are several differences between the two approaches, which can be summarized as follows: Dependency theory divides the system into center and periphery, while world-system theory divides it into core, semi-periphery, and periphery. In dependency theory the unit of analysis is the nation-state, and its geographical focus is on the periphery. In world-system theory the unit of analysis as well as the focus is the world-system as a whole. Dependency theory conceives the system in a deterministic way, with revolution as the only way to change it. World-system theory points to the potential of change in the structural roles of core and semi-periphery (So 1990:195-199). However, I disagree with the statement that dependency theory is completely deterministic. As Roseberry (1989b:150) points out, the branch of this theory represented by Frank stresses the persistence of dependency despite the changes in the capitalist system, while Cardoso and Faletto present a more dynamic view of dependency where different classes maneuver to obtain benefits and can actually lead a country to a situation of "associated-dependent development."

From an anthropological perspective, Roseberry (1989b:149-151) criticizes Frank's version of dependency theory and Wallerstein's world-system theory on the grounds that, by making the world system the essential unit of analysis, they concentrate only on the dynamics of the capitalist core and on the maintenance requirements of the system. The needs of the core or metropolis determine the dynamics of the all the elements of the system, and the system itself appears as a coherent stable organism. This perception neglects the possibility of movement of the different elements within the system, thus hindering an increased understanding of the contradictions, possibilities, and instability of the system. So (1990:131-137, 220-224) makes similar points against these two theories: Classical dependency studies present a highly-abstract model that stresses external imposition and the economic nature of dependency and underdevelopment. The flaws of world-system theory are the reification of the system concept --which seems to



have a life of its own--, the lack of attention to specific historical development, and the overdimensioned role that distribution of rewards in the market has. In sum, there is the need to look for possibilities of social movement within particular countries, and there is the need to pay attention to the sources and nature of differentiation within the system. These aspects are treated in a more adequate way in Cardoso and Faletto's version of dependency (Roseberry 1989b:151).

### **The process of economic development in Ecuador**

From a geographical and environmental point of view, Ecuador is divided into three regions: (1) the coastal lowlands, known as La Costa; (2) the highlands, La Sierra; and (3) the Amazon basin, El Oriente. The Andean mountain range is the element that creates this division (Brown, Brea, and Goetz:148). These three regions have experienced different historical processes and development patterns. For instance, before the incorporation of some territories of what is now Ecuador to the Inca empire, the Tahuantinsuyu, those territories had a form of socio-political organization known as "chiefdoms" (Salomon 1986; Knapp 1991). The military expansion of the Incas more or less superimposed their imperial state organization over these chiefdoms. The Inca state, however, controlled only the highland region. After the process of conquest and colonization, the Spanish conquerors established their own administrative unit, the Real Audiencia de Quito, with jurisdiction over the current territory of Ecuador and beyond. In the colonial period, the Oriente received little official attention. At the same time, the Sierra became the main seat of the colonial administration and its production was destined to satisfy the internal needs of the Audiencia. The Costa became the home of plantations whose main product (cacao) was commercialized in the international market.

This division of production influenced the different development of the three regions. After unsuccessful settlement projects, the Oriente remained populated almost exclusively by the native peoples; in the Costa emerged an export-oriented agricultural and commercial bourgeoisie; and the Sierra remained the seat of a landholding aristocratic elite (Redclift and Preston 1980:53).

According to Frank (1972a, 1972b) and Wallerstein (1974, 1984), the conquering European countries established a thoroughly capitalist socio-economic system upon their arrival to the New World. The colonies were integrated into the world-system by means of economic relations of production that emphasized maximization of profit and transference of the surplus-value to the core countries, with the resulting consequences of underdevelopment in the periphery. However, this vision has been strongly criticized by many scholars, especially historians (Stern 1993). According to this critique, some regions of Latin America fit into Frank's and Wallerstein's theories, but other regions experienced a re-emergence of non-capitalist modes of production after the conquest. Relations of production such as rotating labor drafts, slavery, and forms of serfdom and peonage characterize the economy of many Latin American regions during the colonial period. These relations are not capitalistic because they are based on extra-economic compulsion rather than on the hiring of free labor through wages. In Steve Stern's words: "colonial Latin American economy followed principles of economic evolution qualitatively distinct from those associated with a capitalist mode of production" (ibid.:31).

The validity of this critique can be assessed in the case of the Ecuadorian Sierra. The large estates that were established there, the haciendas, did not appear in response to direct demand from the international market, as Frank's hypothesis number 4 holds (Frank 1972a). Their production was oriented to satisfy the needs of the internal market. Moreover, the haciendas functioned as units of political and economic organization that expressed relations of domination and relations of production that were not capitalistic, especially complex land tenancy arrangements and variants of debt peonage (Guerrero 1991:40; Stern 1993:54). The transition from this complicated arrangements of diverse relations of production to capitalism took place in Latin American countries at the end of the nineteenth century or at the beginning of the twentieth (Stern *ibid.*). The following discussion deals with the process of economic development in Ecuador after that transition took place.

The Ecuadorian state did not adopt the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) model immediately after World War Two, as Brazil and Argentina did (Cardoso and

Faletto 1979; Lehmann 1990; Mahon 1992). Instead, the country maintained the dual-economy model: extensive haciendas producing for the internal market in the Sierra, and export-oriented plantations in the Costa (Redclift and Preston 1980:53). Following the cycles of boom and bust of these economies based on exports of primary products (Grindle 1986:35), banana replaced cacao as the main export commodity in the late 1940's, and it has kept its privileged crop position to these days. The monoculture model that makes the export boom of primary products such as banana possible, also makes the countries that rely on it highly vulnerable to fluctuations and decline of commodity prices in the international market (ibid.:43-44). Ecuador has not been the exception to this tendency.

One of the most significant moments in the process of economic development of Ecuador in this century was the agrarian reform period. Following the guidelines of structuralist economic theory, the primary objective of this reform was to change the inequitable land-tenure structure that existed in the countryside at that time. This structure took the blame for the underdevelopment of the Latin American countries. It is characterized by the presence of three main types of landholdings: (1) Large estates, the haciendas or latifundia, which maintained feudal labor relations between owners and workers (Indian peasants mostly). (2) Small landholdings, the huasipungos, devoted to subsistence agriculture, whose owners provided cheap labor, free or reproduction costs, to the haciendas. (3) Industrial monoculture plantations that produced for export. The first two types were found mostly in the Sierra, while the third one predominated in the Costa (Brown et al. 1988:150-151; Lawson 1988:439-441).

In 1964, during the fourth administration of Velasco Ibarra, the first Agrarian Reform Law was passed. Unfortunately, when this law was applied it did not encourage redistribution of the land in order to mitigate the high level of economic inequality present in the countryside, but it rather sought to modernize the agricultural sector and to increase its productivity (Redclift and Preston 1980:55). The results of this, and the second Agrarian Reform Law passed in 1973, were the elimination of feudal relations of production, some degree of redistribution of the large estates that were not thoroughly cultivated, and the escalation of settlement movements in the Amazon region (ibid.).

However, these results did not suffice to create a big change in the overall agrarian structure. Many of the large landholders avoided the redistributive effort by selling off their properties before the laws were enforced, by redistributing themselves some amount of land among the peasants who worked in the haciendas, or by modernizing their productive practices (ibid.:63; Weiss 1985:481).

The agrarian reform reinforced the process of proletarianization of the peasants in Ecuador. Middle and rich peasants who were able to purchase land improved their position, but poor peasants did not. The demographic growth of the peasants, the unavailability of land, and the impossibility to find local employment combined to trigger a migratory movement from the countryside to the urban centers (Preston and Redclift 1980:63; Weiss 1985). The two most significant outcomes of this movement are (1) the formation of squatter settlements (slums locally known as suburbios) around the cities, especially around the two principal ones: Guayaquil, the commercial pole of the country, and Quito, the seat of political power. (2) The increment of the number of unemployed and underemployed people, most of whom have undertaken economic activities labeled as "informal." The migratory process continues at present, and in many cases its destination has extended beyond the national frontiers.

In 1972, Ecuador began exporting oil and joined the OPEC cartel. The process started in 1967 with the rediscovery of petroleum in the Northern Amazon region and with the subsequent construction of a pipeline to transport the oil from its place of extraction to the sea shore, where it is refined and exported. As de Janvry, Sadoulet, and Fargeix (1991:1578) notice, the quadrupling of the oil prices in 1974 created a favorable economic situation in the country.

One of the characteristics of this bonanza period was a favorable foreign exchange rate, which in turn stimulated the adoption of the import-substitution industrialization (ISI) model. The incipient manufacturing industries had the fastest growth rate in Latin America during the 1970's, even faster than the ones in Brazil. However, this situation was sustained by an overvalued currency, protective tariffs, and government subsidies. The main source of money to finance these protective measures was foreign loans (de Janvry et al. 1991:1578-1579). State policy has reinforced the process of uneven

development in the different regions of Ecuador (Lawson 1988:449-450). For instance, the powerful bourgeoisie that controls the large industrial plantations in the Costa has received a lot of state support, while the small landowners in the Sierra have practically received none. The revenues obtained from oil exports were mostly destined to subsidize the industrial sector instead of the agrarian sector. The region of the country where most of the oil extraction takes place, the Oriente, has paradoxically received the smallest amount of benefits from this activity, remaining underdeveloped in comparison to the other regions. In this case, Frank's statement about the development of some regions at the expense of the underdevelopment of others (Frank 1972a) holds true.

During the oil-bonanza period of the early 1970's, the public services sector experienced a high growth rate, but public revenue did not, so part of the loans contracted at the time were destined to finance the resulting deficit (de Janvry et al. 1991:1578-1579). Ecuador followed a pattern of foreign endebtmnt very similar to the one described by O'Brien (1991), reinforced by the then-booming oil extraction. The obtention of loans from banks and the payment and interest conditions were favorable to the debtor countries in the early 1970's, and many Latin American states entered a phase of aggressive endebtmnt. Ecuador was not the exception, although the amounts borrowed were not as high as those of Brazil, Mexico or Argentina. Many of these loans were not destined to investment in the public sector: some were used to finance the economic growth of the private industrial sector, and some were even used to finance luxury imports for the bourgeoisie (O'Brien 1991:26-27).

The oil prices in the international market doubled again in 1979, but Ecuador's oil production declined and the era of adjustment began. At that time, the country shifted from a decade of military dictatorships (since 1970) to a democratic regime that extends to the present days. The economic heritage of the military dictatorships consisted in a subsidized industrial sector, a largely neglected agricultural one, and an increasing foreign debt.

Ecuador was not prepared to successfully confront the 1982 debt crisis, which was caused by factors such as increasingly high interest rates, decline in the export of primary products, decrease in the demand of those products, and protectionistic measures adopted

by industrialized countries (O'Brien 1991:28). In the particular case of Ecuador, the main factors that triggered the debt crisis were the disappearance of international commercial credit, a rise in real interest rates, and a 15% decline in the oil prices. The Hurtado administration, of Christian democratic tendency, took measures such as currency devaluation and imports restriction in order to mitigate the new situation, but they were not enough. New more severe measures were implemented in order to reduce the public sector deficit and inflation. Moreover, floods in the Costa damaged agricultural production in 1982 and 1983. The combination of all these factors prevented any further success of the adjustment measures (de Janvry et al. 1991:1579).

In 1984, León Febres-Cordero was elected President, and he adopted a straightforward neo-liberal economic program in order to change the state-dominated economic system. However, this program experienced many difficulties because of the lack of internal and foreign support. The proposed reforms (reduction of the state sector size, deregulation of the economy, fiscal austerity, removal of price controls and subsidies, shift from ISI to a manufactured goods export model, and foreign investment attraction) have high social costs, especially because of the cuts in the welfare programs and increased prices of formerly cheap state services. The economic liberalization and stabilization program created a continuous political struggle between this administration and the opposition parties, but it achieved some success in the first two years of the administration (ibid.:1579-1580).

However, in 1986 the oil prices fell from \$25 to \$12 per barrel, thus causing the stabilization measures to be insufficient. New economic actions were taken, and the administration had to resort to populism and appeal to regionalism to maintain its popularity. In 1987 an earthquake in the Amazon region destroyed a large segment of the oil pipeline, so the oil exports were suspended for several months. The resulting budget deficit was financed with more international loans. The overall economic situation worsened. In the final year of his administration, Febres-Cordero increased domestic public works spending in order to influence large population sectors to vote for his party, but his administration was replaced by another of social democratic tendency (ibid.).

The Borja administration (from 1988 to 1992) designed institutional changes that actually became part of the structural adjustment process, something that the past and present administrations have not done (Maiguashca 1993:446-447). The economic measures taken by this administration continued the process of opening up the Ecuadorian economy to free trade and massive imports and exports, and at the same time sought for more humane adjustment measures that did not hurt the poor sectors more than what they already were. However, the usual set of constraints (debt service, low and unstable oil prices, internal political opposition, and so forth) made this goal impossible to achieve.

The current administration is led by Sixto Durán-Ballén, who belonged to the same political party (social Christian) as Febres-Cordero until one year before the presidential elections. The neo-liberal economic program was reassumed in full sway by this government. As Maiguashca (*ibid.*:447) notes, this administration claimed that its primary goal was to reduce the inflation process by reducing the huge fiscal deficit. The means to achieve this reduction are strict fiscal discipline and privatization of inefficient public organizations in order to reduce the state apparatus size.

The implicit assumption made by the neo-liberal economists now in charge of the state policy follows Adam Smith's faith in the "invisible hand" of the market: when state intervention in the national economy has completely ceased, the market will automatically replace it as the regulating device (Lehmann 1990). But, as Maiguashca concludes, the market is not part of the natural endowment of a country, but rather a set of social institutions and behaviors that need to be developed before it can adequately work (Maiguashca 1993:447), and Ecuador is not a good example of market development.

The neo-liberal economic doctrine was first implemented in Chile, after the military coup led by Pinochet in 1973. Since those days, the principal characteristic of neo-liberalism has been the adoption of shock measures in order to reduce inflation and increase productivity. Among those measures there are currency devaluation, deregulation of prices, elimination of subsidies, and reduction of the fiscal deficit, all of which tend to dismantle the parts of the state apparatus that provide welfare and social justice services to the poor. Neo-liberalism demonizes the state as an agent that hinders individual

freedom and initiative because it rewards economic inefficiency through welfare assistance. It is interesting to notice that this neo-liberal economic program has been proposed and carried out by the conservative political groups in Latin America (Lehmann 1990:76-77).

In Ecuador, the last three administrations have carried out a neo-liberal program of reforms to varying extents. Febres-Cordero and Durán-Ballén have adamantly advocated this new “philosophy of state” (ibid.), while Borja took the same road in a somehow reluctant manner. The powerful export-oriented bourgeoisie has aggressively promoted the neo-liberal reforms, and has succeeded in some aspects, such as the sale and privatization of some state-owned corporations that provide basic services. However, the center and left-wing opposition parties have also been successful in blocking some of the legal reforms that would allow for the wholesale privatization of the state apparatus. The current administration has been particularly unsuccessful in carrying out most of its proposed program because the shock measures that it has taken have generated a steep decline in the quality of life of the majority of the Ecuadorian population, provoking a wave of strong popular protest, and because of the notorious embezzlement scandals that involved top members of the administration.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the popularity and credibility of the Durán-Ballén administration cannot be lower at present.

Neo-liberalism can be considered as the latest justification for capitalism to be developed and applied in Latin America. In general, the historic insertion of Ecuador, and Latin America as a whole, in the capitalist world system and the posterior full adoption of the capitalist mode of production have not generated improvements in the conditions and quality of life of most of the population. The dependent peripheral character of the participation of Ecuador in the world economy fits into Cardoso and Faletto’s theory, where the local dominant bourgeoisie and the state forge changing alliances with the capitalist forces (represented by multinational corporations) which lead to a limited degree of development that mainly benefits the bourgeoisie (Cardoso and Faletto 1979; Cardoso, in So 1990).

---

<sup>2</sup> The latest scandal of inappropriate use of public funds involved Vice-president Dahik, who was formally accused and fled the country.



Another aspect that has been explored only in the last years is the negative impact of capitalist expansion on the ecology of the peripheral countries. Productive practices such as monoculture, mining and oil extraction, together with settlement movements in fragile marginal lands have been responsible for the greatest damage in the Latin American ecosystems since the sixteenth century (Sunkel 1990).

Before this dismal picture that capitalist expansion has generated there are several current responses in Latin America. One of them is the political opposition set forth by the left-wing parties. Another one is the creation of guerrilla movements that try to destabilize the bourgeois state and replace it with a socialist one. Finally, there is the emergence of grassroots popular social movements that struggle to create an alternative development strategy from below, basismo in Lehmann's words (1990). In the following chapters of the thesis, I will address one particular instance of grassroots development: the response of the Indian peasants of Cebadas to capitalist expansion within the context of a grassroots oriented development project.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CEBADAS AREA AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The objective of this chapter is to present a description of the region which constitutes the geographical focus of the thesis: Cebadas, Ecuador. I present a brief description of the ecological characteristics, and historical and sociocultural dynamics of the region. These are the context for the discussion of the CESA development project and its influence on the Indian peasants of the region.

The theoretical orientation that prevailed in the field of Andean studies until the early 1970s regarded the communities of Indian peasants as closed corporate entities which, together with sociocultural features such as language, reciprocity, kinship, and ceremonial activities, were the traits that defined the Andean sociocultural area. This “essentialist” perspective was challenged by new studies which conceive these institutions as strategies of resistance and/or survival that the peoples of this region adopted to confront the historical processes of domination such as the Spanish colonial regime, nineteenth century liberalism, and twentieth century capitalism (Poole 1992:219-221). With this call of attention to the changing nature of the elements of Andean culture in mind, I will review in a succinct manner the historical processes of domination and resistance that the people of the Ecuadorian Sierra, especially those of Cebadas, have gone through, as well as the contemporary sociocultural dynamics in the area.

#### Ecological characteristics of the Cebadas area

Cebadas is a parroquia (parish) that belongs to cantón (county) Guamote, in the province of Chimborazo (see appendix 2), in the highlands (Sierra) of Ecuador (see appendix 1). A parish is the smallest administrative unit in the Ecuadorian system of geopolitical division. Cebadas means “barley” in English. The name is probably an indicator that barley was the main crop grown in the area since the colonial era. The pattern of spatial distribution of the population is similar to the one found in other regions of the highlands (Weismantel 1988:53-58): The town, which is the parish seat, the locus of political authority and state agencies, is populated mainly by mestizos, people of mixed

Indian and Spanish ancestry. The town is surrounded by several communities inhabited by Indian peasants.

The approximate surface of the Cebadas parish is 40,000 hectares. This territory is located between the 78° 27' and 78° 39' of West longitude, and 1° 52' and 2° 06' of South latitude. Two ecological tiers prevail in Cebadas: (1) the Andean high prairie (known as páramo in Spanish), a humid area found over 3,600 meters above the sea level, and (2) the erosional slopes, a drier area found between 3,000 and 3,600 meters above the sea level. The páramo tier presents one ecological formation characterized by low temperatures and high amounts of rainfall, with abundant tall grass (Stipa ichu). The erosional slopes tier contains four different ecological formations characterized by higher temperatures and lower amounts of rainfall (Tobar 1988:1-7, 13-17).

The climate of the Cebadas region is cold and dry, with a significant daily temperature range. The average year-around temperature is 13.2°C. The average rainfall in a year is 365.3 cubic millimeters. It rains in all the months, but the wettest ones are March, April, and June, and the driest months are August, September, and December. The lowest temperatures occur during the driest months (ibid.:8). Other significant climatic factors in this area are the evaporation index, and the wind. The amount of water evaporated is higher than the amount of rainfall. This imbalance produces a permanent water deficit throughout the year. The wind speed is also high in this area, with readings up to 10 meters per second in July. The wind generally blows from South to West (ibid.:13).

The main hydrologic system of the area is the Cebadas river. This river runs for 14 kilometers through the middle of a narrow valley in South to North direction. This river constitutes the borderline of the parish with the adjacent one. The town of Cebadas and the Indian communities are located on the East bank. The Cebadas river is fed by smaller rivers and creeks that carry water from the páramo to the valley floor (ibid.:17-18).

Of the three types of soil that have been identified in the Cebadas area, the most frequent one, called Set J by Tobar (1988), is also the type more prone to erosion problems, especially in combination with the steep slopes and strong winds that prevail in the area (ibid.:21-23). The principal factors that influence the use of the land are access to

irrigation and access to agricultural technology. The páramo is used mostly as a grazing place for bovines and ovines. The lower, less steep mountain slopes and the valley floor constitute the main agricultural production areas. The principal cultivars are potatoes, maize, peas, barley, lentil, a variety of Andean tubers, chocho (Lupinus sp.), haba (Vicia faba), quinua (Chenopodium quinua), wheat, onion, and alfalfa (ibid.:18-21).

Tobar (ibid.:27-31) noticed that the forest resources of the Cebadas area are under a situation of extreme stress. In the whole province of Chimborazo, only approximately 5,000 out of its 563,700 hectares are covered with native forests. In Cebadas, the native forest surface is 82 out of approximately 40,000 hectares. Of these 82 hectares, only 10 are natural forest, while 72 are secondary bushes. The forests of Cebadas, and of the whole Ecuadorian Sierra, have been and continue to be the object of extreme exploitation.

### **Historical process in the Ecuadorian Sierra**

I want to begin this review with a brief discussion about the forms of socio-political organization that existed in what is now Ecuador, and by extension in Cebadas, before the Inca conquest. These units are known as chiefdoms, “societies without a specialized administrative apparatus but with considerable personal power concentrated in the hands of powerful chiefs” (Knapp 1991:102). Although small in scale, these chiefdoms were highly centralized and stratified (Salomon 1986:10). Chiefdoms were usually composed by people from a single ethnic group. Larger chiefdoms contained smaller sub-chiefdoms whose heads owed allegiance to the chiefs of the larger units. The chiefs, also referred to as “ethnic lords,” or curacas, caciques, or principales in Spanish, (ibid.), were the principal economic, political, and ceremonial actors in their ethnic groups. They organized productive activities, ensured the satisfaction of the subsistence needs of their people, enforced reciprocity, and acted as redistributive agents. In return, they enjoyed personal services, including corvée labor, from their subjects (ibid.; Knapp 1991:103).

Chiefdoms were not based on a logic of accumulation of wealth via exploitation of labor, but rather centered around generalized reciprocity and redistribution, mediated by the ethnic lord. However, the existence of social stratification in the chiefdoms,

expressed clearly by the imposition of a tribute of labor by the chiefs from the direct producers, leads me to consider those direct producers as proto-peasants. Wolf (1966:10-12) defined the peasants in terms of subordination to a larger social structure: the state. The degree of power asymmetry reached in the chiefdoms was perhaps not enough to characterize their direct producers as peasants, but it was certainly the beginning of a process of peasantization. The Inca empire and the colonial and republican administrations started and advanced the process of subordination of the direct producers to the state, thus completing the process of peasantization.

It is necessary to refer here to one of the most salient historical elements found throughout the Andean region: the shared ideal of the Andean peoples, no matter how small or large, to have “vertical control of a maximum number of ecological tiers” (Murra 1972a, 1985a) in order to have access to the resources that were found only on each tier or floor, and thus achieve economic and ecological complementarity. Murra (1972a:434-436) proposed an ideal model known as “the vertical archipelago:” An ethnic group, a chiefdom or a larger polity, had a nuclear area, the most densely populated territory and seat of political power. At the same time, that group had colonies of people living in other ecological tiers who were in charge of extracting and exploiting the resources endemic to those tiers for the benefit of the whole ethnic group. These colonies were similar to peripheral islands with respect to the nucleus of population, hence Murra’s archipelago metaphor. Certain islands were multi-ethnic, inhabited by people from different ethnic groups who exploited the resources of that tier. The relations between the nucleus and the islands were also characterized by reciprocity and redistribution (Murra 1985b:16). People from all the islands belonging to a same ethnic group shared the goods and resources produced in each of them, and the nuclear authority determined the amounts that each island received.

In the ideal archipelago model, the ethnic nuclear area was located usually at a height convenient for growing maize (between 2,200 and 3,400 meters above the sea level, approximately), and there were several other ecological floors used by the same group. The upper floors provided salt and cattle grazing areas; the lower floors produced cotton, hot chili peppers, coca leaves, and rain forest products (*ibid.*). There were many

variations of the archipelago model. For instance, in the Northern Andean region, which includes the Cebadas area, there were no distant islands of production such as those found in the Central Andes (Murra 1972b). Because of the different ecological conditions in the North, especially the narrowness of the cordillera, there is no evidence of a classical vertical archipelago (Salomon 1986:22-29). Instead, there is a "microverticality" model: the different ecological floors utilized by the ethnic groups of the area were closer together, so the production zones established in the northern chiefdoms were usually less than one day away from the nucleus (Oberem, in Benítez and Garcés 1993:114). The goods not produced in this microvertical system were obtained through medium- or long-distance exchange (Salomon 1986:97-111).

The Incas incorporated the territory of the Ecuadorian Sierra to their empire in the late fifteenth century, and they stayed in the area for a short period of time (Knapp 1991:102). The form of political control exercised by the Inca state, the Tahuantinsuyu, was based on indirect rule. The Incas imposed their language (Quechua), the official cult of the Sun, and an administrative bureaucracy in charge of organizing the labor tribute of the local people. At the same time, the Incas maintained the local religion and forms of socio-political organization, including the different variations of the vertical control system. To a big extent, the Tahuantinsuyu was based on reciprocity and redistribution, with the emperor as the paramount chief. The ethnic lords became mediators between their people and the Inca state (Ramón 1991:420-421; Silverblatt 1988:181).

The Spanish conquest and colonial administration introduced a series of drastic and violent changes in the lives of the Andean peoples. The Spaniards imposed a new language, religion, economic and social organization. They created a new blanket ethnic category, "Indians," which includes the members of all the different pre-Columbian ethnic groups (Stern 1982). The economic structure of the Inca empire, based on the control of different ecological tiers and on institutionalized reciprocity and redistribution, was replaced by a colonial regime that imposed the logic of accumulation of goods and exploitation of labor, and did not fulfill the redistributive role that the Tahuantinsuyu had (Ramón 1991:422-423).

Among the most significant changes introduced by the Spaniards in the Andes was the creation of the encomienda,

Pizarro [the leader of the Spanish forces that conquered the Inca empire] distributed *encomiendas* of Indian peoples to his conquistador allies. The *encomendero* lord was charged with serving the Crown's military and political needs in the colony, and with tending to the material and spiritual wellbeing of the Indian pagans "entrusted" to his care. In exchange, he was free to command tribute and labor from his wards. As a personal representative of the Crown in the field, the encomendero could use lordship over "his" people to enrich himself, but he also carried the burden forging colonial relationships with the new Indian subjects (Stern 1982:27-28, italics in the original).

The people and land entrusted (encomendados in Spanish) to certain privileged individuals (the encomenderos) were the origin of the future haciendas. The encomenderos became an elite group, the new aristocracy of the colonies, and clashed with the Crown over the right to maintain the encomienda system, in the sixteenth century.

The local Indian chiefs, the curacas or caciques, maintained the role of middlemen between their people and the state during the early colonial period. Some of them became encomenderos and, as such, took advantage of the tribute of their own people in order to accumulate wealth. The importance of the curacas declined gradually as time went by (Silverblatt 1988:183; Stern 1982:40-44).

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo carried out a series of important changes during the twelve years of his administration (1569-1581), such as the destruction of a rebellious neo-Inca state, the creation of a rotative system of labor tribute, the introduction of legal instruments to conduct the viceroyalty of Lima, and most importantly for this thesis, the creation of the Indian communities (Stern 1982:76-77). Before his reforms, the native peoples of the highlands lived scattered throughout the territories of their ethnic chiefdoms (Knapp 1991:105). The Toledan reform ordered the Indians to be relocated (reducidos) in nucleated settlements modeled after the Spanish villages, in order to control and tax them more efficiently. These settlements are the origin of the current Indian communities in the Andean region. Relocation of the Indian population in

nucleated settlements undermined the possibility of realization of the ideal of vertical control of a maximum of ecological floors. The Indians were not usually allowed to use any other territory than the one assigned to them in the relocation process, which in most cases did not contain multiple tiers. Capitalist economy completed the destruction of this ideal model, although traces of these practices can still be found among the Andean peoples (Murra 1972a:440, 1985a, 1985b).

The large estates created by the *encomienda* system developed into haciendas thanks in part to the repartimiento, a seventeenth-century form of labor system through which a group of Indians were forced to provide labor to a landholder (hacendado) for one-year periods. However, the hacendados managed to trap the Indian peasants into a debt peonage system, and a nucleus of permanent residents of the hacienda emerged. The repartimiento gave way to concertaje, and this to huasipungaje into the twentieth century (Weismantel 1988:63-64).

Galo Ramón mentions that the hacienda became gradually a self-contained totalizing system that protected the Indians from the payment of tribute to the colonial state and guaranteed a territory, an identity, and the possibility of reproduction (land for cultivation and pasture). In return, the Indian peasants had to put into the hacienda between 80 and 90 percent of their labor. The hacienda Indians participated thoroughly in the community system, and established an unequal redistributive system with the hacendado, the owner of the latifundium (Ramón 1991:425-26). Not all Indians were incorporated to the hacienda system. Some of them migrated to the cities and assimilated to the growing mestizo social group. A few free Indians retreated to less productive, higher marginal lands in order to avoid being incorporated to the hacienda system, and they rather established bonds with nearby urban centers (ibid.:439).

The haciendas were oriented to the production of food for the internal market during the colonial and republican eras, and they relied on the cheap labor extracted from the Indians. The hacendados did not establish capitalist relations of production based on the purchase of free labor through wages. As Stern (1993) noticed, in most cases the hacendados imposed feudal-like relations of production. The Indians did not receive wages, but a small plot to cultivate and satisfy their reproduction needs in return for their



labor force input in the hacienda land. This plot, called huasipungo in Quichua (the Ecuadorian variation of Quechua, the Inca language), was not big enough to allow for the reproduction of the Indian peasants, so they engaged in a vicious circle of borrowing goods and money from the hacendado. These loans were supposed to be paid with labor, and the peasants usually ended up owing more than they could pay during their lifetimes. This variation of the system of debt peonage, locally known as concertaje, was perpetuated through the transmission of the debt to the following generations. The colonial administration and the republican state legitimized the hacienda system and repressed the insurrections that the Indian peasants organized against the abuses of the system (Guerrero 1991; Ramón 1991; Zamosc 1994a).

The creation of the Republic of Ecuador in 1830 and the formal abolition of concertaje in 1918 did not significantly change the situation of most Indian peasants of the Sierra, who continued to be attached to the haciendas by means of the different forms of land occupation in return for labor. The social and contractual relations that prevailed in the haciendas after 1918 were referred to with the name of huasipungaje (Guerrero 1991:47-48). One of the objectives of the agrarian reform laws passed in 1964 and 1973 was the elimination of huasipungaje and other feudal-like relations of production in the haciendas (Redclift and Preston 1980).

“Unlike the capital-intensive, high-productivity, export-oriented plantations of the coast, the Sierra haciendas had evolved into systems designed to minimize investments rather than maximize returns” (Weismantel 1988:73). The paternalistic character of the hacendado-Indians relations, the everyday violence against the latter exercised by the town mestizos, the absence of a profit-oriented productive apparatus, the impoverished soil and outdated technology, and the subordinate position of the Indian peasants in the Ecuadorian society are part of the legacy of the hacienda system (ibid.).

### **Contemporary sociocultural dynamics in Cebadas**

The parish of Cebadas and all of Guamote county are part of what Leon Zamosc (1995) has called “areas of indigenous predominance” (áreas predominantemente indígenas), as opposed to “areas of mestizo predominance.” Most of the twenty-four

communities currently established in Cebadas have the legal status of such, granted by the Ecuadorian state according to the Law of Communities passed in 1937 (Zamosc 1995:45). However, a few of these communities have the status of "associations," following another legal norm established in 1978 (ibid.:46). Because the difference between communities and associations in Cebadas is more technical than empirical, I will refer to both types of organizations as communities.

Lehmann (1982a:22) points out that a present-day community (comunidad in Spanish) does not have the same meaning nor functions as in the sixteenth century. The current community is a creation of the state, based upon centuries of Inca and colonial experiences. "It is an institution of land tenure which regulates access of individuals to land." A community is not an homogeneous, solidary group of people, and there are always conflicts among members of the community and between communities. But there are also forms of cooperation between the people of each community, which according to Lehmann (ibid.:24-25) are oriented to the achievement of specific finite tasks of common interest. However, I think this vision is not totally accurate, and because of the current movement of ethnic revitalization, the importance of more extensive forms of cooperation is growing.

The majority of the Cebadas communities have been shaped by the process of historical domination and resistance between the Indian peasants and the hacendados and the state, as it was outlined above. As I mentioned in chapter 2, in 1964 the Ecuadorian government passed a law that mandated a program of agrarian reform in order to suppress feudalistic relations of production and, to a certain extent, to redistribute the land among the peasants working in haciendas that were not thoroughly cultivated (Redclift and Preston 1980). At that time, in Cebadas there were thirteen haciendas: twelve private and one managed by a state agency. The state-run hacienda was divided and distributed among the peasants who worked in it by the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización (Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization), IERAC, the state agency created to implement the agrarian reform program. IERAC also affected one private hacienda. Seven haciendas were reformed by their very owners, who thus avoided a more thorough land distribution. Three other latifundia sold part of their marginal lands

to organized Indian communities, complying in that way with the legal requirements. Finally, one hacienda was not affected by the reform laws, and still maintains the feudal-like relations that the agrarian reform tried to eliminate (Moncayo 1988:15, 23; Oswaldo Pozo 1994, personal communication).

The land tenure structure in Cebadas is still complex and inequitable. Of the entire surface of the parish, 40,000 hectares approximately, only 17.6 percent (7,040 hectares) belonged to the Indian communities in 1988 (*ibid.*:20). The bulk of the land belonged, and still does, to four haciendas. The owners of these haciendas are a small group of landholders, currently referred to as terratenientes. The mestizo families who live in the village also possess some amount of land, smaller than the haciendas, but usually bigger than the plots owned by the Indian peasants.

Each community has internal formal and informal structures of power and authority. Formally, a community has a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a secretary, and different committees. The people who hold these offices are appointed in meetings of all the members of the community; they last one year in those positions and can be re-elected. The informal structure of power is formed by members of the community who are recognized as leaders by most of the members of the group. Formal and informal structures overlap to varying extents. Some leaders are also appointed officials and hold positions of authority, but some others do not. In any event, leaders exercise visible influence on the behavior of the whole community.

Present day communities are dispersed settlements. In 1988, the indigenous population of the area reached 4,155 inhabitants distributed in 828 households, with an average of 5 people per household, approximately. The economically active population, individuals of both sexes over 13 and under 55 years-old, amounted to 2,443 persons, 58.8 percent of the total population (*ibid.*). The traditional land tenure system within the communities allowed for the existence of both private and communally-owned land. Access to both was based on each individual's membership in these organizations. Due to the scarce amount of land available to the Indian peasants before and after the agrarian reform, only the four largest communities, El Retén, Pancún Ichubamba, Tablillas, and Grupo de Páramo, have conserved communally owned land. The other communities have

distributed their communal land among the comuneros, the members of the community, thus keeping only the private form of land tenure. Considering all communal and private land, the average size of a household plot in Cebadas is 8.7 hectares. Without communal property, the average size of a household plot is 3.3 hectares. Excluding the surface of the two largest communities, El Retén and Pancún, the average goes down to 1.8 hectares per household (ibid.:19). The small surface of land available and its low productivity combine to create a situation in which the Indian peasants cannot make their livelihood based solely on agricultural production.

According to Moncayo's report (1988:6-8, 30), which contains data on seventeen communities, the peasants from Cebadas have conserved certain traditional elements in their farming activities. The most commonly observed is the association of two crops in the same plot, usually maize and potatoes. There is also rotation of crops, although the related fallow period has disappeared because of the increasing need that the peasants have to produce and commercialize more agricultural products. The peasants still use manure as fertilizer, as well as animal traction plows. However, new technology such as chemical fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, and fungicides were already present in the area. The Indian peasants combined traditional and new technology to a certain extent.

In 1988 the productivity of the land was not high. The peasants had to resort to growing pigs and poultry to sell in the markets of the area, or migrated from their communities to other regions of the country to sell their labor force and obtain cash in order to complement their livelihood. Cebadas, as any other parish in the highlands, has experienced out-migration of inhabitants. In the same year, 346 out of 828 Indian household heads, mostly males, migrated on a regular basis. They got jobs in sugar mills of the Costa (the coastal lowlands) as cane cutters, or in urban centers as construction workers (ibid.:9-12). As noticed in other locations of the highlands, Indian migrants do not usually establish permanent residence in the cities. Instead, they return to their home communities in the season when more labor input is needed in agricultural activities (Weismantel 1988:57-58; Weiss 1985).

In Cebadas out-migration was, and still is, higher in the communities with less availability of land for its members, while the community with the largest land base did

not have any out-migrants in 1988. Migration is considered a hindrance for organizational, cultural, and political activities because out-migrants are not present in their communities for long periods of time, they do not participate in community life, and they become more acculturated and bring new alienating values taken from the mestizo society (Moncayo 1988:9-12).

Agricultural production varies in importance for the reproduction of a household according to the amount of land it possesses. The two largest communities that include big extensions of páramo base their livelihood in a combination of agriculture and pastoralism. Eight communities combine agriculture with out-migration in order to subsist. And seven other communities combine agriculture with the sale of their labor force in the nearby haciendas. In spite of the insufficient revenue it generates, agriculture is still the most extended economic activity in Cebadas. Pastoralism occurs only in the communities that have significant amounts of páramo where livestock can graze (ibid.:27-29).

The marketplaces visited more frequently by the Indian peasants of Cebadas are those of Guamote (the county seat), Cebadas, Licto (another parish), and Riobamba (the provincial capital). Economic exchange is one of the main mechanisms of articulation of the Indians to the mestizo society. Mestizos often take advantage of the Indians in the market dynamics. The costs of transportation of products from the communities to the markets is high for the Indian peasants. This is a serious limitation for them to obtain more cash for their produce, since they have to sell their crops to middlemen who pay low prices and later re-sell the products at higher prices in urban markets (Martínez 1980:63; Moncayo 1988:33; Weismantel 1988:55-56).

In general, relationships between mestizos and Indians are characterized by mutual distrust and prejudice, a result of the process of domination associated with the hacienda system (Weismantel *ibid.*). Tensions are sometimes concealed and sometimes explicit, as during the recent Indian uprising in 1990 (Zamosc 1994). In some cases, symbolic bonds are established between mestizos and Indians through the Christian ritual of baptism, when mestizo godfathers are chosen for Indian godchildren. But this ritual

bond is a symbol of the higher status of the mestizos, and thus expresses asymmetrical power relationships (Montes del Castillo 1989; Weismantel 1988).

The syncretization of the Roman Catholic religious doctrine, brought by Spanish missionaries, with ancient native beliefs since the beginning of the colonial era produced a folk version of Catholicism, which is the religion traditionally professed by the Indian peasants. However, since the late 1960s, the Evangelical Protestant churches have recruited a significant amount of believers in the highlands of Chimborazo, including the Cebadas area. This phenomenon has provoked different reactions among the Indians, and among other people related to them. Some Indians, extension agents, and Catholic clerics regard Evangelical religion as a threat for the maintenance of a distinctive Indian ethnic identity, and a hindrance for the political organization and the construction of an alternative development strategy (CESA 1992b; Goffin 1994:119-121, 125, 134). They point out that converted Indians adopt different values such as individualism, resignation, and passivity. However, some scholars (Bebbington 1993; Muratorio 1981) argue that there is no relationship between conversion to Evangelical Protestantism and loss of ethnic and class identity. In any event, conversion to this religion does provoke internal division and conflict in the communities where it is introduced by indigenous missionaries. Some communities have adopted the new religion to a bigger extent than others, and a few of them are almost exclusively Evangelical at present.

### **Development in Cebadas**

The Indian peasant communities of the Sierra have been the focus of attention of development initiatives implemented by four different actors: the state, the church, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and more recently, the Indian federations. These actors have their own agendas and notions of what development should be like and how it should be accomplished. The following discussion follows an article by Anthony Bebbington (1993).

The state agencies operating in Chimborazo have followed the guidelines of modernization theory as defined by the Ecuadorian state. The agricultural practices of the Indian peasants are dismissed as backward and inefficient, which must be modernized in

order for the Indians to develop and thus assimilate to the wider mestizo society. These state agencies have implemented development projects that have minimal or no degree of indigenous participation in the decision-making process. However, the younger generation of Indian peasants has grown with the presence of state agencies in their communities, and believes that their social reproduction must be accomplished with resources provided by the state. This belief is present in the current political struggle of the Indian federations, who defend their right to have a distinctive ethnic identity and, at the same time, demand a bigger share of state resources for their communities (Bebbington 1993:279; Zamosc 1994a).

Catholic and Protestant Evangelical churches share the emphasis on the active participation of the Indian peasants in the decision-making process and administration of development projects, as well as encouraging the maintenance of an Indian ethnic identity and the creation of strong local organizations. The difference between Catholics and Evangelicals is that the former are heavily influenced by the Liberation Theology and align themselves close to the political left (Goffin 1994:112-123). Catholic organizations emphasize the use of traditional agricultural techniques, but the Indian peasants have not adopted this idea. In turn, this rejection of traditional technology has led Catholic organizations to gradually change their views on the subject. Evangelical organizations, on the other hand, have kept a more consistent modernizing development approach, emphasizing the use of Green Revolution technology.

In Latin America, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have usually contested the state development model and promoted a more democratic alternative approach. In Ecuador, most NGOs claim that they base their development projects on local knowledge and agroecological techniques, but few of them actually transform this discourse into practice. NGOs promote the cautious use of Green Revolution technology. The alternative character of their approach lies in the importance that they assign to putting the control of development projects in the hands of the Indian peasants. NGOs emphasize the need to have strong local organizations among the peasants, so they can take advantage of the modernizing projects implemented by the state and other agencies.

There are international NGOs working in Ecuador, but most of them are national organizations funded by international donors.

The Indian federations are a relatively new form of indigenous organization in the Ecuadorian Sierra. These federations engage in both political struggle and development projects in order to improve the conditions of life of their members. The creation of these federations has been promoted by the state agencies, the churches, and the NGOs alike. Indian federations have generally a favorable attitude towards the adoption of modern technology because they believe that their ethnic identity is threatened more by migration and weak organization than by the use of non-traditional technology.

At present, there is an incipient Indian federation that agglutinates and represents the Indian communities of the Cebadas area. It is the Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de Cebadas (Union of Indian Communities of Cebadas), UCIC. This federation is still in the process of consolidation and expansion, and receives constant support from CESA. One of the main problems that they face is the lack of active participation of the peasants in the activities that the Union promotes, such as lobbying to obtain basic services from the provincial and national government, courses for community leaders, for medical extension agents, and so on. This federation does not have enough leadership cadres and depends on a few individuals to continue its existence.

### **CESA and the Cebadas development project**

Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agrícolas (Ecuadorian Center for Agricultural Services), CESA, is one of the oldest NGOs in Ecuador. Its origin is traced to the time when the progressive wing of the Catholic church decided to implement their own agrarian reform in order to distribute the haciendas that were property of the church among the Indian peasants who lived in them. CESA was the organization created to carry out this project, and after completing this task, it was reoriented towards the implementation of agricultural development projects (Bebbington 1993:284-85).

The headquarters of CESA are located in Quito, and there are offices in every area of the country where this NGO carries out development projects. The work of CESA is concentrated in economically-depressed areas, mostly in the Sierra but also in the Costa.



Once one of these areas is identified, there is a prospection phase in order to assess the feasibility of conducting a project there. If it is considered feasible, the CESA staff designs a development project for that area and looks for international donors (mostly European organizations) who would provide the necessary funding. CESA provides the staff to implement and monitor the projects.

Cebadas is one of the three projects that CESA had in the central highlands in 1994. This NGO is committed to the implementation of “integral rural development,” defined as the improvement of the living conditions of the Indian peasants (or any other target population) in all possible aspects. Therefore, each major project contains several specific smaller projects. In this respect, this concept of integral rural development is different from what de Janvry (1981:224-254) calls “integrated rural development:” a state-sponsored program of interventions in the countryside which aim at improving the conditions of life of the peasant population to a minimal degree, so they can continue producing cheap foodstuffs and reproducing their labor force free of costs for the state and the modern industrial sector. This contribution of the peasantry to the accumulation and profit making of the capitalist sector of the economy is what de Janvry (*ibid.*:41) calls “functional dualism.” CESA’s integral rural development follows a different rationale, and rather tries to promote and enhance the self-organization of the Indian peasants in order for them to take advantage of economic opportunities provided by this or other development agencies (Bebbington 1993).

The CESA project in Cebadas involved at least seventeen of the twenty-four surrounding communities on a regular basis. In general, this NGO promotes the process of political organization and consciousness-raising of the Indian peasants of their areas of focus. For this reason, CESA does not collaborate with groups that are not organized at least at the community level.

The members of the team of extension agents were responsible for carrying out short courses and other educational activities oriented to attract the peasants’ attendance and involvement. CESA does not endorse a paternalistic style of development, so the members of the team encouraged the creation of a grassroots organization, generically known as a “second-degree organization” (organización de segundo grado in Spanish),

UCIC, which could act as a liaison between the NGO staff and the Indian peasants. Another reason to encourage the creation of UCIC was the idea that the grassroots organization could implement development projects once CESA left the area at the end of 1995.

In 1994, the Cebadas project had six smaller projects: agriculture, health care, infrastructure, cattle management, women's issues, and agroforestry. There were four full-time extension agents: two agronomists, one veterinarian, and one forest engineer. One of the agronomists acted as the coordinator of the project and had mainly administrative duties. The other members were in charge of one specific project, according to their training. There was also one part-time member, a physician in charge of health promotion activities. At the time I stayed in Cebadas, July and August, 1994, there was not any woman members on the team, so the five male members took turns to conduct courses for women in their particular areas of expertise. The main objective of these courses was to promote women's involvement in the project. However, as it might be expected, women's response to this courses was low, so plans were made to incorporate a female into the project's team to take care of the women's issues sub-project.

For eight weeks I was a full-time member of the Cebadas project team, in order to fulfill the internship requirements of the Master's program in applied anthropology. I was in charge of doing research about the reasons why the Indian peasants of the area served by the project did not adopt the agroforestry practices as they were originally designed. The methodology and results of this research will be presented in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE AGROFORESTRY PROJECT IN CEBADAS**

In this chapter I present the case study of the agroforestry project within the global Cebadas development project: how the project was outlined, how it was carried out, and the reasons why it was not adopted by the Indian peasants of Cebadas as it was originally designed. The agroforestry project was redirected in its later stage to follow the guidelines of the agroecological theory, which promotes the use of local ecologically sound technologies and species, and emphasizes the superiority of rural indigenous knowledge upon modern Western technology (Chambers 1983; Hecht 1988; Moles 1989). The turn to the incorporation of agroecological ideas and "Rural People's Knowledge" (Chambers 1983:82-83; Bebbington 1993:275-278) failed to generate the response that the CESA staff expected, and it was abandoned after a few years of trials. In this chapter I outline the main points of the agroecological school of thought, and I present the research findings about the Indian peasants of Cebadas and why they rejected agroforestry practices that incorporated native trees. This research was carried out during my permanence in the Cebadas development project as an intern, in July and August, 1994.

#### **Agroecology and Rural People's Knowledge**

One of the responses to the world-wide spread of technologies inspired by the modernization theory of development, especially to the Green Revolution technology in agriculture, was the emergence since the 1970's of a critical perspective called "agroecology." Susanna Hecht (1988:4) defines agroecology as an approach to agriculture that is more related to the environment and more socially sensitive, centered not only in production but in the ecological sustainability of the system of production. The agroecological approach is not reductionistic, like the conventional agricultural approach, but it rather integrates ideas from different fields such as agricultural sciences, tropical ecology, analysis of indigenous agroecosystems, and rural development studies (ibid.:6; Moles 1989:74).

Two influences are especially relevant in the context of this thesis: (1) native systems of production, and (2) rural development studies. Both cultural anthropologists and cultural geographers have made important contributions to the study of native systems of production, especially in the light of the cultural ecology school of thought (Butzer 1990:197-198). They have concentrated their efforts on analyzing and describing the agricultural practices and logic of native and peasant peoples, paying attention to the native point of view and emphasizing the need to understand the different rationalities that inform native systems of production. The goal of their research is to develop agroecological models that can be viable alternatives to Western modernizing agricultural development practices (Hecht 1988:10-11; Butzer 1990:202). The study of systems of production of the past is also relevant for the envisioning of agroecological alternatives (Moles 1989).

Many incisive critiques of the Green Revolution and its associated technologies, as well as of the prejudices against the indigenous peoples shared by agriculture and development thinking, spawned from the field of rural development studies. The main points of criticism of the Green Revolution are that it favored already well-off producers, that it destroyed many local forms of access to land and other resources, and that the new crop varieties introduced were more vulnerable to plagues and disease, thus requiring polluting herbicides and pesticides for crop protection (Hecht 1988:11-12). In view of these problems, critics of modernization technologies have stated that the ultimate proof of the quality of a given technology is the decision made by the peasant to adopt or reject that technology. The native and peasant experiences and knowledge are, therefore, the points of departure and destination of successful agroecological research and alternative technologies (ibid.:12; Chambers 1983).

The issue of whose knowledge development must be based upon is central to agroecology. Robert Chambers (1983:82-83) points out that conventional development strategies and their agents have failed to recognize and value the knowledge that indigenous and peasant peoples have about agriculture and productive practices in general. Although several terms can be used to refer to this knowledge, he prefers "rural people's knowledge" because it is the most inclusive term. The biases against this

knowledge reveal the larger power structure that conventional development is inscribed in, which discriminates and contributes to the domination of the same peoples that development is supposed to help (ibid.; Escobar 1995).

The revaluation of rural people's knowledge ("putting the last first" in Chambers words [1983]), also known as indigenous technical knowledge, includes many ecologically sound production techniques and appears as the best --and even the only one-- answer to conventional development, especially to Green Revolution technology (Hecht 1988; Moles 1989). Moreover, this revaluation can be considered as part of a larger attack on Western scientific knowledge. Making the claim that rural people's knowledge is valid and more adequate for development than the products of Western science contributes to undermining the privileged position of the former kind of knowledge (DeWalt 1994:124-125).

However, agroecology and rural people's knowledge are not exempt of criticism. Billie DeWalt contrasts the strengths and weaknesses of both scientific and indigenous knowledge systems and examines the performance of the two of them in different cases. The conclusions are that each kind of knowledge is more adequate to deal with specific problems, but none of them has universal application and validity (ibid.). Bebbington makes the point, among others, that the emphasis on the knower (the peasant or farmer) and his/her capacity to create and invent neglects the fact that the farmer does not know a lot of things such as market dynamics, politics, and the complex relationships that he/she has with the larger global context (Bebbington 1993:277). The use of technologies and practices of the past, when not thoroughly planned and carefully implemented, can create more problems than solutions in the search for alternatives to the "excesses of the Green Revolution," as in the case of the recreation of Chinampa agriculture in Mexico (Chapin 1988).

### **The agroforestry project in Cebadas**

With this concise background on agroecology and indigenous and rural people's knowledge, I want to present the case study of the agroforestry project in the Cebadas area. In its second stage, this project incorporated some of the concepts and rationales of

agroecological thinking. However, the agroforestry project was not successful in convincing the Indian peasants of Cebadas about the benefits of an agroecologically informed agroforestry.

The population of Cebadas depends heavily on wood as a fuel and as a construction material. The surface covered with native forests, which were the original source of timber, has dramatically declined during the last five centuries. The major cause of the exhaustive depletion of this natural resource is the expansion of the surface available for agricultural production, also referred to as the expansion of the agrarian frontier. As I mentioned in chapter 3, in 1988 only 82 out of the approximately 40,000 hectares of the Cebadas area were still covered with native forest (Tobar 1988).

Deforestation is not a recent phenomenon in the Ecuadorian Sierra. In the 1860's and 1870's, President García Moreno imported eucalyptus (Eucalyptus globulus) plants from Australia in order to reforest the highlands of Ecuador. The introduction of eucalyptus had mixed results: this tree has the ability to adapt to the relatively dry conditions that prevail in many areas of the Sierra, like Cebadas. It also grows at a fast pace and provides hard resistant wood. On the other hand, eucalyptus absorbs large amounts of water and soil nutrients, thus causing soil degradation problems that outweigh its benefits (Rafael Muenala 1994, personal communication). However, the Indian and mestizo peasants appropriated this tree species as an alternative source of wood in view of the rapid decline of native forest areas.

Eucalyptus, like other natural resources and technologies, was not democratically distributed. The haciendas had control over the forests, even before the introduction of eucalyptus, and the peasants had little access to the trees. The Indian peasants had to work extra time in the haciendas in order to gain access to the forests. If not, they had to take long trips out of the hacienda boundaries in order to get wood. The introduction of eucalyptus in these conditions mostly favored the landholders, who controlled the access to the trees. The procurement of wood did not improve for the peasants after agrarian reform, since the plots that they received were too small to allow for planting trees extensively.

In view of the scarcity of wood in the Cebadas area, the CESA development project decided to introduce an associated reforestation project in 1981 (CESA 1992a). The initial emphasis was put on attempts to implement massive reforestation on the erosional mountain slopes, which are considered as “areas with forest vocation” (Tobar 1988). Eucalyptus and two species of pine (Pinus radiata and Pinus patula) were chosen for this task. However, only the communities that conserve communally-owned land engaged in massive reforestation. The small amount of land available to the members of most communities hindered wholesale reforestation because trees take up space which could be otherwise devoted to the cultivation of crops.

The limited reach of massive reforestation did not discourage the members of the Cebadas project staff. In the second and third stages that began in 1987 and 1990 accordingly (CESA 1992a), an agroforestry project was designed and implemented in order to give access to trees to the peasants who have small plots. Following agroecological and rural people’s knowledge ideas, the objective in the third stage of the project was to implement the agroforestry project with native species such as quishuar (Buddleia incana), colle (Buddleia coriacea), yagual (Polylepis incana), aliso (Alnus jorullensis), acacia (Acacia sp.), pumamaqui (Oreopanax sp.), and capulí (black cherry, Prunus serotina). The reasons for using of these species were (1) their contribution to the fixation and conservation of soil nutrients, as opposed to the negative effects that eucalyptus and pine have in this respect, and (2) these trees are supposedly native to the region, and therefore considered more adequate for the ecological conditions and the Indian peasant culture. Agroforestry practices were also encouraged because of their value to prevent erosion and to increase soil conservation (ibid.).

The Cebadas project staff started to organize courses and educational events in order to inform the peasants about the negative outcomes of planting eucalyptus next to cultivated plots, since this species absorbs large amounts of water and nutrients from the soil, making it difficult for the cultivars to achieve all their potential growth. Another objective of these educational activities was to promote and demonstrate that native species were more adequate for agroforestry practices.

Three agroforestry practices were the most encouraged by the Cebadas project: (1) planting trees around the agricultural production plots, (2) planting trees around the houses, and (3) planting trees along the edges of the roads and irrigation channels. In all cases, the rationale for using native species was to protect the surrounding areas from strong winds and subsequent eolic erosion that prevail in the area, and to contribute to the renovation of soil nutrients by means of nitrogen fixation, since the native species have that ability. At the beginning, the agroforestry project was complemented with other soil conservation practices such as the construction of terraces on plots located on slopes and the introduction of furrows that follow level curves.

An important part of the project was the construction of a large intercommunal nursery in the town of Cebadas, in the backyard of the CESA quarters. This nursery was set up in 1986. The objective was to produce large amounts of seedlings to distribute among the Indian peasants. Most of the seedlings produced there in the first and second stages of the project were exotic, with percentages up to 97.9 percent exotic plants versus 2.1 percent of native species. This situation changed during the third stage, with the new agroecological direction of the project: native species became more important, reaching up to 40 percent of the total number of seedlings produced in the Cebadas nursery (ibid.).

As time passed and most communities adopted their own version of the agroforestry project, smaller nurseries were established in the three communities that have the largest extension of land: Pancún, El Retén, and Grupo de Páramo. The labor force input for the functioning of the Cebadas and other community nurseries is provided by the Indian peasants through the mechanism of the minga, a form of traditional cooperative reciprocal work in which the peasants volunteer a day's labor to work on a communal or individual project (Lehmann 1982a:24). Members of each community that relies on the Cebadas nursery for the provision of seedlings took turns working there, preparing the seedbed, transplanting the seedlings into plastic bags filled with adequate soil, preparing that soil, irrigating the seedlings, and so on. When the seedlings were old enough to be permanently planted, they were allocated to each community according to the amount of labor that its members put into the nursery activities. If there were seedlings left, they could be purchased by the peasants at low prices. Later, the project



started charging a small amount of money for each tree produced in the Cebadas nursery in order to cover some costs. This decision created problems that will be discussed later in this chapter.

### **Research problem: the rejection of the use of native species in the agroforestry project**

As I have briefly pointed out above, the beneficiaries of the agroforestry project, the Indian peasants of the Cebadas area, did not adopt the rationale behind the use of native tree species. They did incorporate the main agroforestry practices mentioned above into their agricultural activities, but they recreated those practices with tree species exotic to the Sierra and the country: eucalyptus, pine, and cypress (*Cupressus macrocarpa*). The peasants did not recreate the complementary soil conservation techniques of terracing and making furrows that follow level curves.

It is easy to find agricultural plots, usually owned by the community, with demonstrative protective plantations of native trees around them. But around the peasants' plots it is the exotic trees that are in the majority, combined with a few native trees. Because of this, the agroforestry project was considered as one of the least effective efforts within the overall Cebadas project.

As an intern, my task within the Cebadas project team was to carry out research in order to find out the reasons why the Indian peasants did not adopt the agroforestry practices as they were originally designed. The members of the team already had their own ideas about this problem, but they wanted to have an "independent" study to corroborate or disprove their thoughts.

I was responsible for the design of a research project, the collection of data, and the preparation of a report for CESA. The short duration of the internship, a total of eight weeks, was the most significant constraint for the research. Another important constraint was my lack of familiarity with the Indian peasants of Cebadas. As Weismantel mentions (1988), the relationships between Indians and mestizos are characterized by distrust and prejudice. I was in contact with the inhabitants of the area for only eight weeks, not enough to develop the close personal relations that facilitate ethnographic inquiry. The

members of the CESA staff had been working in the area for at least five years, so that they did have closer relations with the peasants. I relied on my affiliation with them in order to find informants and obtain the necessary data, but my relationship with these informants remained distant.

My research schedule was divided into three phases. In the first phase, which lasted two weeks, I designed the research project and discussed it with the members of the team. With their help, I chose a sample of six out of seventeen Indian communities served by the Cebadas project in order to carry out the bulk of research. The main criterion used to select the communities for study was the degree of acceptance or rejection of the agroforestry practices. Closeness to the quarters of CESA in the town was another criterion. The six communities chosen were: San Antonio de Cebadas, Utucún, Tablillas, Guanilchig, Gaurón, and Grupo de Páramo. The first five communities rejected the project to varying extents, but since the last one was more sympathetic to the project, it was selected as a control community. Most of these first two weeks were devoted to a short reconnaissance of the Cebadas area, going out with the members of the team from one tip of the area to the other, and being introduced to the officials and leaders of most communities, especially with those targeted for research.

The second phase of the investigation, which extended for four weeks, was devoted to conducting interviews and data collection in general. The third and final phase, two weeks long, was spent analyzing the data collected, discussing the results with the members of the Cebadas project team, and writing a research report for CESA.

Five of the targeted communities were directly linked to the hacienda system. Those communities did not obtain a large amount of land during the agrarian reform period. The sixth community, Grupo de Páramo (páramo group in Spanish), is a special case because it was formed in the early 1980s by people who split from another community (La Tranca), organized into an asociación, purchased a large extension of páramo land from a nearby hacienda, and established a new community there. The members of Grupo rely principally on herding sheep for their subsistence because of their large land base, and most importantly because their land is located so high (close to 4,000

meters above the sea level) that they cannot grow cash crops there. The other five communities combine agriculture, out-migration, and shepherding to make a living.

### **The attitudes of the Indian peasants of Cebadas toward the agroforestry project**

My research project was focused on the elicitation of the attitudes that the Indian peasants of the target communities had toward the agroforestry project, and toward the overall Cebadas development project carried out by CESA.

Following a similar study carried out in Bolivia (Bohrt et al. 1987:37-40), attitudes were defined as predispositions that favor the approachment to or avoidance of people, objects, or situations. Attitudes constitute important indicators of human behavior, and knowledge of them can be a useful tool in order to make approximate predictions about individual and group behavior. However, behavior is not influenced by attitudes alone. Behavior depends on a set of elements that includes personal experiences, sociocultural norms, the situation of the individual, and groups within a larger social and cultural context. In this sense, the attitudes elicited in this research will be interpreted within the historical framework and current relations of the Indian peasants of Cebadas within the Ecuadorian society and state.

It is important to mention that there is no perfect correlation between the attitudes expressed by the people and their behavior. In many cases there is a mismatch between discourse (attitudes) and practice (behavior) (ibid.:41-42), and the results of the research project support this idea.

### **Research methodology**

According to Bohrt et al. (ibid.:41), attitudes can be inferred from written or verbal discourse. Therefore, the research methodology that I used focused on the preparation and collection of interviews with the peasants, and the subsequent analysis of the discourse that the peasants produced in those interviews.

The original objective in my research was to locate several key informants within each target community, and a few out of the sample. The people who could serve as

informants were the community leaders and appointed officials, the nursery keepers, senior members of the community, and the members of the Cebadas project team. In each target community, one family which included no leaders and/or officials was intended for interviewing. However, because most Indian women of the Cebadas area who are over thirty years old do not speak Spanish fluently, I abandoned the idea of interviewing the female members of the families as the investigation unfolded. One attempt to interview the wife/mother of a family was not successful because of my lack of adequate knowledge of Quichua. Thus, I discarded the idea of interviewing whole families, and I decided to interview only male members because of their greater fluency in Spanish.

The reason for choosing community leaders, appointed officials, and nursery keepers as key informants is that they are the most active and consistent participants in the activities that the CESA project organizes. These comuneros (members of the community, in Spanish) were more familiar with the notion and strategy of development that the CESA promoted, and they were usually knowledgeable about the responses of most members of their communities to the project. In order to provide a different approach to the same issues, I included among the key informants ordinary members of the community, that is people who did not hold any elected office and had no special relationship with the staff of the project.

The idea of including senior members of the target communities was developed with the objective of collecting first-hand data on the ecological history of the communities. However, the few senior members of the target communities were difficult to locate, and all of them refused to be interviewed.

Of the two nursery keepers who were originally scheduled to be interviewed, one from Grupo de Páramo and one from the intercommunal nursery in Cebadas, only the second was available. The Cebadas nursery keeper, turned out to be an invaluable assistant of this research: he helped locate informants within each community; he volunteered as the translator for the failed interviews with the senior community members; and most importantly, he shared with me his knowledge of the situation of the agroforestry project in the different communities, which he obtained through the follow-up activities to the agroforestry project.

In general, the leaders and officials of all the communities cooperated with this investigation in an effective way. There were two exceptions. In Tablillas, one of the main leaders adamantly refused to grant me an interview, but he agreed to send six commoners to talk with me. In Gaurón it was impossible to locate most leaders, officials, and commoners because they worked during the daytime in nearby haciendas. I was able to interview only one leader in Gaurón and the nursery keeper mentioned above, who is a member of that community.

The commoners of San Antonio, Utucún, Tablillas, and Grupo de Páramo agreed to be interviewed about their attitudes toward the agroforestry project. I was not able to locate commoners in Guanilchig during the days when I visited that community.

The members of the Cebadas project staff were very helpful during the entire research process. They provided daily transportation from Riobamba to Cebadas and back, and within the project area. They collaborated in the location of informants. They shared with me their particular perceptions of the accomplishments and failures of the project as well as their knowledge of development and extension work in general. I officially interviewed three of them, but I spent many hours talking with all of them during our daily commute.

The methods used to carry out this investigation were three: (1) semi-structured interviews, (2) participant observation, and (3) informal conversations.

As mentioned above, attitudes can be elicited from oral or written discourse. I chose semi-structured interviews because they are flexible and allow for the possibility of exploring in more depth the topics that can yield valuable information and attitudes while the conversation is unfolding. I prepared a set of questions that addressed seven different topics. The main problem with this method was the fact that the peasants did not trust me enough as to allow me to use a tape recorder during the interviews. They did not even respond positively to the use of a note pad. For these reasons, I had to keep the length of the interviews in a range between fifteen and twenty minutes. Immediately after each interview was over, I wrote down in my note pad all that I could remember, in order to minimize the loss of information.

The seven topics addressed in the interviews were:

- (1) Personal opinion about the agroforestry project, and about the Cebadas project in general.
- (2) The tree species that the peasants plant in their plots in larger numbers, and the species that they use the most.
- (3) The reasons why they plant those species, and why they use those species.
- (4) The agroforestry practices that they know and/or use.
- (5) Problems and limitations that they encounter in the application of the agroforestry practices promoted by the Cebadas project.
- (6) Personal opinion about soil conservation practices.
- (7) The relations between the use of trees and their economy.

Participant observation, the anthropological method par excellence, was applied in all the activities that I participated in during the internship. As a full-time member of the Cebadas project team, I had the opportunity to collaborate in many different activities in all the fields in which the project did extension service. Thus, I not only collaborated with Rafael Muenala, the forest engineer in charge of the agroforestry project, but also with Héctor Cruz, the cattle management expert, with Jorge Peñafiel, the agronomist, with Harvey Paredes, the physician, and with Oswaldo Pozo, the supervisor of the whole project, who besides his administrative duties also oversaw the repairs of an irrigation channel during the two months that I worked there. My participation in these diverse activities was a privileged opportunity to have first-hand experience of the complexities of extension work and the interaction between the NGO staff and the intended beneficiaries of the project. It also allowed me to talk with the peasants in a more informal setting than in the interviews.

The informal conversation method turned out to be difficult to operationalize with the peasants, with the exception of some leaders and officials of the communities, who were more used to interacting with outsiders than the commoners. However, this method was very useful in order to elicit information from the members of the Cebadas project team.

In sum, the main problem with the methodology that I described above was the distrust that the Indian peasants of Cebadas felt towards me. This problem could have

been overcome had I had more time to interact and establish rapport with the informants, but the short duration of the internship did not allow for that. As it was mentioned above, another hindrance was the difficulty in locating some of the intended informants.

However, I was able to obtain interviews with at least two members of each target community. An unexpected problem was the number of institutional activities that took place outside the Cebadas area in the eight weeks I was part of the project team. Some of those activities were routine evaluations and planning meetings, but there were also two large meetings of the extension agents representing all the projects that CESA carries out with the administrative staff from the Quito headquarters. When these meetings took place, extension work stopped, and I could not go to the field and engage in research.

Considering the original research objectives, the methodology, the problems, and the results, I believe that this research project was adequately successful. The objectives were met to a considerable extent, and the methodology worked with some changes. Considering the short duration of the internship, more attention was paid to the application of semi-structured interviews, which yielded more information and were easier to analyze. Participant observation and informal conversations became secondary methods that complemented the information obtained through the interviews; they were important to convey a more holistic view of the agroforestry project in Cebadas.

### **The results: general trends in the attitudes of the Cebadas peasants toward the agroforestry project**

In this section, I present the general trends in the attitudes of the Indian peasants of the target communities toward the agroforestry project implemented by CESA. These general trends were established through to the analysis of the collected interviews.

The attitudes of the Indian peasants of the target communities toward the Cebadas development project carried out by CESA were generally good. They all mentioned that their economic situation and standard of living have improved since the NGO started its activities in the area in 1980.

The attitudes of the peasants toward the agroforestry project were divided. On the one hand, the peasants recognized the benefits of the principal agroforestry practices

promoted by the project. On the other hand, they also had negative perceptions of some of those practices. Thus, peasants were aware of the benefits that planting trees around the plots, around the houses, and along the roads and irrigation channels have in terms of creating wind-breaking fences that decrease the effects of eolic erosion. The original objective of the agroforestry project was to use mostly native tree species to form the wind-breaking fences because those species are more adequate for the maintenance of soil productivity. However, the peasants did not show a positive attitude toward the native tree species. They recreated the agroforestry practices demonstrated by the project staff, but they used exotic species instead, even though the peasants were aware of the decrease in soil productivity caused by exotic tree species.

Tablillas was the only community where there was strong opposition to planting of wind-breaking fences with any kind of trees. Informants from that community mentioned that the benefits that such fences bring in terms of soil conservation were outweighed by the problem they created. In that community, trees have the reputation of becoming dwelling places for birds that feed on grain crops to an increasing degree every year. The informants recalled that one year the birds attacked the plots where barley, wheat, habas, peas, and lentil grew; the next year, the birds extended their destructive action to rye as well. For this reason, most people in Tablillas refused to plant trees.

With respect to the tree species that the peasants plant and use, the scale from most to least preferred goes like this: The most preferred tree is eucalyptus, followed by pine, cypress, and all the native species in last place. Among the native species, quishuar is the most mentioned one.

The reasons why peasants preferred the exotic species vary according to each tree. Eucalyptus was appreciated by the peasants because of its hard, resistant timber, because it grows straight and fast, and because it provides good firewood. Eucalyptus timber has many uses: it is adequate to make tools and tool handles, furniture, and it is especially sought to build the structural beams of peasant houses. The peasants had not had pine timber mature enough to make tools or furniture, but they used pine as firewood with good results. The resin from pine facilitates the combustion of the wood even if it is not dry, and this characteristic is notoriously appreciated by the peasants. Pine is preferred



also because it is a beautiful tree that has a pleasant shape. No reasons for the preference of cypress over native species were mentioned, but it was clear that the peasants favor the use of this species over the native ones.

The peasants also showed negative attitudes toward native species. They always compared native to exotic species, and they mentioned that native species grow very slowly as opposed to the exotic ones. Another negative characteristic of native trees, for the Indian peasants, is that they do not have a straight trunk, which makes it more difficult to use the timber. The peasants also mentioned that native trees are common plants that could be found "everywhere." Because of these perceptions, the peasants did not take adequate care of the native trees that they had, making the mortality rate of native species high.

In the interviews that I collected, it was clear that the peasants of the target communities did not consider that there were serious problems of erosion in their plots. Informants were aware of the erosion caused by the strong winds. At the same time, they emphasized the usefulness of the wind-breaking tree fences that had been planted through the agroforestry project. They mentioned that the productivity of their plots depends more on the amount of labor and adequate fertilization put into them than on the protection from the wind. With the exception of one interviewee, a commoner from Utucún, nobody mentioned the existence of hydric erosion.

The peasants mentioned that they had not had the chance to sell the trees provided by the agroforestry project because they were still too young to be marketable. The peasants also mentioned that some people who had old trees, especially eucalyptus, sometimes cut and sold the timber to the commoners who were interested. However, in order to obtain wood for structural frames, the peasants had to buy the timber from the town mestizos who own trees, and sometimes they had to travel as far as Riobamba in order to secure that wood. Young eucalyptus and pine trees were regularly cut in order to meet the firewood needs of each household. The households that did not have trees to cut, and some of those that did have trees, obtained their timber from the few spots of still standing native forest.

In addition to the attitudes of the Indian peasants toward the agroforestry project and its related activities, the interviews that I collected were useful in identifying problems that occurred in specific communities. For example, in the community of San Antonio de Cebadas the provision of water was an important problem. Because of the lack of irrigation water, the peasants had to prioritize the use of this resource, which means that they would irrigate crops and preferred exotic trees instead of the native ones.

Grupo de Páramo was the only one of the six target communities that had a community nursery. However, this nursery had not been working adequately because the appointed nursery keeper migrated to the Costa. At the time of my visit, this person had been away from the community for almost six months, and left his father in charge of the nursery activities. Another problem present in Grupo, and in other communities closer to the páramo ecological tier, was that exotic species do not adapt successfully to the harsh climatic conditions of the páramo. In Grupo there seems to be more people that favor the use of native trees, a situation that can be related to the ecological conditions.

A serious problem identified in four communities was factional opposition to the agroforestry project. Peasants who opposed the project were usually senior community members who had leadership positions and, according to informants, did not understand the full extent of the deforestation problem. Most of the younger members of the community and current officials, known as renacientes (reborn in Spanish), had a more favorable attitude toward agroforestry practices, and they also tended to point out the benefits of the project for current and future generations.

Sheep, and to a lesser extent rodents (especially wild rabbits), contributed to the destruction of the trees planted by the project, especially in the páramo. Disputes over land between communities have also contributed to the destruction of trees because the ownership of plants by members of a community can reinforce that community's land claims, under current Ecuadorian laws (Oswaldo Pozo 1994, personal communication).

Finally, the peasants of some communities mentioned that planting trees is not attractive anymore since CESA stopped subsidizing the production of trees in the Cebadas nursery. Before 1993, the NGO paid for all the production costs of the trees, with the exception of labor, provided by the peasants. However, CESA decided to change

that policy and started charging a small amount of money for each tree, basically in order to cover the cost of plastic bags in which the seedling is originally transplanted. Many peasants did not like this change, and lost the interest in trees of any kind.

### **Interpretation of the results**

According to the information obtained in this research project, the attitudes of the Indian peasants of Cebadas show both economic and aesthetic reasons to prefer eucalyptus, pine, and cypress, in spite of the awareness of the negative impact that those trees have on the fertility of the soil. Eucalyptus is the favorite tree, and it certainly has economic value for the peasants, who otherwise have to purchase that kind of timber and transport it to their home communities. In this respect, planting eucalyptus around their houses and plots means that the peasants will have their own source of timber in the future, instead of having to buy it outside of the community.

In the case of pine, the peasants did not provide clear reasons why they like this tree. They said they liked pine because it provides good firewood and timber adequate for making furniture and tools, and also because it is a beautiful tree. However, most peasants of the area have not had the chance to use pine timber for anything other than cooking, since the trees that they have are not old enough to be harvested. The ambiguity of these statements leads me to propose that pine is appreciated by the peasants because it is associated with modern technology and practices. According to Bebbington (1993:287), peasants from the same region have a marked preference for the use of modern agricultural technology. I think that the preference for a tree that has not proved yet to have the multiple uses of eucalyptus can be explained within the context of the symbolic meaning of technology. Agrarian technology and, by extension, the tree species used are not just tools for environmental manipulation and production. They are symbols that the rural people use to read their social history and relationships and signs of their identity and relationship with the past, present, and future (Bebbington 1991). Thus, peasants prefer and use what is not associated with the traditional hacienda system where they were directly oppressed by the mestizos. I propose that the same criteria apply in the

case of cypress, a tree that the peasants almost did not mention in the interviews, but which they plant and prefer over the native species.

The peasants' perception that native trees can be found "everywhere" is not empirically objective. The small surface covered with native forest in the Cebadas area reported in 1988 (Tobar 1988) is a clear indicator that native trees are almost extinct in the area, and in the Sierra in general. This perception stands in contrast with the peasants' appreciation of exotic trees.

Erosion was not considered as a serious problem in any of the target communities. The peasants minimized the impact of wind and water on their plots, and emphasized the benefits of the agroforestry practices promoted by the Cebadas project. The members of the project team, however, believed that erosion is a major threat to the subsistence of the peasants, a threat that accelerates the decline in the productivity of their small marginal plots. The peasants, on the other hand, believed that the productivity of the land is related more closely to the amount of labor that they put into their agricultural activities, and to adequate fertilization, than to erosion problems.

I believe that the differences in the attitudes of the peasants toward the use of native trees, toward erosion problems, and toward depletion of the crops by the action of birds are indicators of the existence of different landscapes and risk perceptions, which ultimately reflect the different cultures that the development project has put in close contact.

According to Greider and Garkovich (1994), humans endow the physical territory that they live in with culturally relevant symbols in order to give meaning to space. Symbol-endowed territories are called "landscapes." The same physical environment has the potential to contain different landscapes, according to the definitions that different cultural groups have. Social and technological innovations alter the meaning of a landscape, and this can lead to a change in the cultural definition of the group as well (Greider and Garkovich 1994:2).

The process of landscape construction is constantly recreated, especially in situations of technological change, and when the influences external to a group are strong. The particular landscape definition of any social group is considered as reality by the

members of that group. As the sociocultural context changes, so do the definitions of landscapes, and the meaning of that change is constructed through a series of negotiations that reflect a different self-definition of the group's identity (ibid.:9-10).

The presence of the CESA development project in Cebadas has created significant changes in the lives of the peasants of the area. At the time when the research was carried out, this NGO had been active for more than fourteen years in the region, promoting changes in technology, plant species (trees and crops), animal species used by the Indian peasants, and in social organization (reinforcing the process of political consciousness raising among the communities). The extension agents who directly introduced these changes were and are mestizos, people who have a cultural background different from that of the Indian peasants. Thus, the differences in perceptions and their correlated behaviors are the result of the different landscapes that people from different ethnic groups (mestizo and Indian, in the Cebadas case) bring to a contact situation (ibid.:12).

In Cebadas, the members of the project staff would like the peasants to use native trees because, to a certain extent, they believe in the need to recover and revalue native knowledge, and to promote ecologically-sound agroforestry practices. On the other hand, the Indian peasants have a different landscape in mind: they want to obtain more economic benefits, and the way to achieve them is to plant exotic trees.

The very definitions of "native" and "exotic" trees used by the Cebadas project staff indicate the sociocultural nature of the construction of landscapes. For instance, capulí (black cherry) is a tree not native to the Andean region, but it was included in the "native" category because it was introduced in the Sierra long time ago, and the Indian peasants like it and use its fruits. Eucalyptus has a similar history, but it was put in the "exotic" category, and its negative characteristics were emphasized. There are other agroforestry practitioners who propose that the debate between advocates of native and exotic species does not have a scientific technical basis, and that both kinds of trees have equal value and potential of use (Carlson and Añazco 1990:40).

This conflict of landscapes is related to the self-definition of Indian identity. As Greider and Garkovich mention (1994:2, 14), the technological innovations introduced by development projects (such as the one in Cebadas) can be appropriated by a social group

(the peasants in this case) in order to change their identity. The use of modern Western technology and exotic plant species by the Indian peasants of Cebadas is part of a process of grassroots modernization that they themselves have chosen to pursue, and that does not undermine but rather reinforces their ethnic identity. Technology plays an important part on the creation of the new Indian identity (Bebbington 1991). In reference to the same area of the Ecuadorian Sierra, Bebbington writes: “The cultural justification of such strategies is that *modernization, far from being a cause of cultural erosion, is explicitly seen as a means of cultural survival*” (1993:287, emphasis in the original). The adoption of modern technology, improved seeds and animals, and exotic trees make the peasants more competitive in the marketplace, thus increasing their chances of achieving successful social reproduction as Indians.

Moreover, the use of exotic trees and Green Revolution agricultural techniques gives the peasants a sense of rupture with the traditional technology associated with the period of domination by the hacienda. The use of modern technology confers the peasants the feelings of social equality and equal access to benefits that were previously reserved for mestizo and white people (ibid.). For instance, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (Confederation of Indian Nationalities of Ecuador), CONAIE, is the organism that agglutinates representatives from the nine indigenous ethnic groups found in Ecuador, as well as most of the Indian federations such as UCIC from Cebadas. CONAIE has organized strong protests (levantamientos) in order to force the government to negotiate with the Indians and accept the demands that they pose in order to achieve greater equality and the constitutional recognition of their specific ethnic identity. In the Continental Meeting of Indian Peoples that took place in Quito, In July, 1990, I had the chance to observe how the discourse of the leaders of the Indian movement, including the ones from CONAIE, emphasizes the ecological knowledge that the Indian peoples have, and its value as an example for humankind as a whole. On the other hand, this discourse is in contradiction with the actual demands formulated by CONAIE after the 1990 uprising. Among the 16 specific demands there are:

5. Creation of provincial and regional credit agencies to be controlled by CONAIE. ...
9. Minimum two-year freeze on all raw materials and manufactured goods

used by the communities in agricultural production, and reasonable price increase on all agricultural goods sold by them, using free market mechanisms. ...

11. Unrestricted import and export privileges for indigenous artisans and handicraft merchants (Goffin 1994:148).

It is easy to see that the Indian peasants through their representatives do not want to maintain a traditional agroecological system of production, but they rather want to take advantage of the same credit opportunities and technology that has been previously reserved for mestizo farmers and large agribusinesses.

The Indian peasants of Cebadas do not explicitly present this contradiction because they almost never engage in ecological discourse. But they clearly indicate their preference for modern technology and exotic trees with the adoption of those innovations, despite the insistence of the CESA extension agents not to use exotic species because of the negative impact on the productivity of the land.

I think that the internal contradictions within the Cebadas development project, expressed in the support for modern agricultural technology and, at the same time, the rejection of exotic trees, contributed to the failure of the agroecologically informed agroforestry sub-project. However, this point as well as the specific characteristics of the use of exotic species as a symbol of rejection of the oppressive relations between Indian peasants and mestizos require further research.

The different landscapes of peasants and extension agents are also visible in the case of risk perceptions. Two contrasting views are evident from the information presented. (1) The peasants do not consider that there is a significant problem of erosion, while the extension agents stress the eolic and hydric erosion problems that the area suffers. (2) The peasants from Tablillas experience depletion of their crops caused by birds, and they try to minimize this risk factor by any means, including the rejection of trees. For the extension agents, the bird-related problems are easy to control by changing the sowing schedule. However, the extension agents had not done a good job communicating the solutions for effectively managing this risk factor, and the peasants continued refusing to plant trees.

Another important situation that has emerged out of the presence of CESA in the area is a certain degree of economic dependence displayed by the peasants of Cebadas. Despite the fact that this NGO has a policy of avoiding a paternalistic approach to development, encourages the self-organization of the peasants in communities and federations of communities such as UCIC, and encourages the participation of the peasants in the project in order to completely transfer the control of the project to its beneficiaries, economic dependence sometimes surfaces. For example, peasants do not continue to plant trees because they are no longer given free of charge. In my opinion, these peasants have grown too accustomed to relying on the NGO project to obtain free benefits and satisfy their needs.

All these important insights about the sociocultural reasons for the rejection of agroforestry using native trees in Cebadas must be necessarily related to land tenure and the general economic situation that prevails in the region. The plots cultivated by peasants are small, averaging between 3.3 and 1.8 hectares, according to the different communities (Moncayo 1988:6-8). Planting trees takes up precious space in those tiny plots, which in many cases are not large enough to secure the livelihood of the peasants. Because of their marginal economic situation, the peasants who decide to plant trees prefer to use exotic species that will return to them higher revenues in the future.

In sum, both symbolic perceptions and economic conditions combine to create a situation where the use of exotic tree species is and will be favored over the use of native tree species. Leaving out either of these two perspectives would decrease the possibility of understanding the complexities of rural development in the Cebadas area, and in the Ecuadorian Sierra as a whole.

According to the CESA institutional plans, the Cebadas development project had been in the area for a long period, and therefore needed to come to an end. The date set for the termination of the project was December, 1995. As I write these lines, in February, 1996, the Indian peasants of Cebadas must be going through the process of confronting life within their communities and in relation to the larger Ecuadorian society without the help of the CESA development project. The time to evaluate the full impact of this project on the Cebadas area has just begun.



## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has proceeded from discussion of a general framework to a specific case. Starting from the abstract general materialistic theories of peasant economy and global economic development, I have attempted to gradually focus in more detail on the history of economic development in Ecuador, on the history of the Indian peasants of the highlands, on the contemporary sociocultural dynamics of the people of Cebadas, and finally on one particular aspect of those dynamics: the attitudes and perceptions that the Indian peasants have toward the agroforestry component of the CESA development project implemented in that area.

It has been my intention to provide a more or less detailed historical background of the above mentioned elements because I subscribe to the idea that history and anthropology share common epistemological elements (Cohn 1980:198), and therefore both disciplines should go together in order to complement each other (Ortner 1984:158-160).

In order to conclude this thesis, I want to briefly revisit the previously outlined theories on peasant economy and global development in order to evaluate their ideas with the present-day sociocultural dynamics of the Cebadas area. I also want to point out to the contributions that the study of ethnicity can make in understanding these dynamics in a different complementary light. Finally, I want to make recommendations, based on my personal experience, about the role of applied anthropologists working in similar situations of grassroots development.

#### **The Indian peasants of Cebadas and the theories of the peasantry and development**

In the first chapter of this thesis, I reviewed the materialistic theories of the peasantry that have been applied to Latin America, especially to the Andean region. In the second chapter, I outlined the development theories most used to explain the Latin American situation. I want to discuss the most important elements of those theories and relate them to the Cebadas case that I have presented.

Lenin (1960) elaborated on the idea that the penetration of capitalism in the countryside will magnify the economic differences that exist among the peasants, ultimately leading to the emergence of two polarized classes: the petty bourgeoisie and the rural proletariat. The followers of Lenin in Latin America (Martínez 1980; de Janvry 1981; Mallon 1983) have pursued this line of inquiry and have argued that the process of differentiation is more or less rapidly extending to affect the peasants as a whole.

Chayanov's theory of peasant economy, on the other hand, provides a more optimistic account of the situation and future of the peasantry, emphasizing the role that mechanisms such as drudgery of labor and demographic differentiation play in the maintenance of the peasantry as a specific group (Chayanov 1986a, 1986b). Scholars influenced by this theory (Stavenhagen 1970a, 1978; Warman, in Heynig 1982; Barsky 1984) have presented cases where the peasants increase in number and create strategies that allow them to survive the penetration of capitalism.

I consider that de Janvry's model of functional dualism (de Janvry 1981) is a useful tool to understand the situation of the peasants in the Ecuadorian Sierra, including those of Cebadas. Functional dualism refers to a disarticulated kind of capitalism that occurs in the periphery of the system, which keeps the peasantry alive. In this model, the peasants are semi-proletarians who produce cheap food and provide a cheap labor force. The existence of this peasantry, then, enables the capitalist sector not to pay the wages that a fully proletarian labor force would require in order to reproduce itself. Therefore, the peasants temporarily remain as a traditional sector that is useful to the capitalist sector. In the long run, however, the peasants will disappear into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (ibid.:36-40).

I think that the peasants of the Cebadas area live in a situation of functional dualism: they produce cheap food for the internal market, and many of them provide cheap seasonal labor to capitalist industries such as construction and agribusiness. Peasants are definitely immersed in capitalist relations of production at present, although this articulation to capitalism is not as old as the dependency (Frank 1972a, 1972b) and world-system (Wallerstein 1974) theories propose.

The process of proletarianization of the peasantry is definitely taking place in the Ecuadorian highlands, and elsewhere. However, I do not consider that the foretold outcome of this process --the elimination of the peasantry-- is inevitable, as de Janvry and other depeasantist authors believe. The rigid and mechanical application of Marxist theoretical elements to the agrarian situation in Latin America has the result of denying the capabilities for action of peasants, and of any other social or ethnic group. Roseberry (1983, 1989b) correctly points out that de Janvry's model of functional dualism, and other Marxist studies of the peasantry, portray the peasants as passive objects that merely react to the penetration of capitalism, serve the system's needs, and eventually disappear. Peasants are *actors* who suffer the negative impact of a the capitalist system, but who also actively resist and contribute to the creation of their particular classes (Roseberry 1983:207).

The Indian peasants of Cebadas have resisted the advance of capitalism and cultural assimilation processes promoted by the Ecuadorian state in different ways. There have been direct confrontations such as the recent Indian uprisings in 1990 (Guerrero 1990; Zamosc 1994a) and 1994, as well as less dramatic forms of resistance such as the case study that I presented about the rejection of native trees and technology that, in my opinion, is related to the creation and maintenance of a strong Indian ethnic identity.

Agroecology (Hecht 1988; Moles 1989) and the revaluation of rural peoples' knowledge (Chambers 1983) represent another perspective on the penetration of capitalism in the countryside. Agroecology is clearly opposed to modernization practices that lead to the incorporation of the countryside into the capitalist system of production, and to the disappearance of the rural peoples (indigenous peoples and peasants). Although coming from different fields of study and intellectual roots than Marxism, agroecology also is concerned with production and power inequalities. I argue that this school of thought faces similar problems in explaining the specific situation of the Cebadas peasants.

Agroecology proposes that indigenous knowledge and technology are the only basis for production systems alternative to the capitalist ones. In this sense, agroecology has a revolutionary appeal similar to Marxism, but its emphasis is in the opposite.

Whereas Marxist scholars tend to overemphasize the power of the system up to a point of reifying it, and denying agency (people's capability for action, resistance, and maneuver), agroecologists assign too much importance to rural peoples' agency, disregarding the strong influence that capitalism has on their lives, and ultimately falling into the trap of voluntarism: the excessive faith on the actors' possibilities and power (Bebbington 1993).

The followers of agroecology want to apply techniques developed by societies of the past in present-day scenarios (Knapp 1991). However, they usually fail to consider that the historical processes have changed those scenarios to such a degree that make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for techniques of the past to provide viable answers to current agricultural technological problems if they are not carefully researched and adapted. The failure of the project of revitalization of Chinampa agriculture in Mexico (Chapin 1989) is a good example of the problems that the application of techniques of the past in the present faces. There was also an attempt to promote the pre-Hispanic technique of the use of terraces for cultivation in Cebadas, in the early days of the project. However, this attempt was abandoned because the Indian peasants did not show any interest in constructing terraces in their own plots (Oswaldo Pozo 1994, personal communication).

I believe that the Indian peasants of Cebadas provide an example that shows the limitations of the Marxist and agroecological theories. These peasants have experienced historical processes of domination and resistance that have shaped their present practices and institutions. The presence of organizations that promote different development strategies in Cebadas has been a recent addition to this process. State agencies have promoted a strategy that pursues the assimilation of Indian peasants into the larger Ecuadorian society (Stutzman 1981), while NGOs have encouraged resistance to the dominant system through the political organization of peasants (Bebbington 1993).

Amidst this contest between two development strategies with clear political implications, the Indian peasants of Cebadas have created their own strategy of development. They have adopted modern agricultural technology and exotic tree species, but they have not assimilated to the dominant culture. The peasants are not free from the constraints that the capitalist world system imposes, and they have adopted the

technology and cultivars that allow them to survive within an increasingly competitive market economy. In this respect, the adoption of eucalyptus has practical advantages over the proposed adoption of native trees. Eucalyptus has the potential to be commercialized and, perhaps more importantly, this tree presents many different possibilities of use for the peasants in the form of firewood, raw material for furniture, for tool handles, and for the construction of the Indian peasants' dwellings, in the form of structural beams. Pine and cypress have not proved to have the same amount of uses as eucalyptus, but they are preferred over native tree species anyway.

I do not believe that the adoption of exotic trees and modern agricultural technology means that the Indian peasants of Cebadas are differentiating into bourgeoisie and proletariat. They still are resisting the capitalist system that threatens their existence as peasants. They are using capitalist modern technology and plants in order to develop a different response: an ethnic movement.

It is necessary to emphasize that the results of this study are not applicable indiscriminately to the peoples from all the Ecuadorian Sierra. As Lehmann (1982a) points out, the peasants from the Andean region live in many different situations. Thus, what is useful to describe and analyze the case of one region is not necessarily useful to describe and analyze other regions.

### **A new direction in Ecuadorian peasant studies**

The emergence of an ethnic movement among the Indian peoples of Ecuador brings me to point out the growing importance of the studies about ethnicity in this country, in Latin America, and at the global level.

Contrary to the formulations of world-system and modernization theories, the spread of global capitalism to even the most remote regions of the world has not brought with it cultural homogeneity and class polarization. The global expansion of capitalism has been accompanied by a growing number of conflicts that are not cast in class-struggle terms (only), but which appeal to ethnic and/or nationalist feelings. Within this world-wide trend, then, ethnicity has suddenly become a relevant topic that has inspired a great number of studies in the recent times (Cohen 1978; Whitten 1981).

The emergence of world-wide ethnic and nationalist movements has made visible an important flaw in Marxist theory: the general lack of attention that nationalism (Anderson 1991:3-4) and ethnicity have received, which translates into the lack of adequate theoretical treatment of those subjects. In Latin America, most Marxist parties held until recently that "the maintenance of indigenous cultural specificity was actually in the interests of the bourgeoisie" because the Indians were thus precluded from becoming proletarians and, as such, fighting for the socialist revolution (Stavenhagen 1992:431). Gender, another important subject in the theoretical agenda of anthropology and other social sciences in the last thirty years, has also been neglected to a large extent by orthodox Marxist approaches.

Ethnicity is a concept that has been coined and used in anthropology in relatively recent times (Cohen 1978:379). Anthropologists frequently use the term "ethnicity" without bothering to define it. The definition of this term and its associates, ethnic group, ethnic identity, and ethnic category, remains problematic. According to Ronald Cohen (ibid.:386), "ethnicity, as presently used in anthropology, expresses a shift to multicultural, multiethnic interactive contexts in which attention is focused on an entity - the ethnic group- which is marked by some degree of cultural and social commonality."

Various studies about ethnicity have been grouped into two large categories: (1) the circumstantialist (Scupin and DeCorse 1995:548) or interactive (Zamosc 1994b:181-182) approach, and (2) the primordialist approach (ibid.). Authors who follow the first paradigm conceptualize ethnicity as a process of social construction of cultural difference; that is, ethnicity depends on the circumstances and relationships established in the interaction of different social groups. Authors within the second paradigm emphasize the existence and persistence of distinctive cultural characteristics or traits because they are fundamental for the maintenance of individual and group identity, and therefore those elements can shape people's behavior (ibid.).

Ecuadorian peasant studies in the 1970's and early 80's (for instance Martínez 1980) are a good example of adherence to the orthodox Marxist theoretical principles. Most of those studies deal with populations similar to the one that I have here referred to as "Indian peasants." However, in those studies there are very few references to the

Indianness, to the ethnic character of those populations. The ethnic element is treated as a second-class phenomenon, while emphasis is placed on the economic characteristics that define the people as peasants and ascribe them to a specific role and destiny in the larger scheme of class struggle. However, as time passes we see those peasants starting to define themselves not as the class or fraction of a class that they are considered to be in Marxist theory (de Janvry 1981), but as Indians. Because of this “return of the Indian,” authors in the field of Ecuadorian and Latin American peasant studies have begun to take into account the ethnic element. Within the social sciences there has also been a shift of focus from the peasant to the Indian (Ströbele-Gregor 1994).

In Cebadas, CESA encouraged the formation of a federation of communities. Originally, the name that federation received was Unión de Comunidades Campesinas de Cebadas (Union of *Peasant* Communities of Cebadas), UCCC (CESA 1992b). After the Indian peasants took a more active role within the federation, they decided to rename it UCIC (Union of *Indian* Communities of Cebadas), a name that they prefer and keep to this day. The change of the name of their federation clearly reflects the growing awareness of the ethnic character of the Indian peasants’ struggle as well as the process of ethnic identification that the population previously defined as peasants is going through.

This critique of Marxism is not to say that we should get rid of this theory. On the contrary, Marxist analysis is useful to account for the economic process of domination as well as for class issues. However, we should not fall into the orthodox Marxist error of dismissing ethnicity, nationalism, and gender, among other concepts, as “culturalist” and therefore suspect issues (Roseberry 1989b).

In an article about the differences between totemism and ethnicity, John Comaroff makes the point that ethnicity is a social relation that has its origins in specific structural and cultural forces through history (Comaroff 1987:302). He adds that “ethnicity has its origins in the asymmetric incorporation of structurally dissimilar groupings into a single political economy” (ibid.:307). This statement, which follows the interactive approach to ethnicity, suggests that anthropologists and other social scientists who concentrate on this subject must always keep in mind that the ethnic groups of today are not isolated, but they

rather are defined by, and define themselves in relation to, a larger economic and political system: capitalism.

In the Latin American case, the political entity that represents this system is the nation-state. The nation-state, a relatively recent construction that imagines itself as old and formed by people who are part of a single unitary political community (Anderson 1991:5-7), has been challenged by ethnic groups that are defined as such through historical processes of domination (colonialism and capitalism, especially) and resistance. These groups challenge the representativity that the nation-state claims to have, and struggle for the recognition of rights and statuses that vary from one case to the other (Stavenhagen 1992; Ströbele-Gregor 1994; Goffin 1994).

In this respect, the emergence of ethnic movements in Latin America can be considered as part of a more encompassing trend of "new social movements" (Lehmann 1990:150) that have surfaced in the continent since the 1960's. These movements are characterized by their grassroots dimension, by dissent from official politics, by dissent from the official model of development, and by the creation of self-help development projects (ibid.:150-153). The ideology that underlies these grassroots movements has been called basismo (from the Spanish base: base, grassroots). Lehmann (ibid.:186) defines it as the tendency of these movements to adopt the objectives of their members as the movements' objectives. Basismo is a praxis more than a theory, and it calls for openness, pluralism, and opposes the centralized and teleological thinking of the macro schemes of modernization, dependency, and world-system theories that were previously dominant in Latin America.

I argue that the Cebadas agroforestry project can be interpreted within this basismo trend. The attempts of the CESA project staff to encourage the use of native trees were rejected by Indian peasants of the region because they did not consider that the use of those trees was economically or symbolically adequate for their individual and collective objectives. Modern technology and exotic trees can be appropriated by the peasants in order to reinforce the current process of ethnic revitalization. Use of modern technology and exotic trees does not necessarily undermine the peasants' ethnic identity and cultural integrity (Bebbington 1993).



This objective is not clearly expressed by the Indian peasants of Cebadas, but it has an important correlate in the contradictory official position of the Confederation of Indian Nationalities of Ecuador, CONAIE in Spanish. This is the overarching national Indian federation formed by representatives of the nine indigenous ethnic groups that exist in Ecuador at present. CONAIE officially represents most of the indigenous grassroots organizations, such as UCIC from Cebadas. While the leaders of CONAIE declare that the Indian peoples possess technical knowledge that enables them to establish harmonious relations with the environment and ecologically sound production practices, they also demand technical assistance from Ecuadorian government in order to achieve higher productivity (Bebbington 1993; Goffin 1994).

I had the opportunity of seeing this contradiction at work when I participated as notetaker and recorder in the Intercontinental Meeting of Indian Peoples that took place in Quito, in July, 1990. In the natural resources work group to which I was assigned, delegates from indigenous groups from all over the continent discussed the problems of access to natural resources and ecological degradation. The final document produced by the group contained a paragraph on the importance of the Indian peoples' supposedly harmonious relations with the environment as an example to be followed by humankind. Another paragraph also demanded that the nation-states in which these peoples exist provide equal access to credit and technical assistance for the indigenous peoples, since those resources have been traditionally reserved for mestizo farmers and large-scale agribusinesses.

The Cebadas component of the Ecuadorian Indian movement shares with basismo movements the elements of dissent from the state politics and development strategy, as well as the struggle for the recognition of specific rights. Both movements have an ideological base that has not been well elaborated and sometimes is not realistic (Lehmann 1990). However, they differ in the sense that basismo movements have not caused impacts beyond the micro level, while the Indian ethnic movement of Ecuador, represented by CONAIE, has organized two large protests (levantamientos) in 1990 and 1994 that paralyzed the country and forced the Ecuadorian government to negotiate directly with the representatives of the Indian movement and to make concessions. The

prominence and power that the Indian movement reached through these uprisings was practically unimaginable in Ecuador in the 1980's.

As of March, 1996, CONAIE has taken another step towards achieving a greater amount of official recognition and participation in the control of the state apparatus in Ecuador. For the first time since its formation in the second half of the 1980's, this organization has decided to support an independent candidate, Freddy Ehlers, in the presidential elections that will take place in May of 1996. In return for the support from CONAIE, one of the most prominent leaders of the confederation, Luis Macas, is first candidate for a seat in the house of representatives as diputado nacional, a position similar to that of senator in the USA. Ehlers is currently in second place in the polls, and the chances for CONAIE to achieve their current political objectives look favorable at present<sup>3</sup>.

In addition to the necessary incorporation of the theoretical framework of ethnicity to the field of peasant studies, three important issues need to be addressed in Cebadas, and in most of the Ecuadorian Sierra. The first issue is related to the internal religious divisions within the Indian peasant communities and their effect on the Indian movement. As I briefly mentioned in chapter 3, the presence of Protestant Evangelical churches has created internal divisions within the communities. Some extension agents (Moncayo 1988), scholars (Goffin 1994), and Indian leaders argue that the Indian peasants who convert to Evangelical Protestantism become more passive, lose interest in organized struggle with the nation-state, and lose their ethnic identity. Catholic Indians are considered to present the opposite characteristics. Other scholars (Muratorio 1981; Bebbington 1993) argue that there is no strong correlation between conversion to Evangelical Protestantism and loss of ethnic and class identity among the Indian peasants. There are signs that the process of ethnic revitalization is helping bridge the divide caused by religion among the Indian peasants. In the last Indian uprising of May and June, 1994, both Catholic and Evangelical Indian peasants participated for the first time together in

---

<sup>3</sup> The source for the information on the current political situation of Ecuador is a news bulletin put forth by an Ecuadorian newspaper, HOY, which is distributed through electronic mail.

the protest activities that took place in the province of Chimborazo (Oswaldo Pozo 1994, personal communication).

The second issue refers to the existence of a small Indian bourgeoisie and its relationship with the Indian movement. Some members of this bourgeois group distance themselves from CONAIE and other politically committed organizations. Other members take active part in the struggle that this federations carry out. In fact, most of the CONAIE leaders belong to the educated Indian bourgeoisie. The participation of this bourgeois group in the Indian movement, as well as the bourgeois Indian leaders' capacity to represent Indian peasants remains to be better understood.

The third important issue has to do with the environmental crisis that the Cebadas area is actually experiencing. I have argued that the adoption of modern technology and exotic trees by the peasants contributes to the creation of their own strategy of development. However, I think that the application of modern, Green Revolution-like, agricultural technology and exotic trees in the dry marginal lands of the Cebadas area is not the best thing to do in purely ecological terms. In the short run, the use of modern technology and exotic trees by the Indian peasants contributes to meeting their economic and organizational needs. In the long run, however, the impact of the use of this technology and trees on the ecosystems of the Cebadas area is not likely to be positive. The search for alternatives in agricultural and forestry technology and cultivars that are able to reconcile organizational objectives and the incipient ethnic movement among the Indian peasants of Cebadas with ecologically sound management of natural resources is now more necessary than ever.

### **Applied anthropology and grassroots development**

Finally, I want to provide recommendations for applied anthropologists who are interested in the field of rural development. These recommendations are based on my personal experience in the Cebadas project carried out by CESA, but I think they can serve as general informative guidelines for colleagues in similar situations.

Broadly speaking, two different styles can be identified in the field of rural development. The first one is represented by large international agencies, such as the

World Bank, and by state agencies such as the USAID. This style has been the focus of increased attack by anthropologists and other social scientists because of the imposed, non-participatory, non-democratic way in which their projects are carried out, and because of the contribution of these projects to the process of ethnocide and underdevelopment (Escobar 1995). The second style is the so-called grassroots development, in which groups of traditionally disempowered people organize themselves, usually with the help of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in order to create projects that are oriented to improve their living conditions and political organization (Lehmann 1990; Bebbington 1993).

Given these conditions, my personal preference has driven me to collaborate with NGOs that work at the grassroots level because I think they usually make a more valuable contribution to the development of their clients than the large international and state agencies. This is a broad generalization, and I am sure there are exceptions on either side, but I believe it is still adequate.

Within the context of grassroots development activities, the applied anthropologist has the opportunity to become a cultural broker, a middleperson between the extension agents and the clients. Most extension agents possess technical knowledge and expertise, but they usually lack the ability to clearly understand the culturally-specific situations in which their expertise is applied. This situation leads to problems of communication between the people who carry out the projects and the intended beneficiaries, which can severely impair the ability of the former to carry out their objectives, and of the latter to satisfy their needs. An example of one such situation is the application of the agroforestry project in Tablillas: the technical expertise of the extension agents clashed with the risk perceptions of the commoners with respect to the benefits of trees. While the extension agents considered the trees to provide valuable services, the Indian peasants considered them to be a problem because they became the dwelling of birds that fed on the crops, thus causing great economic damage. I was able to identify this problem during my stay in Cebadas, and proposed a solution consisting in improving the communication of the technical solution put forth by the extension agents to the people from that community.

Another contribution that the applied anthropologist can make is the investigation of both problems and successful development interventions, and the relating of those to the theories about development. Most NGOs have a set of theoretical guidelines that orient their work, but they do not change fast when those guidelines stop being useful. Applied anthropologists can use their academic training to provide different, more adequate theories to the institutions where they work.

Advocacy has become an inseparable part of anthropological praxis in our time. Working in grassroots development provides the opportunity for the applied anthropologist to become an advocate for the needs and voice of the clients of the projects, not only in relation with the larger social, cultural, and economic system in which they are immersed, but also in relation with the other extension agents and NGO staff. The usual lack of cultural sensitivity of the extension agents can also translate into a misunderstanding of the role of the anthropologist who advocates the clients' point of view. The anthropologist not only should define an appropriate role, but also should be ready to identify with the clients and to work with them towards the advancement of their objectives, even if those objectives are not the ones preferred by the anthropologist. The respect for the self-determination of the clients is a crucial element that must never be sidetracked.

Finally, the applied anthropologist should be aware of the political situation within which grassroots development takes place. This style of development was born in Latin America in response to dictatorships, and continues to oppose the cultural and economic policies of the nation-state (Lehmann 1990; Bebbington 1993). By choosing to work in this style of development, the anthropologist is placed in a given political context, and must be aware and conscious of the implications of the chosen affiliation, with all the benefits and problems that the decision brings.

## REFERENCES

ANDERSON, Benedict

- 1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

BARSKY, Osvaldo

- 1984 Acumulación Campesina en el Ecuador: los Productores de Papa del Carchi. Quito: FLACSO.

BARTRA, Roger

- 1993 Agrarian Structure and Political Power in Mexico. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

BEBBINGTON, Anthony

- 1991 Indigenous Agricultural Knowledge Systems, Human Interests, and Critical Analysis: Reflections on Farmer Organization in Ecuador. In Agriculture and Human Values, vol. 8(1-2).

- 1993 Modernization From Below: an Alternative Indigenous Development? In Economic Geography, vol. 64(2).

BENITEZ, Lilyan, and Alicia GARCÉS

- 1993 Culturas Ecuatorianas: Ayer y Hoy. Quito: Editorial Abya-Yala.

BOHRT, Raúl, Carmen WILDE, Amparo ALIAGA, Erick ROTH, and Elvira SALINAS

- 1987 Actitudes y Patrones de Conducta Hacia el Medio Ambiente. La Paz, Bolivia: Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Comunitarios.

BONILLA, Heraclio, comp.

- 1991 Los Andes en la Encrucijada: Indios, Comunidades y Estado en el Siglo XIX. Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi.

BROWN, Lawrence, Jorge BREA, and Andrew GOETZ

- 1988 Policy Aspects of Development and Individual Mobility: Migration and Circulation from Ecuador's Rural Sierra. In Economic Geography, vol. 64(2).

BUTZER, Karl

- 1990 Cultural Ecology. In Geography in America. Wilmott and Gaile, eds. Washington, DC: American Association of Geographers and National Geographic Society.

CARDOSO, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo FALETTO

- 1979 Dependency and Development in Latin America. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

CARLSON, Paul and Mario AÑAZCO

1990 Establecimiento y Manejo de Prácticas Agroforestales en la Sierra Ecuatoriana. Quito: Red Agro-Forestal Ecuatoriana.

CENTRAL ECUATORIANA DE SERVICIOS AGRICOLAS

1992a Programa de Reforestación y Conservación de Recursos Naturales. Internal document. Quito.

1992b Balance de Plantaciones Forestales en Areas de Acción de CESA. Internal document. Quito.

CHAMBERS, Robert

1983 Rural Development: Putting the Last First. London: Longman.

CHAPIN, Mac

1988 The Seduction of Models: Chinampa Agriculture in Mexico. In Grassroots Development, vol. 12(1).

CHAYANOV, A. V.

1986a On the Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems. In A. V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy. Thorner, Kerblay, and Smith, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

1986b Peasant Farm Organization. In A. V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy. Thorner, Kerblay, and Smith, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

COCKROFT, James, André Gunder FRANK, and Dale JOHNSON, eds.

1972 Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

COHEN, Ronald

1978 Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology. In Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 7. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews Inc.

COHN, Bernard

1980 History and Anthropology: the State of Play. In Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 22(2).

COMAROFF, John

1987 Of Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice, and the Signs of Inequality. In Ethnos, vol. 21(3-4).

COOPER, Frederick, Allen ISAACMAN, Florencia MALLON, William ROSEBERRY, and Steve STERN

1993 Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World-System in Africa and Latin America. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

de JANVRY, Alain

1981 The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

de JANVRY, Alain, Elisabeth SADOULET, and André FARGEIX

1991 Politically Feasible and Equitable Adjustment: Some Alternatives for Ecuador. In World Development, vol. 19(11).

DeWALT, Billie

1994 Using Indigenous Knowledge to Improve Agriculture and Natural Resource Management. In Human Organization, vol. 53(2).

DURRENBERGER, E. Paul

1984a Introduction. In Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology. P. Durrenberger, ed. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

DURRENBERGER, E. Paul, ed.

1984b Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

ESCOBAR, Arturo

1995 Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

FOSTER, George

1965 Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good. In American Anthropologist, vol.67.

FRANK, André Gunder

1972a The Development of Underdevelopment. In Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy. J. Cockroft, A. G. Frank, and D. Johnson, eds. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

1972b Economic Dependence, Class Structure, and Underdevelopment Policy. In Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy. J. Cockroft, A. G. Frank, and D. Johnson, eds. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

GOFFIN, Alvin

1994 The Rise of Protestant Evangelism in Ecuador, 1895-1990. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.



GOODMAN, David and Michael REDCLIFT

1982 From Peasant to Proletarian: Capitalist Development and Agrarian Transitions. New York: St. Martin's Press.

GOODMAN, David and Michael REDCLIFT, eds.

1991 Environment and Development in Latin America. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

GREIDER, Thomas and Lorraine GARKOVICH

1994 Landscapes: the Social Construction of Nature and the Environment. In Rural Sociology, vol. 59(1).

GRINDLE, Merilee

1986 State and Countryside: Development Policy and Agrarian Politics in Latin America. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

GUERRERO, Andrés

1990 La Desintegración de la Administración Etnica en el Ecuador: de Sujetos-Indios a Ciudadanos-Etnicos. Working paper. Quito: CEDIME.

1991 La Semántica de la Dominación: el Concertaje de Indios. Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi.

HARRIS, Olivia

1982 Labour and Produce in an Ethnic Economy, Northern Potosí, Bolivia. In Ecology and Exchange in the Andes. D. Lehmann, ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

HECHT, Susanna

1988 La Evolución del Pensamiento Agroecológico. In Agroecología y Desarrollo, vol. 1(1).

HEYNIG, Klaus

1982 Principales Enfoques Sobre la Economía Campesina. In Revista de la CEPAL, vol. 16.

HILL, Jonathan, ed.

1988 Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

KERBLAY, Basile

1986 A. V. Chayanov: Life, Career, Works. In A. V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy. Thorner, Kerblay, Smith, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

KNAPP, Gregory

1991 Andean Ecology: Adaptive Dynamics in Ecuador. Boulder: Westview Press.

KROEBER, Alfred

1948 Anthropology: Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Pre-History. New York: Harcourt and Brace.

LAWSON, Victoria

1988 Government Policy Biases and Ecuadorian Agricultural Change. In Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 78(3).

LEHMANN, David

1982a Introduction: Andean Societies and the Theory of Peasant Economy. In Ecology and Exchange in the Andes. D. Lehmann, ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

1990 Democracy and Development in Latin America: Economics, Politics and Religion in the Post-War Period. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

LEHMANN, David, ed.

1982b Ecology and Exchange in the Andes. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

LENIN, Vladimir

1960 The Development of Capitalism in Russia. In Collected Works, vol. 3. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

LONG, Norman and Bryan ROBERTS, eds.

1978 Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru. Austin: University of Texas Press.

MAHON, James

1992 Was Latin America Too Rich to Prosper? Structural and Political Obstacles to Export-Led Industrial Growth. In Journal of Development Studies, vol. 28(2).

MAIGUASHCA, Franklin

1993 The Role of State and Market in the Economic Development of Ecuador. In Journal of Economic Issues, vol. 27(2).

MALLON, Florencia

1983 The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

MARTINEZ, Luciano

- 1980 La Descomposición del Campesinado en la Sierra Ecuatoriana: un Estudio de Caso. Quito: Editorial El Conejo.
- MASUDA, Shozo, Izumi SHIMADA, and Craig MORRIS, eds.  
 1985 Andean Ecology and Civilization: an Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- MINTZ, Sidney  
 1973 A Note on the Definition of Peasantries. In Journal of Peasant Studies, vol. 1(1).
- MOLES, Jerry  
 1989 Agricultural Sustainability and Traditional Agriculture: Learning from the Past and Its Relevance in Sri Lanka. In Human Organization, vol. 48(1).
- MONCAYO, Ramiro  
 1988 Diagnóstico Socio-Económico del Area Cebadas. Unpublished report written for CESA. Quito.
- MONTES DEL CASTILLO, Angel  
 1989 Simbolismo y Poder: un Estudio Antropológico Sobre Compadrazgo y Priestazgo en una Comunidad Andina. Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos.
- MUENALA, Rafael  
 1994 July. Personal communication.
- MURATORIO, Blanca  
 1981 Protestantism, Ethnicity, and Class in Chimborazo. In Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador. N. Whitten, ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- MURRA, John  
 1972a El "Control Vertical" de un Máximo de Pisos Ecológicos en la Economía de las Sociedades Andinas. In Visita de la Provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562. J. Murra, ed. Huánuco, Peru: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán.
- 1985a "El Archipiélago Vertical" Revisited. In Andean Ecology and Civilization: an Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity. Masuda et al., eds. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- 1985b The Limits and Limitations of the "Vertical Archipelago" in the Andes. In Andean Ecology and Civilization: an Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity. Masuda et al., eds. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- MURRA, John, ed.

1972b Visita a la Provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562. Huánuco, Peru: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán.

O'BRIEN, Philip

1991 Debt and Sustainable Development in Latin America. In Environment and Development in Latin America. Goodman and Redclift, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

ORTNER, Sherry

1984 Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties. In Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 26(1).

PLATTNER, Stuart, ed.

1989 Economic Anthropology. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

POOLE, Deborah

1992 Antropología e Historia Andinas en los EE. UU.: Buscando un Reencuentro. In Revista Andina, vol 10(1).

POZO, Oswaldo

1994 August. Personal communication.

PRESTON, David, ed.

1980 Environment, Society, and Rural Change in Latin America. New York: Wiley & Sons.

RAMON, Galo

1991 Los Indios y la Constitución del Estado Nacional. In Los Andes en la Encrucijada: Indios, Comunidades y Estado en el Siglo XIX, H. Bonilla, comp. Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi.

REDCLIFT, Michael, and David PRESTON

1980 Agrarian Reform and Rural Change in Ecuador. In Environment, Society, and Rural Change in Latin America. D. Preston, ed. New York: Wiley & Sons.

REDFIELD, Robert

1941 The Folk Culture of Yucatan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

1956 Peasant Society and Culture: an Anthropological Approach to Civilization. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

ROSEBERRY, William

1983 Coffee and Capitalism in the Venezuelan Andes. Austin: University of Texas Press.

1989a Peasants and the World. In Economic Anthropology. Stuart Plattner, ed. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

1989b Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

SALOMON, Frank

1986 Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas: the Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

SCUPIN, Raymond and Christopher DeCORSE

1995 Anthropology: a Global Perspective. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

SECRETARIA EJECUTIVA DEL CONVENIO ANDRES BELLO

1990 Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo Social. Bogotá.

SILVERBLATT, Irene

1988 Political Memories and Colonizing Symbols: Santiago and the Mountain Gods of Colonial Peru. In Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past. J. Hill, ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

SILVERMAN, Sydel

1979 The Peasant Concept in Anthropology. In Journal of Peasant Studies, vol. 7(1).

SMITH, Gavin

1989 Livelihood and Resistance. Berkeley: University of California Press.

SO, Alvin

1990 Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency, and World-System Theories. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

STAVENHAGEN, Rodolfo

1970a Social Aspects of Agrarian Structure in Mexico. In Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America. R. Stavenhagen, ed. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

1978 Capitalism and the Peasantry in Mexico. In Latin American Perspectives, vol. 5(3).

1992 Challenging the Nation-State in Latin America. In Journal of International Affairs, vol. 45(2).

STAVENHAGEN, Rodolfo, ed.

1970b Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

STERN, Steve

1982 Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

1993 Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean. In Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World-System in Africa and Latin America. Cooper et al. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

STRÖBELE-GREGOR, Juliana

1994 From *Indio* to Mestizo...to *Indio*: New Indianist Movements in Bolivia. In Latin American Perspectives, vol. 21(2).

STUTZMAN, Ronald

1981 *El Mestizaje: an All-Inclusive Ideology of Exclusion*. In Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador. N. Whitten, ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

SUNKEL, Osvaldo

1990 La Interacción Entre los Estilos de Desarrollo y el Medio Ambiente en América Latina. In Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo Social. Bogotá: Secretaría Ejecutiva del Convenio Andrés Bello.

TANNENBAUM, Nicola

1984 Chayanov and Economic Anthropology. In Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology. P. Durrenberger, ed. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

THORNER, Daniel

1986 Chayanov's Concept of Peasant Economy. In A. V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy. Thorner, Kerblay, and Smith, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

THORNER, Daniel, Basile KERBLAY, and R. E. F. SMITH, eds.

1986 A. V. Chayanov on the Theory of Peasant Economy. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

TOBAR, Abel

1988 Diagnóstico de los Recursos Naturales del Area de Cebadas de la Provincia de Chimborazo. Unpublished report written for CESA. Quito.

WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel

1974 The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York: Academic Press.

1984 The Politics of the World-Economy: the States, the Movements, and the Civilizations. Cambridge, UK and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

WEISMANTTEL, Mary

1988 Food, Gender, and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

WEISS, Wendy

1985 The Social Organization of Property and Work: a Study of Migrants from the Rural Ecuadorian Sierra. In American Ethnologist, vol. 12(3).

WHITTEN, Norman, ed.

1981 Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

WILMOTT, Cort and Gary GAILE, eds.

1990 Geography in America. Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers and National Geographic Society.

WINTHROP, Robert

1991 Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology. New York: Greenwood Press.

WOLF, Eric

1955 Types of Latin American Peasantry: a Preliminary Discussion. In American Anthropologist, vol. 57.

1966 Peasants. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

ZAMOSC, Leon

1994a Agrarian Protest and the Indian Movement in the Ecuadorian Highlands. In Latin American Research Review, vol 29(3).

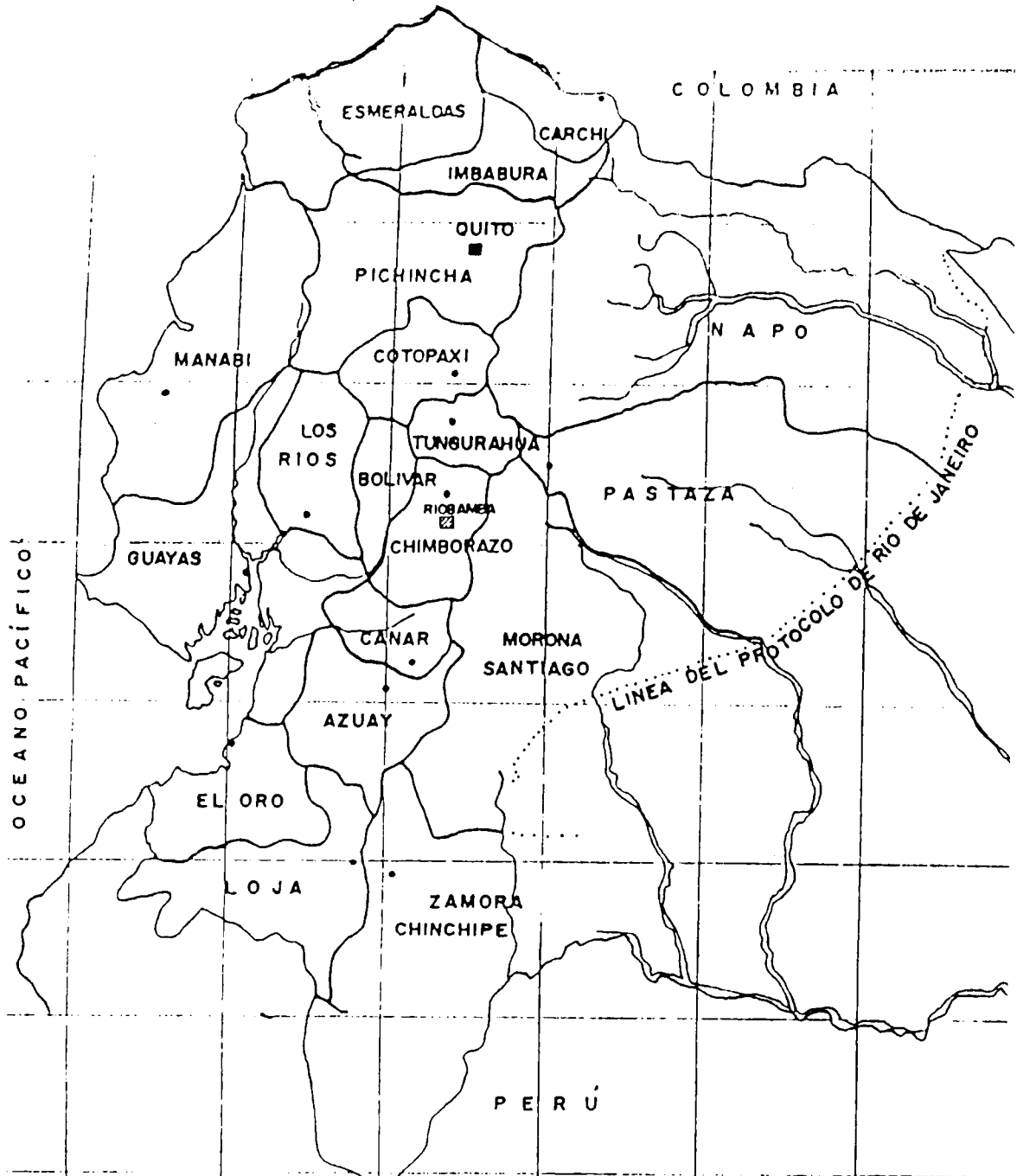
1994b Crítica Bibliográfica: De Campesinos a Ciudadanos Diferentes. In Ecuador Debate, vol. 33.

1995 Estadística de las Areas de Predominio Etnico de la Sierra Ecuatoriana. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.

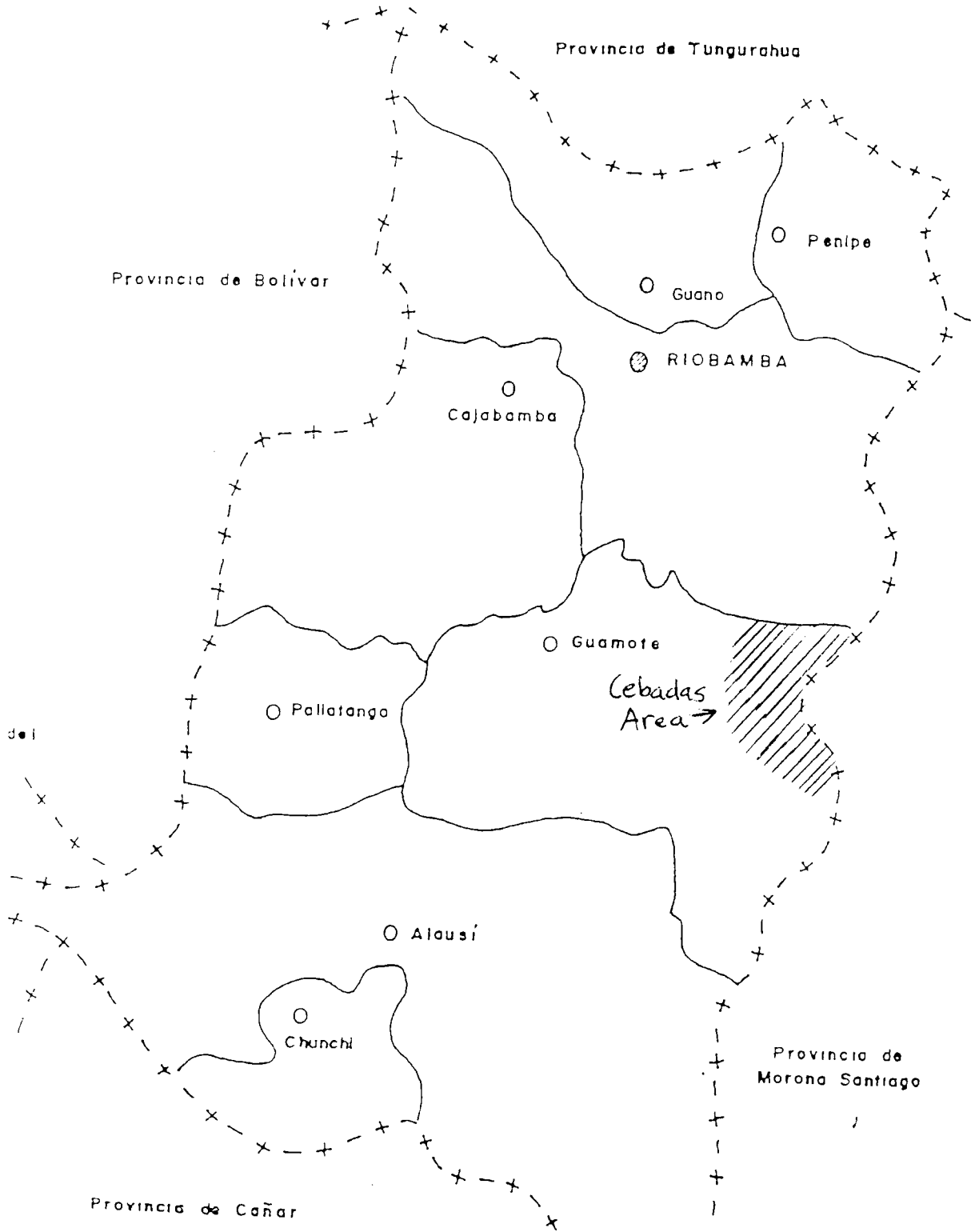
**APPENDICES**



### APPENDIX A POLITICAL MAP OF ECUADOR



### APPENDIX B POLITICAL MAP OF CHIMBORAZO



Taken from Tobar 1988.

**APPENDIX C**  
**LIST OF INFORMANTS**

<b>NAME OF INFORMANT</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>
President of the community	Guanilchig
Carmelo Aucancela	Gaurón
Segundo Chuto	Gaurón
Lucas Huallpa	Guanilchig
José María Chicaiza	Utucún
Manuel Naula	Utucún
Cecilio Urquizo	Guanilchig
Baltazar Chuqui	Grupo de Páramo
Rosalino Huachilema	San Antonio de Cebadas
Pedro Chinlle	San Antonio de Cebadas
Pastor Huachilema	San Antonio de Cebadas
Mariano Huachilema	San Antonio de Cebadas
Carlos Naula	Tablillas
Segundo Lojano Ayul	Tablillas
4 commoners	Tablillas
José Taday	Grupo de Páramo
Arsenio Chicaiza	Grupo de Páramo
Antonio Achilema	Utucún
Oswaldo Pozo	CESA
Rafael Muenala	CESA
Jorge Peñafiel	CESA