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REGIONAL COMMITMENT AND POLITICAL
INVOLVEMENT AMONGST MIGRANTS IN LIMA:
THE CASE OF REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

By

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A thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
University of Durham

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14. MAY 1984

TO MY WIFE ADRIANA

AND MY SON ERIC ANDRES

A b s t r a c t

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the formation, development and role of regional associations among rural-urban migrants in Lima, Peru. The analysis covers three interconnected contexts - the urban, the regional and the local. Emphasis is placed on a consideration of wider historical and politico-economic process which have led to differential patterns of regional and local development, and of how this has generated migration and the formation of migrant associations.

The material for the thesis was collected in two contrasting Peruvian Highland regions and among their respective migrant groups in Lima. The study also presents a critical assessment of existing literature on regional associations. This critique is based on three main arguments: firstly, that regional associations cannot be studied merely as urban phenomena; secondly, that they cannot be analysed separately from the migration process; and thirdly, they cannot be explained simply in terms of adaptational functions or in isolation from the political arena.

The methodological strategy adopted for exploring these issues is detailed case-studies of two associations and their regional and local connections. This is looked at both in terms of institutional relations, focusing on the part played by local village and barrio associations, and in terms of the types of interpersonal and familial exchanges occurring between village residents and migrants.

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GLOSSARY

Colonos:	Tied peasant of <u>hacienda</u>
Paisano:	Fellow 'countryman' from same village or region of origin
Terruño:	'homeland'
Pachamanca:	A special Andean form of barbeque
Abrazo:	Embrace common between friends and relatives
Huayno;	A type of music and dance characteristic of the Andean Highlands
Mestizos:	Persons of mixed ancestry who often constitute a local elite
Waylash:	A type of music and dance characteristic of the Mantaro Valley
Tiro al sapo:	A game consisting of the throwing of coins into the mouth of a metal frog
Ayni:	System of exchange labour between peasants in the Andes
Minka: (or minga)	System of group labour recruited by one person or institution
Transportista:	Transporter or trucker
Feria:	Local market which forms part of a rotating system
Comunidad:	Community
Comunidad indígena/campesina:	Officially recognised institution controlling communal land/resources and labour
Comuneros:	Members of the <u>Comunidad</u> , i.e. those who have rights in communal resources
Pachahuara:	A type of dance found in the northern part of the Mantaro Valley
Avelinos:	Dancers wearing ribboned clothing, originating in Matahuasi
Cortamonte:	Ceremonial cutting of trees during Carnival and Patron Saint <u>fiestas</u> .
Jalapato:	Spanish festival custom involving the severing of a duck's head from horseback. Practised in Matahuasi
Quechua:	Indian native language

Faenas comunales:	Communal work parties organized by the <u>Comunidad</u>
Barriadas:	Shanty towns on the outskirts of Lima
Kermess:	Festival which includes provision of food, drink and dance
Fiesta:	Religiously-based festival
Hacendado:	Landlord, <u>hacienda</u> owner
Anexo:	Lowest administrative unit in Peru, small hamlet
Empleado:	Employee, with status above that of <u>obrero</u> (worker)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.H.H.	:	Asociación Hijos de Huaqana
C.S.D.M.	:	Centro Social Deportivo Matahuasi
C.I.R.P.	:	Central de Instituciones del Perú
has.	:	hectares
V.R.	:	Vanguardia Revolucionaria
F.E.P.C.A.	:	Federación Provincial de Campesinos de Andahuaylas
C.C.P.	:	Confederación Campesina del Perú
F.D.J.	:	Federación Departamental de Junín
A.C.H.O.	:	Asociación Cultural Hijos de Ongoy
A.D.I.P.S.A.C.	:	Asociación de Defensa Independiente Pumachuco-Simpe Anexo Callapayoq
S.A.M.H.M.	:	Sociedad de Auxilios Mútuos Hijos de Matahuasi
S.I.N.A.M.O.S.	:	Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social
U.D.P.	:	Unidad Democrática Popular
P.S.R.	:	Partido Socialista Revolucionario
H.V.C.	:	Hermandad Virgen del Carmen

Introduction

This thesis offers a critique of current studies on the formation, development and role of regional associations in large cities of the developing countries. The analysis draws upon recent field research which I carried out in Lima, Peru. The foundation for such a critique is based on three main interconnected arguments: firstly, that regional associations cannot be studied merely as urban phenomena; secondly, that they cannot be analysed separately from the migration process as a whole; and thirdly, that their nature and particularities cannot be explained simply in terms of adaptational functions or in isolation from the urban political arena.

In regard to the first argument, some studies (Little, 1973: 407-24; Jongkind, 1974; Meillassoux, 1968; Alers and Appelbaum, 1968) have stressed that regional associations are predominantly an urban phenomenon, being as much a part of the urbanization process as schools, churches, religious lodges, trade unions and other such recognizable "urbanizing" institutions. The inadequacy of this approach arises from the fact that it provides only a partial answer to questions concerning the role of regional associations. Also many of the generalizations and hypotheses on which such analysis has been built are insufficiently grounded in terms of empirical evidence.

Continuing scarcity of hard data concerning the ties which members of regional associations maintain with their places of origin and the objectives for which such associations have been formed, has led specialists to generalize freely



from the urbanization experience of developed nations when examining similar processes in the underdeveloped world (see: Cornelius, 1977: 103). The inadequacy of such explanations based on the "urbanizing" influence of regional associations is shown when one places them in the context of the economic and social structure characteristic of the regions and localities from which migrant-members originate. The formation of associations in town cannot be examined as being a function of the urban context alone, although urban conditions may act as intervening variables which influence the degree of effectiveness of associations in terms of their organization, functionality and leadership.

Moreover, empirical evidence both on Latin America and Africa suggests that associations not only bring together migrants of common geographical origin (Dotson, 1950: 380-86; Mangin, 1959: 23-35; 1970; Middleton, 1969: 42-50; Isbell, 1973; Wheeldon, 1969: 128-80), but also deal with the internal affairs of their home communities (Altamirano, 1971; 1976; Long, 1973; Roberts, 1973a; Doughty, 1970; Mayer, 1961; Morrill, 1967: 105-54), and thus by extension include members resident in the home village who are organized into "branch" associations. In addition to these characteristics, there are three features which support our hypothesis; firstly, the fact that the names of associations generally coincide with those of the migrants' home villages or localities of origin; secondly, the similarities in the types of social activities (particularly as regards religious ceremonies) carried out in the city and home village (Morrill, 1967;

Buechler, 1970; Doughty, 1970; Altamirano, 1971); and thirdly, the tendency for regional associations to reflect the social structure and inequalities prevailing in the place of origin, not only in terms of the social, economic, and political background of individual migrant-members but also with regard to the geographical significance and social location of their community of origin within the wider regional structure (Doughty, 1970; Altamirano, 1971; Morrill, 1967; Isbell, 1973).

The second argument stresses the close relationship that exists between the process of migration and the formation and development of regional associations. This approach provides an alternative to those studies that fail to recognise that regional associations are an outcome of rural-urban relations and the migratory process (see, Middleton, 1969; Barrows, 1971: 307-25; Cohen, 1969: 29-50). One serious inadequacy of this type of analysis, however, is its broad conceptualization of migration flows to urban areas which it tends to view as an undifferentiated mass responding similarly to a given set of urban conditions. Differential patterns of internal migration, which have recently been stressed by some studies (Cornelius, 1977: 95-150; Munos and others, 1974; Morse, 1971a; Gilbert, 1974; Roberts, 1978), must therefore be related to the formation and types of regional associations.

The point I want to suggest is both obvious and simple: it has almost always been assumed that internal migration is a consequence or concomitant of the urbanization process and subsequent rural breakdown. Most migration studies have been concerned, on the one hand, with the individual migrant

as the main unit of analysis (Mangin, 1970a, 1970b: 39-50; Senior, 1962: 30-41), and, on the other, with the persistence of peasants or tribesmen, either in the cities or in the labour supplying areas from which the migrants originate (Doughty, 1972: 39-50; Mayer, 1961). These studies have frequently operated in an historical vacuum, taking as given the wider social system. Hence, while it is acknowledged that cities, towns and other labour centres which receive rural migrants, are in a state of rapid growth and development, these centres are generally regarded as 'given', in some way or other isolated from rural areas. Here I am referring to the use of such concepts as "urbanization", "migrant proletarianization", "detrribalization" and so on, which imply a clear distinction between urban and rural contexts. In contrast to this view, I assume that both out-migration to the cities and return migration play an important role in maintaining close relations between town and village and therefore between specific migrant groups and their fellow villagers (Hauser, 1965: 503-17). One of the most effective means to maintaining and developing such relations is through regional associations (this assumption will be empirically tested in the third chapter of this thesis). The regional association appears not only as the most institutionalized unit to which many migrants may attach their hopes but also stimulates increased rural-urban movement (Middleton, 1969) and may subsequently reinforce rural dependency and domination by the towns, with the migrants themselves becoming the very agents of such domination. Hence, the role of migrants cannot simply be reduced to their articulating role. Some studies have analysed

the ways in which migrants are manipulated politically by more powerful groups (Cornelius, 1971; Quijano, 1968); and others have stressed their innovative role (Germani, 1969; Kemper, 1979: 36-47; Martinez, 1968), together with the modernizing effects which their associations have had, in their villages of origin. Other writers have argued that one should not over-emphasize these modernizing effects since some migrants may oppose an ideology of modernization by combining 'traditional' values with ties into formal left-wing political parties (Sanchez, 1977; Altamirano, 1971).

Many studies it seems have also over-stressed the contribution of rural-to-urban migration to the growth of cities (Elizaga, 1972: 121-46; Alers and Appelbaum, 1968; Margullis, 1967); conversely, little attention has been paid to the contribution of return-migrants in the development and political participation of their regions and localities (Browning, 1970). In this regard, it seems that regional associations play significant roles by organizing migrants and encouraging them to fulfill a set of commitments to their villages. One of the aims of this thesis, then, is to examine how such associations are capable of controlling migrants' activities while they are in town.

The third type of argument which I would question stresses the adaptational role of regional associations for urban living and generally analyses them independently from the urban political arena. Much attention has been drawn to this function in the cities of Latin America and Africa (Mangin, 1965: 311-23; 1970; Buechler, 1970: 62-72; Doughty, 1970: 30-47; Little, 1973); the general assumption being that the

the association teaches its members urban standards and facilitates their assimilation to the urban system. In this way the associations pave the way for "urban" as distinct from "rural" life and status and, together with other urban institutions, they play a role in reconciling opposite tendencies (rural and urban). Other studies have emphasized the recreational function of associations (Banton, 1957) and the part they play in the achievement of upward social mobility (Meillassoux 1968).

In contradistinction to these interpretations, the present study introduces an alternative view, which recognises that associations are fundamentally the basis for the formation of political involvement and participation not only among migrant-members but also for non-member migrants. In other words, associations are not formed merely to act as intermediary stages in the process of migrant adaptation and assimilation to town life. Their emphasis on common origins appears to be a major basis upon which not only alliances and solidarities, but also political oppositions, are formed. As associations generally reflect the social and economic structure of the places from which their members come, it seems that political conflicts arising from such structures are likely to be reflected in the urban situation. Furthermore, associations appear to be the most effective means of encouraging migrants to become more fully aware of their social and political rights and aspirations (Cohen, 1969; 1974b; Wheeldon, 1969; Wallerstein, 1963).

In spite of the political potentialities of such associations most studies, particularly in Latin America,

have deliberately isolated them from the wider political arena, both urban and rural. In my own earlier study (1971), I demonstrated the close relations between peasant uprisings in one region of Highland Peru and the political development of associations, particularly in those rural zones characterized by great economic inequalities between the dominant regional classes and the peasant population (see also: Smith, 1975a; Long, 1973; Sanchez, 1977).

Very limited efforts have been made to examine the formation and development of associations in relation to urban and national politics (Cornelius, 1974). Instead the migrants' tendency to seek out paternalistic, clientage relationships seems to have been considered more relevant by some scholars (Adams, 1969), although others have stressed that under certain types of external constraints and pressures such relationships may be highly subject to political manipulation (Collier, 1976; Dietz, 1969, Leeds, 1969). Recent studies have pointed to the need to abandon the idea that most rural migrants in towns are politically passive, if not highly receptive (Roberts, 1978; Cornelius, 1974). Rural-to-urban migrants, particularly from isolated regions characterized by a large peasant population, make up a good part of the urban poor. These groups are entering rapidly into urban and national political life and, in this process, regional associations may serve as the basis and vehicle through which migrants channel their political expectations or seek formal representation before government agencies.

In order to deepen and develop the three types of issue which I have already outlined, I have organised the thesis into six interrelated chapters:

In the first chapter, I deal with the theoretical implications of two major concepts applied to the analysis of processes of rural-to-urban migration and the subsequent urbanization of migrants: the formation of regional identities; and the development of political involvement. Following the discussion of theoretical issues, I provide a detailed comment on the methods, techniques and strategies for collecting quantitative and qualitative data both at the rural and urban ends. In order to operationalize the use of such notions of regional identity and political participation, I introduce an analytical model which shows how one can apply the same methodological approach to different stages of the research and to the different research locations (urban and rural).

In the second chapter, I discuss regional and local variables relating to the process of migration and the formation of regional associations. This chapter is closely related to the first and second issues discussed at the beginning of this Introduction. In order to develop my argument, I introduce an historical account concerning the development of the two regions and localities chosen for study: Region I and Locality I are represented by the Pampas Valley and Ongoy, Department of Apurimac; and Region II and Locality II, by the Mantaro Valley and Matahuasi, Department of Junin. The main idea here is to describe and analyse the social, economic and political background of the migrant-members of associations and also their respective regions and localities. I then examine migration diachronically in relation to the regions and localities studied, looking

at the process as a structurally-conditioned one which has responded to various urban, regional and local pressures and constraints. In this way, we avoid interpreting regional associations either as exclusively urban phenomena or isolating them from the migration process as a totality.

In Chapter III, I attempt to sustain empirically the third argument which draws attention to the political significance and implications of regional associations both in the city and place of origin. The formation and objectives of associations at regional and local level, as well as the types of relations existing between the Lima-based and "branch" associations, various local institutions (e.g. the peasant community (comunidad campesina) school, church) and political parties, are examined in detail. In addition, I focus on the contributions that associations have made to regional and village-level development, giving particular attention to the political process.

Case studies of two associations from the localities studied are presented in Chapter IV. The aim in this part of the thesis is to provide empirical evidence to demonstrate that migrants with common experience before migration are likely to belong to the same type of association. I also analyse the social, economic and political basis of migrant-members considering their situation before and after migration.

On the basis of Chapter IV and complementary to the previous ones, Chapter V is an attempt to substantiate my critique of the three approaches to the understanding of

regional associations identified earlier in this Introduction. One central point that emerges is that one needs to analyse in depth not only the way in which these associations generate and perpetuate regional identities, but also how they function as a basis for political advancement and consciousness. The final Chapter (VI) provides an overview of the results of this study and suggests new directions for future research.

Chapter 1

The Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This chapter deals with a theoretical and methodological discussion of the nature of regional and local-level associations. The theoretical issues stress the significance of regional identities in the process of rural-urban relationships; and the political involvement of migrants in regard to their place of origin as well as their connections with urban-based political groupings. These two aspects of the role of regional associations are analysed separately. This separation is for methodological reasons and does not imply their actual separation and independence; on the contrary, they must be considered as two aspects of the same reality.

The methodological issue is matched by describing the main phases of the research at both the rural and urban ends; and by presenting an explanatory model which arose from the use of the methods and techniques applied in the project. The main intention of elaborating such an explanatory model is to develop a framework for further research on regional associations in Third World countries.

Let me first analyse the theoretical implications of what I call regional identities and political involvement among rural-urban migrants.

1. The Problem of a) Regional Identities and b) Political Involvement among Rural-Urban Migrants.

Apparently these two aspects - regional identities and political involvement - are present among both rural and urban migrants experiencing urbanization. There appear to be four ways in which these are combined in concrete situations; firstly,

they may act in parallel, (Epstein, 1978: .23; Altamirano, 1976; Adams, 1953: 238-44; Whitten, 1965: 43-88); secondly, they may be mutually complementary (Mayer, 1961; Mangin, 1970; Cohen, 1969; Mitchell, 1957; Meillasoux, 1968; Middleton, 1969; and Wheeldon, 1969: 128-80); thirdly, one of the categories might be a determinant for the emergence of the other⁽¹⁾; and fourthly, they may operate relatively independently, depending on specific situations and contexts (Fuenzalida, 1970; Davis, 1969; 171-85: 59-69; Epstein, 1978: 91-113).

The social heterogeneity which basically characterizes migrants in a single urban context requires that we distinguish between these four possibilities. Such distinctions may enable

(1) Studies concerning how political involvement influences regional and ethnic identity in town were mostly developed by scholars working on African materials, see Harries-Jones, 1969; Epstein, 1958; and Cohen, 1969. Work on the ways in which regionalism and ethnic identities determine political involvement was undertaken by urban anthropologists who have suggested that, in spite of rapid urbanization of migrants, "regionalism" and ethnic identities are more relevant than political involvement; for further details see Glazer and Mohiman, 1975; Doughty, 1973; Foster and Kemper, 1974; and Isbell, 1973.

us to isolate certain specific features of migrant organisation and life as the outcome of particular processes of migration, which, in turn, affect the degrees and forms of urbanisation that migrants experience.

These initial premises constitute the basis on which to argue that not all migrant responses to the urban stimuli are equal, although they are shaped by a single urban context. They exhibit differentiated responses, conditioned by the development of the region and the localities from which they come. Primary differentiation does not start in the urban context, but in the regions and localities that act significantly as strong conditioning forces in the process of urbanization. Furthermore, these initial differentiations are, despite common geographical origin, largely responsible for the formation of internally differentiated social and economic groups. Such groups appear to be flexible and subject to changing alliances, solidarities and even shifts in ethnic identity in the urban context (Collier, 1976; Cohen, 1969; Roberts, 1978: 141). In these processes, common geographical origin, language, ideology and some economic and political practices may play a decisive role, leading eventually to the establishment of close social interaction, and to permanent and lasting relations. Such interactions are expressed subjectively and objectively and can form the basis for both regional identity and political involvement. These patterns are not formed either automatically or immediately after migration; they need to be structured, on one hand, by the internally differentiated social framework which migrants bring to the city; and, on the other, by the external

factors which come from the migrants' interaction with specifically urban-based social, economic and political groups. These groups or classes generally appear to have a powerful influence upon the behaviour and attitudes of migrants.

The significance of these two aspects - regional identities and political involvement - for migrant urban life is best explored by considering the two fields of activity separately.

a) Regional Identities

There are two major forms of interpretation concerning this concept in urban contexts: firstly, it has been used as a cultural phenomenon synonymous with ethnicity; and secondly, as a structural concept.

Seen as a cultural phenomenon, regional identities are related to migrants' predispositions to assume specific patterns of behaviour on the basis of their cultural and ideological background and their identity of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Epstein, 1978: 91; Horowitz, 1975: 111). In addition to the above characteristics, common geographical origin and a sense of being distinct from other ethnic groups are important.

According to this interpretation, specific behaviour is assumed to be the result of a process of reinterpretation and reevaluation of linguistic, normative and ideological practices that originate from the regions and localities of the migrants. Such predispositions encourage a self-identification of belonging to a particular social or ethnic category. For example, in Latin American countries characterized by large indigenous or native populations, such categories or groups, commonly named blancos (whites), mestizos or ladinos (creoles or mixed),

cholos (half-indigenous, half-mestizo), and indios, are often considered racially, ethnically and culturally distinct (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Van den Berghe and Primov, 1977; Escobar, 1973).

Viewed as a structural phenomenon (Altamirano, 1976; Arispe, 1975; Lomnitz, 1977; Wolfe, 1968), regional identities contain wider implications and must be explained diachronically in relation to the process of migration and urbanization and in terms of the inter-relations between various migrant groups within a single urban context. Adopting this approach, regional identities are not simply culturally derived forms of behaviour, but are organized and rational responses resulting from the pressures which come from the radiation of urban-based values and from the need to maintain some sorts of ties with regions and localities of origin. Such attachments therefore should be understood not only as ideological ties, but also as entailing economic, social and political bonds.

In the present study I emphasize the importance of this second approach⁽²⁾. A main advantage of a structural interpretation is that it enables one to situate cultural phenomena sociologically and thus to understand how shared understandings or commitments function in support of particular patterns of social organisation. The phenomenon of regional identities is meaningfully explained when one sees how, in a single urban context, various regionally and locally

(2) For further theoretical implications of this tendency see: Cohen, 1974 and Mitchell, 1974. These studies are related to migrants in towns. For a wider characterization of ethnic identities in multi-ethnic and economically and socially differentiated groups and classes in urban contexts see Bell, 1975 and Horowitz, 1975.

differentiated groups interact. Such groups show common characteristics which distinguish them from others, but regional identities acquire their full meaning when these groups are analysed not in isolation from the wider urban system made up of various social, economic, and political relations set within an historical perspective.

A main characteristic of regional identities is that of a continuous process by which existing material (e.g. access to scarce urban resources income, housing, wealth, health, education) and ideological (e.g. access to the normative patterns of urban behaviour) facets are shaped. These two conditions clearly demonstrate that regional identities are not merely habits or ideas which migrants express in order to reinterpret their native cultures.

On the basis of this argument, I would expect to find regional identity emerging when a human grouping participates in similar patterns of behaviour (values, usages, customs, norms, language, world view), comes from the same region or locality, and belongs to a certain social and economic sector that interacts with other groups, considered different, within a common urban framework. The main channels through which such identities operate are kinship, ritual and religious practice, sports events, and common past, and sometimes present, occupational experiences and political activities. Each will assume a certain significance in the configuration of specific regional groupings, depending on the degree of urbanization of the migrants. For instance, one expects that relations derived from kinship and ritual are more likely to occur

among migrants who come either from the most geographically isolated or from the less economically articulated regions or localities; although as I show later, such interactions are not likely to be purely ideological.

In spite of the differential significance of these types of regional identification, it seems that occupational experience (Koll, 1969; Nyirenda, 1957; Alderson-Smith, 1975) and relations derived from it, in addition to urban political participation, are two of the most effective externally-based urban means for structuring regional identities. This may be due to their objective nature, which is found in the everyday life of the migrant, which eventually may lead to the formation of not only regional identities, but forms of class consciousness. Nevertheless, the different dimensions and practices derived from kinship, ideology and the self-perception of belonging to a certain regional grouping, will significantly affect the normative patterns of migrants, particularly in the initial phases of urban residence. After this, such normative patterns will gradually become more integrated into the urban milieu through the relations that migrants have with dominant groups (Allers and Appelbaum, 1968). The process of urbanization is not an homogeneous one for all migrants some of them may lose their regional identities earlier than others, becoming more urbanized; others will retain their regional identities for long periods, and others simply may not become fully urbanized. However, this kind of interpretation seems to suggest that regional identities are subject to disappear over time, which, in fact, seems untrue so long as migration continues.

Regional identities in the urban process are formed on the basis of loyalties, alliances and self-identities among migrants having a common geographical origin (Little, 1962, 1973). These loyalties emerge as part of a shaping process which has existed back in the locality, where common experience has played a decisive role. Such loyalties and alliances are best exemplified by membership of certain associations. This suggests that migrants with common social, economic and political experiences before migration are more likely to be members of the same association (Mangin, 1959; Doughty, 1972; Long, 1973; Roberts, 1973a). If we assume that regional and local structures are composed of differentiated groups, because of unequal access to resources (e.g. land, capital, technology and labour), we should accept that within the urban context regional and local groupings are likely to be differentiated from one to another as well. Such differentiation may eventually lead to internal cleavages within and between associations which were present before migration; also differentiation and division in ^{the}urban context may spread back and affect village relationships and groups. Hence the alliances and loyalties emerging in the urban context will develop on the basis of conflicting relations between differentiated groups.

In other situations, regional identities may lead towards a reduction of conflict, allowing for the formation of long-term solidarity and co-operation. For instance, it is common for associations representing specific districts, villages, communities or barrios to become socially, politically, economically and religiously active and more corporate. Yet these relations do not emerge spontaneously. On the contrary,

they are expressions of solidarity set against externally-based urban stimuli. Such stimuli originate from the dominant urban social, economic and political spheres.

All of this suggests that the analysis of regional identities must not be separated from the existential or material conditions and problems of migrants in the city. These problems imposed on the migrant by the city environment are, for example, finding a job, engaging in political struggles in order to gain a better standard of living, obtaining access to housing, health, formal education and so on. It is in the face of such circumstances that regional or local loyalties may act decisively against or for the achievement of particular ends. Activities may acquire a political character depending upon the political background and the strength of regional identity (Cornelius, 1971).

The permanent links set up between migrants and villagers through migration allows a continuous flow of information from both sides (Little, 1973: 407-423). On the one hand, the locality where the native population lives may exercise a certain type of control over their migrants through specific associations. This is likely to be more the case when the association has relations with locally-based institutions or when some other urban-based association exercises control over them (Altamirano, 1971: 140). Continuous inter-institutional exchanges are one of the most effective ways of maintaining and encouraging regional and local identities as well as economic and political relations. These interactions may be substantially increased by either temporary or seasonal migration. Another factor which affects the formation of regional identities is the self-perception of the migrants

of belonging to a certain locality to which they have a sentimental attachment (Doughty, 1973: 34). The locality (commonly named by migrants as either pequeña patria or nuestra tierra) is conceived of as the immediate microcosm of migrants. This conception becomes stronger when ties existing prior to migration become reactivated in the urban context (e.g. kinship, friendship, ~~co~~-parenthood (compadraggo) relationships). In spite of this, when peasants become more committed to urban life, they are likely to become more differentiated from their fellows, since the new environment produces new types of duties and obligations. These obligations may create a wider basis for interaction leading to inter-associations or class-based relations.

In addition to the above features, there are five other components which are likely to be found in the development of regional identity: a) self-identification or legitimation on the basis of some broad regional entity, wider than the locality from which migrants come; b) internal organization (commonly on the basis of the regulation of certain norms and values) which defines the rights, duties and hierarchical positions of its members; c) decision-making, which operationalizes the rights and duties of all members; d) leadership, or the social recognition of individual capabilities to organize, manipulate and to take specific decisions; and e) the existence of an ideology which is shared by all members, whose origin is based on the system of values and the different forms of interpretation of their reality made by migrants themselves.

There are three major concrete forms of expression of regional identity; the exchange of products and services; political solidarity; and recreational activities and co-operation.

Although the exchange of products and services are no substitute for the "formal" urban economy⁽³⁾, they nevertheless have important functions. Their relative marginality from the formal sector allows migrants to act with a certain freedom, which allows them to reinterpret 'native' economic values. These values are expressed in the following fields: a) co-operation and exchanges of labour for domestic (e.g. building a house), institutional (e.g. building their association's meeting house), or collective (e.g. road and infra-structural work) purposes; b) exchanges of products: when such products - particularly livestock - come from the home village they are likely to be subject to exchanges between family-members and fellow villagers in town (Little, 1962: 196-211). On religious and ceremonial occasions, gifts are provided by fellows and relatives of the person in charge of the celebrations (Morris, 1967: 154; Buchler, 1973: 62-72). c) in the formation and development of a particular type of occupation which demands

(3) Although the thesis does not deal with the study of urban type economy we distinguish two major distinctions: the "formal" and "informal" type of economy. The formal type of economy operates independently upon codes and norms dictated by a specific type of development which is largely based on industry. The exchange of products and services although inserted within the framework of urban type an economy depends largely on interpersonal relations based on kinship, personal trust and co-operation, basically among individuals with common social, economic and geographical roots.

the participation of other persons, the migrant may ask close relatives, fellow villagers and friends from the same associations to contribute labour (Lomnitz, 1974: 135-56; 1977). It seems that kinship becomes an important social resource in the operation of non-dependent, family-based occupations (Adams, 1968-69: 47-60; Goode, 1970: 146-67; Peattie, 1968: 40-53; Whitten, 1965: 114-47). Thus the effective manipulation of kinship relations has permitted some migrants, particularly early ones, to make successful use of these relations in order to acquire cheap labour; d) within the sports and social activities organised by migrants they raise money for their associations and send money or material aids back to their localities (Little, 1973: 414; Altamirano, 1976; Doughty, 1973: 41); e) with regard to the new occupational opportunities which the urban context offers to new migrants, these may be increased substantially if the migrant is a formal member of a given association, since he can extend his personal network amongst other more established migrants. This latter process is supported by studies which show that certain occupations are more common among migrants from the same region or locality and, within it, among those who have similar economic and social backgrounds (Smith, 1975b; Altamirano, 1971; Koll, 1969).

With regard to the correlation between regional identity and political organization, we might find the following combinations: firstly, Regional identity may serve as an organizational channel for the political interests of migrants (Altamirano, 1971: 99; Sanchez, 1977: 128; Cohen, 1969: 161-82) who, for one reason or another, may not be

able to organize themselves as a political body, as is frequently the case among recently-arrived migrants; or regional identity may act as an alternative to being politically manipulated by externally-based, political organizations (e.g. political parties or government agencies). A second situation is one where regional identity serves as a basis for representing politically, not only the migrants, but also their regions and localities in negotiations with government departments etc., for certain social and economic benefits for the home village (Doughty,1973; Long,1973; Roberts,1973a). Regional identity, manifested through the actions of regional associations, may also assume importance in the emergence of peasant uprisings against local landlords and powerful interest groups⁽⁴⁾. Peasant movements and their leaders maintain close contact with fellow villagers in town. Because of their direct or indirect access to urban political resources (e.g. political parties, government agencies, labour and student organizations, the media, and so on), those migrants contribute substantially not only to the political organization of such movements but also to their economic maintenance. Furthermore, interest groups based on regional identities may lead to the reinforcement of political parties or other kinds of organizations. Such interest groups are already organized, but what they often need is directionality and a more positive interpretation of their goals. Sometimes, loyalties and alliances, based on

(4) For empirical details see Altamirano,1971; and Sanchez,1977, Chapters IV and V.

ideological, social and religious content, develop new explicitly political dimensions (Adams, 1953: 238-44; Cohen, 1969: 18-36). This intra-organizational change will depend upon both the leadership and the main objectives of the group. Although interest groups from regions more closely integrated into the urban system are more likely to develop a political character, even so they seldom abandon their regional commitment and identification. On the other hand, an interest group formed primarily as a political group rarely acquires essentially social, sporting or religious functions. This suggests that the political functions of an association are likely to increase with its age⁽⁵⁾.

As regards recreational activities outside the work-context, which have frequently been treated as the main expression of regional solidarity by several anthropologists⁽⁶⁾,

(5) In this connection, Daniel Bell argues that, in contexts characterised by urban ethnic diversity, ethnic identities may eventually lead towards new forms of politicization (e.g. social movements among negroes). For an understanding of the structural factors contributing to the emergence of such conflicts, see Bell, 1975.

(6) This sort of conclusion is found in almost all studies in Latin America carried out by American anthropologists (Mangin, 1973; Doughty, 1973; Isbell, 1973). Studies in Africa (see Mitchell, 1957; Epstein, 1958; Little, 1973; Mayer, 1966 and Parkin, 1966 and 1969) have also contributed to understanding how 'native' culture has affected patterns of migrant organization and the formation of tribal and ethnic solidarities expressed through a diversity of recreational activities and co-operation.

it appears that such activities are one of the principal means of bringing migrant-members together for a variety of social events, which are frequent and uniform in character. These meetings function as rites of intensification par excellence. The most common events sponsored by associations are dances, sports gatherings, business meetings, banquets and religious celebrations. The latter are generally organized by reference to the members' community of origin (Buechler, 1973: 62-72; Little, 1974: 421; Banton, 1957; Mitchell, 1957), reinforcing regional and local solidarity. In some cases, associations sponsor religious fiestas, for which either the association itself or particular individual members take responsibility. In either case, the fiesta is primarily a collective rather than individual social event, although some individuals exploit this situation in favour of their own interests (see Wolf, 1955; Harris, 1964). Hence, it has been shown that migrants with considerable urban experience and of better economic position are more likely to sponsor a fiesta, and are more likely to hold leadership positions⁽⁷⁾. The fiesta system is a flexible institutional framework which can be adapted to a variety of ends. Such flexibility is one of the most important reasons for its persistence in the face of major social change. Some studies (Mangin, 1974; Gonzales, 1970: 328-42) stress the fiesta's integrative and cohesive functions,

(7) In West Africa, for example, Little (1973) found that the chiefs of certain tribes were representatives or leaders of associations whilst living in town. He also documents that some of the more educated migrants were more likely to hold positions of responsibility. This latter point is also supported by my own findings presented in Chapter III. Cohen (1969), in his study of traders in Ibadan, Nigeria, shows that religious identification becomes important.

particularly among migrants from the place of origin. Other studies suggest alternatively that the fiesta system provides an arena within which differentiated segments of the migrant population interact and attempt to define their new relationships and value commitments (see Bouchler, 1973: 63).

Although the three forms of expressing regional identity described above are critical, it is essential to analyse how they are affected by the wider urban context, especially as this relates to political activity.

b) Political Involvement

Political involvement among migrants while in town is used here not as an independent variable, but as being structurally conditioned by the social and economic relations and experiences of migrants. Furthermore, the concept is somewhat different to either ethnicity or regional identity, for three basic reasons: firstly, because it is more closely related to the wider urban system; secondly, it aims to take more account of the occupational situation of migrants who work in the urban areas; and thirdly, because it concerns itself with a specific field of social action, namely the political, whether or not this is located in city or countryside.

Although political involvement, ethnicity and regional identity interact with each other in very complex ways, neither political involvement, not ethnicity, nor regional identity are reducible to one another. Regional identity should not be regarded as simply a form of political activity, nor is political participation merely an expression of ethnic

or regional identity. The phenomenon should, for methodological reasons, be treated as relatively different, despite the fact that they may overlap in reality.

In regard to the first reason for distinguishing political involvement from ethnicity and regional identity, empirical cases show that political activity is a process which tends to develop subsequent to the formation of regional identity (Leeds, 1974; Muñoz and others, 1974: 51; Davies, 1967: 239-56), though, as I have already emphasized, regional commitments are not likely to be totally abandoned and will probably remain throughout a migrant's lifetime (Mangin, 1967; Matos, 1967; Butterworth, 1972: 29-50). It appears that during periods following the first migration of a group to the city, regional identity is most critical (Allers and Appelbaum, 1968). Only later does such identity become affected in a major way by the pressure of the urban environment. The arrival of migrants at urban centres cannot be analysed merely as an outcome of centripetal forces (Germani, 1969; Martinez, 1968; Collier, 1973, 338-343) which radiate out from the cities, as many authors argue. Urban migration must also be considered in relation to the economic circumstances and problems of decapitalization in rural areas (Quijano, 1967; Margullis, 1969, Muñoz and others, 1972). Thus, migrant incorporation into the city should be seen as connected with problems of depeasantisation and the formation of an urban proletariat and "marginal mass" (Nun, 1969). On the other hand, many studies (Faria, 1976; Roberts, 1978: 164; Millones, 1976) have demonstrated that such concepts as the "urban marginality" of migrants, or "marginal mass" are not appropriate for explaining in detail

the social and economic relations and conditions of migrants in the cities. The main argument supporting this view is that the arrival of migrants in the city is not a mechanical outcome of urban dominance over rural areas, nor does it entail an immediate urbanization of migrants. Instead, it is made up of a series of organized and rational decisions involving a complex set of social relationships. In addition, it seems that social and individual characteristics, generated by the regions and localities from which migrants come, make more complex the nature of migration and the urbanization of migrant groups (Morse, 1971a; Gilbert, 1974; Roberts, 1973b). It has also been suggested that before migration the migrant will often have established contacts with relatives and friends already living in towns.

Above all, the emergence of political consciousness among rural-urban migrants has to be related to aspects other than simply those that consider migrants in terms of their urban occupational and class positions. There are two main dimensions involved here: the rural socio-economic background of migrants and the links that exist between particular urban and rural areas (Roberts, 1978: 98; Browning and Freindt, 1969: 347-57) and secondly, the different types of rural-urban migration (Muñoz and others, 1977; Browning and Waltrant, 1971: 45-70; Doughty, 1973: 39-50). These two aspects suggest that political awareness does not emerge automatically and that type of occupation, residence and previous political experience will all contribute to its formation.

Furthermore, there are three main agents through which the wider urban context acts upon rural-urban migrants: firstly, through patterns of consumption that imply certain urban-based material and moral standards or values (Mangin, 1968: 366-70); secondly, through the mass media which constantly undervalues those aspects of life which are not urban (Alers, 1968; Alberti, 1968); and thirdly, through state intervention not only in its attempts to regulate urban growth and planning but also by the political manipulation of urban dwellers (Collier, 1976; Cornellius, 1971; Cotler, 1970: 95-113; Mitchell, 1973: 155). These three aspects are capable of modifying either partially or totally, the basis for the development of political participation, although such development will require an organizational framework which does not have to be explicitly political. Regional identities exemplified by regional associations might serve as such⁽⁸⁾. Indeed, in cities where migrants with different regional backgrounds interact among themselves and with established urban groups, political interest frequently coincides with regional identity.

The relationship between occupational position and experience and political participation has been explored by several studies (Browning, 1972b; Cardoso and Reyna, 1968; Friedman and Sullivan, 1974: 385-413). These have suggested that the insertion of migrants into the urban economy needs to be considered when explaining forms of political action.

(8) Abner Cohen (1969, 1974b) considers that both ethnic identities and voluntary associations formed on the basis of regional identity are fundamentally political phenomena involving a struggle for power in defence of migrants' collective interests.

Rural-urban migration, it is argued, constitutes not merely a social or geographical movement due to the attraction of the city, but involves the development of economic relationships and decisions⁽⁹⁾ which can affect the formation of political views and types of organization. One limitation in this type of argument, however, is that it sometimes neglects the significance of non-economic elements, such as common residence in the city or the influence of the social networks of migrants. There is also little attention given to explaining why it is that migrants from the same region or locality are often concentrated in the same or similar occupations⁽¹⁰⁾.

It has been argued that the most significant change which migrants experience is the displacement of mainly agrarian and other related occupations by industrial ones. This qualitative change is regarded as the main way in which migrants are integrated into the urban economy (Quijano, 1967) and therefore as the basis for the formation of migrant political consciousness. The degree of such integration and the types of political relations and awareness that evolve will, however, also depend upon the kinds of horizontal ties that develop with fellow workers and on vertical relations with their bosses (Davies and De Miranda, 1967: 239-56; Friedman and Sullivan, 1974: 385-413). Evidence suggests

(9) The use of the term 'labour migration' emphasises the economic dimension. An account of the relations between labour migration and regional associations is contained in Middleton, 1969.

(10) For empirical examples, see Muñoz, 1977: 61; Matos, 1977: 23.
See also Chapter V of Altamirano, 1971.

that relations made within the work context, particularly with fellow villagers, are very significant for creating political identity. Such identities are likely to be more consistent if the workers act under the umbrella of a formal political party.

Another view concerning the links between the urban system, occupational position, and political participation is that the latter develops in parallel with the formation of class identity. Although some recent studies treat rural-urban migrant workers and the urban poor as politically passive and 'disorganized' (Delgado,1974; Germani,1972), other studies (Leeds,1974; Collier,1976; Cornellius,1974) have stressed that they are not to be viewed as politically marginal. On the contrary, they are capable of modifying the existing urban political situation and are a potential source of activism not only in relation to the city itself, but also in terms of the places they come from (Altamirano,1971;1976; Sánchez,1977; Roberts,1974; Long,1973). Furthermore, neighbourhoods in the city, particularly in poor districts, often provide a basis for political action (Collier,1976; Perlman,1976: 165-73; Pratt,1971: 495-524). This, combined with common regional commitment can reinforce the process of political participation (Cohen,1965: 18-36; 1969: 161-82; Mangin,1968: 397-432). There have, in fact, been a large number of social and political movements (sometimes used by political parties) among rural-urban migrants in the cities. Such movements are frequently organized to obtain access to better services, housing and employment, but they may also be aimed at changing the existing political and social order.

In some cases, government has indirectly encouraged sectors of the urban poor to take specific actions against the urban middle and upper classes (Collier, 1976; Portes, 1971; Castells, 1976). In other examples, we find government repressing these mobilisations (Leeds, 1974; Cotler, 1970-1971).

To sum up, we must emphasise that rural-urban migrants in developing countries, particularly in Latin America, cannot be analysed as being socially or politically isolated in the city; nor can they be regarded as remote from the social, economic and political problems which characterize their regions or localities of origin. Hence, both political consciousness, generated largely within the city environment, and regional identity formed on the basis of the migrants' commitments to their regions, are two aspects of the same reality. Political consciousness is likely to be more important in the work context where the migrant is involved in particular social relations of production; while, outside work, regional identity perhaps assumes a bigger role (e.g. in the neighbourhood context, within voluntary associations, with regard to religious and ceremonial activities and when decisions are taken which concern the migrants' places of origin). Nevertheless, both dimensions are essential to understanding the life of migrants in the city and can only be considered separate for analytical reasons.

The field data analysed in the chapters that follow will be examined in the light of the above theoretical discussion. But before doing so, let me describe the methodological procedures used in the collection and organization of materials. I will also outline an explanatory model for

dealing with the problem of regional identities through the study of migrant associations from two contrasting regions of highland Peru. This model, I believe, has a wider application to other migrant and regional contexts.

2. Methodological Procedures

Migration, the urbanization of migrants, the formation of regional associations and the relations maintained by such associations with their regions of origin are social processes which involve both rural and urban contexts. The distinction I shall maintain between the predominantly rural context and the urban one will therefore be purely methodological, since both are structurally integrated into the same wider framework and process of social change. However, concentration on the wider framework will not enable us to comprehend the internal specificities and the particular social patterns which occur within these two contexts.

I adopt a deductive approach; that is, I begin by establishing a general framework and then proceed to interpret particular phenomena in the light of this. Theory on its own cannot explain reality and can only be validated through empirical testing. Empirical data can modify or ratify theoretical propositions, but at the same time we need a theoretical framework to interpret reality. Thus, both levels - theory and reality - must be understood as being complementary, with the one qualification that whereas the course of reality can modify the nature of theory, theory does not normally change the nature of reality.

We must recognize then the need to integrate the three levels of theory, methodology and reality whose nature is susceptible to observation, measurement, evaluation and

analysis. I begin with a structural conception of the dynamics of migration, and consider its consequences at three levels: the urban, the regional, and the local. I shall pay more attention to the last two levels - regional and local - since I am primarily interested in describing and analysing phenomena which occur in the rural context, but which, in turn, affect patterns of migration to urban areas.

Background to the study

This study arose out of two pieces of research I carried out in two contrasting regions. A common interest of both was the study of rural-urban migration and its articulation through regional associations. The first region studied was the Pampas Valley, located in the Department of Apurimac (11); and the second, the Mantaro Valley situated in the Department of Junin (12). These two regions of Highland Péru display relatively contrasting features, both in their ecological, social and economic aspects and also in their degree of articulation with, and dependence on, the main

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- (11) The final report of this research is contained in my Batchelor's thesis entitled: El Cambio del Sistema de Hacienda al Sistema Comunal en un Area de la Sierra Sur del Perú: El Caso de Ongoy U.N.M.S.M. Departamento de Antropología, 1971, Lima, Perú; and an article called "El Cambio en las Relaciones del Poder en una Comunidad de la Sierra Sur del Perú", 1972, Lima, Peru.
- (12) The research was made possible through a SSRC project: "Regional Structure and Entrepreneurial Activity in a Peruvian Valley", sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of Manchester University, England; and in collaboration with a Peruvian Institution: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. The project was co-directed by Norman Long and Bryan Roberts during 1970-73.

political and economic centre of Lima-Callao. The regions may be regarded as being representative of two types of highland structure. The first represents a relatively isolated region, characterised by the presence of more 'traditional' Andean cultural elements and a rigid hierarchical social and economic structure. The second displays the opposite characteristics: it is a region which is much more integrated into national society and which exhibits greater modernisation and, at the same time, less 'traditionalism'. It appears much more susceptible to external influences and is well-known for the rapidity of social change that has taken place. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that both regions have experienced a common colonial history and have been subjected to similar external, national and international, pressures.

In the first region, the main aims of the original research project were oriented to delineating its pattern of social and economic organization and power structure. Three processes were of special interest: the subordination of peasants to the prevailing hacienda system, the process of out-migration to Lima, the organization of peasant movements which were aimed at modifying or destroying the existing regional power structure through the invasion of hacienda lands. For the purposes of the present study, I have chosen to consider the question of out-migration and the subsequent development and maintenance of relations between the city migrants and the various social groups remaining in the locality. I do this through a detailed analysis of the role of regional associations. This focus also enables me to examine the effects of these rural-urban relations on regional and local

power structures, on the process of village-level development, and on changing patterns of migration.

The objectives were similar for the second region. The study aimed to isolate the historical, social and economic forces that gave rise to the particular regional configuration; then to investigate the emergence of rural entrepreneurs and enterprises, their relations at the intra-regional and inter-regional levels; and finally, to assess the role played in the city of Huancayo (the most important urban centre) in the region's urban and rural development. Patterns of migration most in evidence were those to nearby mining towns; to centres of colonization in the Eastern lowlands and to the city of Lima. In the contemporary period, migration to Lima must be regarded as the most important in terms of the volume of migrants involved and its significance for regional development. I therefore give more attention to this particular migration process.

A common interest motivating my study of both regions, then, is to answer the following set of questions: what were the main factors involved in the formation of these regional structures? How do such structures affect the patterns of migration to a common centre, Lima? When, how, and for what reasons are regional associations of migrants formed, and what are the attributes of their membership? And, finally, what are the effects produced by such associations on urban-rural relations and on the process of urbanization of migrants? In order to answer these basic questions adequately, the following stages and methodological procedures will be adopted.

2.1 Within the 'Predominantly Rural' Context:

This corresponds to the first part of the analysis which explores the regional and local contexts within a single framework. By 'predominantly rural' I refer to the communities of origin and the regional setting.

A primary interest is to isolate schematically the historical and social background which gave rise to these specific regional configurations with their distinguishing characteristics. The main sources of information for this discussion are existing studies and documentation concerning the development and changes in land holding and in the articulation of the localities with Lima. I also try to operationalise the concept of region in relation to the areas studied. According to my view, the notion of region refers basically to an ecological and social environment within which operates a network of relations between different settlements (e.g. urban centres, villages, farms, etc.,) and between different social groups who are engaged in the exchange of various products and services.

Since the study has a comparative purpose I chose two regions that had previously been studied: the Pampas and Mantara Valleys. As in the case of the historical background, the main sources for comparison come from regional and local-level monographs as well as from available demographic, statistical and economic data. Useful sources for obtaining these data were the various reports submitted to the Ministry of Labour and Indigenous Communities, carried out by the Peruvian Indigenous Institute and the Development Programme for the Integration of the Indigenous Population. Among the seven zones studied in this programme, one was the Pampas area and another the Mantaro Valley.

For theoretical reasons I introduce the regional category before considering local-level processes. The latter are neither separated nor isolated from regional development, since such development, either directly or indirectly, affects local patterns of social organization and their articulation with regional and extra-regional processes. Moreover, regional development can change or modify the objective, normative, and individual factors which affect choices concerning migration both within and outside the region.

In the third part of the analysis, I introduce the local dimension, by which I refer to particular localities, whether these be composed of nucleated settlements or scattered homesteads. From a methodological point of view, it is important to select the localities for study with great care so that they reflect some characteristics of the region that can be generalised to apply to other similar localities. Bearing this in mind, one locality for each region was chosen for detailed research: the District Community of Ongoy in the Pampas Valley; and the District Community of Matahuasi from the Mantaro. The following similar kinds of data were collected in each locality: various types of statistical and archival information; data taken from a census conducted with heads of families; material obtained through interviewing persons of different occupational categories; case-study data gathered using interviewing and observational techniques (especially social situational and network studies); and a range of information collected through general participant observation.

In the Matahuasi case (Locality II, Diagrams I and II) I concentrated more on case studies of individuals and, where possible, generated sociological categories from these. On the other hand, in the Ongoy example (Locality I, Diagram I and II) I began with certain sociological categories relating to such processes as social and economic differentiation and gave less attention to case-study methods. However, in both cases I have drawn upon existing reports and published material to expand the ethnographic scope of the study.

The types of objective, normative and individual 'psychological' factors operative at regional and local level result from a combination of two sets of forces; on the one hand, we have internal processes originating in the regions and localities; and, on the other, the centrifugal and centripetal forces emanating from the metropolitan capital of Lima. I concentrate mostly on the internal dynamics of the local, rather than the regional, situation, and give emphasis to the following objective factors: access to means of production such as land, capital and technology; labour and occupational structure; formal educational levels; and the system of communications. Among the normative factors, I focus on the effects of the metropolitan centre on the two localities and on migrant ideology. The latter system of values tends to assume that the means and sources for local and regional development derive from the major urban centres, rather than from the localities themselves. Among the individual factors explored are the expectations that an individual develops over time

towards himself and towards others, including relations within his family and within the social networks he has established in the locality. These latter social relationships are crucial since they may affect a person's decision to migrate.

Migration flows from the predominantly rural to the urban context are regarded as being the important nexus between these two arenas but, due to the selective nature of migration, it has not been possible for me to consider all possible patterns and types of migrants; this would have entailed more extensive research than I could undertake. For the purposes of my study I considered only those migrants from the two localities who became members of regional associations. This selection was not, however, a purely arbitrary one: it arose from my main objectives and research interest. Hence I pay more attention to those migrants who come from the two localities than to others from the same regions. These migrants constitute the universe for my study within which I concentrate on those who belong to regional associations. In both cases the latter represent a very significant part of the total migrant population from the localities. Information from these migrant-members indicates that the intensity, types, forms, motives and objectives of migration reveal, in both cases, certain common and also distinctive characteristics. In the analysis that follows, I am more interested in the differences that arise since these, I argue, affect the formation, development and the functioning of the associations. Each locality has a major association, Ongoy being

represented by the "Asociación Hijos de Huaqana" (A.H.H.); and Matahuasi by the "Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi" (C.S.D.M.). These two associations were selected as specific case studies due to the central role they played, although other associations from the localities were also investigated. Data on migration was collected at both rural and urban ends.

2.2. Within the Urban Context

The primary interest in this part of the study was the identification of regional associations from the two regions, although I did not wish to include associations of Departmental and Provincial scope because these are generally not formed by migrants originating from the rural sectors of the regions in question. The central idea was to establish the social and economic composition of regional associations, their different patterns of development and organization, their specific objectives, and the relations which each of them maintained with other associations, both in Lima and in their places of origin. These aspects I hoped would enable me to characterise the structure and dynamics of these associations. My main sources of information in the early part of the research consisted of the oral testimony of migrant-members and information from mass media such as newspapers, specialised magazines, TV and radio. Among the important magazines and newspapers that provide information on the life of associations we find: La Prensa, which contains a special section called "La Capital y las Provincias", published almost daily; El Comercio, which has a daily section entitled "Las Provincias in Lima"; and Expreso which, since 1975, has successfully campaigned for the

formation of a "National Union of Associations" called Central de Instituciones Regionales del Peru (C.I.R.P.). The type of information given in these newspapers refers mostly to events which the associations are organising but also frequently includes data on their objectives, declarations, and on the relations which they maintain with their regions and localities of origin. In addition, radio programmes broadcast regional music and give news on associations. For example, Radio Selecta has a programme called "Junin y el Peru", El Pacifico broadcasts "Peru Imperial", and Radio Agricultura provides a special slot called "Amanecer Andino". From these sources I have been able to obtain information on the geographical origins and types of associations, their main objectives, the number of notices they put out, how their funds are allocated (e.g. organising festivals and other events), whether an association has its own meeting place or not, and how frequently they hold their meetings. Television is another medium used less often by associations for broadcasting their news. Finally, some associations publish their own pamphlets and magazines.

Having located the two associations from Ongoy and Matahuasi I set about collecting qualitative and quantitative data deriving from formal and informal interviews, observations of social interaction, participation in folklore and religious events and attendance at meetings of various kinds. All of this information was gathered in order to establish

the basic patterns of social, economic, religious, political and recreational relationships existing among the associations in Lima, and to explore their exchanges with other associations, institutions, and social groups in their localities of origin. Quantitative information of the following types was gathered: the total and average number of members of all associations from the localities, their dates of founding, the amount of money transmitted to "branch" associations and to institutions such as the Comunidad, the District Council, schools, churches etc., in the localities; and finally information concerning the occupational and educational background of migrant-members. In addition, documentary information was obtained on ^{the} history and development of the associations.

On the basis of these various sources of data, we can categorise the social characteristics of the members of regional associations from the two areas. For example, we find that approximately 90% of members of Locality I originate from the rural sector of their home district, as against only 50% for Locality II. This, as I suggest later, has important implications for understanding the nature of the differences that exist in the roles of these associations.

My choice of the two associations for detailed research was based on four criteria: 1) each appeared to be the most important association recognised by both migrant-members in Lima and by village residents; 2) they had shown considerable historical continuity since their formation in 1923 and 1943 respectively and were the oldest associations in each locality; 3) they exhibited reasonable levels of

institutional stability; and 4) they seemed to represent specific social sectors in the localities of origin.

The following types of data were collected for each association: the number, age, sex, occupation, status, and the date of arrival in Lima of migrant-members, using a representative sample of 35% of the total membership. This was complemented by information drawn from personal documents obtained from members and their families, and by detailed life histories which contain information on migration, educational and occupational mobility, and participation in regional associations. In addition, I had lengthy interviews with particular members and with officials of the associations and, where possible, participated in social events. Further documentary data was extracted from the minute book records of the associations. This latter material was especially important for understanding institutional networks in Lima and for tracing the connections with the home communities.

2.3. Within both Rural and Urban Contexts

An initial hypothesis of this study was that regional associations are not simply a form of urban social organization but have emerged in response to various regional and local rural problems and conditions. At the same time, they are one way in which rural-urban relations are realised during given periods. Hence I assume that the associations do not emerge in a casual, haphazard way, nor out of the innate predispositions or special habits of migrants. They develop because they represent an important social response of migrants, who act collectively to solve certain basic livelihood problems and in order to reduce the negative

effects of being members of the urban and rural poor.

On the basis of this proposition, I consider two aspects as fundamental to the formation of associations. Firstly, we must take account of urban environmental pressures of both a material and normative kind which are present in the everyday life of migrants. To ignore such pressures would bias our picture of associations and lead to an overemphasis on conditions internal to the associations. Secondly, we have to consider the impact of regional and local level factors. These factors are expressed in terms of the different forms of ethnic and social identification, and scale of values and ideologies that characterise regions and particular localities. In addition, we need to examine the pressures that arise from relationships with members of the nuclear and extended family, as well as with other persons and institutions of the locality of origin.

The analysis of migrant behaviour in town needs to be examined in relation to both work and non-work contexts. Relations in the work situation are shaped firstly by workers' relationships with the owners or manager of the means of production, but, secondly, by their ties with workshop companions, who may share many of the same social and economic characteristics and perhaps come from the same region or locality. Such common characteristics among workers often provide the basis for the development of regional and social solidarities, alliances and loyalties, sometimes of an explicitly political nature (e.g. membership of a political party or union). Thus, although my analysis is not directly concerned with the work situation, activities

performed at work and relationships established with fellow workers may become relevant to associational life, since they contribute to the reaffirmation of shared understandings and commitments based on regional types of consciousness.

On the other hand, the field of non-work relations involves both informal and formal ties made within the family unit, the neighbourhood and other situations. Frequently these ties are expressed through membership of regional associations, neighbourhood unions, and social clubs of various kinds that bring together migrants for different purposes. Furthermore, relationships within these organisations may be influenced by other factors such as consciousness of belonging to a certain residential or economic sector (e.g. a shanty town or barriada) or simply to a social group which in some way is regarded as distinct from others in the urban arena.

A further important dimension concerns inter-institutional and informal exchanges that take place between migrants residing in Lima and their kin and friends located in their locality of origin. Here it is necessary to consider both out-migration from the rural community and also return migration from town. The constant flow of personnel between both rural and urban areas plays a major contribution in sustaining regional associations and in giving them a rationale for their continued existence. A related issue is the way in which ties (based, for example, on kinship or political affiliation) can generate internal conflicts amongst the members of these associations and how this can eventually lead to divisions in the home community. Conversely, political

and family struggles, occurring in the locality of origin, can quickly feed into migrant groups in town and affect the functioning of their associations.

In order to understand these aspects, it was necessary to extend the original research which I had carried out in the two regions and localities. These data were essential to complement the urban research. It consisted of documentary and oral information about the contact maintained between the villages and their associations and members. In addition, I interviewed local authorities, local householders and returned migrants, many of whom were members of the associations in question, as well as the leaders of local institutions such as churches, schools, political parties, and sports clubs. These interviews focused in part on the subjective evaluations of the associations seen from the point of view of the different social categories. I also recorded the main material aids sent by the associations to their localities.

The final section of this chapter offers, on the basis of the methodology already outlined, an explanatory framework for the study of regional and other similar migrant associations.

3. Regional Associations: An Explanatory Model

Regional associations are forms of social organization whose development is the outcome of three structurally inter-related processes: rural-urban relations; the migration process; and the social responses of migrants to external stimuli. Because such associations are of a continuous nature and are subject to changes over time, their analysis

necessarily requires the consideration of social, economic and political factors, emerging from the regions of origin of the migrants, as well as from the urban context. In this model then I introduce four interrelated sets of variables; the historical, the urban, the regional and the local, which together provide the starting points for understanding the wider dynamic processes that lead to the formation and persistence of regional associations. On the other hand, regional associations themselves form part of a transformational process and as such can affect significantly the directionality of the social change either at the place of origin or at the destination of migrants.

In order to develop a general understanding of regional associations, I present an operational scheme for their analysis. The first part of this is composed of three interconnected aspects: 1) the historical, social, economic and ideological background of the regional and local structures; 2) the nature of the migration process which is viewed as an outcome of these background factors and as the link between the rural and urban dimensions; and 3) the character and social composition of the regional and local associations themselves. The second part is also made up of three aspects: in the first, I identify the urban and regional forces which influence the formation and the development of associations; in the second I discuss the structuring of social relations by these social forces as they affect both the work and non-work contexts, although I give more emphasis to the latter; and finally, I consider three interdependent dimensions concerning the organisational capability, regionalism and political involvement of

DIAGRAM I
PART I

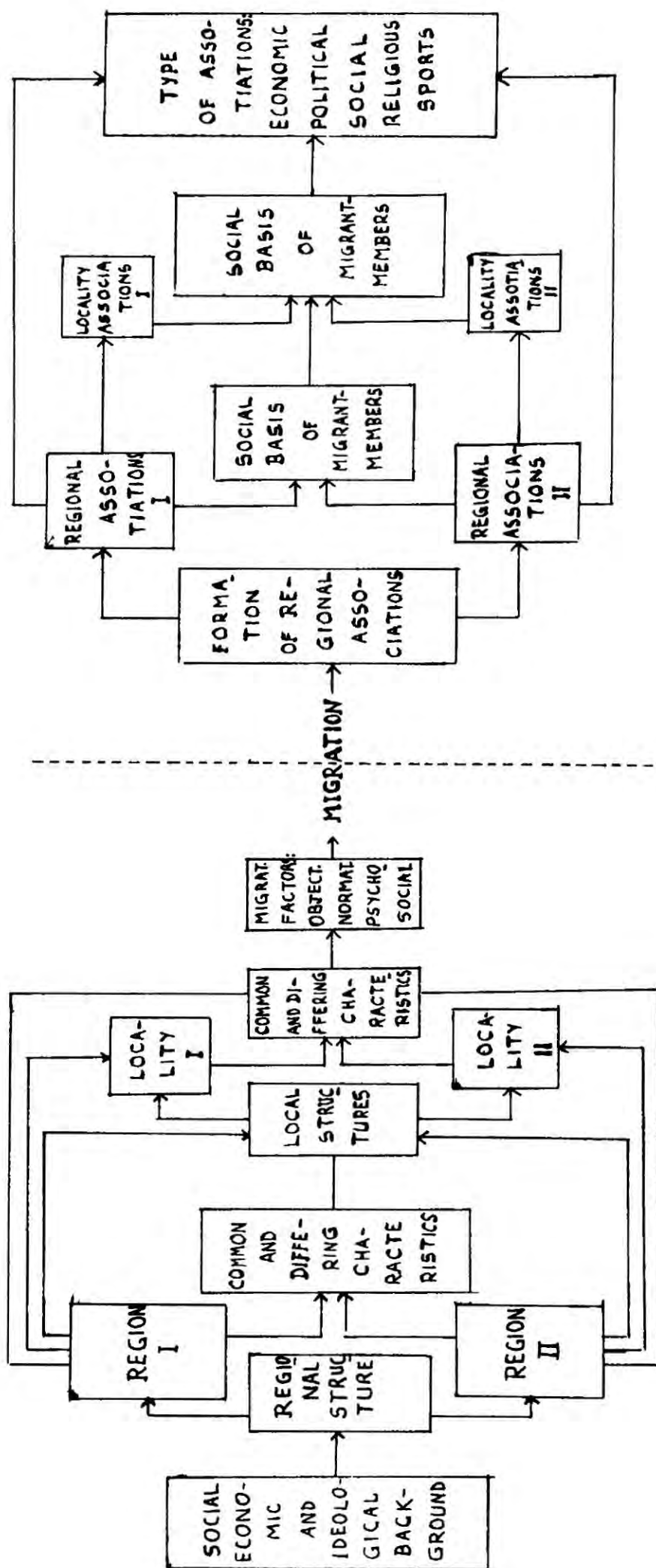
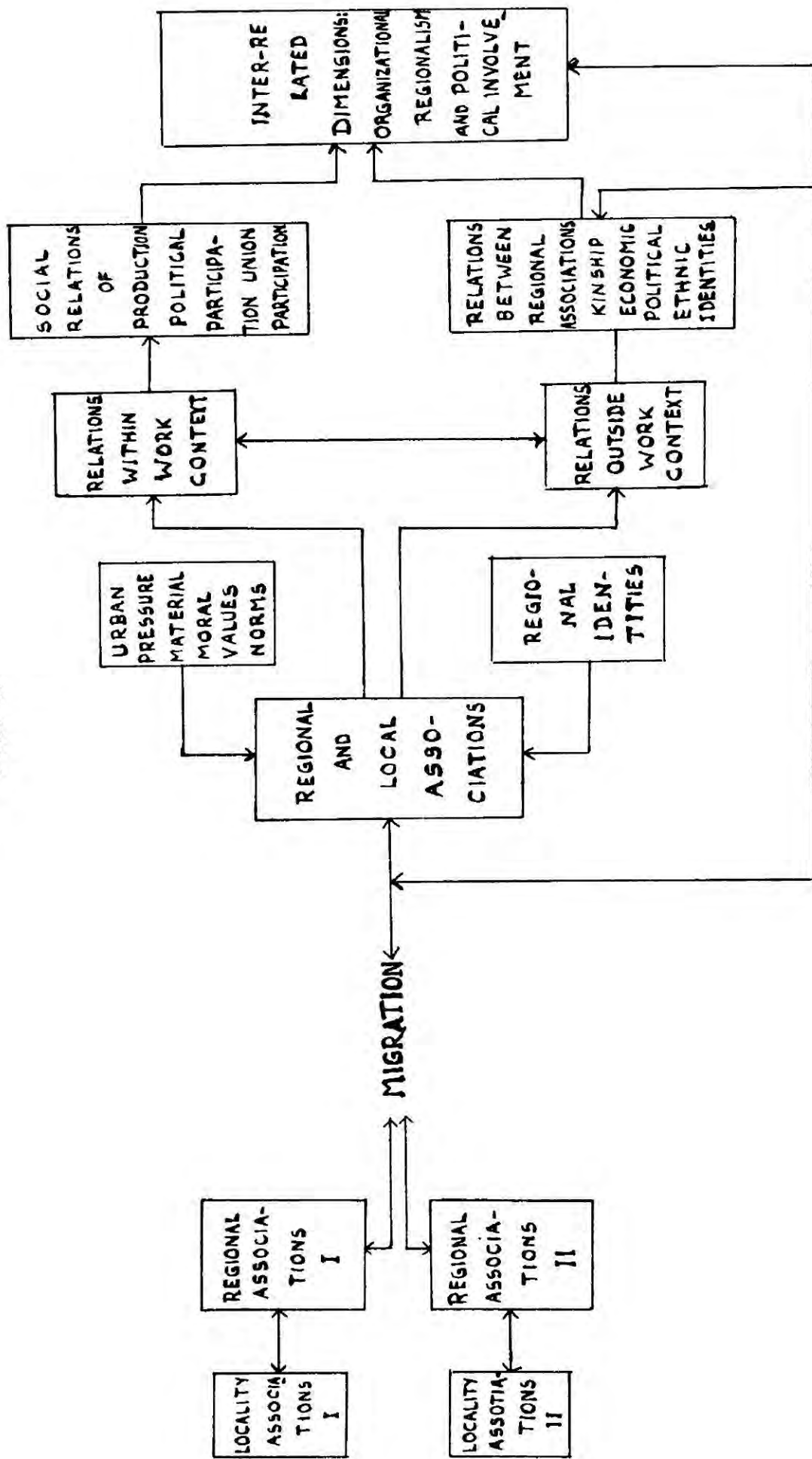


DIAGRAM II
PART II



migrants. These two parts of the analysis are illustrated schematically in Diagrams I and II .

Part I of the Analysis

From the scheme presented for Part I we can make the following observations:

The understanding of social change requires that we adopt an historical perspective. This will enable us to comprehend the degree of development, dependence and independence of a given region or locality. Regions and localities, however, have no truly independent process of development since they depend upon relations with other regions and with urban hegemonic centres as well as upon their own intra-regional processes. Hence the historical background of regions aims to bring out the similarity and differences in these factors.

Regional structures are made up of a broad geographical, social and economic environment, which is often responsible for impeding, modifying, or promoting the development of local structures. Although some local elements have an independent historical continuity (e.g. 'native' ideology), many local patterns are determined by wider regional processes; and this means that neither theoretically nor methodologically is it possible to isolate the locality from the development of the region as a whole. Nevertheless, regional structures cannot determine all the particularities, continuities and specificities of their localities; and, because of this, local-level research is necessary so as to understand the internal dynamics of change and persistence.

The migration process is conditioned by urban and

regional pressures through objective, normative and psycho-sociological factors.

a) Objective factors:

Under this heading I include, on the one hand, economic and social push-and-pull forces and, on the other, the mass media and transportation systems that affect the accessibility of places of origin in relation to the temporary or final destination of migrants. All these factors depend in one way or another on general economic conditions relating to the distribution, deterioration or improvement of scarce or crucial resources; to the system of production and employment opportunities; and to the degree of concentration of property ownership and control over land, technology, capital and labour. It is also important to consider demographic aspects such as the growth and distribution of population, and the level of amenities (e.g. schools, sanitation and recreational facilities offered in both town and country.)

b) Normative factors:

These are expressed in terms of socially-accepted values and institutionalized roles that affect the ways in which different social sectors and individuals evaluate the possibilities of migration. The normative framework therefore is based on societal norms, beliefs and conceptions as to the immediate, medium term, or long range benefits or disadvantages of migrating.

c) Psycho-social factors:

This set of factors concerns the individual and his attitudes and expectations, which arise from the organization

and availability of the other factors mentioned above. An individual's internalized attitudes and expectations are not autonomous expressions, they are strongly conditioned by the social and economic situation. However one should not anticipate a perfect or quasi-perfect correspondence between these three factors (objective, normative, and psycho-social). Such parallels would be extremely difficult to find; and it should be remembered that a certain degree of deviance is normal for all societies.

Finally, we must remember that the several elements so far indicated are mutually inter-dependent, constituting specific empirical configurations rather than mere collections of isolated traits.

Part II of the Analysis

Until now, I have discussed the mutual correspondence between the historical, regional and local aspects which take place in both rural and urban contexts. Now, in the second part of the analysis, the variables must be considered as a total field of relationship and in relation to the migratory process. The formation of regional associations does not take place in a vacuum; on the contrary, the process is strongly influenced by the regions from which migrant-members originate. They develop primarily as the result of the need for identification with the way of life and prevailing values practised in the regions; and this means that associations will differ from each other, even considering the existence of common reasons for their formation. It is highly probable, for example, that associations which belong to regions that are poorly articulated with urban centres will develop organizational and leadership

patterns and methods of action that are distinctly different from those which exhibit the opposite characteristic. This emphasises the importance of understanding associations in relation to their regions of origin. We should also look closely at how associations from a common regional background interact in the urban context and compare this with how they relate to associations of contrasting backgrounds.

Clearly, regional associations are complex and variable in nature. Because of this, it is essential to choose one's cases from detailed study carefully. The present study selected associations linked to the two localities and regions for which we already had information. The localities chosen could be comunidades, districts, sub-districts (anexos) or perhaps provincial capitals. Within each locality it is necessary to obtain data on existing associations and to see how membership of these reflects the prevailing patterns of social and economic differentiation. Migrant-members who come from local elite groups are likely to participate in associations separate from those formed by peasant migrants. Frequently these two groupings maintain competing or conflicting relations, especially if they have a rural background of struggles over land and other resources.

Regional associations are, therefore, best interpreted in terms of the main interests and objectives they pursue, which necessarily link them to their regions and localities of origin⁽¹³⁾, and in terms of their members' specific social

(13) In the initial stages of an association, regional identity will probably contribute considerably to its organization; then, as time passes and with the need to readjust constantly to the urban environment, the association will tend to define its commitment more explicitly in terms of common economic and political goals, although of course migrants never completely lose their regional interest and focus. It is rare to find associations that are single-interest orientated (e.g. with a purely economic or sports interest). They are almost always multi-functional.

origins seen in relation to patterns of social and economic differentiation. Where social differentiation in the home locality or region is high, then associations tend to function as the means by which their social group is mobilised politically vis-à-vis other opposing interest groups.

However, as I have already emphasised, regional associations do not emerge automatically from the migration process. It depends on whether there exist viable local and regional identities before migration which can be revitalised or reshaped in the urban setting emphasising, for example, common language or dialect, regional customs, and common social and political experiences. On the other hand, one must consider the pressures that derive from the urban environment itself, which generate uncertainties with regard to employment and housing etc., (i.e. urban 'peasant' migrants are, in certain ways, 'marginalised' in the city). This leads to attempts to create protective mechanisms in order to deal with the competitiveness and uncertainties of the urban economy: in the absence of effective political parties or developed class consciousness, the outcome is frequently in the form of regional associations which provide some support and identification for migrants.

While in town, migrants must constantly face the challenge of their urban existence: they must find work and, if lucky, they may become involved on a regular basis in urban forms of production. This enables them to evolve new relationships with both owners or managers of these types of urban enterprise and also with their fellow workers. In this way, they accumulate experiences and relationships that may be

important in the future for the development of new forms of solidarity and loyalty expressed perhaps by membership of a political party or trade union. However, evidence suggests that these types of solidarity and consciousness tend to be slow to evolve among a labour force which is of relatively recent rural origin and which depends on regional and village relationships and ideologies for the solution of many of its basic livelihood or survival problems.

Non-work relationships among Lima migrants are obviously affected by their involvement in the urban economy and by the types of work situation they find themselves in. However, one of the most salient features of their life in town appears to be the extent to which they interact with fellow villagers and participate in activities that orient them towards their places of origin. This pattern is reinforced by the flow of personnel back and forth between village and city and is institutionalised through membership of regional associations. It is for these reasons that the second part of my analysis concentrates on examining how the formation, organization and objectives of associations, and their patterns of recruitment and leadership are influenced by the network of rural-urban relationships and by the characteristics of the regions from which they derive. A central methodological issue in undertaking such an analysis is how to document the degree of commitment and contact which migrant-members show towards their regions and localities.

The chapters that follow are an attempt to operationalise the broad analytical scheme presented above. We start with an analysis of the history and development of the two regions and localities, describing the beginnings and

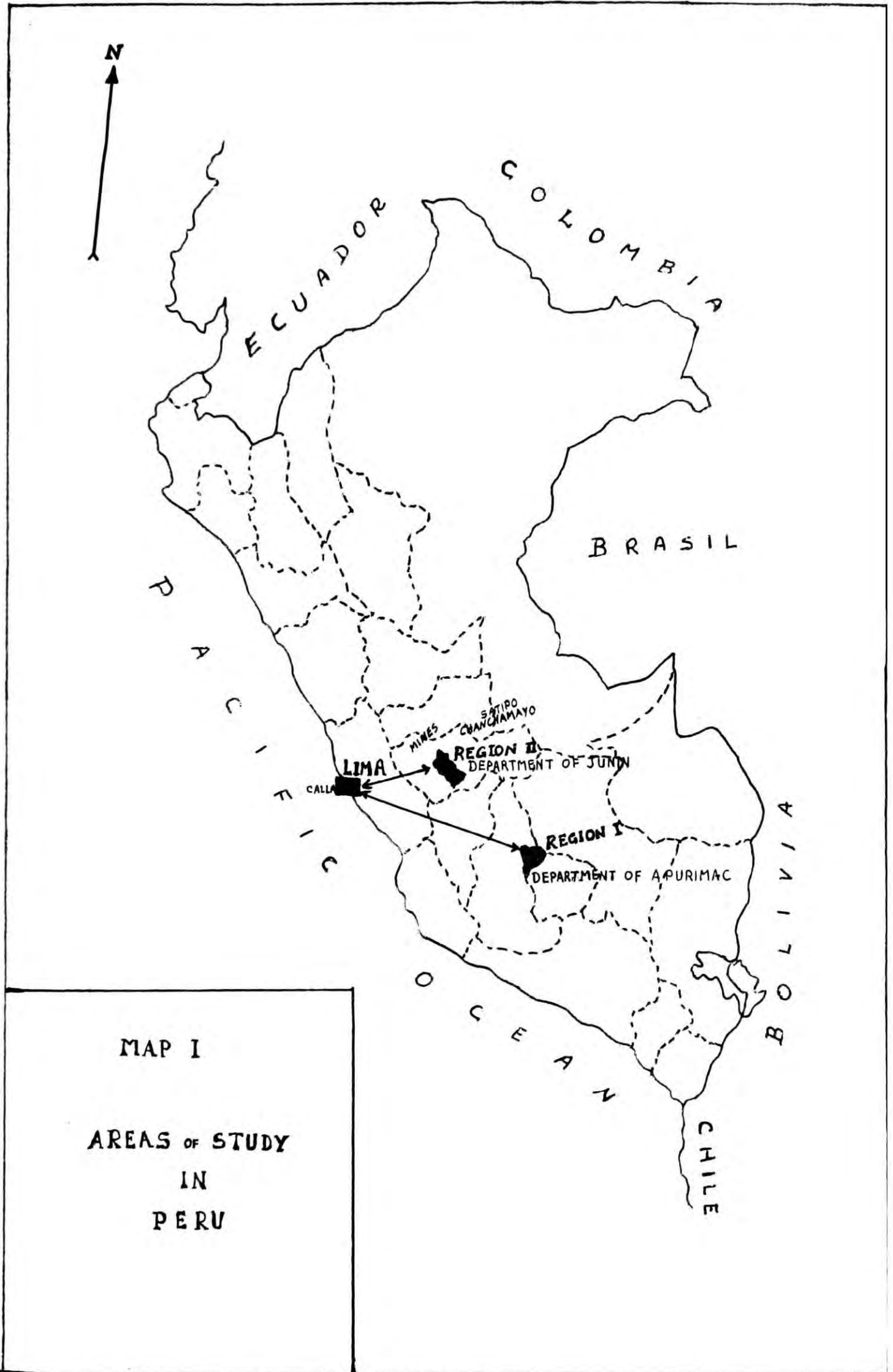
subsequent development of out-migration to Lima. We then look more closely at the formation and evolution of regional and local-level associations in Lima itself, firstly from a general regional perspective, documenting the number, types and inter-relations of associations from the two areas, and secondly, in the final part of the thesis, offering a detailed comparative analysis of two particular associations from these contrasting regions. Proceeding in this way enables us to take fuller account of the regional, urban and historical contexts of regional associations than has been provided by existing studies.

Chapter II

The Regions, The Localities and Migration

Although regional structures within dependent and developing countries such as Peru show common characteristics, they also display differing features. My study being a comparative one, I draw attention to those characteristics which make the first region (the Pampas Valley) relatively different from the second region (the Mantaro Valley). These two regions are highly representative of other southern Peruvian Highland regions. The first (the Pampas Valley) is representative of those regions which are fairly isolated and therefore less integrated into the dominant system. The second (the Mantaro Valley) is representative of those regions which exhibit the opposite features. A common feature of both regions, however, is the urban context of Lima, which constitutes the common destination of migrants from the two regions, as well as the place where regional associations are formed. Why, in a single urban context, such associations have distinct forms of articulation, organization, objectives and meanings, and perform different functions with respect to their home regions, is the central question for analysis. But first, it is necessary to describe the major internal and external forces which have made these two regions different.

We shall adopt a regional framework so as to provide a broader context within which to study the relations between the local and urban system. I anticipate that to the extent that each area has a different historical background, its migration patterns and the formation of regional associations, along with its types of political,



social and economic commitment to the home area, will differ.

I introduce the regional dimension before the local one in view of the methodological and theoretical advantages it presents. It is necessary to consider the locality as part of a given region, the structure of which will directly affect internal local structures. In order to discuss the major historical features of both regions I will summarize the most important events over the past thirty years, giving special attention to demographic and migrational change.

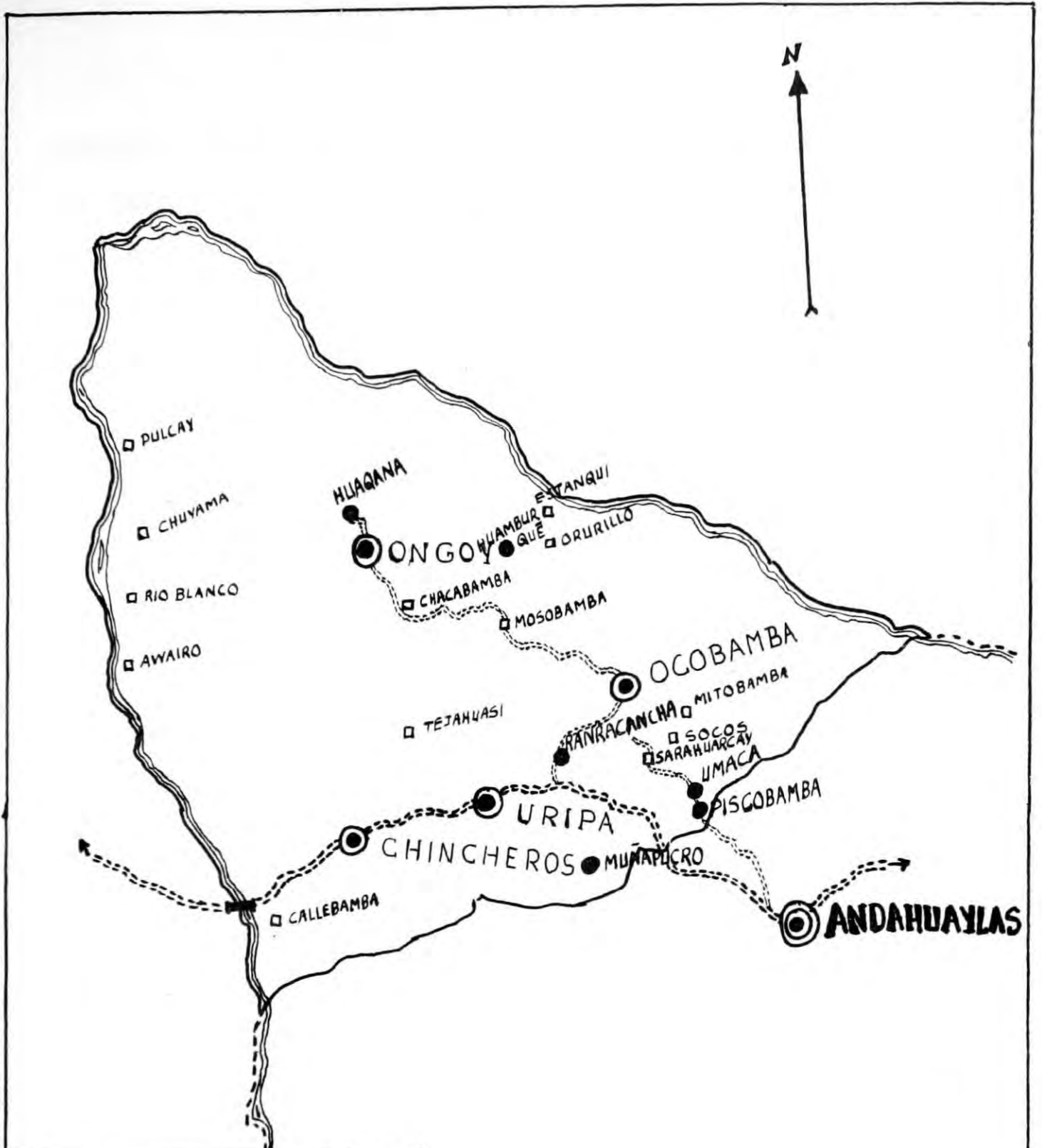
1. The Regional Structure: The Pampas Valley

1.1. The Historical Context of Migration.

The Pampas Valley is located in the southern Peruvian Highlands in the northern part of the Departamento⁽¹⁴⁾ of Apurimac (see map I), 1,050 Km from Lima or approximately 21 hours by car. The altitude of the region varies from 5,000 to 12,000 feet; the main Valley (Pampas) is located at about 9,000 feet and extends over approximately 2,000 Km. The population (about 34,423 inhabitants according to the 1961 census) is predominantly rural and dispersed. According to the last census (1972), the population is presently distributed as follows: a rural population consisting of 32,438 inhabitants, representing 93% of the total population; and an urban population of 1968, some 7% only⁽¹⁵⁾. The area

(14) The highest political-administrative unit. In Peru there are 23 Departamentos.

(15) According to the 1972 census, the terms 'rural' and 'urban' are defined on the basis of geographical concentration. For example, settlements are nucleated where the local authorities live and commonly described as 'urban centres', whereas the peasant population lives in scattered homesteads in the surrounding zone which is considered 'rural'.



LEGEND

- ◎ CAPITAL OF PROVINCE
- ⊙ CAPITAL OF DISTRICT
- ANNEX
- EX-HACIENDA
- UNPAVED ROAD
- - - DRY SEASON ROAD
- ~ RIVER
- ∨ AREA STUDIED

MAP II
REGION I AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

exhibits three major patterns of human settlement:

a) Pueblos or small towns⁽¹⁶⁾ of which there are about six in the area; b) Comunidades or villages⁽¹⁷⁾ and c) Haciendas⁽¹⁸⁾ (In 1975, the land reform of 1971 expropriated hacienda land on behalf of peasants). The most important urban centre in the area is Andahuaylas, the provincial capital. The Province of Andahuaylas occupies 40% of the total area of the Departamento and has 138,686 inhabitants which make up about 50% of the departmental population.

The main internal and external forces which have contributed to the formation of this region over the past thirty years may be summarized in terms of the following historical events. In 1942, the construction of the unpaved road to Andahuaylas was completed. Subsequently it was extended to two districts (Uripa and Chincheros) and during the sixties to the Ocobamba and Ongoy Districts. In contrast

(16) These are small urban centres where land owners, mestizos and the local power group live.

(17) Comunidades Campesinas (originally named Comunidades Indigenas) of which there are approximately 20. They are legally recognized by the central government and organized internally to protect communal property, particularly land. As well as communal property, comunidades campesinas allow the ownership of private plots of not more than two hectares per household.

(18) In contrast to the Mantaro Valley highlands, the haciendas of the Pampas Valley were never connected to international and national markets, but to the regional one alone. This situation was due to a lack of communications, the use of traditional technology, scarce capital investment and the absence of skilled labour. The hacienda is another form of land tenancy composed of one or more extensions of land used for agricultural purposes. The minimum extension was 1,000 hectares and the regional average about 5,000 hectares. These estates were worked by colonos under the supervision of the hacendados.

to similar development in the Mantaro Valley, the building of the road did not encourage significant changes in either the demographic or economic structure of the Pampas Valley. Until 1950 the whole area was characterized by a hierarchical⁽¹⁹⁾ social and economic structure: the hacienda system had, since its inception in 1721, expanded its geographical, social and economic dominance over the villages.

This concentration of land in the hands of a few caused the population to tax heavily the meagre land resources. Historical documents show that throughout the nineteenth century and reaching a climax in the late 1950's and early 1960's of this century, the haciendas absorbed more and more land which they usurped from villages. By 1964, two-thirds of the Provincial Valley land was in the hands of the hacendados. This expansion absorbed not only land but also the peasant population, who gradually become colonos⁽²⁰⁾.

(19) By 'hierarchical structure' I mean the economic and social dominance of the hacendado over the peasants and colonos. A schematic framework assessing such dominance is discussed by Cotler (1968).

(20) In return for the use of hacienda land for subsistence production, colonos were expected to work on hacienda lands (faenas or communal work); to work as servants for a full week in the main house of the hacienda (semanerazgo); and to serve a month in the landowner's urban residence (pongaje). The women, particularly the unmarried ones, had also to work as servants for a month in the hacienda main house (mitani). The evidence shows that about one-third of a colono's available time was dedicated to the hacienda.

In the early fifties, land tenure at the provincial level had the following features: the Province of Andahuaylas had 59 haciendas and 85 fundos⁽²¹⁾, all of which were private property. The church also owned 13 fundos that were administered by agriculturalists or rented out to farmers; and the Beneficiencia Publica del Cusco also had one hacienda. The total area covered by these estates was 160,031 hectares, i.e. 35 per cent of the total of 553,775 hectares for the Province. There were 3,672 colonos living on hacienda lands in the Province (see Altamirano 1971: 12).

In 1963 the Pampas Valley comprised a total land extension of haciendas and fundos of 47,303 hectares, representing 41.8% of the total area of hacienda land in the Province. The region also had about 20 comunidades campesinas (peasant communities) officially recognized by the central government. The high concentration of land in a few hands was one of the most striking features of the area: 90.7% of hacienda land (42,926 hectares) belonged to only nine families, most of whom were related through kinship ties (see, Altamirano 1971: 12). There was also a direct correlation between the size of the estate and the number of colonos living on it. A total of 1,019 colonos lived in the Valley. The rest of the population (approximately 44,000) was distributed in the comunidades and small towns. This imbalance between the number of peasants and the amount of land available in the comunidades grew worse with demographic

(21) A fundo is a type of agricultural property which comprises an extension of land with an average of about 500 hectares but less than a 1,000 hectares for agricultural purposes, usually without colonos. Hired labour is drawn from surrounding villages. Production is mainly for subsistence consumption and a small part of it is destined for regional markets.

increase and the relative absence of out-migration. The continuous reluctance of landowners to return communal lands to the community⁽²²⁾ and their exploitation of peasant labour led over time to increased peasant discontent.

These processes produced a series of internally and externally organized social responses among the peasant population. The first response was out-migration to Lima and later to other places like the centres of colonization in the eastern tropical lowlands, and to highland cities such as Huancayo. The second was the legal recognition of peasant settlements as comunidades by central government who received application for official status by peasants and migrant residents in Lima who lobbied government through their regional associations (see, Altamirano 1971). The third response was the political organization of comunidades on the basis of community organization in an attempt to reclaim communal lands usurped by colonos for hacendados. These actions resulted in direct government action aimed at providing regional and local development programmes so as to prevent the upsurge of peasant unrest in the area, and later, in 1975, it led to the implementation of the Agrarian Reform. The presence of migrants in Lima from the Pampas Valley region was first manifested by the creation of a regional association in 1923, called Asociacion Cultural Hijos de Ongoy (Cultural Association of the Sons of Ongoy). It was the first association of its kind for the region (Altamirano 1971: 99). One of its


(22) For an account of land disputes between peasants of the comunidad and hacendados which arose from 1857 onwards, see Altamirano 1971: 34.

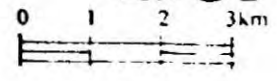
major concerns was the deteriorating land situation back at home. The members of the association were from peasant background and had experienced exploitation under the owners of the large Hacienda Chacabamba.

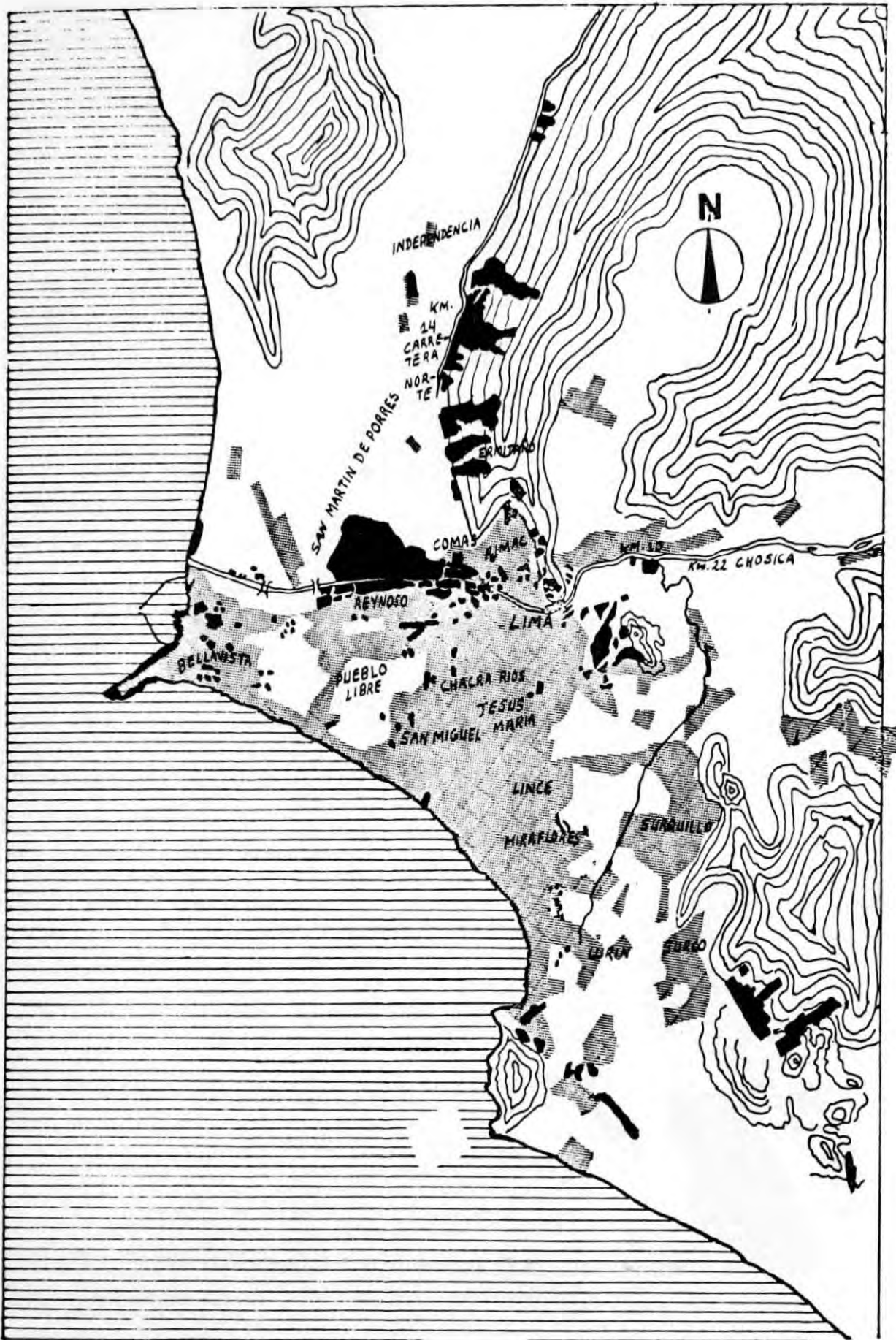
During the early 1940's, as the migration to Lima increased, other regional associations of the Pampas Valley were formed. Their central concerns were the same as those of the Ongoinos, and furthermore they quickly came to assume responsibilities for representing peasants' rights in Lima. One of their most important objectives was to obtain the official recognition of their villages as Comunidades Indígenas; and as a result of their activities most of the villages acquired this status and were thus able to protect more effectively their communal land against the threat of usurpation by hacienda expansion.

In 1956, the migrant population in Lima living in barriadas (shanty towns) represented some 9.9 per cent of Lima's total population; and almost all of the peasant migrants from the Pampas Valley came to the barriadas to live. During this time, out of 21,003 family units living in the barriadas, 12,404 inhabitants were members of a regional association (59 per cent) and 1,215 inhabitants gave Apurímac as the place of their birth (5.27 per cent). From 1954 to 1966 the population of the barriadas grew threefold, reaching 450,000 inhabitants (about 65,000 family units) and representing one-quarter of Lima's total population (for all of this information see Matos, Jose, 1968: 48-51; for information concerning the growth of barriadas over the 1957 to 1970 period, see Maps IV, V and VI, pp.67,68,69). Most of this population came from the Departments of Apurimac, Ayacucho,







 SHANTY TOWNS
 MAIN CITY AREA
 INHABITED HILL SIDES

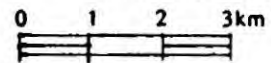
0 1 2 3km

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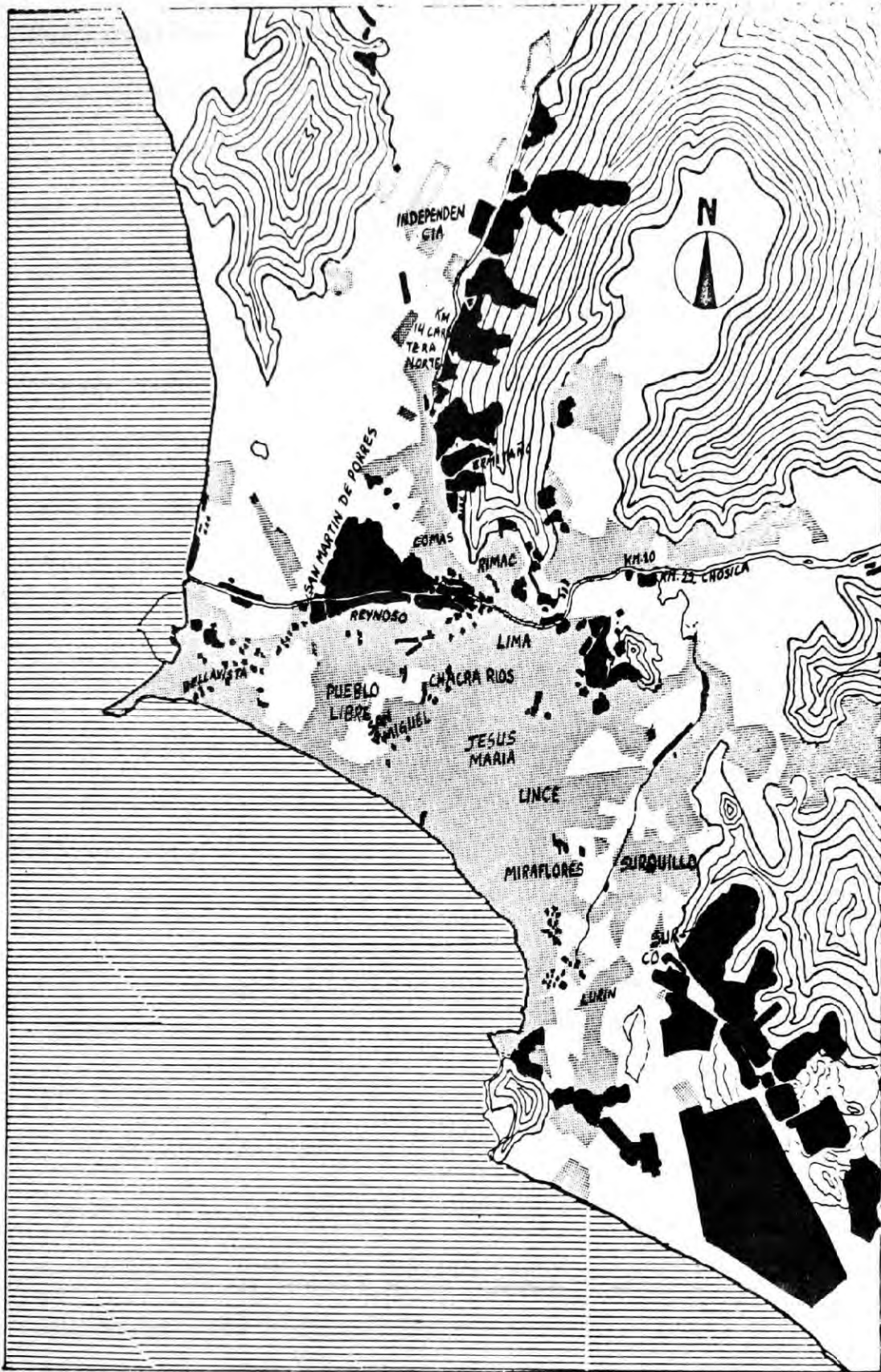
MAP IV DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH OF SHANTY TOWNS

1967



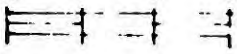

-  SHANTY TOWNS
-  MAIN CITY AREA
-  INHABITED HILL SIDES



sc.: 1/150,000



MAP V DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH OF SHANTY TOWNS 1977

	SHANTY TOWNS	0	1	2	3 km
	MAIN CITY AREA				
	INHABITED HILL SIDES	sc.: 1/150,000			

Huancavelica, Cusco, Puno and Ancash, considered to contain some of the most economically backward zones of Peru.

The increase in migration from the Pampas Valley, and particularly from Ongoy, is apparent in the creation of several new associations. During the fifties, two new associations of Ongoinos were formed in Lima, in the sixties three, and in the seventies a further five (see Table VII). The same growth was true for other comunidades: Ocobamba has at present 8; Chincheros 6; and Uripa 6. There were three interconnected reasons for the increase of migration to Lima from the forties onwards: a) the relative increase of the peasant population leading to growing land scarcity; b) the improvement of the communication system with the extension of roads into various villages during the late fifties and early sixties; c) the foundation of village schools in the fifties and sixties which encouraged new urban living standards and the acknowledgement of formal education as one of the most important means of social mobility.

During the fifties the region experienced no structurally significant internal socio-economic change, although the conflicts between the haciendas and comunidades continued, and more and more young peasants became educated. Eventually the economic power of the hacendados began to be affected by the reluctance of peasants, especially of those who had received education, to work on the haciendas. Some of the hacienda land was taken back by the comunidades through gradual occupation.

In the sixties, the valley experienced the most profound

changes in social, economic and political structure. Up to 1963, peasant uprisings spread throughout the central and southern Highlands (i.e. Cerro de Pasco, Junin, Cusco, and Apurimac regions). These movements were directed towards eliminating patterns of domination exercised by local hacendados. The most violent conflicts in the Pampas Valley between landowners and peasants occurred between 1963 and 1965. During 1963 the peasants of Ongoy, Chincheros and Ocobamba gradually encroached on hacienda lands taking over some poor-quality plots on the margins of the hacienda. Then, on October 4th of that same year, the peasants of Ongoy decided to use force to invade hacienda land. This action was immediately repulsed by the police and as a consequence 16 peasants died (Altamirano, 1971: 45). The invasion was not an isolated event but a co-ordinated peasant mobilization. The regional associations played a decisive role in encouraging the comuneros to take violent action against the hacendados; and they also served as channels for external information about other peasant mobilizations.

In an attempt to prevent further peasant uprisings over disputed lands, President Belaunde introduced an agrarian reform law which, however, did not substantially affect the hacienda system⁽²³⁾. Immediately after this, various regional and local development programmes were begun;

(23) Under Belaunde's Land Reform in 1963, only personal services to the hacendados by colonos and comuneros were abolished. The hacienda, as private property, remained unaffected under the ownership of hacendados.

for example, the Programa de Desarrollo de Integración de las Poblaciones Aborígenas was created to encourage peasant participation and modernisation in so-called Comunidades Tradicionales. The main aims of such a programme were to provide an efficient communication system by means of the construction of roads; to create village schools, and to promote agricultural production, thus providing new incentives for urban-style consumption. One of the most important objectives of such schemes was to stem migration to Lima and other cities, and thereby restrict the formation of barriadas (shanty towns) in Lima, which at the time were growing rapidly. But in spite of such aims out-migration continued to increase rapidly. The various development programmes, it seems, actually stimulated out-migration and, as a result the number of Ongoinos associations grew.

Out-migration to Lima continues to be dominant, although since the late sixties, more persons have migrated to the colonization centres of the Chanchamayo and Santipo areas of the eastern lowlands (see Map I). Within the Pampas Valley the new regional market of Uripa (see Map II) emerged in 1966; this was one of the economic consequences of the invasion of hacienda lands by communities, which enabled peasants to produce a small surplus destined for the market.

To summarise, we could state that the occupation of hacienda land by peasants caused them to become more involved in the market economy but this did not result in a direct economic improvement or restructuring of village life. Furthermore the developmentalist programmes of the government incorporated a substantial number of peasants into the

regional development; but at the same time it was not possible to dismantle the power structure or stem the flow of out-migration. Migration was, it appears, still the most preferred alternative open to the peasantry, notwithstanding over-population, unemployment, lack of government support for housing programmes, and other basic services, especially in the pueblos juvenes (young towns) in Lima where most of migrant population of the area settled.

1.2. Contemporary Regional Structure and Migration

Just after 1969 when the military government of General Velasco had applied the new Land Reform, the area began to change in its social and economic structure. Compared with Belaunde's attempt, the new reform was characterized by its radical measures, especially concerning land tenure. One of these measures was the elimination of the hacienda system based on the concentration of land in a few hands. After this last land reform we find in this area two major patterns of human settlement: a) small towns (pueblos) and b) Comunidades or villages. The population is very dispersed, about 45,500 people (24). There is also a major city, Andahuaylas, with a population of 4,957; this city is not included in the Pampas region but is the provincial administrative centre for the area. The four pueblos⁽²⁵⁾ within the area (Ongoy, Ocobamba, Uripa, Chincheros) have

(24) The Núcleos Escolares Comunes (Communal Schools) carried out a census in 1975 in all the areas in order to implement the new educational law given by the government.

(25) That is the nucleated settlements that make up urban sectors of particular Districts (census 1972) where the local church is situated and where the mestizo population resides.

an average of 4000 inhabitants each and there are several dispersed villages which have an average size of 1,000. The most highly populated Comunidad-distrito is Ongoy with about 9,174 people and some 12 villages. The principal economic activity is subsistence-based agriculture which provides a small surplus for regional and local markets. After agriculture, cattle raising and trade seem to be the most important activities.

Following the 1969 land reform, the haciendas became Agricultural Production Co-operatives, controlled by peasant farmers and ex-colonos. However, most of the fundos were not affected by this reform and are still operated by their original owners. The minifundia⁽²⁶⁾ and communal land make up the two other forms of land tenure in the area. There are two forms of collectively organised agricultural enterprise in the region: the Comunidad and the Cooperativa. Peasants from comunidades come under the first category and colonos under the second. Two of the four pueblos (Ongoy Huagana and Uripa) have Sunday ferias. The Uripa feria serves the region, whereas the first is of local importance only. A very small number of villages participate in both ferias. The overwhelming majority of villagers are smallholder peasants with an average holding of about two and a half hectares. The communal lands are still a very important economic source for the comunidades; each of them has a

(26) Small private plots of about two or three hectares owned predominantly by peasants and some mestizos.

certain amount of such land. Villages in the higher altitude zones have all or most of their communal land in pasture, on which sheep and cattle are raised. The communal work (faena comunal) forms a significant part of villagers' lives, both in the comunidades and the cooperativas. There is a strong sense of communal identity in some villages, though in others it is less so. This is attested by the fact that kinsmen help each other in agriculture, a practice called ayni. Ayni consists of a highly elaborate system of mutual aid in house construction, in working the land, in the construction of irrigation channels, and in the undertaking of local urban services. These transactions include a large section of the village population, particularly those who have in the past been involved in conflict with the haciendas. These activities are also often used to build up economic and social credit which a villager can call upon within the year.

Almost every village has a primary school, and some of the small towns possess a secondary school. Nevertheless, the level of illiteracy remains very high (about 60 per cent). The dominant language is quechua (the native language), but Spanish (the national language) is increasingly spoken especially by the young population.

The crucial features which must be taken into account in the analysis of migration are: the smallholder system of minifundia (a predominantly non-commercial unit of production), the rudimentary market system, and the well established patterns of mutual aid. The area has five added characteristics which distinguishes it from the Mantaro: a) loosely established inter-village economic and social relations;

b) geographical isolation from, and poor communications with, Lima; c) well-defined patterns of community solidarity, neighbourhood and ethnic identity, particularly among the peasant population; d) active membership of the village community and a pattern of land ownership which includes both private and communal forms; and e) a regional and local power structure which is hierarchically structured.

Regarding the migration patterns, it appears that the most important destination for migrants is Lima; and the tendency is towards temporary and seasonal, rather than permanent, migration, although the latter is becoming more prevalent among later migrants. A second important migration centre is the Chanchamayo Valley. Migrants to this area are overwhelmingly involved in seasonal migration.

Household members away in Lima and other places may have their land cultivated by kinsmen or fellow villagers for which they pay in goods, labour and personal services at a later date. Hence migrants may return to their villages at any time and have no difficulty in resuming their previous activities as peasant farmers. Throughout the area there has been a consistent increase of peasant out-migration, particularly among the younger population. According to some villagers, half of their village population is absent, the overwhelming majority of which is in Lima. Furthermore, almost every village of the area has a representative association in Lima.

Village economic life is based on smallholder agriculture and temporary work in urban or colonization areas. In addition, wage labour in nearby small towns appears to be one of the means of extending the economic activity of the

sufficient to explain the reasons of migration. Migration must be considered a result of a complex set of inter-related forces. Thus, in spite of the growing rate of out-migration, it seems that the Pampas Valley region, and particularly the village of Ongoy, continues to exercise a strong influence over migrant behaviour. Such influence is displayed in the strong attachment of the migrant population to their 'home land', to their family in the village and to their communal institutions. There is one further characteristic which reinforces the attachment of villagers to their community: the temporary or seasonal nature of the migration flow which encourages migrants to look on their village as a safe place to return to, especially when they lack employment or cannot easily adjust to city life. In order to explain how this attachment works out, I will later discuss the roles played by regional associations.

2. The Local Structure: The Ongoy Case

2.1. The Historical Context of Migration

This Comunidad-Distrito is located in the northern part of the Pampas Valley within the Provincia of Andahuaylas (see Map II) legally recognized as a Comunidad de Indígena ⁽²⁷⁾ in 1935. It became a Distrito (the administrative unit immediately beneath the Provincia) in 1857. The Distrito has 12 anexos (the lowest administrative unit) or barrios with a total population of 9,421 consisting of an urban

(27) This is an institution given official legal status on the basis of common land ownership and utilization by peasant groups in the Peruvian Highlands. For fuller account, see Winder, 1978.

population of 297 and a rural population of 9,124 according to the last census of 1975. This Distrito is the largest (about one-third of the whole area) extending over some 623 square kilometres. It is also the most populated locality in the area.

The salient historical features constituting the social, economic and demographic base of the Distrito can be summarized as follows:

Since the formation of the first hacienda in 1725, the Comunidad of Ongoy has experienced the gradual expansion of the hacienda system which controlled about two-thirds of the land in the locality until 1963:

Before 1963 the total area of haciendas was 36,430 hectares. This represented 23% of the total area of the Province. Awayro, the largest hacienda of Ongoy, had 22,000 hectares (this represented 13% of hacienda land in the Province). Some 35,673 hectares were owned by three related families, representing 97.8% of the total hacienda area. (Altamirano, 1971: 13).

The legal and economic relations between the hacienda system and the Comunidad were characterised by continuing conflict. Since the last century the Comunidad has claimed rights to hacienda lands, but these attempts were continuously resisted by hacendados who took advantage of their close relations with the local and regional authorities. Nevertheless, the Comunidad continued to struggle against the landowners with the support of the associations in Lima.

In the early 1920's a handful of Ongoinos migrated to Lima, some of them with the intention of finding a job, others to discuss the land problems on haciendas with the national authorities. Their failure to achieve positive

results encouraged the migrants to meet informally in Lima, and out of these meetings they formed an association to deal with the internal and external affairs of their Comunidad and also to give assistance to one another whilst in town. The association was an institution representing all migrants both those who were already in Lima, and those who were expected to come from the village. It was called Asociación Cultural Hijos de Ongoy (Cultural Association of the Sons of Ongoy) and was officially recognized by the Ministry of Labour in 1923. One of its first actions was to request that the indigenous population be legally recognized as a Comunidad de Indigena. Meanwhile the indigenous population was preparing its own internal organization within the Comunidad itself. In 1935 the village did, in fact, become a Comunidad de Indigena, which enabled it to protect its land, and to save the peasants from being incorporated into the hacienda system. During the 1940's, the conflict with the hacienda did not diminish substantially, but the associations in Lima became increasingly involved in the internal affairs of the Comunidad. As the population expanded and began to suffer from the insufficient supply of land, some villagers decided to leave in order to seek new occupational opportunities in Lima, where most of the migrants became members of the Ongoy association. During the 1950's, two more associations were formed. Their members were from two barrios which had also been in conflict with the haciendas over land. As in the case of the first association, the new ones also provided political support for their own barrios. During the late 1950's the hacienda system was

still very powerful and the land owners were able to maintain their control over Comunidad organization. In the early 1960's the associations encouraged the community to reclaim the usurped land on behalf of the community. During the same period, peasant movements in several other southern highland regions rose against the established power of local land owners. The leaders of the Comunidad and its associations in Lima sought to make contacts with left-wing political leaders, trade union officials, lawyers and university students in the town of Ayacucho. In 1963 a major confrontation took place between the peasants, particularly those from Callapayoq (one of the 12 barrios) and the landowners of the Hacienda of Chacabamba. There was a violent struggle in which many peasants died, and order was eventually restored by the police.

The 1961 census produced a Comunidad-Distrito population of 10,868 divided between a rural population of 10,390 (some 94%) and an urban population of 478 (only 6%). The 1972 census produced the following figures: a total resident population of 12,017 distributed between an urban population of 318 (3%) and a rural population of 11,699. This relatively low increase in the population (about 1% per annum compared with a national average of 3.9%) was largely caused by increased out-migration during the 1960's. This trend was reflected in the growing number of Ongoino associations in Lima (three of them were founded during this period).

Five major factors contributed to this increase in migration: a) the permanent conflict with the landowners until 1970, and the scarcity of land among peasant population,

in spite of some pastures being restored to the Comunidad through the non-violent seizure of pasture land; b) the improvement of the transport system to Lima; c) the relative increase of occupational opportunity in industry and tertiary sector in Lima; d) the persistent encouragement given by migrants in Lima to their families to leave the locality; e) the role of the village school, which increasingly encouraged villagers to look to Lima as the only place where they could fulfil the new expectations inculcated at school. In 1970 the number of people outside the Comunidad-Distrito was reported as being 40% of the Ongoy population. The overwhelming majority were located in Lima and the rest in Chanchamayo and the Satipo Valley; a few villagers were in the nearby Ayacucho jungle area and Huancayo city (see Map III).

The 1960's were characterised by the breakdown of hacienda domination and the strengthening of community organizations. This situation can be attributed to three factors; the relative success of the peasant mobilization, the abandonment of hacienda properties by hacendados, and the presence of government development programmes in the area. However, in spite of these favourable conditions for peasants in general, migration did not stop. Many villagers, even those who belonged to the hacienda (colonos), were gradually involved in migration, particularly to the coffee, tea and fruit estates in the Chanchamayo Valley, where they worked as seasonal labourers. Furthermore, during the later 1960's, a certain increase in agricultural production took place, but this reflected rising demand in the regional market rather than an increase in village consumption.

These factors combined to elevate the importance of the barrio system and thereby to reduce that of the Comunidad. In Lima, the associations began to help their own barrios as well as the Comunidad as a whole. Furthermore, three barrios became involved with external political organisations (e.g. La Confederación Campesina del Perú and Vanguardia Revolucionaria), while the rest remained uncommitted politically but gradually became more receptive to political ideas with the introduction of government development programmes.

2.2. Contemporary Local Structure and Migration

Four events have affected the social, political and economic life of the locality⁽²⁸⁾ of Ongoy during the past decade. In the first place, the implementation of the 1969 Land Reform ended the hacienda system and encouraged the establishment of Ligas Agrarias (Agrarian Leagues) and Cooperativas Agrarias (Agrarian Co-operatives). Secondly, there appears to have been an increase in the political consciousness of the peasant population, particularly within those barrios whose members had experienced long standing conflict with the hacienda. This continued in spite of land reform by the comuneros of Callapayoq barrio who collaborated directly with the barrio associations in Lima. Thirdly, the various government development programmes covering education, communications, agricultural credit and peasant participation had a number of effects on the reorganized Comunidad Campesina. Finally, the associations in Lima played increasingly important roles in local affairs through the economic, social and political relations which

(28) This is a category used to describe the Comunidad-Distrito, which is also the basic unit of analysis.

existed between migrant-members of associations and their home barrios. These four factors had direct and indirect effects on out-migration to Lima. The first and third factors ought to have combined to reduce migration and given peasants more confidence in their ability to solve their own local problems, but in fact the decade was characterised by an increase in out-migration and a decline in the local population. Thus, in 1972 the total population was 12,017; four years later, it had dropped to 9,421.

During this period five associations were formed in Lima, all of them on the basis of common barrio origin. One of the main differences between these new associations and the older ones is their sporting, social and economic interests, in contrast with the explicitly political nature of the latter. The restructuring of the agrarian system and the new development programmes have also contributed to an increase in the internal social and economic differentiation among peasants.

In 1972 the economically active population of the locality was divided as follows:

TABLE I

Occupational Distribution in Ongoy

Agriculturalists	1,507	75%	
Cattle farmers	100	5%	
Traders	100	5%	
Government employees	80	4%	
Craftsmen	<u>223</u>	<u>11%</u>	
Total	<u>2,010</u>	<u>100%</u>	(29)

(29) Diagnóstico Situacional, 1975: 10.

The census of 1961 showed a much smaller number of traders and government employees, two occupations which are relatively new to the locality. The agricultural population predominates, and an overwhelming majority is subsistence-oriented. In contrast cattle farmers are involved in the regional market, since Ongoy is one of the richest cattle raising localities in the zone; in 1975 the livestock population (cattle and sheep combined) was estimated as about 12,000. The average household landholding is about 3 hectares and ex-colonos from the haciendas participate in two new agricultural production co-operatives on the former hacienda lands called Nuestra Senora de Asunción and Senor de los Milagros.

An increased degree of political awareness has coincided with the closer articulation of the Comunidad and the Cooperativas with the outside world. This was also an important ingredient in the build up of pressure which led to the peasant land invasions of 1974, which were an explicit political response to the delays and inefficiencies in the implementation of the Land Reform in the Andahuaylas region as a whole. As in other parts of Peru which experienced similar delays (e.g. Cajamarca, Piura and the Chancay Valley), peasant invasions organized on a Comunidad basis took place, occupying as yet undistributed hacienda lands⁽³⁰⁾. These invasions were coordinated by Vanguardia Revolucionaria, a left-wing political party, and the Federación Provincial de Campesinos Andahuaylas (F.E.P.C.A.) and the national peasant organization Confederación Campesina del Peru (C.C.P.).

(30) For further details, see Sanchez, 1975 and 1977, Part III.

The main purpose of the peasant organizations was political independence from government control and also to protest against the way in which land reform was organized. Two of the Lima-based associations were closely involved with such organizations and also claimed to have taken the initiative for the invasions. These actions pushed the government to introduce land reform in the area more rapidly and to end the invasions.

In 1975 a road was built on the basis of a combination of community work parties (faenas comunales) and government economic assistance. One of the immediate consequences was the increase in the number of participants and products in the Sunday feria held in Huqana (the main urban centre. Each barrio wanted to be linked to the main road, and hence the barrio-based associations served as the main organisers of the faenas.

An immediate effect of the increase in the number of local schools (almost each barrio has its own primary school), is the decline in illiteracy and the increase of the bilingual population (i.e. more speaking both Spanish and Quechua).

Table II confirms this:

TABLE II

The Decline of Illiteracy in Ongoy

Population over five years of age

	1972 ⁽³¹⁾	%	1975 ⁽³²⁾	%
Illiterate	5,929	61	1,685	21
Literate	3,847	39	6,283	79
Total	9,776	100%	7,968	100%

(31) Source: 1972 national census. Literacy probably underestimated

(32) Source: Diagnóstico Situacional, 1975. Literacy probably overestimated.

The figures for the bilingual population are the same as the figures for the literate population, since literacy means bilingualism. As the data suggest, the level of the literate and bilingual population has ^{probably} increased significantly in only five years. The illiterate population, which was in the majority in 1972, numbering about 5,929, dropped to 1685 according to the Government figures.

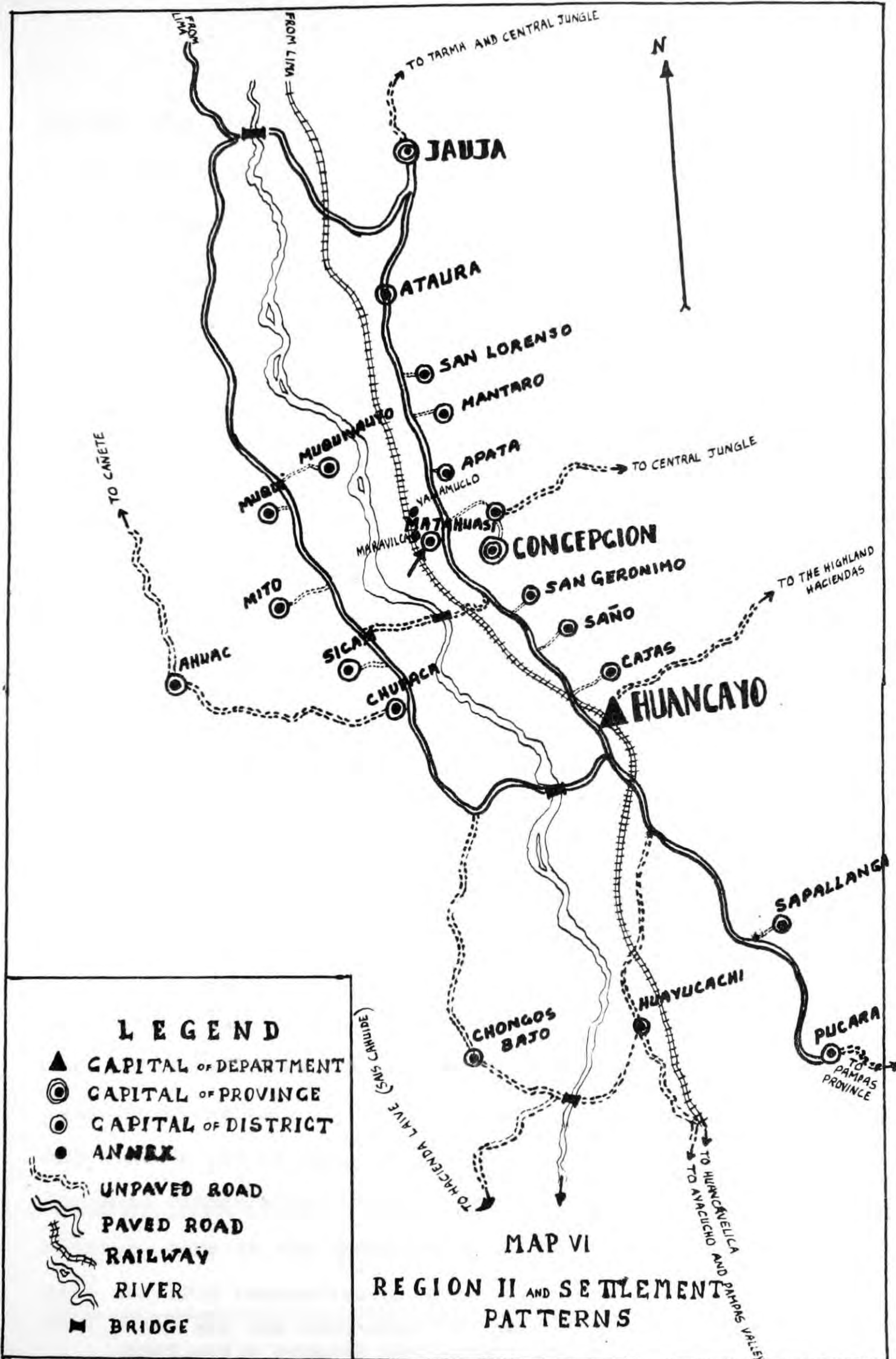
To the extent that scarcity of land is no longer a basic problem, I suggest that the formal education system, provided in the village schools and in the only secondary school in the locality, as well as the informal education occurring during the socialization process within the family unit, have been and still are the most influential motivating factors behind migration to Lima. The other forces will be listed later on in this chapter.

Let me now describe my second region (the Mantaro Valley), as it is now, against the background of the events of the past thirty years. A comparison with the first region will enable us to highlight the similarities and differences in regional configuration and in demographic, social and economic make-up, and also the differences in the pattern of migration. This will provide a background for the later analysis of the formation and development of regional associations in Lima.

3. The Regional Structure: The Mantaro Valley

3.1. The Historical Context of Migration

The Mantaro Valley region is situated in the Central Sierra, 300 km from Lima, approximately five hours



by car. The altitude of the region varies from 2,500 to 5,000 metres; the main valley (Mantaro) is at 3,700 metres and includes 120 km of the Mantaro river, and approximately 20 km of plain on either side of the river.

The population in the Valley is highly concentrated: 420,720 (about 1,000 inhabitants per km² - according to the 1972 census). There are three main types of settlement: three urban centres (Huancayo, Jauja and Concepción)⁽³³⁾; some 25 pueblos or small towns which are mostly capitals of districts, and villages (anexos) of which there are about 40, including both recognised barrios and dispersed hamlets. The pueblos and their anexos combine to form distritos.

Since 1900 and more particularly over the past thirty years, the Mantaro area as a whole has experienced vital changes in its demographic, social and economic composition. These changes have been substantially influenced by migration within and outside the Valley. One early factor acting as a stimulus to migration was the construction of a railway and an unpaved road in 1908. Later, during the 1920's and 1930's, the railway and the roads extended to the south (Ayacucho and the railway to Huancavelica), to the east (Chanchamayo valley and Satipo), to the south-west (the micro-region of Ahuac and the coastal region of Canete), and also to the two haciendas Sociedad Ganadera Junin and Sociedad Ganadera del Centro, both situated in the higher altitude zone of the Mantaro Valley, which were founded in 1906 and 1910 respectively. This improvement in the

(33) These are the capitals, the administrative units immediately beneath the Departamento.

communication system facilitated the flow of intra-regional and inter-regional migration, and as a result, the Mantaro Valley emerged as an important centre, concentrating economic and politico-administrative activities. The key position of the Valley was further reinforced by three other factors.

First, the Cerro de Pasco Mining Corporation had established its smelting plant at Oroya in the 1920's in order to increase its output (see Laite, 1978). This new situation strongly affected the demography and economy of the northern villages of the valley. Many villagers worked in the mines as labourers although they did not lose their attachment to their localities. Secondly, the feria system of rotating markets (see Arguedas, 1957b) in the towns and villages emerged as a main means of articulation for rural-urban economic relations and was conducive to the expansion of entrepreneurial activities within and outside the Valley. All this contributed to the growing political and economic importance of Huancayo city, which, until the late 1930's, occupied a similar rank to Jauja (see Alberti and Sanchez, 1974). The political and administrative role played by Huancayo as the capital of the Departamento of Junin enabled this city to become the most important administrative centre in the central Sierra (see Roberts, 1976).

These three factors reinforced the process of migration from the Valley villages to the nearby mining towns and coastal plantations and Lima, and later to new colonization zones in the Chanchamayo and Satipo regions. Over the years, Lima emerged as the most important destination. The 1940 census showed that 35,408 people born in the Departamento

of Junin reported that they lived in Lima and this constituted 11.7% of the total number of migrants to the city at that time. By 1961, the number of migrants from the same Departamento had risen to 62,594, making up some 8% of the migrants to the city at that date. Until the late 1940's, the migration to Lima was highly selective, because it was the privilege of the wealthier population of the villages and towns to move in search of normal education and commercial careers (see Alberti and Sanchez, 1974). From the 1950's onwards, the social and economic composition of migrants changed and became more heterogeneous. This new situation was partly due to the economic growth of Lima as an intensive industrial and capital-investment centre. An analysis of data on villagers' destinations in our sample of 1973, during the period before 1945 and after 1945, shows an increasing proportion of movement towards Lima and declining numbers of migrants to the mines and plantations; it seems that the same happened to the colonization centres in the eastern lowlands. On the coastal cotton plantations to the south of Lima there was need for a seasonal labour force, rather than for temporary migrants who stayed for a year or so. The hard working conditions of the mines, as well as the high altitude, did not encourage permanent migration or even a long working life. In both cases the families of migrants remained in the village engaging in agricultural activities. Part of the wages from the mines, from the plantations and from those migrants returning from Lima, found its way back to the villages to be invested in land, animals and trade (Laite 1977, Long 1973, Roberts 1974a). This process is illustrated by

the 22 Matahuasinos who bought church land in 1932 onwards; most of these people had worked in the mines, in Lima or the colonization centres in the jungle (for details, see pages 102,103).

Migration to Lima was initially temporary in nature and migrants returned regularly to participate in religious celebrations or family events. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, Lima expanded rapidly due to the influx of migrants from other regions, especially from the southern highlands⁽³⁴⁾. As the migrants were able to find regular jobs and settle in Lima - this was a period of urban-industrial development - the nature of migration became more permanent, although migrants did not completely forsake their relations with their localities. It is during this period that regional associations proliferated not only in Lima but also in Huancayo and the mines. Migrants from the same villages were likely to meet in the city and interact together on the basis of kinship and local identity. During the early 1940's, most of the districts of the Mantaro Valley already had associations (e.g. the first association of Matahuasi was Sociedad de Auxilios Mutuos Hijos de Matahuasi, founded in 1943). These associations played a significant role in negotiating with the Ministry of Labour and Community Affairs for formal recognition of their communities as Comunidades de Indigenas or as new administrative Distritos independent of other jurisdictions. The attachment of migrants to their regions was also expressed by exhorting fellow-members to

(34) 18% of Lima's population lived in barriadas, which had been formed by invading land on the outskirts of Lima; See Collier, 1976.

be conscious of their "homeland" (terrano). A strong sense of solidarity quickly developed among associations whose members came from villages of the Valley where there were internal conflicts between the peasant population and local mestizos.

Migration from the Mantaro Valley has always been an organized process rather than simply a movement of individuals responding to economic opportunities provided by Lima, the plantations and the mines. As time passed, the village remained a focus for the migrants insofar as the latter maintained their rights to the Comunidad de Indigenas and also to land and property. Also in seeking a job, a house, or some other form of assistance in the city, migrants were likely to make use of kinship or compadrazgo (co-parenthood) or paisano (fellow 'countryman') ties from the same village. Hence members of the family previously established in Lima were a central source of assistance to newcomers to the urban context and their main link with existing migrant associations. These associations responded to the various needs of their villages by raising funds for local projects such as the building of local schools, roads and casas comunales (i.e. meeting places for comunidades). Their links with local institutions such as the Consejo Distrito (District Council), the Comunidad Campesina, schools and church organizations were regularly kept up through the movement of individuals from the villages to work centres and by returning migrants. Lamond Tullis has commented that,

Most communities have their social colonies in various towns outside the valley and some have branches in the nearby administrative and commercial town of Huancayo ... According to a recent survey of the western side of the valley, something like 82% of all villages have formally instituted clubs in Lima and the mine towns.

(Lamond Tullis, 1970:197,
quoted in Long, 1973)

One important demographic effect of out-migration from the Mantaro is shown by the fact that, although the national rate of population growth was about 3.5 per cent per annum during the period 1940 to 1972, the Mantaro Valley showed only a 2 per cent growth. On the other hand, however, Huancayo itself experienced major expansion: between 1961 and 1972 it averaged a 7 per cent growth rate which equalled that of Lima, the capital city. Moreover, in 1972, some thirty per cent of the adult males living in Huancayo (excluding those born in Lima) had spent one or more years in Lima. Many of these were born in villages of the Valley. The same pattern applies to Jauja, the second largest urban centre of the valley: some fifteen per cent had been born in the districts and villages close to Jauja and had lived in Lima and other work centres (see Long and Roberts, 1978; and Alberti, 1974). In both cases, migrants preferred to return to one of the cities rather than to one of the villages of the area. Moreover, many of them have established themselves as traders, merchants and small-scale entrepreneurs. In addition, the population of Huancayo has been boosted by an influx from the southern highland departments of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica. Migration from the

northern part of the Mantaro Valley seems to have been oriented mostly towards Lima and the mines and a smaller proportion travelling to the coastal plantations and eastern lowlands (Altamirano, 1976).

3.2. The Contemporary Regional Structure and Migration

This area includes some of the major Peruvian Highland state-owned mining enterprises and large, commercially-organized cattle ex-haciendas (now grouped together to form Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (Agricultural Societies of Social Interest)). Both these types of enterprise are situated on the higher altitude zone above the Mantaro Valley. The valley has a population, in 1972, of about 500,000 persons. This includes one major city, Huancayo, with a population of some 120,000, and two other important towns, Jauja with 14,000 inhabitants and Concepción with a population of 8,600. The villages, numbering about fifty, are closely concentrated and have an average size of 3,000 inhabitants. The most predominant form of land tenure is smallholdings of an average size of two to three hectares. Land is also held communally, but it represents a small part of the arable land. Villages in the higher land above the valley have all or most of their land in pasture and raise sheep, llamas and alpacas.

It is not very useful to apply an urban-rural dichotomy or a central place hierarchy to analyse the region, since these models tend to stress the dominant role played by urban centres and their elites who control the market and economic system and political and administrative spheres. In contrast to this view, the Mantaro Valley is characterised

by a village population which is highly urbanised with direct connections with mining centres and with Lima itself. It is not controlled by a politico-economic elite living in Hauncayo or in any of the other regional towns.

Every village is connected to every town by good roads. Every village has a local primary school, and some of them have secondary schools. Illiteracy is very low. The dominant language is Spanish, there there are a few comunidades where people still speak the native language (Quechua, Huanca dialect). Most of the villagers have had migrational experiences within and outside of the valley. Certain interesting features should be considered before analysing the migration patterns, the most crucial of which are: the system of land tenure characterised by individually owned minifundia, and extensive commercial activity inside and outside the region, and an extensive market system. These activities shape the economic life of almost all the peasants. The area has two added advantages; the first being proximity to the mines of Cerro de Pasco which still represents a source of employment, particularly for villagers from the northern part of the valley, and the second being the close proximity to and good road and rail connections with Lima. The most predominant activity is the small-scale farming for household consumption with the surplus being mostly destined for local and regional markets. The mining activities are another important occupational source which attract many villagers. Permanent migration to ^{the} mines is still almost unknown. The economic importance of the eastern area of Chanchamayo and Satipo valleys goes back to the

1930's and is still important economically to the valley. Almost all of the fruit supply for the regional and local ferias comes from these valleys. These valleys are also a source of temporary and seasonal peasant migration and have attracted many transportistas (transporters). Many people of the valley are involved in activities supplying the mines with timber. The population of the highland area around the valley (puna) is predominantly composed of livestock producers under the co-operatives and the Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social.

The city of Huancayo is regarded as the most influential and the most commercially oriented centre of the Valley⁽³⁵⁾. It also has the largest feria. Jauja and Concepción are the two other important commercial towns, especially for the northern part of the Valley, and in the southern area Chupaca is an important feria centre. These towns have two ferias a week which are conducted by peasants and traders from the surrounding villages. Almost every village has its own small feria on a set day of the week. As I have stated before, the peasant traders and entrepreneurs have actively participated in many of the markets of the Valley and outside, and consequently the intra and inter-regional movement is very fluid.

Within village life, beyond the commercial activities of peasants in the ferias, temporary work in the mines and in livestock production and some patterns of mutual aid,

(35) For further information on the administrative and economic importance of this city, see Roberts, 1977.

appear to have been important means of extending the economic activity of the household. Income from these activities enables the villagers to co-operate in improving local services, and to work on the remaining communal land which is actually based on the communal co-operative system. Household members in the mines, Lima and other places, who are engaged in labour migration, have their land cultivated for them, even though the migrant is not likely to return for long periods or even for the rest of his life.

These different economic transactions in which the villagers engage form a well-established pattern of reciprocal obligations within and outside of the village. Thus, villagers tend to have one principal occupation and one or two complementary activities in trade, transport or wage labour. This occupational diversification, in contrast to other regions, is one of the most distinguishing factors. This situation is due perhaps to land scarcity. It seems that the income from the land is becoming increasingly insufficient to keep the villager in his own locality, so villagers with an average amount of land (two or three hectares), have to look around for other sources of income. This situation is made more crucial for the small group of landless villagers who must seek wage labour within the village, in the area, or outside it. The landless Comunidades or those with a shortage of water for land cultivation are likely to solve their economic problems by doing craft work⁽³⁶⁾

(36) This is the case of Hualhuas, Cochabamba, San Jerónimo where there is not enough either arable land or water.

for regional, national and even international consumption.

As I have said, in terms of its major economic and social features, the Mantaro Valley can be regarded as a dynamic, well-defined, and economically prosperous area in comparison to the Pampas region. Such differences should be considered when describing and analysing out-migration to what was historically the most important destination centre, Lima. Taking a regional approach enables us to highlight the nature of migration in terms of its periodicity, volume and type, and to link these with the objective conditions of the region of origin. Nevertheless, as I will describe later, the particular village also exercises a strong influence over their migrants. Such an influence can be manifested in the degree of attachment to the village through the regional associations in Lima.

4. The Local Structure: The Matahuasi Case

4.1. The Historical Context of Migration

This locality is situated in the north-central part of the Mantaro Valley within the Province of Concepción. It was legally recognized as a Comunidad de Indígena in 1941. Administratively it has been a Distrito since the 1890's, and now has two anexos (Maravilca and Yanamucllo). There is a population of 3,948 inhabitants in the district which, according to the 1972 census, is divided between a nucleated centre (the urban sector) with a population of 2,107 (representing 53% of the total) and a rural population of 1,841 (representing 47%). A total of 1,001 persons were classified as economically active. The locality has about the average size of population for valley Distritos and covers an area of about 12 square kilometres. It is one

of the most prosperous of ^{the} agricultural localities situated in the northern part of the valley (Long, 1973).

The history of Matahuasi has been marked by changes in landholding, but up until the 1930's both the church and the Comunidad (not yet formally registered as such) were the powerful landowning institutions. The lands of the church were worked by comuneros (community members) through a system of collective labour (ayuda mutua). The returns from production were divided between the comuneros and the church, and used to finance religious celebrations associated with different saints, particularly San Sebastian and the Virgen de la Asunción. However, during the late 1930's, the Bishop of Huanuco decided to auction these church lands and they were sold to 22 local buyers. The amount of land involved was about 384 hectares. Most of the buyers had had migrational experience in the mines, Lima or eastern lowlands, and had accumulated personal savings.

Following the sale, the Comunidad reacted strongly against the buyers and the Bishop because they were now denied access to land that had previously been worked communally. In 1943, one of the first actions of the newly-formed Matahuasino association in Lima, consisting mostly of peasants and a few middle class migrants, was to lobby the government and labour officials about this land problem in Matahuasi. But, since the Comunidad continually failed to provide adequate supporting documents concerning their land rights, the buyers were able to manipulate the situation to their own advantage using their political contacts through the A.P.R.A. political party at local, regional and national

level. This unsuccessful litigation has persisted until the present time⁽³⁷⁾.

During the early 1950's, out-migration to Lima, to the mines, and to the new colonisation areas of the eastern lowlands increased. Many of those villagers who migrated to Lima participated in the Matahuasino association. At this time many children of the buyers and of local elite families also went to Lima, mostly to seek higher education, but these migrants did not join the association. Instead they gave informal assistance to the buyers in their conflicts with the Comunidad. Since the late fifties, out-migration to Lima has been encouraged by a number of factors. First, the area had been incorporated relatively early into the market economy based in Lima and the mines, through the commercialization of agricultural produce. This was also facilitated by good road and rail communications within and outside the area. Furthermore, the Matahuasinos had a high level of formal education and spoke Spanish as their mother tongue. One consequence of this new situation was that two associations were founded in Lima (one in 1963 and the other in 1965), whose members came from one of the anexos (Yanamuclo) of Matahuasi.

In the late 1960's out-migration to Lima continued to increase in spite of the foundation of an Agricultural Secondary School in Matahuasi, in an attempt to stem out-migration. At this stage a significant number of the buyers and their children were living in Lima. The Comunidad again

(37) For further details, see Chapter V, pp. 219-220.



attempted to reclaim the land but did not succeed. One of the reasons for this was the intervention of Matahuasino professionals (mostly the children of the buyers) in the Ministry of Justice. The other reasons were the lack of political organization on the part of comuneros and the weak support of the associations, which gradually became divided because of the difficulties arising from lack of participation and the conflicting views on the land problems facing the Comunidad. Meanwhile, the buyers had already improved their economic situation by introducing new technology, capital investment and hiring labour, even from comuneros. Most of the buyers became members of the town council and thereby maintained their power over the Comunidad.

In 1968, when the military government of Velasco took power and announced a new land reform, the Comunidad became more confident and renewed their activities, particularly among members of the Matahuasino associations in Lima. The initial enthusiasm declined when internal problems arose, and the Comunidad found itself unable to take advantage of government support. In 1970 when the land reform was announced, the Comunidad again requested the Ministry of Agriculture to intervene over the disputed land. The problem was that almost all the Mantaro Valley was unaffected by land reform including Matahuasi. The Comunidad repeatedly tried to reclaim the land but two major difficulties did not permit them to do so. First, most of the local town council members supported the buyers, and then, in Lima a number of relatives of the buyers' group decided to join the S.A.M.H.M. in order to undermine its activities. This led to the

formation of a new association called the Centro Social Deportivo Matahuasino whose leadership came from the upper status group of migrants. Following this, the S.A.M.H.M. has gradually lost its membership as well as its original interest in restoring the Comunidad lands. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter V.

4.2. Contemporary Local Structure and Migration

The contemporary situation of Matahusai is best understood through an analysis of four major interrelated socio-economic processes. In the first place, we have the internal economic and social differentiation of the population based on unequal distribution of land, occupational diversity and varying levels of education. Secondly, conflicts arose over the disputed 'communal' lands between the new Comunidad Campesina and the buyers' families. Thirdly, the buyers and their supporters assumed a role of active participation in one of the associations in Lima. And finally, in 1972 the new Ley de Comunidades Campesinas was applied in the district under government supervision.

Taken together, these processes had a substantial impact on out-migration and on the relations of migrant groups with their locality through regional associations. The first of these processes seems to have been a major cause of the high rate of migration. Since it is particularly relevant to an understanding of the economic base of the locality, I will begin by tabulating the distribution of privately owned lands in Matahuasi⁽³⁸⁾.

(38) The source of data comes from the application of a sample of 20% to heads of households in Matahuasi undertaken in 1971.

TABLE III

Distribution Of Land By Household in Matahuasi

<u>Size of Landholdings</u> <u>In Hectares</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Landless	23	21.9
Less than 1 hectare	27	25.7
1 to less than 2 hectares	22	20.9
2 to less than 3 hectares	13	12.3
3 to less than 4 hectares	5	4.8
4 and more hectares	<u>15</u>	<u>14.2</u>
Total	<u>105</u>	<u>99.8</u>

The Table shows that only a small number of households control four and more hectares (all the buyers of church land are included in this category). In contrast, the vast majority of the population controls less than 2 hectares. The high number of landless households indicates the scarcity of private land holdings in the locality and suggests that many people must therefore seek occupational opportunities outside the locality, or try to obtain access to land belonging to the Comunidad Campesina, which controls only a small area of arable and pasture land totally only about 40 hectares. There are about 80 people (mostly heads of households) registered formally in the Comunidad Campesina. This represents about 15% of the population. We found in 1971 that of 63 comuneros interviewed concerning their private landholdings, 24 of them were landless, 17 had less than 1 hectare, 20 between 1 to 2 hectares, 2 between 2 to 3 hectares; no comunero possessed more than four

hectares⁽³⁹⁾.

Another source of internal differentiation is the occupational diversification of the population. Using the same sample as above, we find the following distribution of primary occupation:

TABLE IV
Occupational Distribution in Matahuasi

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Farmers	57	54.3
Shopkeepers/Traders	12	11.4
Craftsmen	10	9.5
Teachers/Skilled employees	8	7.6
Non-agricultural workers	8	7.6
Agricultural Labourers	3	2.8
Timber Merchants	3	2.8
Retired/Unemployed	<u>4</u>	<u>3.8</u>
Total	<u>105</u>	<u>99.8</u>

This occupational diversification is matched by relatively high levels of education and fluency in Spanish. Hence, in 1971, out of a total of 3,948 inhabitants, some 3,465 (or 85%) were literate and native Spanish speakers, whilst the remaining illiterate population was largely bilingual, speaking Spanish and Huanca dialect of Quechua. The majority of the literate population had completed full primary school education with some proceeding to secondary school and a significant number becoming professionals and

(39) For further details on private land holding comparing comuneros with the members of the Matahuasi Cooperative, see Long and Sanchez, 1978.

technicians. It is reported that Matahuasi, together with Sicaya, a village in the southern part of the Valley, have not only the largest number of village-born members living outside the area, especially in Lima, but at the same time have the largest number of professionals. In addition, about ten Matahuasinos are living overseas in the United States or Europe. The commercial sector is represented by 25 shopkeepers and four timber merchants.

In 1971, at about the same time as the Land Reform was being implemented, the Government decided to replace the old Comunidades Indígenas Law by one entitled El Estatuto de Comunidades Campesinas⁽⁴⁰⁾. The main aim of this change was to transform the economic and political organization of peasants into production enterprise based on the use of communal land and pasture, supported by a special credit and advisory system provided by the Government itself. In addition, legal support was given in order to protect communal resources. Although, as I have explained, Matahuasi was not directly affected by the Land Reform, the introduction of the new statute for Comunidades did become an important issue. The new situation enabled the restructured peasant Comunidad to revive the long-standing conflict it had with the buyers of church land. It also, in 1975, was able, with Government aid, to purchase about a hundred head of cattle for milk and meat production. At this time, the Government agencies were eager to give loans through the National Agrarian Bank and offered technical assistance as well.

(40) Detailed analysis of the strengths and limitations of the new Comunidad policy is provided in Long and Winder, 1975.

The renewed antagonism towards the buyers of church land led to the latter mobilising strong support from members of the Town Council, from the local commercial elite, and also from some Matahuasino residents in Lima who were formally represented by the Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi. With the backing of these groups, the buyers once again were able to prevent the Comunidad from recovering the land in dispute⁽⁴¹⁾.

In 1976 the Cattle Cooperative organised by the Comunidad collapsed, apparently for three inter-related reasons; firstly, because of insufficient land and pasture to maintain the number of acquired cattle; secondly, due to continuous conflicts amongst the comuneros who quarrelled over the leadership and over labour inputs; and thirdly, because they were priced out of the market by the fierce competition from local private cattle raisers who were members of the Cooperativa Agraria de la Margen Izquierda, a marketing co-operative for commercial dairy farmers (see Long and Sanchez, 1978). As an outcome of this situation, the Comunidad was unable to fulfil its obligation to make regular repayments to the Agraria Bank and, therefore, the cattle passed into the control of the Bank itself. Also certain leaders of the Comunidad were prosecuted for maladministration.

One external reason which prevented the Comunidad from sorting out its economic and political problems was the change in Government in 1975 when General Velasco was succeeded

(41) For further details on the politics of this issue and the involvement of regional associations, see Chapter II pp. 87-95.

as president by General Morales-Bermudez who instituted a less radical programme. The main agrarian policy under the new regime was to increase production and control local political participation⁽⁴²⁾. Hence landowners with medium-sized holdings received much more support and Government reduced its interest in promoting either co-operatives or systems of collective labour. In addition, the deep financial difficulties which Government was facing strongly affected the whole of the productive system, particularly agriculture; but, as always, the less advantaged groups like the Comunidad, suffered most. Shortages of labour and capital as well as high costs of farm equipment and petrol added to the burden of their livestock debt, which they found they were unable to repay.

The combined effects of these internal and external problems faced by the Comunidad, together with the unsuccessful attempt to reclaim church land, led to increasing social divisions within the Comunidad-districto and also within and between migrant associations in Lima. This made for difficulties in mobilising support for local-level development projects such as the building of a new Town Hall, the completion of work on the church, and the installation of a piped water supply. These matters are examined in later chapters when we look more closely at the role of associations.

(42) As I have already suggested, the agrarian policy under Velasco's Government had been characterized by a relatively radical approach to economic problems, particularly in relation to land reform, although neither the Mantaro Valley, nor the Comunidad of Matahuasi were much affected by such changes, since the area is one of smallholder agriculture, not large estates.

In concluding this comparison of Ongoy and Matahuasi, I wish to draw attention to three major contrasts: firstly, Ongoy has been directly affected by Land Reform which created new forms of agricultural organization of the co-operative-type based on the ex-haciendas, and which encouraged the modernisation of the neighbouring Comunidades, whereas Matahuasi, being a small-holder zone, remained unaffected by this process. Indeed, the existing unequal distribution of land in Matahuasi has probably been reinforced by the establishment of a dairy co-operative, whose members receive agricultural loans and advice, and also by the fact that the Comunidad once again lost its battle for the restitution of church land and generally failed to win the full support of Government agencies in its struggle to increase productivity and the living standards of its members.

Secondly, there is a marked difference in the occupational structure of the two localities. Ongoy is predominantly an agricultural community producing only a small surplus for marketing, whereas Matahuasi exhibits an important agricultural sector oriented to commercial production, as well as a wide range of other occupations concerned with trade, transport, crafts and professional activities.

Thirdly, there are significant differences in Comunidad organization and in the links which village groups maintain with migrants in Lima. Ongoy shows much more effective and united community commitment and organization with a developed system of barrios whose members are inter-related through kinship and affinity. The barrios, through

their "branch" associations maintain close ties with specific associations in Lima whose members identify with the interests of their barrios of origin and who give aid of various kinds. In contrast, Matahuasi has weak Comunidad organization and solidarity, with comuneros representing only about 14 per cent⁽⁴³⁾ of village heads of household. Unlike Ongoy, it is the Town Council that wields power in local affairs: this institution is closely aligned with the commercial farmers and buyers of church land. This has tended to generate internal conflict within the Comunidad-Distrito. Connected with this pattern of conflict and differentiation is the fact that its associations in Lima as I will document more fully later, have become identified with particular social groups and particular village institutions. These groups are not organized on a barrio basis like those of Ongoy.

In the next chapter, I focus more specifically on the nature and evolution of the migrant associations and their links with the two regions and localities selected for study.

(43) For further details, see Winder, 1978: 228.

Chapter III

Regional Associations, Patterns of Cohesion and Ties with the Regions and Localities of Origin

In this chapter I shall concentrate on three interconnected aspects; firstly, I consider the main internal and external factors which shape the formation of associations; secondly, I outline some of the general points concerning regional level associations, with detailed reference to the local-level associations; and thirdly, I discuss the social and political significance of associations with respect to the development of the regions and localities from which their migrants originate.

Since the beginnings of migration to Lima from rural localities, particularly from the central and southern highland regions, regional associations have become a major institutionalised basis for maintaining the social, economic, political and ideological relations of migrants with their respective regions and localities. Historical evidence shows that urban migrant behaviour has involved choice in interpreting and emphasizing regional identity. However, many migrant groups have used regional and local commitment in organizing their urban milieu in order to obtain access to urban-based resources, and to make good use of mass media and existing political and economic opportunities. It has also been reported that there is a greater sense of organisation among low-income migrants in Lima in comparison with those with medium and higher incomes.

In 1974 there were approximately 4,000 regional associations

in Lima⁽⁴⁴⁾, each of which unofficially representing a specific place of origin. These associations were organised extensively, involving at one time or another the majority of highland migrants in the city. The size of association membership varied greatly. Some family-based associations had as few as 12 members, enough to form a football team; others had may have/as many as 1,000 members.

At a certain stage, regional associations may represent a rational, social and ideological response to the absence of migrant class consciousness, or may correspond to an initial stage in the growth of participation in city politics. Hence, the formation of regional associations must be recognised as a temporal process during which they may become more and more distinctive, sometimes even reviving old cleavages (which have their roots in the place of origin of the migrants) with other social groups from the same locality. This is particularly the case among Matahuasinos and Ongoinos with respect to cleavages resulting from land disputes.

The formation of regional associations in Lima is subject to both external and internal pressures. External pressures may be divided into three main types: firstly, the influence of the state, upon migrants, acting through the bureaucracy and urban development agencies, which are mainly involved in activities such as resettlement, community work, social work,

(44) Ten years ago P.Doughty, utilizing a variety of resources such as newspapers, radio, specialized magazines and interviews, found about 1,050 formally-organized associations in Lima alone. At^{the} present time almost every village has a representative association in Lima.

taxation etc., secondly, the impact of urban material and moral values diffused through the mass media which accords high valuation to the urban way of life and concomittantly under-values rural life; and thirdly, the influence of political parties⁽⁴⁵⁾ working among the urban poor, who are generally migrants. Pressure is directed towards gaining political support either in conflict situations or in elections.

Internal pressure is created by the fact that regional identities are relatively independent of the bureaucratic and institutional systems of Lima and yet need protection against the interference and manipulation of certain Lima-based institutions, especially against those who would exploit such identities for their own particular interests and ends.

1. Formation, development and Objectives

There are two external and internal reasons for the formation and development of associations from the two regions and localities I have studied. In the case of the most economically and socially disadvantaged groups associations may help with the break-up of older and

(45) This was the case for the APRA political party that gained political support in the barriadas (slums) from the late thirties until the late sixties. During the early seventies, the present government, on the basis of its populist ideology, gave enormous political support to the barriada population. The government institution in charge was SINAMOS (National System for the Support of Social Mobilization) through its branch: Dirección de Pueblos Jovenes. During 1974, SINAMOS tried to amalgamate about 4,000 regional associations into one national institution to support the government, but the plan failed due to the reluctance of many associations, particularly those who were politically left-wing.

historically fused economic, political, ideological and socially dominating structures which characterise the urban arena. This can be seen in the effort made by these groups to use the regional, and local, economic and even political resources available in order that they should be unified in taking specific action against such urban-dominant groups.

The concept of regional identities is of ideological as well as social significance in that through it individuals and groups, whose cohesive identities have been submerged, can express their common feelings, loyalties and solidarities. Equally, it is a means for migrant populations to claim a set of privileges and rights which the existing power structure in Lima has constantly denied them. The strength of a primordial attachment of migrants to their culture and regions lies in an emotional and moral cohesion, derived not only from belonging to certain regions, but also from external pressures which act as adversary forces.

The two internal factors affecting the process of regional identity and the formation of regional associations are:

a) The stimulation of members' attachment to their home land. Every effort and action is made to foster and maintain interest in the history, language, moral and material beliefs, norms and values of the home land. The main social expressions are manifested in cultural festivities, religious celebrations related to the "Santo Patron" of the home land, and other ritual celebrations such as weddings, birthdays, and baptisms. Migrants who are educated, and those who are more urbanized or urban-born, may look down upon regional associations as a

characteristic of the so-called "backward" Andean culture, even though they may nonetheless still recognise their social significance.

b) One of the most significant effects of the regional association is, therefore, the stimulation of regional consciousness by encouraging migrants to recall their common geographical, ideological, and economic origin. Constantly members are reminded to look on each other as fellows or comrades and also as spiritual brothers, particularly in crucial situations such as those associated with finding a job, accommodation, illness, funerals, introducing other migrants, forming new social networks, or assisting financially when fellow members are unemployed.

As I have pointed out, the combination of external and internal pressures means that regional associations are not a simple result of the cultural preferences of migrants, as some anthropologists have suggested (e.g. B. Jean Isbell, 1974; Doughty, 1959). Regional associations are also often regarded by scholars as an initial means of mutual adjustment, adaptation and integration, in the process of which migrants lose their regional identities (see Parkin, 1966; Mangin, 1970; Meillassoux, 1968; Little, 1969). The fact is that associations are genuine forms of social organization created by migrants for migrants and therefore they may act as organizations independent of the external forces, even when these forces have been instrumental in their formation and may also vary or even change both the direction and objectives of the associations. Eventually the associations may become organizational vehicles governing the norms and behaviour of their members, and

providing the framework for a significant part of migrant social life. Moreover, sometimes the associations do not serve merely as organizational vehicles but become the essential means of improving methods, actions and strategies leading to the formation of new types of social consciousness. Such consciousness can lead to political participation, particularly where there is marked social and economic differentiation, as in Lima. This differentiation has its roots in the unequal distribution of scarce resources, or in the exploitation practised by the state, merchants and the owners of the means and instruments of production. Organizing a formal association enables migrants to represent their localities and regions before the government, authorities and political parties. This is common among those associations whose members come from villages where there are social and economic struggles in progress.

As I have pointed out earlier, regional differentiation affects both the nature of migration and the formation of regional associations; this is so in the Pampas Valley (Region I) as also in the Mantaro Valley (Region II).

In addition to those external and internal forces, which act upon the migrant's ideology, social life and expectations, in the formation of regional associations, migrants take some advantage of the available urban-based social and political resources. These social resources are such things as the mass media (newspapers, radio programmes, magazines, T.V., post, etc.,) and other inter-institutional and inter-personal networks which are channelled through informal

relationships. The latter of course are not necessarily of urban origin, since they might be based on existing village ties such as kinship, friendship, co-parenthood and neighbourhood. Political resources include formal and informal ties with political parties, trade unions, and other political organizations.

The utilization of mass media includes the use of influential national newspapers such as La Prensa, El Comercio and Expreso⁽⁴⁶⁾. Each newspaper has nearly every day a special page for regional associations. These reports are called: La Capital y las Provincias and Las Provincias en Lima. Analysis of a sample of associations advertising in the newspaper La Prensa gave the following data: between June 9th and July 5th, 31 associations produced publications with regard to their internal and external affairs. The members of these associations came from 14 of the total 23 departments. Advertising concerns the place, date and reasons for association meetings and the content of the meetings (sport oriented, folkloric, economic, political, religious and other ceremonials). It is important to realise that this sample was taken during a period when meetings were prohibited by the government, due to political problems.

There are also three radio stations whose programmes include special broadcasts concerning regional associations; these stations are called: Radio Agricultura Radio El Pacifico and Radio Selecta; and occasionally other stations

(46) During the Velasco regime this newspaper was strongly committed to the promotion of information concerning the different activities of associations.

broadcast similar programmes such as Radio Nacional (one of the morning speakers employed by Radio Nacional comes from Matahuasi and is the President of C.S.D.M. in Lima), Radio Victoria, etc. These specially broadcast programmes are called: Amanecer Andino; Peru Imperial and Junin y el Peru respectively. In comparing the use of newspaper advertising with the use of radio programmes, we found that newspapers were mostly used by village, but also by provincial and even departmentally-based associations. In the sample of 100 we found 10 departmental and 6 provincial associations, and the rest (84) were village-based. The sample of 100 advertisements broadcast by Radio Agricultura corresponding to the same period showed that only one of the departmentally-based associations made use of this facility, and the rest were prescribed on behalf of village-based associations. The kind of information broadcast by radio, although more extensive, was the same as the newspapers. This information commonly includes the announcement of association activities, and the furthering of the economic and social interests of members and their home villages. The maintenance of regular contact between members and even non-members of associations by meeting frequently to sponsor development projects and to provide economic aid and political assistance to their villages, seems to be a permanent trait of associations. Some associations produce special magazines, periodicals and pamphlets containing news about their internal organization, relations with other associations, home village affairs, future plans, and information concerning the activities of other members or fellow villagers, e.g. deaths, birthdays, marriages, etc. These publications are not only for the membership. They are also sent to the home villages,

and are one of the most important ways of providing information concerning association activity. Associations do not seem to use television as such, although some popular folklore programmes stimulate migrant interest in their music, dance and different customs. Some television programmes include specific information on regional associations and sometimes present association activity.

Informal activities, involving inter-institutional and inter-personal exchange, are complementary ways of maintaining and promoting regional associations. Such exchanges are more frequent among migrants who come from the same localities and regions. The exchanges are manifested in close-knit networks where kin ties play a crucial role; affinal and co-parenthood ties are other ways of fostering such links. Exchanges include not only social relations, but also economic and political alliances. Association members have recently been using the exchange of goods and services to offset a worsening national economic situation which in Lima is particularly marked. Moreover, it seems that there is a direct correlation between times of economic crisis and the practice and importance of exchanges among migrants, particularly by those who are poor: the greater the crisis, the greater the co-operation and mutual aid.

I will now concentrate specifically on the Pampas and Mantaro regional and local associations which are the particular concern of this study. The principles governing the formation and development of associations at the national level have also affected the formation of Pampas and Mantaro area associations.

1.1. The Pampas Valley Regional Associations

My aim in this section of the study is to discuss the general features which characterise the associations from this area. Such features include their social and occupational composition, their residential location, and the activities that members engage in. Later I compare these associations with those of the Mantaro Valley.

There are around 30 village-based associations in Lima (see Table v) from the Pampas area; 11 come from Ongoy, 9 from Ocobamba, 6 from Uripa, and 4 from Chincheros. Within each comunidad-distrito there is a main association (asociacion matriz) which is drawn from the urban sector of the locality. There are four main associations in the region. Associations from the same locality are more related to one another and have close exchanges, formal and informal interaction between locally-based associations being very frequent. There is no super-association to which other associations, from the area, are affiliated as is found in the Mantaro area.

The overwhelming majority of migrants come from a peasant background within which they were agriculturally self-sufficient. All of these people have Quechua as their first language, most of them are illiterate, and the majority have not completed primary school.

Migrant-members usually live in the heavily populated districts of Lima such as La Victoria, El Porvenir, Comas, San Martin de Porres, Bellavista, Callao (the principal Peruvian harbour near to Lima) and in shanty towns such as

TABLE V
ASSOCIATIONS FROM REGION I

Number	Name of Association	Name of the Place of Origin	
		Village/Barrio	Locality
1	Club Deportivo Huracan	Hanasayoq	O
2	Deportivo 1 ero. Mayo	Choqocro	C
3	Club Universal	Challhuani	O
4	Deportivo Porvenir	Challhuani	B
5	Deportivo Ex-Estudiantes	Various Villages	A
6	Club Cultural Ocobamba	Hanansayoq	M
7	Defensor Hanansayoq	Hanansayoq	B
8	Centro Social Ocobamba	Urban Sector (<u>Matriz</u>)	A
9	Deportivo Nacional	Ongoy Pata	
1	Santiago de Ongoy	Urban Area	
2	Asociacion Hijos de Huaqana	Urban/Rural (<u>Matriz</u>)	
3	Estrella de Maukallaqta	Maucallaqta	O
4	Progresista Cuchucusma	Cuchucusma	N
5	24 Octubre de Callapayoq	Callapayoq	G
6	A.D.I.P.S.A.C.	Callapayoq	O
7	Deportivo Villacancha	Cabracancha	Y
8	Deportivo 1 ero. Mayo	Sapsipampa	
9	Asociacion Hijos de Maucallaqta	Maucallaqta	
10	Deportivo Toruro	Toruro	
11	Deportivo Hnos. Rios	Cabracancha	
5	Village-based Associations	5 Barrios	Uripa
1	<u>Matriz</u>	1 Urban Sector	
3	Village-based Associations	3 Barrios	Chincheros
1	<u>Matriz</u>	1 Urban Sector	
TOTAL 30	Types of Associations: Sports oriented, Religious, Social, Political and Economic	26 Village-Based and 4 <u>Matriz</u> Urban-based Associations	Four Local- ities

Pamplona, Ermitano, Villa el Salvador and San Juan de Miraflores (see Map V). In terms of occupation, association members are most likely to be semi or unskilled workers. Members of the same locality are likely to occupy the same or similar occupations. For example, Ongoinos mostly work as hospital and construction workers, or as dependant employees, while some are self employed (e.g. street vendors). Ocobambinos are mostly gardeners, restaurant workers, dependant employees; Uripinos work as servants, construction workers and town council workers; Chincherinos are dependant employees, industrial workers and some are professionals. Although there is a tendency to occupy positions of low prestige, some migrants, particularly those who have but recently arrived, have progressed and become government employees and skilled labourers, while some are even professionals, small-scale entrepreneurs and independent workers. My own case, in particular, is an extreme one (I come from Ocobamba).

There is a relationship between the social structure of the regional associations of the area and the social structure in the locality. Associations, to a great degree, tend to reflect the social and economic structure which are prevalent in their localities of origin. Such structures, as I have discussed earlier, are concerned with the differential social and economic conditions. Hence associations are likely to encapsulate people with similar economic backgrounds; and, as a result of such a selective process we have associations which are representative of elite groups comprised of mestizos. In opposition to such groups (there are only three of these associations in the area), there are 27 associations representing migrants from peasant

backgrounds. This pattern of social organization has led to various associations from the same locality becoming factionalized, with each association being linked to a specific social group.

As is the case of associations of other regions, the main activities in which associations from the Pampas area are involved are: 1) sports, e.g. football matches for men, and volleyball for women; 2) social events such as marriages, baptisms, birthdays, anniversaries of the association or the district; dances and kermesses; 3) economic activities, e.g. collecting donations, musical and dancing events; 4) religious celebrations, which include the festival of the Patron Saint (Santo Patron), and religious masses in honour of one or more members alive or dead, and 5) political participation, such as electing association officials, influencing and offering support in the election of locality authorities to a certain political party during national elections. Each association tends to assume as its main objective one of the five activities, although emphasis on one or more objectives may change over time. The different names of associations suggest partially the associations main objectives; for example, Club Deportivo Huracán is mainly concerned with sport but is also economic.

In the Pampas area there are around 27 barrios; almost every barrio has its own association in Lima; a substantial number of them have home village "branches". Each association maintains links with its respective branches, (the nature of such links will be discussed later in the case studies).

These relations are formed in the following way: temporary or permanent return-migrants tend to imitate the organization of Lima-based associations in their own barrios. The main aim is to enhance sport but at the same time may have other functions which are social, economic, political and sometimes religious. Home branch associations are not well defined, and are loosely organized in comparison to the Lima-based associations. This is because the community organization is stronger and more important for the villagers.

The number of associations from the Pampas area in Lima has gradually increased due to the growth of out-migration, particularly during the late sixties. Over the years some of them have disappeared and others have been formed. Historically speaking, associations tend to reach a certain optimum size, no more than 100 members, after which they split into new groupings. The precise timing of such fission would depend on the leadership and the participation level of members. Another significant feature characterizing associations is that those formed primarily on a sporting base may eventually transfer their objectives to social, economic and political ends. This is particularly the case among migrants who come from villages where there was, or still is, conflict with other social groups. I suggest here that an association cannot maintain its initial objectives for a long time. Their objectives are strongly influenced by the economic, social and political situation both in Lima and the home land.

Let me now describe and analyse the locally-based associations of Ongoy in more detail.

1.2. Locally-based Associations: The Development of Ongoino Associations.

The formation of associations among Ongoinos in Lima has been directly connected with the process of migration. Since the earliest migrants, there was a permanent interest, particularly among peasants, in forming associations. Migration, however, was usually short-term, migrants spending no more than a few years in Lima. The most salient feature of migrants in Lima was their ties with their villages. The village remained the primary force in their lives. Almost every action in town was made in connection with the institutions and the families in the village.

The earliest migrants to Lima from the barrios of Ongoy were drawn disproportionately from the sons and daughters of village families and a few of them from colono families. Migration brought them into contact with labour unions and political groupings of various kinds, but they continued their membership of the comunidad and had rights to land in the barrios. It was under this double role that one of the first village-based associations appeared in 1923 called the Asociación Cultural Hijos de Ongoy (A.C.H.O.). There were four main features which characterized this association:

- a) it was set up by peasants and a few colonos who had been in conflict with the hacendados;
- b) it provided help and a means of organization for future migrants;
- c) it maintained permanent ties with the Comunidad Campesina in its conflict over land with the neighbouring haciendas;
- and d) the association was a channel by which the Comunidad Campesina gained access to government resources and thus

obtained decisions favourable to claiming rights to land usurped by the haciendas. Since the early decades of this century, when village political issues became crucial as a result of land disputes, the association became more and more involved in the internal affairs of the village. In 1935, the village was recognized officially as a Comunidad Campesina; this was a direct result of pressure applied by the association on the Ministry of Labour. The A.C.H.O. also provided recreational opportunities for village residents by organizing festivals, sporting events and social evenings.

In 1958, the second and third associations, called respectively Estrella de Maucallaqta and Asociacion Defenza Independiente Pumachuco-Simpe Anexo Callapayoq (A.D.I.P.S.A.C.) were formed. Their objectives were very similar to those of A.C.H.O. because villagers continued to experience the same antagonistic relations with the haciendas. The A.C.H.O., since its formation, remained the main association (asociación matriz). The three associations worked together and acted on behalf of the Comunidad. The Comunidad succeeded in obtaining some parts of hacienda land, while the associations effectively organized the political strategy of the land invasion during 1963, which I described earlier.

In 1963 a fourth association was formed which was known initially as Club Deportivo Progresista Huaqana, although later it changed its name to Hijos de Maucallaqta. The membership was drawn from Maucallaqta Barrio. The reasons for the formation of this association were not the same as for the first three associations. Nevertheless, the members maintained close relations with these other

associations, and supported them, informally, in their commitments. In 1965 the fifth and sixth associations (see Table VII number 10) called Asociación Ex-alumnos Huaqana and Deportivo Toruro were formed; but after a few years the fifth association disappeared due to lack of participation and its members were gained by another association called Progresista Cuchucusma which was formed in the same year.

In 1974 the central role played by A.C.H.O. was reduced by the formation of the Asociación Hijos de Huaqana which, ever since, has acted as the main Ongoino association (this case will later be discussed in the case study). During the same year, two other associations were also created: Deportivo Primero de Mayo, and Deportivo Hermanos Rios, whose members were drawn from two barrios (Sapsipampa and Cabracancha), and also from the urban sector of the locality (Huaqana). Finally, in 1975, the two latest associations (Deportivo 24 de Octubre and Villa Cancha) emerged. The first was a break-away group from A.D.I.P.S.A.C.

Nowadays, almost every barrio has its own association in Lima. A significant change is that after 1974 five of the associations shifted their objectives more towards economic, sporting and religious matters. Thus it seems that after the land reform, associations have tended to abandon their initial political purposes.

"Home branch" associations begun to be formed in the early sixties. Return migrants, in combination with their neighbours and kinsmen, tried to imitate Lima-based associations by organizing football teams. This attempt succeeded in ten of the twelve barrios. Therefore, to date, eleven home branches have been established (see Table VII). Kinship and common barrio residence were brought together

in the creation of these associations, since each barrio was composed of a core of about three or four extended families. "Branch" associations and barrio-based associations in Lima have maintained a high degree of social, economic and political contact. This contrasts with the Comunidad, whose close ties with several associations have gradually been eroded, leaving only A.D.I.P.S.A.C., 24 de Octubre and Estrella de Maucallqata as reliable allies.

The next section concerns the formation and development of Mantaro Valley regional associations, with special reference to Matahuasi and how it compares with the Ongoino case.

1.3. Mantaro Valley Regional Associations

As the Mantaro Valley is a large area, I shall confine my comments to the northern part of the valley only. This decision is made for four reasons: a) the enormous number of regional associations, from the whole area, found in Lima (there are around 120 associations); b) the villages in the northern part of the valley are represented by one super-institution which involves 23 village-based associations and is called Federación Departamental de Junin (F.D.J.) (see Table VI); c) the Comunidad-distrito of Matahuasi is located within this sub-area; and d) four of the five associations from Matahuasi are affiliated to and participate in such a super-institution.

There are around 40 associations from the northern part of the valley in Lima alone, 23 of them are under F.D.J. control. The same number of villages in the central and southern part of the valley are represented by two super-institutions called Asociación Inter-distrital de la

TABLE VI
ASSOCIATIONS FROM REGION II

Number	Name of Association	Name of the Place of Origin	
		Village/Barrio	Locality
1	Sporting Club Molinos	Molinos	Molinos
2	Vanguardia Mantarina	Mantaro	Mantaro
3	Social Union Yanamucllo	Yanamucllo	Matahuasi
4	Centro Social Union Yanamucllo	Yanamucllo	Matahuasi
5	Centro Social Maravilca	Maravilca	Matahuasi
6	Centro Social Deportivo Matahuasi	Urban Sector (<u>Matriz</u>)	Matahuasi
7	Sport Union Marco	Urban Area	Marco
8	Centro Renovacion	Marco	Marco
9	Centro Regional Tambo	Urban Sector	Tambo
10	Centro Social Huancani	Huancani	Huancani
11	Centro Social Deportivo Apata	Apata	Apata
12	Social Deportivo Junin	Mito	Mito
13	Centro Union Molinos	Molinos	Molinos
14	Club Julcan	Julcan	Julcan
15	Centro Progresista San Lorenzo	San Lorenzo	San Lorenzo
16	Club Inmaculada Concepcion	Urban Area	Concepcion
17	Social Cristal Huaripampa	Huaripampa	Huaripampa
18	Centro Deportivo Estudiantes	Huncamachay	Huaripampa
19	Estudiantes Unidos	Huertas	Huertas
20	Sociedad Fraternal	Huertas	Huertas
21	Union Representativo	Aramachay	Huertas
22	Asociacion Progresista	Urban Sector	Muquiyauyo
23	Congregacion Santisima Virgen Cocharcas	Urban Sector	Orcotuna
TOTAL 23	Types of Associations: Sport Oriented, Social, Economic, Religious and Political	17 Village- Based and 6 Urban-based Associations	16 Localities

Provincia de Huancayo, made up of 27 associations, and the Centro de Entidades Regionales del Departamento de Junin, which comprises about 30. There are an average of three villages in each Comunidad-distrito. Each village often has its own main association (asociación matriz) as in Pampas, but its relations with other similar associations is less evident. Another significant distinction concerns inter-institutional relations, which with Matahuasino associations are not limited by the Comunidad-distrito boundaries as is the case amongst associations from the Pampas area. The main reason for this difference is that affiliation of associations to a regional super-institution allows members to interact more extensively with members of other associations whatever their places of origin. Hence, in the Mantaro, associations are not organized solely on the basis of village identity.

Every Mantaro Valley association represents a particular village, district, or barrio. Members derive from varied backgrounds and practise a wide range of occupations: some are skilled workers, other technicians, medium and small-scale traders, and other professionals (e.g. lawyers, army officers, university lecturers, etc.). They come from both urban and rural localities of the region. This variety of occupations and the fact that they are predominantly Spanish-speakers, the overwhelming majority of whom having received full primary education, contrasts markedly with Pampas.

The main residential areas in which Mantaro migrants are concentrated in Lima are the middle and middle-lower class districts of Surquillo, Barranco, Pueblo Libre, San Miguel, and Lince (see Map V). At the present time

both the Asociación Inter-distrital de la Provincia de Huancayo and the Cooperativa de Vivienda Huancayo Ltda. N. 218 are involved in an ambitious project. This project entails the building of the Ciudad Satelite Huancayo (Satellite City of Huancayo) in Zarate district; the idea being to reproduce in Lima the urban aspect of Huancayo, including the styles of the houses and the names and locations of the streets. By 1977, it was reported that 90% of the available housing plots were already sold; and some of the buyers (all of them from the Valley) had indeed started to build their houses. This area also has a stadium where sports, religious and cultural events take place during holidays or at the weekends.

The various activities (sports, social, economic, religious and political) in which associations from the Mantaro area are involved are similar to those of Pampas. However, they show more interest in economic, religious and recreational pursuits, with political activities being generally less important. This relative lack of political participation has its origins in the rural setting, since historically the people from this area have not experienced conflict with hacendados and other dominant classes. Another distinction between association members from the two regions can be seen in the level of commitment to their respective villages. For the people of Pampas, the focus of activities is strongly influenced by their attachment to the villages; whereas among the people from the Mantaro, attachment is less important although the rural sector may continue to play an important role in the field of activity of individual migrant members. Some associations lose their

influence as channels of communication in urban-rural relations, and consequently, one of the dynamic forces in the formation and continuation of clubs may disappear. Organization and activity from within the associations have always fluctuated in response to different forces that vary from time to time. For example, the fortunes of associations may fluctuate because of government intervention aimed at controlling urban-based organizations such as the neighbourhood organizations (Comité de Pobladores, Comité de Vecinos, Asociación de Residentes), trade unions (sindicatos) and the regional associations themselves.

In contrast to the Pampas area, few of the associations from the Mantaro have "branches" in their respective home villages. The associations tend to link up directly with either district councils or Comunidades Campesinas. The earliest out-migrants to Lima tended to form associations whose main aim was to develop the economic potential of their home villages. During the fifties and sixties the number of associations increased substantially. In the process of time some of them split up and disappeared, and others were formed as is the case with the Pampas associations. Associations tended to reach an optimum size, beyond which they would split into new groupings. Associations are frequently formed primarily on a sports basis and on the common geographical origin of the village, barrio or urban neighbourhood; eventually, they may become socially, economically, politically and religiously involved. In contrast to the associations of the Pampas Valley, they are likely to be more economically inspired, because they see that village progress depends on the introduction and

realization of urban-based material values relating to better communication networks, new houses, new technology for agriculture, education, and other services. Therefore their sporting folklore and cultural activities are geared towards obtaining cash which will be sent to the villages. (This will be illustrated in case study II).

The Sunday sporting and cultural activities are organized by the Federación Departamental de Junín (F.D.J.). At every opportunity, one of the 23 associations sponsor such activities in accordance with its organizational capabilities. These activities are noteworthy on three accounts; their uniformity of character; their frequency, and the great number of participants. The most common events are folk dances (Pachahuara, Los Avelinos, Waylash and Huaynos), sports such as football, sapo, volleyball, and carnival celebrations (Cortamonte, Jalapato). Such events take place within a period of 12 hours; a schedule which also prevails on official holidays.

The manner in which football tournaments are arranged in the league (which includes 23 football teams and around 10 volleyball or basketball teams) bears much similarity to that of the minka (traditional Andean system of reciprocity or mutual aid). This system is based upon certain rules made by the F.D.J. which can be summarized as follows: if I help you, you are obliged to help me in the same way in the near future. This system in practice works as follows: one of the 23 associations sponsor the Sunday activities; they have to present their best selection of music, dance, football teams, food and are responsible for the decoration of the football ground. The entrance

fee is about 10 pence per person; this is collected by a member of the sponsoring association. From a sample of the activities of two Sundays we have taken data showing that the rent of the festival ground was around 20 pounds per full day and that the money collected at the gate on one Sunday was 167 pounds or 50,000 soles, which came from the entrance tickets, food and drinks, raffles and voluntary donations. Around 1,200 people attended the festival; most of the people attending were members of the 22 associations and the others there were relatives or friends. The money collected is, supposedly, used firstly for the benefit of the club for maintenance, for building their own institutional house, and for buying a football ground, etc.; and secondly to help the place of origin with their economic problems. On the following Sunday another association sponsored the festival and did the same as the first. This rotating system has been practised for the last seven years.

1.4. Locally-based Associations: The Development of Matahuasino Associations

In 1943, a group of Matahuasinos formed the first association from Matahuasi in Lima called Sociedad Auxilios Mútuos Hijos de Matahuasi (S.A.M.H.M.). Its main concern was to provide economic and social assistance to those Matahuasinos who were not able to find a job or to those who, having found a job, still did not have enough money to survive. Financially the associations relied on voluntary donations from members. These members were villagers of peasant background with some urban experience. They made contact not only with other existing regional associations, but also with APRA (Alianza Popular

Revolutionaria Americana) because some of them were affiliated to this political party which, at the time, was the most important and best organized in Peru. Their joining the new association, however, did not exclude them from membership of the Comunidad Campesina. On the contrary, many of them retained their community rights and held land back in the village.

Several major features characterized this association. It was set up by a group of Comunidad members and non-members from Matahuasi who, in the main, came from the middle and lower social strata. It addressed itself primarily to the social and economic problems of migrants and newcomers in Lima, but also served as a channel through which the Comunidad could lobby government in an attempt to gain legal control over the disputed church land. Yet the support offered for this latter issue was far less than that given by Ongoino migrants when they were involved in similar land problems. This, I suggest, is one index of the general lack of political consensus regarding the community that has always existed among Matahuasino migrants. The main concern of the association, after economic commitment to its members, was of a religious nature. This manifested itself in the organisation of the fiesta of the Patron Saint (San Sebastian) every January the 20th. This celebration, held in Lima, included activities which were almost exactly the same as those found in Matahuasi, with the exception of the bullfight. In 1946, the association sent an electricity generator to the Comunidad Campesina, which however served not only comunidad members but the whole population of the district.

Other migrants from the elite families of Matahuasi, who were undertaking university or further education in Lima or already working in professional capacities, were slow to become active members of the association. They tended to give informal support to the purchasers of church land with whom the Comunidad had been in conflict, and this eventually created difficulties between them and the main body of members. The details on the political struggle that ensued are analysed in Chapter IV, when I examine the development of this association in depth.

In 1963, a second association called Centro Social Maravilca was formed. Its main concern, in contrast to S.A.M.H.M., was with sport and recreation, and members were drawn from the families of small-scale agriculturalists from Maravilca barrio. Relations with S.A.M.H.M. were based on independence and, following its formation, it became affiliated to the F.D.J. which enabled the members to participate actively in Sunday events at the stadium called Buenos Aires. In 1965 the third association, called Centro Social Union Yanamuclo, was created by migrants from the Yanamuclo barrio. Their objectives were similar to those of the second association, and the members were also drawn from small-scale agriculturalists. In 1971 the S.A.M.H.M. split up, resulting in the formation of the Centro Social Deportivo Matahuasi (C.S.D.M.). The members of this association had a different social and economic background to the members of the first three associations, drawing locally from the most prosperous group. Therefore, their interests were totally different to the S.A.M.H.M.

but only marginally dissimilar to barrio-based associations. In 1973, a migrant from the Yanamuclo barrio decided to create the last association which immediately became affiliated to the F.D.J. As with the two barrio-based associations, the Yanamuclo association played a sporting and recreational role rather than^a/political one. However, barrio-based associations were not independent of commitment to the village.

Two of the Lima associations have home "branches" which were established immediately after their formation. Relations between Lima-based and barrio-based associations are not as important as those among Ongoinos.

Villagers from Matahuasi believe that the home branch associations do not contribute to the development of the barrio, as the Lima-based associations do; the Comunidad organization does not have any formal relationships with them.

The next part of the study provides a comparative account of the two Lima-based associations emphasising the different relations maintained by them with locally-based institutions, such as the Comunidad Campesina, the Town Council, the Church, the school and also the "branch" associations and the barrios from where migrants originated. I give special emphasis to kinship ties, political relationships and the material aids provided by migrants to their barrios. The account will be illustrated by tables providing data concerning Ongoino and Matahuasino associations in Lima.

TABLE VII

LIMA-BASED AND LOCALLY-BASED BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS FROM ONGOY

N.	NAME OF ASSOCIATION	DATE OF FOUNDATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS			TYPES OF FUNCTIONS				GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN WITHIN THE LOCALITY	NAME OF BRANCH ASSOCIATION IN THE LOCALITY
			IN LIMA	IN THE LOCALITY	POLITICAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL	SPORTS	RELIGIOUS		
1	Santiago de Ongoy	1923	48	50		X	X	X		Urban and rural sector	Pacifico
2	Asociacion Hijos de Huaqana	1974	70	70		X	X	X	X	Urban and rural sector Huaqana	a) Hermandad Virgen del Carmen b) Progresista Huaqana c) Defensor Huaqana
3	Estrella de Maucallaqta	1958	38	28	X	X	X	X	X	Maucallaqta	24 de Junio
4	Progresista Cuchucusma	1965	31	39			X	X	X	Cuchucusma	Cuchucusma
5	24 de Octubre de Callapayoq	1975	25	60				X	X	Callapayoq	Emancipador
6	Asociacion Defenza Independ. Pumachuco-Simpe Anexo Callapayoq	1958	29	140	X		X			Callapayoq	Institucion Comunal
7	Villa Cancha	1975	25	30		X	X	X	X	Cabracancha	San Ramon
8	Deportivo- Mayo Sapsipampa	1974	32	35		X	X			Sapsipampa	1- de Mayo
9	Hijos de Maucallaqta	1963	50	40	X	X	X	X	X	Maucallaqta	Estrella Roja
10	Deportivo Toruro	1965	30	30		X	X	X	X	Tocso, Maramara, Toruro	Deportivo Toruro
11	Deportivo Hnos. Rios	1974	20	-			X	X	X	Cabracancha	None
	TOTALS	1923-75	388	472	3	7	11	8	2	9 Rural	12 Institutions

TABLE VIII

LIMA-BASED AND LOCALLY-BASED BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS FROM MATAHUASI

N.	NAME OF ASSOCIATION	DATE OF FOUNDATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS		POLITICAL	TYPE				GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN WITHIN THE LOCALITY	NAME OF THE BRANCH ASSOCIATION IN THE COMMUNITY DISTRICT
			IN LIMA	IN THE COMMUNITY		ECONOMIC	SOCIAL	SPORT	RELIGIOUS		
1	Sociedad Auxilios Mutuos Hijos de Matahuasi	1943	70			X	X		X	Rural and Urban Matahuasi	None
2	Centro Social Deportivo Matahuasi	1943	128		X	X	X	X		Urban Matahuasi	None
3	Centro Social Union Yanamuclo	1965	50	50		X	X	X		Rural Yanamuclo	Deportivo Yanamuclo
4	Social Union Yanamuclo	1973	50			X	X	X		Rural Yanamuclo	None
5	Centro Social Maravilca	1963	55	45		X	X	X		Rural Maravilca	Centro Deportivo Maravilca
	TOTAL	1943-73	353	95	1	5	5	4	1	3 Rural	2 Associations

2. Institutional Exchange between Lima-based and Locally-based Associations and Social Groupings.

Several studies on the role of regional associations have strongly suggested that such associations facilitate the adjustment of rural migrants to the urban way of life⁽⁴⁷⁾. Such adjustment occurs with the combination of traditional and modern social and cultural activities. Other studies have emphasized that the formation of associations is essentially a cultural predisposition of migrants to reproduce their rural way of life in towns⁽⁴⁸⁾. Contrary to these two kinds of interpretation, there exists another approach which denies both roles of regional associations⁽⁴⁹⁾. The main argument of this approach is that regional associations are neither channels of adaptation nor do they provide a cultural predisposition for migrants. In fact their role is relatively unimportant for urban migrants. Thus, regional associations, particularly those located in Lima are considered as predominantly urban-based institutional forms with limited links with their places of origin. This argument is supported by research done by Jongkind in Lima, Peru in 1972, who used questionnaires rather than qualitative methods of data collection.

On the basis of evidence collected, I suggest here, in opposition to the latter position, that regional associations do have considerable significance and not only in the two roles mentioned previously. Regional associations are

(47) For further explanation, see M.Banton, 1974; C.Meillasoux, 1968; K.Little, 1969; D.Parkin, 1966.

(48) An empirical account of this kind of interpretation can be seen in B.J. Isbell, 1974 and P.Doughty, 1959.

(49) This position is represented by Jongkind, 1974.

primarily the most effective means of maintaining social, economic and political relations between migrants living in the city and fellow villagers. As such, regional associations must be seen as a significant part of the regional and local structure; the migration process and the urbanization of migrants. The Tables VII and VIII give basic information on the dates of founding, the size of membership, and the activities carried out by the various associations from the two localities. These three aspects will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. The Tables also show the types of links maintained by the associations with their branches in the localities.

2.1. Kinship Ties and Associational Organization

Kinship, membership of the barrio and membership of a given association are closely related and are common to the two localities, but such relations are more crucial in the case of Ongoy. These relations are mainly expressed in the emphasis on community-based ideologies of kinship, descent, reciprocity and co-operation within the locality, as well as in Lima. However, Matahuasinos also make use of kinship as a means of maintaining their relations with their home villages as well as with relatives in Lima. Another common feature is that barríos are composed of members of nuclear families, extended families and neighbours, often related through affinal ties. Let me list some of the salient differences between Matahuasino and Ongoyino residents with respect to kinship and associational organization, in order to explain why kinship and common rural origins are more relevant to Ongoyinos in the city.

Among Ongoyinos, kinship and common geographical origin are crucial to the formation of "branch associations". There are eleven associations of Ongoyinos in Lima; nine of them are organized in terms of common geographical origin linked to particular barrios. The other two are connected with the urban centre of the locality (see Table VII). Each barrio is comprised of a core of three or four extended families who are close neighbours. Each barrio has about 120 households with an average of 6 people each, plus four or five will be living out of the locality, the majority in Lima. Although some members of the associations may not strictly be from the same barrio, they at least come from the same locality. One of the eleven associations is called Hermanos Rios (The Rio brothers) and consists of consanguinal kin and spouses linked through these brothers. Ten associations have their own "branch" in Ongoy; the members of each association, together with the members of its "branches", are frequently related to one another through kinship and neighbourhood links in the barrio (see Table VII). The members of all eleven associations are drawn from Ongoy and endogamy which prevails in the locality is a tendency among Ongoino migrants in Lima. The high incidence of married couples who began their relationship either in the locality or in Lima through fiestas, meetings or relations within the associations is complementary to this high degree of endogamy. Common place of residence in Lima is another important factor which draws Ongoinos together. Members of the same barrio are likely to settle in the same residential areas of Lima (e.g. most of the members of Asociación Hijos de Huaqana are located within

the Lima neighbourhood of Ermitano (see Map V). This does not, however, apply to all migrants who are subject to the decisions of state housing companies and land owners concerning the availability of building land⁽⁵⁰⁾.

There are five Matahuasino associations in Lima; three of them are organized on the basis of common anexo/barrio origin. Each anexo/barrio in Matahuasi is comprised of several nuclear families, many related to one another through kinship although there are also a considerable number of persons who come from other villages in the valley. There are two anexos/barrios in the locality (Maravilca and Yanamucllo, (see Map VI) with their own associations in Lima. Each of these has about 120 households, with an average of five resident persons to every household, while a further five members live outside, usually in Lima. The members of the other two Matahuasino associations are drawn from the central urban sector of the district. However, the members of Matahuasino associations are not exclusively recruited from particular anexos/barrios or neighbourhoods of the locality and some come from outside the district. Hence the associations and their branches in Matahuasi are not so closely bound together through a network/kinship and common barrio ties as we find in Ongoy. This pattern is consistent with the relatively low incidence of barrio endogamy practised in Matahuasi and with the dispersal of persons from the same barrio or anexo among different

(50) D. Collier (1977) discusses in depth self-help and the political controls exercised by the state over the formation of new settlements in Lima, where the majority of Ongoino migrants live. His main argument rests on the fact that the new settler does not have either effective political or economic control over land resources or settlement growth.

residential areas of Lima. For example, members of the C.S.D.M. are distributed throughout several middle and lower-middle class neighbourhoods (e.g. Pueblo Libre, Lince, Surquillo; see Map V, Table XVII).

Temporary migration⁽⁵¹⁾ is still very important among Ongoinos, and hence close relations are maintained not only between members of the same family living in village and city but also at the association and institutional level where a high degree of exchange is still evident. In economic terms, household members play an important role in sustaining these relationships: migrants may run smallholdings in their home land, through wives and relatives, to which they can return at any time; on the other hand, they also have urban wage employment. Association members are likely to persuade newly arrived relatives or neighbours to become members of their association in Lima. Also family contacts and members of the association provide a means of introduction to members and fellow villagers in other associations. In addition, associations may bring together men and women who ultimately marry. Many of these couples, as I have suggested, come from the same barrio. Although nowadays there appears to be a more open attitude towards marriage shown by young Ongoinos, it is still the case that around 90 per cent of all association members are married to other Ongoinos.

Migration from Matahuasi is more often of a permanent

(51) 'Temporary' migration signifies that the migrant returns periodically to his place of origin.

kind, although we also find a pattern of temporary and sometimes seasonal⁽⁵²⁾ migration. Furthermore, due to the relatively short distances involved, many Lima-based Matahuasino households make visits to their villages of origin. These visits are important for maintaining relationships with and interest in their places of origin. When these return visits are made by groups of migrants on behalf of their associations (caravanas de retorno), locally-based associations and institutions may take advantage of their presence to request economic aid or political support. Another dimension of significance for maintaining rural-urban links is that some migrants own small or, in a few cases, quite large holdings in Matahuasi that are looked after by relatives; and so they periodically return to look into their affairs or they send gifts or instructions via returning migrants to their relatives back home.

Like Ongoy, members of Matahuasino associations attempt to persuade family members and neighbours or villagers from other parts of the district to join their particular association; and they also introduce them to persons from other associations, usually those affiliated to the F.D.J. Compared with Ongoy, though, there is not the same degree of concentration of kin and affinal links within associations, and only about 60 per cent of members are married to Matahuasinos. Matahuasino associations apparently

(52) 'Seasonal' migration refers to the movement of an individual or households for short periods during the year. This usually occurs during slack agricultural periods.

do not function so clearly as marriage bureaux as do Ongoino associations.

Differences may also be observed between the numbers of Ongoino and Matahuasino migrants living in Lima, the numbers of association members in both Lima and the localities and their social composition. In addition to the 9,421 inhabitants (around 1,570 households) registered as living in the locality of Ongoy, approximately 5,000 (about 1,000 households) were reported to be living in Lima⁽⁵³⁾. The eleven associations total 388 member-households which represents 39 per cent of the total. Of the eleven Ongoino associations, 77 per cent of the total membership belong to the nine that derive from the rural sector of the district. The other two, the A.H.H. and the Santiago de Ongoy, have a total of 118 members (23%), some from the urban centre and others of middle class status. But, in general, there are no marked social or economic distinctions between the associations. No association exists to represent the interests of the elite of the region or locality. Ongoinos are therefore a more corporate group and relatively homogeneous socially.

The District of Matahuasi has a total population of 3,948 (some 1,017 households) and, in addition, there are

(53) We have no exact figures for two main reasons:
a) the lack of statistical records; and b) the continuous movement of villagers from the village to Lima and vice versa which makes it difficult to be precise. My estimates are based on oral testimonies from Lima and the villages.

some 3,000 Matahuasinos reported as living in Lima. The five Matahuasino associations in Lima have a total of 353 member-households (e.g. some 59 per cent of the total number⁽⁵⁴⁾), of whom 208 were born in Matahuasi. The remaining 145 members were born elsewhere, most of them in the Mantaro Valley. In Matahuasi itself, only 95 people are members of the two "branch" associations, thus representing 11 per cent of total households as against 22 per cent for Ongoy. One of the associations (C.S.D.M.) is made up, more or less exclusively, of people originating from the urban sector of the district and is commonly regarded as the elite group since several of its members are professionals and entrepreneurs. The rest of the membership of the five associations consists predominantly of persons from small-scale agricultural, trading or craft family backgrounds (some 235 members, or 70 per cent of the total fall into these categories). In contrast to the Ongoy case, then, Matahuasi exhibits more social and economic differentiation both within and between the members of the urban sector and the rural sector associations. This pattern of differentiation from time to time generates conflict at both the interpersonal and associational levels. As is discussed in the case studies to follow, heterogeneity is related to

(54) Although the percentage for formally registered members of the Matahuasino associations is considerably higher than that of Ongoy, the level of active participation in the associations' activities (excluding sports) is, according to my observations, lower than among Ongoinos.

differences in education, occupation and income distribution before and after migration to Lima.

2.2. Development Aid

The need to provide material and economic aid to both village and barrio is a prime factor underlying the formation of regional associations⁽⁵⁵⁾ (see Tables IX and X). For this to be achieved, associations must sponsor a variety of events from which they can obtain money. Funds are then used for village development, association maintenance and the benefit of association members and their families. Recreation is, of course, important, but is only secondary to these objectives.

Another important member activity is the lobbying of Government offices on behalf of the locality, in order to improve local services such as roads, public buildings, and schools. Though such activities are common both to Ongoino and Matahuasino associations, their respective demands and objectives differ.

Table IX suggests that all Ongoino barrios have already gained benefit from their respective associations. About 90 per cent of aid is destined for the improvement of barrio schools. Although the average contribution made by associations to the construction of barrio school buildings and the communal institutions seems small, 154,800 Peruvian soles, or £516.19, it is nevertheless

(55) This argument is confirmed by the contents of several of their constitutions (estatutos de fundación) where help (ayuda) for the village is given as the association's primary objective.

TABLE: IX TYPE OF AID GIVEN BY ASSOCIATION TO LOCALITY I

No.	NAME OF ASSOCIATIONS IN LIMA	TYPE OF AIDS						BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS AND/OR BRANCHES IN THE LOCALITY
		CASH (*)	SPORTS EQUIPMENT	SCHOOL TEACHING SUPPLY	URBAN PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT	OTHERS		
1	Santiago de Ongoy	£43.13 roads	Sport Shirts	Electronic Speakers, Music band		Equipment for building roads	Pacifico, The District, The School	
2	Asociación Hijos de Huaqana	£39.21 Virgin's image.	Balls. Sport Shirts.	Electronic speakers. Books.	100 bags of cement	Land to build public office calamines.	a) Hermandad Virgen, del Carmen b) Progresista Huaqana, c) School	
3	Estrella de Mauca-llaqta	£14.50 cash	Sport Skirts and Shoes				24 de Junio, The School	
4	Progresista Cuchucuma	£39.20 School	Balls				Cuchucuma, The School	
5	24 de Octubre de Callapayoq		Sport Shirts				Emancipador Callapayoq	
6	ADIPSA C	£392.15 Political Support		Books, Blackboards, etc.		Labour: roads	Institución Comunal	
7	Villa Cancha		Balls	Pencils, Blackboard.			San Ramón, The School	
8	Deportivo 1- de Mayo Sapsipampa		Shoes Trophy	Pencils. Books.			1- de Mayo, The School	
9	Hijos de Mauca-llaqta	£19.60 School	Trophy	Books. Maps.			Estrella Roja, The School	
10	Deportivo Toruro	£19.60 School	Sport Shoes, Shirts.	War Band paper, notebook.			Deportivo Toruro, The School	
11	Deportivo Hnos. Rios.			Notebooks, Maps, Books.			The School	

(*) The exchange rate at that moment was 300 soles for £

TABLE: X TYPE OF AID GIVEN BY ASSOCIATIONS TO LOCALITY II

N	NAME OF ASSOCIATIONS IN LIMA	TYPE OF AIDS						BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS AND/OR BRANCHES IN THE LOCALITY
		CASH	SPORTS EQUIPMENT	SCHOOL TEACHING SUPPLY	URBAN PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT	OTHERS		
1	Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi	£ Individual Contributions 133.54 For Church building. 176.47 Water supply 47.05 School		80 bags of cement for school building	Map for urban growth planning.	Individual Contribution For local school		The Church, The District, The Town Hall, The Schools.
2	Sociedad Auxilios Mútuos Hijos de Matahuasi	£ Individual Contributions 36.66				Electric power generator		The Peasant Community, The Church.
3	Centro Social Unión Yanamuclo		Sports skirts, Balls	Books Teaching materials				The School, Deportivo Yanamuclo.
4	Social Unión Yanamuclo							
5	Centro Social Maravilca		Sports skirts, Balls	Teaching materials	cement for the main square			Deportivo Maravilca, The School The Anexo.

substantial when one considers that the average wage of association members in Lima is around £25 a month. Indeed, one can argue that the contributions of the Ongoino associations were not only large, but in many instances, they were the only outside assistance the barrio or Comunidad Campesina could expect to receive. Contributions of sports equipment are made directly to "branch" associations: nine associations have already sent such equipment to their respective "branches". School teaching aids are sent to barrio-based schools. Migrants are particularly attached to barrio schools because often they have studied there themselves and through their associations have maintained correspondence with school authorities in the barrio. Furthermore, the aid given for urban public improvement schemes has been fairly regular and important.

Innovative, modernisation schemes introduced by associations in the locality may be illustrated by examining the attempts being made to form a transport co-operative called Virgen del Carmen (this is the name of the Patron Saint of the locality). This co-operative venture is sponsored by members of two associations, Deportivo Hermanos Rios and Deportivo Primero de Mayo from the Cabracancha and Sapsipampa barrios respectively. The main aim is to provide a bus transport service from Lima to Ongoy. The two associations are now lobbying Government offices for permission to operate such a service. At the moment they have raised around 30,000 soles (about £1,000 in 1976) from members' contributions.

Each member (socio) has to pay a £33 entrance fee and members can also join from the village. Their immediate objective is to buy three buses. The co-operative is presently trying to recruit more members, in spite of opposition from other associations, namely the third, fifth, sixth and tenth in Table VII , whose members are convinced that it will not be the peasants but the more well-to-do who will benefit from such a service. They also argue that: "it will contribute to the capitalization of the locality, which will have effects on the vitality of the Comunidad Campesina".

This case illustrates emerging heterogeneity of attitudes towards village modernization. Some migrants accept economic change, but others see it as a means of increasing external domination which they say, leads to the erosion of community solidarity.

Although barrios are dependent upon their respective associations for economic aid, they are self-sufficient in the provision of labour for public works such as the construction of schools, roads, and buildings for other services. In return for aid, members of the Comunidad and the barrios recognize their respective associations as their representatives in Lima when they need to negotiate or do business with any organization. The associations in Lima receive no economic aid from either "branch" associations or communal institutions though personal aid in the form of agricultural products is sometimes sent to relatives living in Lima. It has been reported that these products

are shared amongst close relatives and sometimes among migrants from the same barrio. This sort of exchange, it seems, has become more crucial during the last three years, as the cost of living has risen, on average, by 45 per cent each year⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Table IX indicates that the Matahuasino associations share the same sort of economic purpose as Ongoino associations. However, it appears that economic aid offered to the locality is more likely to be made to specific institutions rather than to barrio-based associations. Also a great deal of aid is given over to the modernization of the urban centre rather than to the development of the rural barrios. For example, one association alone (C.S.D.M.) provided about £357 for local improvements to be undertaken by the Town Council, the Church and two schools. Some associations show little interest in contributing to the improvement of the urban sector of the locality. Instead they have invested in sports equipment and school teaching materials. This aid is usually sent directly to the schools and "branch" associations.

Migrants from Matahuasi barrios express a sentimental attachment to their barrios as do Ongoinos, but they are less active in promoting local development; and Matahuasino schools maintain less correspondence with their representatives in Lima than their Ongoino counterparts. Instead one finds a greater exchange of letters and notices between the

(56) This statement is based on interviews with migrants from lower income brackets who explained that their salaries no longer covered their basic living expenses.

various associations in the urban context. In contrast to the dominance of collective contributions in Ongoy, individual apportionment is apparently more important in Matahuasi (see Table IX). This type of aid consists of personal economic aid earmarked for specific institutions; for example, the Church through the Comisión Pro-Templo (Church Building Committee) which is based in the locality. This case serves to illustrate the fact that associations are not generally able to act as intermediaries between their members and local village institutions, whereas Ongoino associations do play such a role. Also, as an institution, the Comunidad Campesina of Matahuasi has less influence over, and received less support from, both locals and migrants than its Ongoy counterpart. In fact, the only aid it received was from one association (S.A.M.H.M.) in the form of an electric power generator, which was provided for the population as a whole (see Table x). Similarly, the Comunidad has no control over other local institutions and over "branch" associations.

Affiliation to the Supra-association, F.D.J., seems to be economically beneficial for Matahuasino associations. The weekly activities organized by the F.D.J. are based on mutual co-operation. Over the research period each of the four affiliated associations were twice given the sponsorship of a Sunday festival. Each festival made an average £150 which went straight to the sponsoring association.

Three of the four associations decided to donate the money, two of them to their respective barrios and the other to the Town Council. It seems, however, that in some cases the money collected at festivals goes into the pockets of the officials, or towards the maintenance of the association rather than to the village.

Finally, let me outline the political links that Lima-based associations have with locally-based institutions and political groupings, one of the more important concerns of the present study.

2.3. Political Linkages

When a given association is formed, political objectives are unlikely to be its central concern, except for the few that are initiated explicitly for reasons of political action. Yet eventually associations gradually become more and more involved in politics. Sometimes, associations may claim to be non-political, but frequently they can be shown to be connected with political groups both in Lima and in the localities.

Migrant regional identity and political practice are interdependent processes; and, as Cohen (1974) has suggested, the political significance of associations varies considerably: at one end of the continuum, there are highly corporate political groups with considerable political autonomy that use associations as an organizational framework and, at the other end, regional associations, of ethnic groups, whose members recognize and interact among themselves by reference to their regional, social and ideological affinities, but whose political functions

are latent.

Ongoino associations differ from Matahuasino ones most markedly in terms of the political dimension. A major factor influencing their establishment was the existence of "homeland" political disputes over land, between hacendados on one hand, and the comuneros and colonos, on the other. The three oldest associations, (Numbers one, three, and six in Table VII) were formed on a political basis and, at present, all except the first, continue to maintain their political commitments to their respective barrios. They also declare themselves as primarily political associations, although, like other associations, they also engage in sports and social activity. It is clear too that migrants who come from barrios in the proximity of haciendas, are likely to form associations with more explicitly formulated politico-economic goals. All three of the associations mentioned above are located within hacienda boundaries; and the eight remaining associations at some distance from hacienda land. These latter are notably less active politically, although when their support was requested they responded in various ways, mostly morally and, in a few instances, financially and politically. Following the Land Reform, associations have become less politically active as conflict over land became a thing of the past. As is clear from Table VII, the five new associations formed after the agrarian change were oriented principally to sports and social activities.

The most prominent recent political action taken by

the three more political associations (particularly Number 6, Table VII) was during 1974 over the question of Land Reform application when, after four years of enactment, necessary reforms, in the area, had still not been implemented. At the national level, peasant reaction against the delay in implementing the Agrarian Reform erupted. Then, in 1974, a national left-wing organization called Confederación Campesina del Peru (C.C.P.), in combination with a regional peasant organization called Federación Provincial de Campesinos de Andahuaylas (F.E.P.C.A.) decided to occupy unaffected hacienda lands in the Andahuaylas region (Sanchez, 1977). In Lima, the A.D.I.P.S.A.C. (the sixth association in the Table) decided, with the open support of the first and third associations, together with their branches and the Comunidad Campesina, to combine with these national and regional organizations in occupying, violently if necessary, the hacienda lands of Chacabamba, and so oppose the Government. They were so successful in their actions throughout the region that, after some months, the Government decided to quell political unrest by disbanding all organized movements and restoring order to most of the troubled areas. The land reform bill was quickly applied and new peasant organizations were formed under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture.

These organizations were called Cooperativas Agrarias de Producción and Ligas Agrarias. In Ongoy, two production co-operatives (Nuestra Señora de Asuncion and Nuestro Señor de Los Milagros) and one agrarian league (Liga Agraria Distrital) were set up. The Comunidad Campesina

did not, however, become involved in the new organizations; instead it systematically opposed them. And in spite of political repression by the Government, the three political associations in Lima, their home land "branches" and the Comunidad Campesina, were all able to retain a degree of autonomy. Though they offered support, the eight remaining associations did not become directly involved in the conflict itself.

Political relations still exist between A.D.I.P.S.A.C. and the Comunidad Campesina, as well as with the home "branch" associations, even though the land problem has now been solved. In fact, the associations maintain close political links, not only with the locality, but also with the regional and national peasant organizations mentioned above. Since 1963, A.D.I.P.S.A.C. has produced, quarterly, a political pamphlet, which is distributed locally, outlining the direction of political activity and providing information concerning the peasant organizations.

At the local level, the Comunidad Campesina and the two "branch" associations (Numbers 3 and 9 in Table VII) have established close relations expressed in political and economic terms. Politically, these branches have considerable influence in the running of the Comunidad Campesina, and their stand is one in defiance of Government institutions and the interference of outsiders (e.g. traders, merchants) in the village affairs. They also oppose development schemes such as that of the Transport Cooperative, and the modernization of the Comunidad infrastructure (e.g. the construction of more roads and public services). In economic terms, they are involved

in mutual aid schemes (avni, minka, and faenas) for Comunidad benefit and often oppose what they see as the negative effects of the penetration of the market economy.

In summary, we may argue that the politically involved, Lima-based and "branch" associations, as well as the Comunidad, are more cohesive, more active and more effective than those associations that are non-political in orientation. They also maintain important external links with other types of political organisation. On the other hand, the non-political associations show greatest interest in locality modernization and in arranging recreational activities.

Politics plays a different role in the organization of Matahuasino associations. This is mainly a result of socio-historical differences. The most salient historical fact which affected the associations' political behaviour was the dispute over church land; but, in this case, it had the reverse effect to what happened in Ongoy. Rather than encouraging political solidarity, and increased class consciousness among the poorest peasant groups, it led to the consolidation of interests among the larger land-owners and entrepreneurs.

Table VIII suggests that the only association that has a political role these days is C.S.D.M., although most of its members would declare themselves not involved politically. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that they have been influenced by the APRA party, one of the oldest populist political parties in Peru⁽⁵⁷⁾. The earliest

(57) For a discussion of the links between APRA and members of regional associations, see Roberts, 1974.

established association (S.A.M.H.M.) was founded partly for political reasons when it supported the Comunidad Campesina in its dispute over church land, but the remaining four associations are essentially concerned with sports and economic activities.

This relative lack of political involvement in Matahuasi has to be related to the fact that the community has not experienced the sort of exploitative hacienda domination that was the case for Ongoy. This, together with the internal socio-economic divisions within Matahuasi itself, has affected the cohesiveness of the community and inhibited the development of peasant political solidarity.

Until the late 1960's, the Comunidad Campesina of Matahuasi had maintained good relations with S.A.M.H.M. in Lima. It was the dispute with the C.S.D.M. in 1971 that marked the end of the association's political commitment to the Comunidad Campesina. Although attempts have been made to oppose the formation of the C.S.D.M. (who back the buyers' group), they have been without success. The S.A.M.H.M. has become internally disorganized and unable to lend support to the Comunidad Campesina in their continuing struggle. From 1971, the C.S.D.M. has been the representative of the buyers before Government and has established close relations with members of the Town Council. In 1972 a new Alcalde (Mayor) was appointed by Government under the guidance of the members of C.S.D.M. and ever since, both the Council and the association have been working in close collaboration. Once again, in 1974 the Comunidad Campesina, supported this time only by SINAMOS, attempted to claim

their rights to the disputed church land. They received absolutely no assistance from the Lima associations, while, on the other hand, C.S.D.M. quickly contacted, on behalf of the group of buyers, Government officials and lawyers who could argue their case. The final outcome was, predictably, that the litigation went in favour of the buyers who remained in possession of the land. Two more Alcaldes (Mayors) have held office since 1972: both have APRA connections and maintain good relations with officials of C.S.D.M.

With the exception of C.S.D.M., Matahuasino associations appear much less politically united, active and effective than those of Ongoy. Also they do not (with one exception again) establish relations with formal political organizations external to the village, such as the peasant confederations and political parties contacted by Ongoino associations.

In the next section we consider the extent to which associations contribute to the process of migration and to social change within their communities of origin.

3. The Significance of Associations in the Process of Migration and Social Change Within the Two Localities

Recent literature concerning rural-urban migration, particularly that which takes place between highland regions and Lima, identifies three relatively contradictory themes. The first, and perhaps most important, identifies the types of 'breakdown', frustration, poverty, misery and the like that one finds among migrant populations in the city (Quijano, 1971; Henry, 1977; Gianella, 1970). The second theme, which is less often commented upon, emphasizes the question of cultural continuity, ethnic identity, the maintenance of

community-based organization and co-operative effort (Isbell, 1973; Doughty, 1972). The third focuses upon the ability of peasants to adapt to urban life in spite of difficulties presented by the urban milieu (Mangin, 1974; Collier, ;973; Allers and Appelbaum, 1968, and Weisslitz, 1974).

Each of these approaches suggests a different picture of the role of regional associations in the urban context and in relation to the migratory process. The first considers that such associations are marginal and relatively unimportant to the urban poor and sometimes they are regarded as obstacles to the development of class consciousness. The second interprets associations as the continuation of community life and 'native' cultural heritage, and therefore stresses the persistence of peasant forms of organization in the city. The third sees associations as channels for adapting, integrating and adjusting migrants to the urban way of life; in other words, as a kind of "social insurance" against psychological and social problems.

Since convincing arguments for the three positions can be presented, we must conclude that these different interpretations are but three sides of the same problem. Some migrants, particularly the poor, probably do suffer from economic, social and/or psychological breakdown; others (possibly the better endowed in terms of material and social resources) manage to surmount such difficulties and establish a wide variety of networks based on contrasting normative frameworks. Others use existing kinship and other 'traditional' relationships to solve their personal and household problems.

In general, however, it seems that insufficient attention has been drawn to the specific advantages and disadvantages brought by migrants to the city from their regions and localities of origin. These regional differences, I suggest, are crucial to our understanding of migrant behaviour and of why it is that certain groups appear more successful in dealing with their livelihood and other problems than others. The consideration of social origins and of links to regions and localities is also important for explaining particular migration flows.

The points I wish to develop here concern firstly, the part played by associations in contributing directly or indirectly to out-migration to Lima from the two localities (Ongoy and Matahuasi); and secondly, their function in maintaining rural-urban relationships, by means of which rural localities have become involved in the regional, and even national, political arena. As I described earlier, associations from the two regions, and particularly from the two localities, tend to reflect the economic structures which prevail in their places of origin. This situation is found not only with respect to the individual social characteristics of the members, but also with regard to the relative socio-economic position of the locality itself vis-à-vis its region as a whole. All this is closely related to the types of social change occurring in the two localities and to the roles played by the associations in promoting particular trends.

From early times, the formation of the Ongoino associations was closely connected with the predominance of temporary and seasonal migration which assisted in

maintaining the associations' links with the place of origin. This kind of migration strongly encouraged migrants not to become detached from their home land, to which they might be expected to return at any time. The possibility of association membership was a very important consideration in the decision to migrate for it was through these associations that migrants retained their rights to membership of the barrio and Comunidad.

Kinship and friendship relations existing before migration (within the barrio) may be regarded as major channels through which the transfer from Ongoy to Lima takes place. These channels occur along the routes established by early migrants who have settled in the city. Friends, relatives and neighbours follow them, receiving support and sometimes financial aid during the early stages of urban life, while they look for a job. New migrants are also likely to be recruited into associations to which their relatives and fellow villagers will already belong. Hence associations provide a useful means of building up contacts with fellow villagers and with migrants from other regions. Seasonal and temporary migration ensures that regular contact continues with the village.

As migrants return either temporarily or permanently to their villages, they are likely to encourage the setting up of "branch" associations in the locality in which they themselves can participate. Data also suggest some individuals involved in a pattern of temporary migration, with spells in town and village, participate in both Lima-based and "branch" associations, involving double membership, whereas seasonal migrants are more likely to

participate fully in only one association, generally in their place of origin. Similarly, permanent migrants participate only in Lima-based associations, but often continue to show interest in information about their home barrio and the locality as a whole. Such information is passed on by fellow villagers at association events which take place at least once a month. In addition, permanent migrants (whose numbers are gradually increasing) are likely to return to their home village for short periods, usually during the harvest or for the Santo Patron celebrations, or when they are asked to do so by a member of the family.

The temporary nature of migration implies a fluctuation in the number of active association members; but it facilitates the gathering of information on the plans and activities of other associations and institutions in Ongoy. Sometimes returned temporary migrants represent their branch association in the village and may take important decisions. About once a year, associations arrange an institutional visit to the locality which they call a Caravana de Retorno ("a Return Caravan"). This event consists of a short visit to the home village by association representatives during which association problems, plans and programmes are discussed and agreed upon. The types of material, financial and sometimes political support are decided and the general tactics discussed. Some representatives take advantage of the opportunity to persuade members of the family to migrate, perhaps returning with them to Lima. Frequently, Ongoino villagers view these visitors from Lima as exemplars of progress, innovation,

advancement and a better life style, and this evaluation may contribute to their decision to migrate. Many villagers explained that they would like to "know Lima, at least, for a short period".

Another interesting dimension is that it appears that, in several respects, the patterns of social and economic relations prevalent in the area of origin tend to be reproduced in Lima through these associations. The social organization of Ongoy has, as I have already described, been shaped by the division that existed between peasants and landowners⁽⁵⁸⁾. The landowners and local elite groups, however, have no representative regional associations in Lima, apparently preferring instead to work through informal political networks with various right-wing politicians, lawyers and influential families. Nevertheless, certain status divisions continue to persist among Ongoinos in Lima and are reflected in the organization of their associations. For example, the association representing the district level (A.H.H., Number 2 in Table VII) is partly controlled by people with a local upper status background, whilst those associations closely linked to barrio and ex-hacienda associations exhibit a membership and leadership group which is essentially poor peasant in origin. The direct links with barrios through branch associations is of course a means of reproducing similar subdivisions and endogamous units in Lima as already

(58) Other authors prefer to talk about the Indian-mestizo social and cultural dichotomy; see Doughty, 1974; Mangin, 1974; and Escobar, 1973.

exist in Ongoy.

In economic life generally, the innovative influence and modernizing outlook of associations for their localities must be stressed in relation to the contribution they make to the course of social change. We must recognize, however, that these characteristics are not common to all associations, and, even when they do exist, their effects may be limited. Only seven (Numbers 1,2,4,7,8,10,11 in Table IX) of the eleven associations are clearly interested in "urbanising" the locality, while four of them (Numbers 3,5,6,9 in Table IX) appear uninterested in this aspect. The innovative role of associations can be assessed in part through the financial and material aid they have given to their respective barrios, local schools and "branch" associations. From Tables IX and X we can see that the associations are mainly concerned with:

- 1) fighting illiteracy through their support of schools;
- 2) promoting urban-based sport, such as football; and
- 3) building link roads from their barrios to the main road using communal labour. All barrio schools were built by communal work with financial and material support from associations and Government. Similar arrangements were made for construction of health centres and barrio meeting places.

It must be emphasized, however, that association innovation is but one of several external forces impinging on the locality and generating social change. Other influences include Government agencies, non-member return-migrants and commercial traders.

Evidence suggests that modernization and innovation in the locality is not an homogeneous process. The three more politically-oriented barrios appear less receptive to external and internal innovation. They are more corporate and politically more aware of the social consequences of modernization. The remaining barrios are more open to external influences; they are therefore more "urbanized" and, at the same time, more heterogeneous socially and economically, and less united politically.

Turning then to the associations' political impact, we should firstly note that associations are increasingly becoming identified with particular interest groups that exploit their native culture in order to deal with the various problems they face. In addition, some of them serve to articulate local groups with large-scale organizations that may give access to power at regional or even national level. This process is in its early stages, but could assume major significance for Ongoyinos in the years to come.

As it is associations that provide the main political link between the Comunidad and the outside, the locality becomes more and more influenced by political developments within them. This situation has existed since 1974, when Ongoy and other localities adopted a left-wing stance in order that they might direct their activities towards the construction of national political networks in opposition to the Government.

One problem that is acquiring increased importance is the fact that Government agencies (e.g. the Ministry of Agriculture and of Education), like the APRA political party, appear to prefer working with local higher status

groups (such as the medium-size agriculturalists, the merchants, and professionals). The political response to this by peasants has been varied; some actively support the militant peasant federations and the regional associations that are working with them; and others make alliances with the local elite and co-operate with Government. This situation is creating a basis for future internal conflict and factionalism.

In summary, we can argue that the long-standing struggle between hacendados and peasants has been converted into conflict between local upper status groups and the three 'political' associations and their respective "branches", plus the Comunidad Campesina, and between peasants and Government. Lying between these groups is another represented by relatively "urbanized" peasants mainly from the non-political barrios⁽⁵⁹⁾ who are members of other associations and their branches. These latter are, it seems, less conscious of their class position. Hence as internal political strife can no longer be based on the problem of land, it appears that new conflict has arisen in the struggle for access to political power at all levels.

The formation of Matahuasino associations is not as closely related to migration as for Ongoy. As I have described, out-migration to Lima from the Mantaro Valley and Matahuasi took place earlier than migration from Pampas and Ongoy.

(59) Some authors have called them "cholos". Cholos represent a socially mobile group which is in the process of integrating itself into the mainstream of dominant national society. See, for example, Martinez, 1968; Bourricaud, 1967; and Quijano, 1970.

Early temporary and seasonal migration led to the formation of the first Matahuasino association (the S.A.M.H.M.). These early migrants, particularly the poor ones, expected to return, sooner or later, to the village. Today, however, this is not so and therefore membership of a Lima institution is not considered vital to a Matahuasi migrant, although they are still effective in upholding members rights in the locality through the Comunidad Campesina.

Like Ongoy, Matahuasino associations offer a means by which fellow villagers are introduced to each other, provide entertainment and financial help. In addition, relatives, fellow villagers and friends are used for support and aid while seeking employment or finding accommodation. The availability of such support is crucial to the decision to migrate. Once the migrant is established, or even before, in his new residence in Lima, it is likely that he will be recruited into an association.

In contrast to the Ongoinos, the predominance of more permanent migration and previous migration experience among Matahuasinos leads to greater exposure to urban patterns of behaviour and consumption, thereby encouraging them to become more urbanized. Those who temporarily migrate or those who frequently return to the locality may, however, find they are able to lead the double life of townsmen in Lima and villager in the village.

It is apparent that permanent, temporary and "visiting" migration have a differential impact on associational organization and attachment to place of origin. Firstly we find a lack of branch associations in the urban centre

of Matahuasi where permanent migration appears more prevalent; whereas in the two rural anexos/barrrios branch associations play a key role and migration tends to be temporary or seasonal. Secondly, professionals from Matahuasi, who live permanently in Lima but who may keep the family house or other property in Matahuasi tend to espouse a sentimental attachment to the locality, although from time to time they will support politically the local upper status groups.

The data suggest that members of the two barrio-based associations in Lima, returning temporarily to the village, are not likely to encourage the formation of "branch" associations or to participate in them if they are formed. The data also indicate that very few members of the same kin group or barrio hold double membership of Lima-based and "branch" associations. Those migrants involved in seasonal migration are generally full members of their "branch" association, while permanent migrants participate in Lima-based associations only. Permanent Mathuasino migrants, like their Ongoino counterparts, frequently receive information about their respective barrrios from return-migrants and their close relatives. They may themselves return to their locality for short stays during the religious festivities of the Patron Saint or when a relative invites them. Again, like Ongoy, almost every year most associations will send representatives on a short visit to the locality. The visit is usually made to coincide with the Patron Saint fiesta, the anniversary of the "branch" association, or with National Independence Day (July 28th). However, unlike Ongoy, these visiting

Matahuasinos are not looked upon as carriers of a prestigious urban culture, though Matahuasino professionals and entrepreneurs may act as a reference group for those who have such aspirations. This may be partly explained by the villagers' own migration experience, which in this case is considerable, in contrast to the Ongoinos who have little.

Matahuasi association membership to some extent reflects the social and economic structure of the village, like Ongoy, although there are a number of important differences. The Ongoy upper status group, for example, is not represented by any association, whereas for Matahuasi we find different status groups represented by specific associations. This can be explained in the following terms: in Matahuasi, population is roughly divided into three socio-economic status groups. The first is represented by commercial agriculturalists, timber merchants, and professionals; the second, by shopkeepers, medium-sized agriculturalists, traders and truck drivers; and the third, by peasants, wage-labourers and unskilled workers. The first two groups reside in the urban sector, are literate, and urban-oriented. Many are, or were, members of the local Town Council. The third group is resident in the rural sector, mostly illiterate, more attached to their barrio, and are members of the Comunidad Campesina.

Consequently, the Matahuasino associations tend to reflect the interests of not one broadly similar status group, as found in the Ongoy case, but three different groups. Thus the Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi represents the upper status group, the Sociedad Auxilios

Hijos de Matahuasi, the middle group, and the three remaining associations (Centro Social Unión Yanamuclo, Unión Yanamuclo, and Centro Social Maravilca, the lower status group. There is, of course, no simple one-to-one relationship between status and association, but the difference in membership of the various associations is clearly noticeable, particularly in the way upper status persons are concentrated in the C.S.D.M. This pattern, together with the type of political struggles that manifest themselves within and between associations, suggests that Matahuasino associations are organized roughly into a series of socially-ranked categories based on their members' socio-economic and political status, and barrio or place of origin within the District.

These various differences between Ongoino and Matahuasino associations are explored further in the next chapter which focuses on a comparison of two specific associations.

Chapter IV

Case Studies

Case I : Asociación Hijos de Huaqana

Case II: Centro Social Y Deportivo Matahuasi

CASE I

1. Formation and Development

Formerly founded as Asociación Cultural Hijos de Ongoy (A.C.H.O.) in 1923, it was the first association of its kind in Lima, for the whole region, and was officially recognized by the Ministry of Labour in the same year. Its members consisted wholly of peasant migrants. Though small, it was formed from an enthusiastic group of migrants deeply concerned about the problems of their Comunidad. The first action taken by the association was a petition to the President of Peru, Augusto B. Leguia, calling for the total restitution of communal land alleged to have been illegally usurped by Chacabamba and Rio Blanco Haciendas. The Government immediately appointed an agrarian surveyor to determine the Hacienda-Comunidad boundaries. The inspection revealed that communal land had been considerably reduced by 1926 from about 69,000 to 13,124 hectares⁽⁶⁰⁾. However, ambiguous ownership rights on the one hand, and defensive action taken by hacendados supported by national and regional level political authorities on the other, prevented the Comunidad from taking back much land, apart from a small proportion of pasture land in the highlands. The second significant action taken by the association in

(60) This data is extracted from my research carried out in 1969-70.

1926 was to publish a public statement of its objectives in the national newspaper La Prensa. Its declared aim was "To intervene and seek justice for the Indian population in opposition to the abuses of both 'los gamonales' ("the bosses", i.e. the hacendados) and the municipal authorities of the District who were aligned with them"⁽⁶¹⁾. The third action was in 1935 when the association, after collecting documentary evidence, lobbied the government to recognize officially the Comunidad de Ongoy as Comunidad Indígena de Ongoy. The recognition took place the same year, and it was the first recognized Comunidad in the area. This new situation encouraged migrants to make legal representation to the Government on behalf of their Comunidad concerning their land rights. But the reluctance of the hacendados to restore even a meagre portion of the land to the Comunidad resulted in the gradual encroachment by the peasants on hacienda land, mainly on the boundaries. This method proved successful and became the main strategy adopted over several years.

Until about 1950, the A.C.H.O. was the only Ongoino association of its kind in Lima. Since the late 1940's and early 1950's, out-migration from Ongoy to Lima increased, thereby expanding the membership of A.C.H.O. This situation led to the formation of other 'satellite' associations representing the barrios. However, such new associations were linked together under the umbrella of A.C.H.O.

(61) A complete version of this statement can be seen in Long, 1973: 173-190.

which acted as the main representative for the whole locality - the Asociación Matriz. All new association members were drawn from the barrios and were settled in the newly emerging barriadas of Ermitaño, Collique and Comas. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, the A.C.H.O. gradually started to lose its central position because of the relative independence of the new associations, although this did not mean a total separation. On the contrary, close inter-dependent relations resulted. Such close contacts were partly due to the fact that a majority of migrants lived in adjacent places. Another factor contributing to this togetherness was the permanent identification of migrants with their Comunidad and with their respective barrios.

In 1958, from A.C.H.O., the Asociación Defenza Independiente Pumachuco-Simpe Anexo Callapayoq (A.D.I.P.S.A.C.) was born. All of the members were recruited from Callapayoq barrio. A.C.H.O. and the above association decided to co-ordinate closely and to take joint action over the land dispute. The first move was to set up a quarterly pamphlet⁽⁶²⁾ containing information on the situation in the Comunidad, and on its links with other political groups in Lima. I quote from one of the paragraphs:

"... in conclusion, we would like the communal land usurped by hacendados to be taken back for the Comunidad and we would like exact boundaries to be drawn. We want justice and equality. The land must be for the working people ..."

(see Altamirano, 1971: 100)

(62) The name of the pamphlet was "Rikchariy Ongoy" ('Awake people of Ongoy'). It was distributed within Pampas Valley and Ongoino associations as well as in the Comunidad by the representatives.

Since the early 1960's, both associations began to co-ordinate political action with the Comunidad Campesina. Their main concern was to link up their associations with urban left-wing political groups, parties and university students. As a result of this new strategy, peasants of Callapayoq barrio⁽⁶³⁾ received economic and political support from the two Lima associations and the Comunidad. This was most notable in 1963 (24th October) when a major confrontation occurred between villagers from Callapayoq, Simpe and Pumachuco, and the national police force, supporting hacendados and small scale landowners⁽⁶⁴⁾. As a result of this confrontation, it was reported that 16 peasants died, the main leaders were jailed, and the peasant movement disorganized. Yet in spite of this disruption the Comunidad gradually reorganized itself and the Lima associations reopened their relations with the Comunidad.

In 1965, a major associational problem arose when some members of A.C.H.O. from Huaqana⁽⁶⁵⁾, made up of peasants and middle status migrants, decided to form a new association. This new association was called Asociación Hijos de Huaqana (A.H.H.). These people allege that the three main reasons for their separation were: a) that A.C.H.O. was too politically involved, and was creating

(63) Villagers from this barrio were historically very dependent on Hacienda Chacabamba (the second largest hacienda in the area).

(64) This group was comprised of the local upper status group called Mistis. (see Photograph I)

(65) Main urban centre in the locality. Administratively it is an anexo (the lowest political unit).

conflicts between fellow villagers; b) that in spite of its long establishment, it was not able to help their barrio or local school either financially or otherwise; and c) it did not represent the whole locality but only its own barrio. A.C.H.O. became relatively inactive within a few years because its leaders were under prosecution by the police. The new association quickly claimed to be the main Ongoino association in Lima (the asociación matriz). Its main objectives were somewhat different from A.C.H.O.'s. Its first move was to establish close relations with the urban-based School, the Church, and a club from the urban sector called Club Social Huaqana.

Meanwhile, A.D.I.P.S.A.C. continued to be totally committed to its previous political activities, working in close contact with three politically-based new associations (Numbers 1,3, and 4 in Table V). In 1968, A.C.H.O. and A.D.I.P.S.A.C. decided to make a joint statement regarding the peasant unrest in Ongoy. This statement was formulated with the help of the Peruvian branch of the world-wide Human Rights Organization known as CODEH (Comite de Derechos Humanos). I quote some passages from the statement:

"... to the government agencies, professionals, students, and peasant organizations, as well as to the public, we denounce the regrettable accusations made by Chacabamba landowners against the representatives of our ill-treated fellow peasants, who are actually in prison ..."

With regard to the new land reforms made during the Belaunde regime in 1965, A.C.H.O. and A.D.I.P.S.A.C.

issued a joint statement in 1969 which declared:

"... the new land reform recognizes landowners' property ... we (peasants) have to pay the hacendados ... we have been like slaves for the last twenty years ... we want land without payment ..."

In contrast to this interest in political issues, the A.H.H. was more interested in promoting in Lima festivals and religious activities during the period 1965-70. Such activities were co-ordinated with the local religious association called Hernandad Virgen del Carmen (Virgen del Carmen is the Patron Saint of the Comunidad). Each year since 1965, the A.H.H. has celebrated its Santo Patron fiesta on July 15th. The festivities include a mass followed by a procession of the Saint's image, and sporting activities sponsored by the association in which several migrants participate. This occasion can be regarded as the main Comunidad event in Lima and is almost the only occasion when Ongoinos reunite except at football matches, which take place frequently.

During the early 1970's, A.C.H.O. became inactive again, and its members joined up mainly with A.D.I.P.S.A.C. and other politically-based associations. In 1974, a second major contretemps occurred between the army and police force, and peasants from Callapayoq barrio. Again the central issue was the land dispute. It was reported that some members of A.H.H. were involved in the mobilization. But the association itself did not take part in the confrontation but was sympathetic to it. In 1975, a small group of members broke away from A.D.I.P.S.A.C. to form a new association called 24 de Octubre de Callaoayoq,

in remembrance of that historic date. This new association was more interested in sponsoring festivals and sports activities than in being politically active.

Since 1975, the main interest of A.H.H., apart from helping local schools and the Church, has been to sponsor a variety of activities such as a game called Tiro al Sapo⁽⁶⁶⁾, kermeses⁽⁶⁷⁾, dances and football matches. The treasurer of the association claimed to have collected S/.80,000 (about £300). This sum will be used for the construction of a meeting house for the association.

At present, although A.H.H. has no formal control over the ten Ongoino associations, it is the largest association (70 members) and is able to attract members from other associations when they sponsor a festival.

1.2. The Social Basis of Migrant-Members

To get a better understanding of the social characteristics of migrant-members, we must look primarily at their social roots. Such roots must not only be sought in their present situation in Lima, but in their place of origin where a large number of their relatives live.

The Asociación Hijos de Huacana (A.H.H.) is somewhat different from the Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi, which I discuss later. There are some features which are common to both associations; they both have an internal

(66) A sort of sport in which an iron frog is the target at which coins should be thrown from a distance of about 10 metres.

(67) A midday festival where lunch and music are provided for participants.

organization which is hierarchical in nature; they both represent their village; they have similar economic objectives for their locality and particularly for the group to which they belong; they are independent of external control by Government agencies, political parties or private institutions. However, there are more differences than similarities. The most significant differences occur in the following areas: a) family characteristics (including relatives in the home village) with reference to residence, education, and occupation; b) the migrant's household in Lima, with reference to the place of birth, education, occupation and income levels of its members; c) the migrant-member's own social attributes such as residence, age, sex, marital status, occupation, educational level, and income; and d) his life history.

In addition to the above dimensions, there are qualitative differences which are expressed in the dominant ideology of each association. This ideology includes the perceptions, expectations and ideas about the significance and relevance of associations at the individual, family and locality levels. Such ideology is not only related to how the migrants themselves perceive their associations, but to how other migrants, non-members, and fellow villagers perceive them and what their knowledge, hopes, and desires are.

1.2.1. Village-based Family Background

There are 70 officially recognized members in

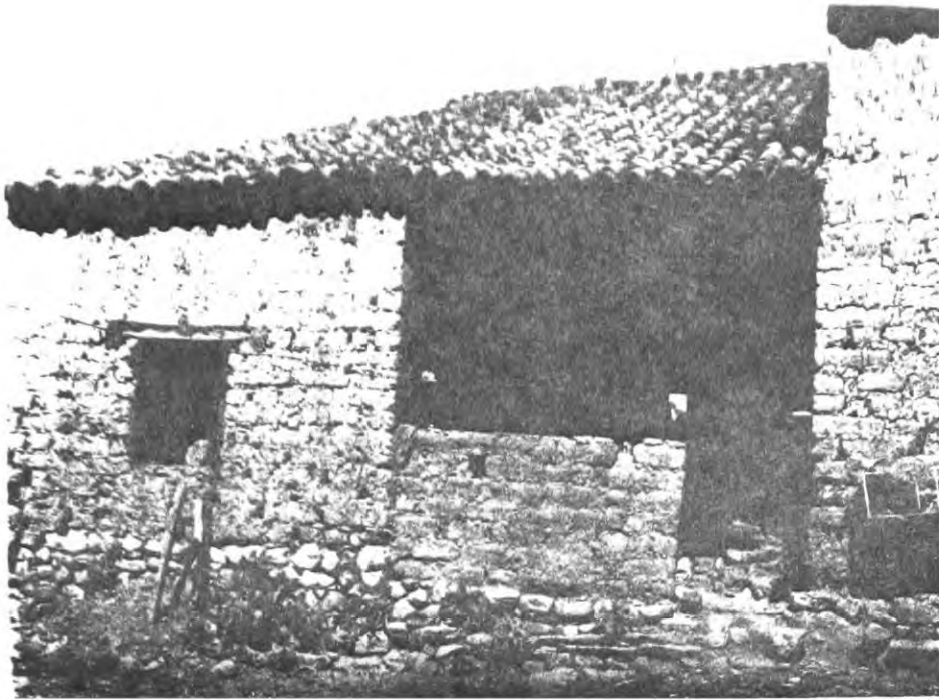
the A.H.H. who basically represent 70 households with an average of 6.9 persons per household. This is 1.9 more than the average of 5 persons per household for the urban population of Lima⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Regarding the place of birth of migrant-members' parents, we found that all of them were born in Ongoy (see Table XI). A small number of them are living in Lima in the homes of their sons or daughters. Some of the nuclear family members have moved to Lima, particularly the adults. Statistics show that 43 per cent of nuclear family members are living outside Ongoy, mostly in Lima (see Table XI). Those remaining in Ongoy are mainly parents and young people, (the brothers and sisters of migrants) as the middle age group are more likely to have migrated to Lima and are working in Chanchamayo.

Statistics suggest that the majority of the nuclear family members of migrants are still living in Ongoy. This fact can be regarded as one of the most significant reasons for the attachment of migrants to their barrio where most of their relatives live. (see Photograph II).

With regard to the family background of migrant-parents of migrant-members, the data show that/of the natal nuclear family members remaining in Ongoy, 64 per cent of them are illiterate (almost all of their parents are illiterate); 28 per cent have part or full primary level education; 4 per cent have part or full time secondary school education

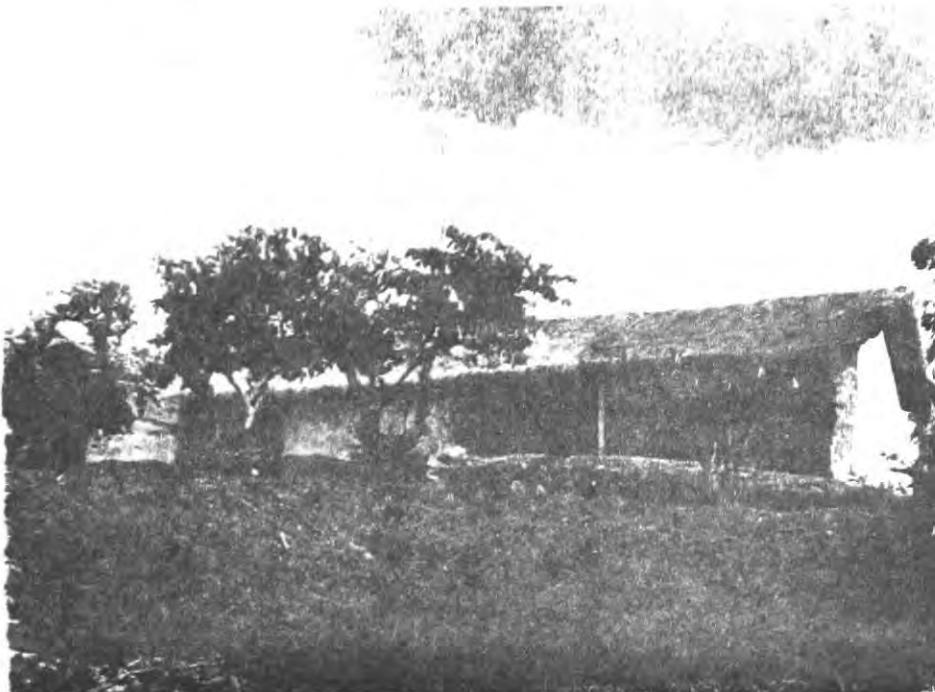
(68) These data have been taken from the last National Census held in 1972.



PHOTOGRAPH: I RESIDENCE OF VILLAGE MESTIZO IN ONGOY



PHOTOGRAPH: II RESIDENCE OF A PEASANT VILLAGER IN ONGOY



PHOTOGRAPH: III SCHOOL BUILT BY COMMUNAL WORK (FAENA)
AND AIDS PROVIDED BY MIGRANT-MEMBERS OF A.H.H.

TABLE XI

DATA ON IMMEDIATE KIN (PARENTS ONLY) OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS LIVING IN LOCALITIES I AND II

PLACE OF BIRTH OF PARENTS			
Case I	No.	%	Case II
In Ongoy	53	100	In Matahuasi
Elsewhere	0	0	Elsewhere
Total	53	100	106
			88
			12

Note: Tables XI, XII, XIV, XV and XVI are based on interview samples of 26 (On-goyinos) and 34 (Matahuasinos)

RESIDENCE OF MIGRANT-PARENTS			
Case I	No.	%	Case II
In Lima and Elsewhere	23	43	In Lima and Elsewhere
In Ongoy	30	57	In Matahuasi
Total	53	100	106
			77
			29
			100

FORMAL EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MIGRANT-PARENTS LOCALITIES I AND II			
Case I	No.	%	Case II
Illiterate	34	64	7
Primary	15	28	55
Secondary	2	4	36
Technical College	2	4	-
University	-	-	8
Total	53	100	106
			101

TABLE XII

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS IMMEDIATE KIN IN LOCALITIES I AND II (PARENTS ONLY)

	Case I	N.	%	Case II	N.	%
Farmer		24	45		22	23
Trader		4	8		16	15
Housewife		17	32		33	33
Cattle Rearer		5	10		-	-
Shop Keeper		1	2		4	3
School Teacher		2	4		2	2
Wage Labourer		-	-		1	1
Small Scale Entrepreneur-		-	-		4	3
Economist		-	-		1	1
Carpenter		-	-		1	1
Craftsman		-	-		2	1
Mechanic		-	-		1	1
Civil Engineer		-	-		1	1
Police		-	-		1	1
Employee		-	-		17	15
Total		53	101		106	101

and 4 per cent have technical college education. None of them have university education (see Table XI). The literate population are likely to be younger members, of whom most are currently students in one of the ten primary schools or the only secondary school. Occupational structure is closely related to these educational levels (see Table XII); 45 per cent are subsistence farmers, the majority of whom are comuneros and have an average of 2 hectares of land; 32 per cent are housewives, mostly the mothers and wives of migrants; 8 per cent are traders, which is a relatively new type of occupation in the locality. Trading emerged after the building of the roads into the area. Such trade is small-scale, either involving small shops or the marketing of grain, cattle and potatoes.

As we can see in Table XII, there are only six alternative occupations in the whole locality, and the Ongoino population is homogeneous and basically peasant in character. The new occupations such as trading, cattle-rearing, and school-teaching have been taken up by the children of economically better off peasants. Although very few people are involved in these occupations (22 per cent all together) and they are still on a small scale, the literate sector is more likely to engage in them. When temporary migrants return to their village they are likely to take up their parents' occupation of farming. In their absence, their land will have been looked after and cultivated either by their parents or by their wives.

Permanent migrants returning for a few weeks or months to their home are not likely to show much interest in farming but may do some trading before they return to their permanent home in Lima.

The fact that the majority of the migrants come from peasant stock has not only strongly influenced their socialization but provides their dominant ideology and their perception of their own identity.

1.2.2. Household Composition in Lima

The household is a social unit which basically comprises the nuclear family⁽⁶⁹⁾. However, many close relatives are likely to join the nuclear family (for details see Table XIII). There are about 70 household units which broadly correspond⁽⁷⁰⁾ to the total number of A.H.H. members. As already mentioned, the average number of people in such a household is 6.9. 81 per cent (see Table XVIII) of these household units are located in Lima's shanty towns, mostly situated in the northern part of the city. The rest are located in the poorer inner city areas. Most of the areas where the households are located are very close to each other (about 53 per cent).

With regard to place of birth, all migrant-members were born in Ongoy. ^{nine} Seventy/per cent of other members (adults) their households in Lima were born in Ongoy. Seventeen per cent were born in Lima, being mostly the children of the migrants. Only 4 per cent were born elsewhere (see Table XIV)

(69) The information includes all household members except the head of the households which in this case are the migrant-members. They will be analysed separately.

(70) Immediate kin which includes parents, spouse and children of interviewed migrants.

TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIPS OF HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS TO THE MIGRANT-MEMBERS IN LIMA

CATEGORY	CASE I (70 members)	CASE II (128 members)
Migrant Member	63 12%	72 13%
Spouses of Heads of Household	54	45 8
Legitimate Children	141	132 23
Illegitimate Children	6 1	12 2
Members of Extended Family	177	213 (**)
Spiritual Children (Ahiados)	33	21 4
Protected (Recognidos)	39	6 1
Domestic Workers (empleados)	3	45 8
Others*	9	15 3
TOTALS	525 101	561 100

(*) The first case includes guests, most of them come from Ongoy

(**) Most of these persons are parents or parents in law of migrant-members (see table XI, p. 184).

TABLE XIV

DATA ON IMMEDIATE KIN RESIDENT IN MIGRANT-MEMBER HOUSEHOLD (ADULTS)

PLACE OF BIRTH			
CASE I	N	%	CASE II
In Ongoy	100	79	In Matahuasi
In Lima	21	17	In Lima
Elsewhere	6	4	Elsewhere
TOTALS	127	100	153
			100

FORMAL EDUCATION			
CASE I	N	%	CASE II
Illiterate	38	30	9
Primary	48	37	82
Secondary	31	25	53
Technical College	10	6	-
University	-	-	9
TOTALS	127	98	153
			100

Household members are likely to take up low prestige and low paid occupations, and hence they are subject to greater exploitation. The employers want their employees to be able to display a good knowledge of the Spanish language, to be literate, to have had at least a full primary education and to have had other relevant experience; most household members cannot meet these criteria. In spite of this, the range of occupations which household members have is large, about nine (see Table XV). However, these occupations are by no means stable and secure. More than half of household members (52 per cent) are housewives and students, and only 5 per cent of the total have a permanent job which gives security. Occupations such as that of mechanic, domestic servant, street vendor and being employees amount to 45 per cent and are mostly temporary, risky and without any kind of support from the Government. Young women are likely to be domestic servants in middle and upper-class homes. A servant is usually only employed until she gets married; there is little chance for a married woman with or without children to get a servant's job.

As the low prestige occupations are predominant among members of the household, the income level is also low. (see Table XVI). Sixty-four per cent of the population has an average of £10 or less a month; street vendors, self-employed and domestic servants are within this scale. Thirty per cent of these people have an average wage of £20 a month; these are the manual workers, and dependants. Only 6 per cent earn around £25 a month and these are mostly employees.

TABLE XV

OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN LIMA (ADULTS)
(EXCLUDING MIGRANT-MEMBERS)

CATEGORY	Case I		Case II	
	No.	%	No.	%
Wage Labourer	9	7		
Student (secondary, higher)	36	28	64	42
Mechanic	1	1	1	1
Employee	14	11	17	11
Housewife	31	24	35	23
School Teacher			1	1
Merchant			4	3
Domestic Work	12	9	24	16
Street Vendor	19	15		
Agricultural Engineer			1	1
Accountant			1	1
Sociologist			1	1
Social Worker			4	3
Unemployed	5	4		
Totals	127	99	153	103

TABLE XVI

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS MIGRANT MEMBERS
 (DOES NOT INCLUDE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS)

£	Case I (per month)		Case II (per month)	
	No.	%	No.	%
4 to 10	32	64	35	35
11 to 17	16	30	19	19
18 to 23	2	4	24	24
24 to 30	1	2	12	12
30 +	-	-	10	10
Totals	51	100	100	100

Naturally, the question which immediately springs to mind is how these households with an average of 6.9 people can possibly survive on such low incomes. The answer to this question is very complex, and needs further study, but it was observed that people, particularly those with peasant backgrounds, are likely to rely on customary patterns of co-operation and reciprocity among themselves. In addition to this, the family members from the home village frequently send agricultural goods to their relatives in Lima and the migrant can always return home. Table XIII shows that most heads of household have spouses who are not formally registered in the association but who nonetheless take an active part, particularly in festivals. Likewise children (both legitimate and illegitimate, see Table XIII) are allowed to join in the festivals, although there is a tendency for them not to become formal members. Table XIII indicates that a considerable number of members of the extended family (34 per cent), parents and close relatives, and affines of heads of households, join the association.

Another type of social relationship that is important is coparenthood (compadrazgo). This is evident from the presence of ahijados ('spiritual' or god-children) from the village living in households in Lima. Most of them are children studying for secondary education who have been sent by the parents who remain in Ongoy. Under the system of compadrazgo, the godfather or godmother is obliged to look after the ahijado while in Lima.

We also found that 8 per cent of household members were "protected" migrants, i.e. either children or poor peasants

or children without parents (wakcha) who had been taken in by households, mostly the better-off ones. In return for their keep, these children worked in the household but were generally treated as relatives, not merely servants. This arrangement operates as a kind of adoption. Finally, we found a few persons in the households who were temporary guests (alojados) who were not related by kinship or by common barrio origin. Alojados constituted two per cent of household members and exhibited a greater independence from the head of household than any of the other categories of residents. Household heads are socially recognized as carrying the main responsibilities for the household and it is generally the case that only they register formally as members of the association, although the various members will participate in association activities and, if necessary, represent the household if the head is unable to attend.

1.2.3. Social Basis of Migrant-Members of the Association

The data to be analysed relate to 70 migrant-members officially registered in the A.H.H. The overwhelming majority have peasant backgrounds; only a few of them come from the urban sector of Huaqana. Eighty-nine per cent of them studied in the primary schools in Ongoy (see Life Histories I). The remaining 11 per cent have had no education at all. The average number of years of study in primary school is 3.4 years, from a possible total of 6. Twenty per cent of those people who started primary school in

TABLE: XXIII TABULATED LIFE HISTORIES CASE I

VA- RIABLES	MEMBERS																														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26					
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY	PRIMARY	5th.	2nd.	5th.	1st.	2nd.	1st.	5th.		2nd.	1st.			1st.	5th.	2nd.	5th.	5th.	5th.	1st.	5th.	5th.	4st.	5th.	5th.	5th.	4st.	5th.	4st.		
		IN ONGOY																													
		IN LIMA								4st.		3rd.																			
SECONDARY	HIGHER			3rd.														5th.	6th.												
		IN LIMA																													
		IN LIMA																													
MIGRATION TYPE	DIRECT	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	STEP					X																									
	TEMPORARY	X	X	X	X	X					X									X											
	SEASONAL									X																					
	PERMANENT						X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	STUDENT																														
	AGRICULTURAL	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1,2,3	1,3		1,2,3	1							1	1									
	SMALLSCALE COMMERCE	3	4								2												2								
	MECHANIC							4													4	2									
	DOMESTIC SERVANT	1					4																								
TAYLOR	2					4																									
HOUSEWIFE																															
STREET VENDOR																															
EMPLOYEE (EMPLEADO)					4																										
MANUAL WORKER		1,2			1	2		2,3	4	4								2													
DEPENDANT			2	1,3	3	3			1,3										1												
A.C.H.O	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
OTHER ONGOINO ASSOCIATIO. NS	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
PROPERTY TYPE (* *)	INHERITED	L				L				L		L	L																		
	PURCHASED	H.	L.H.	L.H.	L.H.	H.	H.							L.H.				H.	H.		L.H.	L.									
	OTHER																														
1970 - 1977	13	25	25	20	23	30	23	20	23	28	-	13	12	20	17	30	20	40	30	47	45	45	45								
CON																															

(* *) DOES NOT INCLUDE PRESENT OCCUPATION. NUMBERS REFERS TO FIRST, SECOND ETC. JOBS. (* *) H: HOUSE L: LAND

Ongoy went on to study in Lima; some completing primary school, others secondary school, and only one of them completed technical college training. The other eighty per cent of migrants did not continue their formal education, due to the need to work full-time, often working in the evenings as well, leaving little time for study, and due to the lack of economic aid from relatives or Government institutions.

All of the above suggests that the lack of formal education and the difficulties of continuing education in Lima prevent the migrant from applying for occupations other than those of low status as described earlier.

The preferred age for migrating to Lima is about 15. Many young people prefer to abandon their schooling in order to migrate, in the hope of continuing their studies. The overwhelming majority, about 90 per cent (see Life Histories Table I), go directly to Lima. Eight per cent of them arrived in Lima in stages. Forty per cent are engaged in temporary migration, which means that their permanent residence is located in Ongoy, but that at the same time they have a place to stay while in Lima, either with a family or in their own house. Season migration is less significant nowadays, although several years ago it was very common. Permanent migration appears to be predominant. Fifty-eight per cent of migrant-members are already regarded as living permanently in Lima, though most of them were temporary migrants for several years. It seems that when a temporary migration is successful people do prefer to stay permanently in Lima. Temporary migration can be regarded

as a preparatory training, with a view to later bringing the family to settle. However, permanent migration does not mean that migrants never return to their home village. On the contrary, they retain their attachment to the village for two reasons: a) because some members of their family, still living in the locality, may be in charge of the migrant's land, cattle and other belongings; and b) because of their obligations to the association, which reminds them constantly of their commitment with their home village. We did not find one single case where a permanent migrant either had broken off relations with his family, or had sold all his property. A permanent migrant may return to his village at any time; sometimes for as long as one or two years.

It appears that out-migration to Lima from Ongoy has increased considerably since the 1950's, although many villagers were living in Lima before that time. During the decade of 1950-60, 53 per cent of the migrant-members arrived for the first time in Lima, and only 43 per cent of them during the last two decades (see Table XXII), despite an increasing out-migration from Ongoy. This is probably because the A.H.H. was formed by and for the adults and young recent migrants prefer to join other newly-formed associations, being under age to apply for membership to the association to which their parents or relatives belong.

The occupational mobility of migrant-members can be seen to be relatively limited (see Life Histories I): The data suggest that migrants are likely to face surprisingly few occupational alternatives, and they

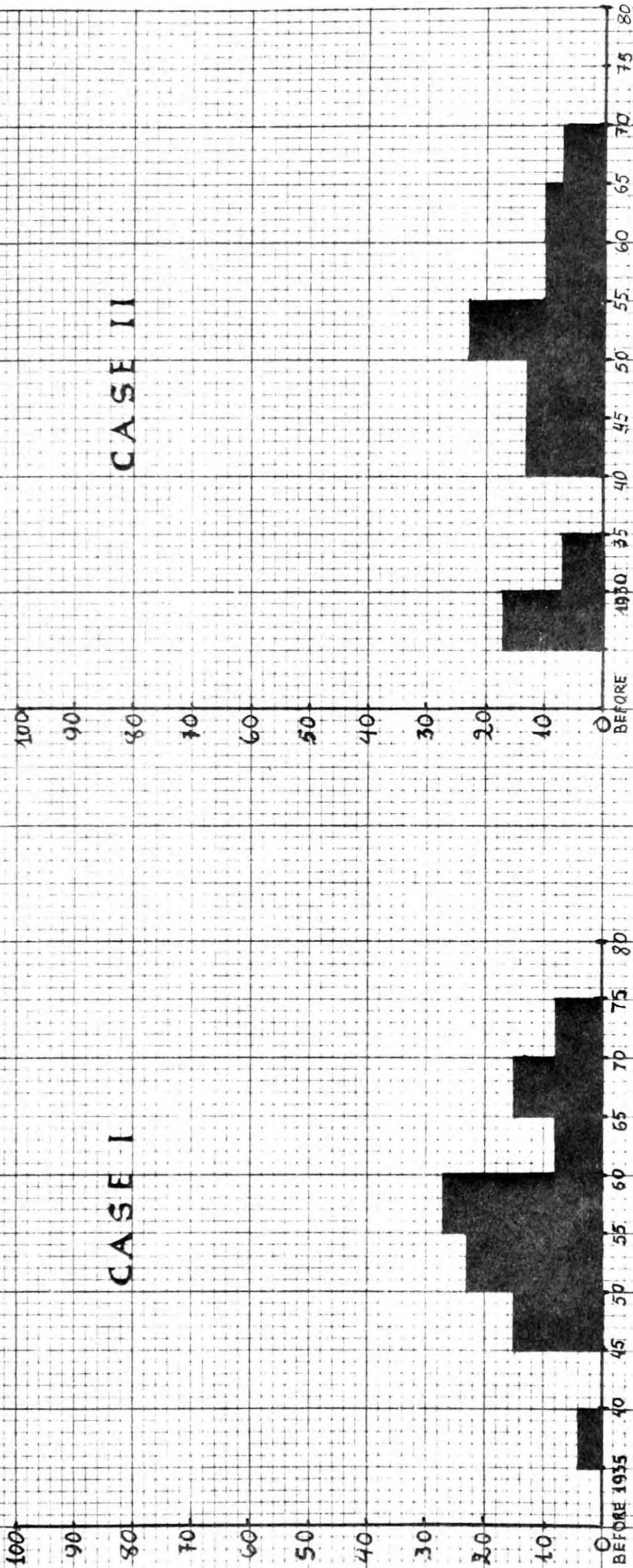


TABLE: XXII DATE OF ARRIVAL IN LIMA OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS

Note: Tables XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI and XXII are based on interview samples of 26 (Ongoinos) and 36 (Matahuasinos).

are always low status jobs. The primary occupation of all of the migrants was small farming in their villages. About 62 per cent of them continued as farm labourers in Lima, for, until the late 1950's, Lima had some farming areas (fundos), where many villagers used to work. About 50 per cent of migrants became either building or industrial workers. Nineteen per cent of the migrants were engaged in small-scale commerce (as market traders and small shopkeepers); 19 per cent worked as mechanics (mainly as assistants); 8 per cent as tailors; 8 per cent as street vendors (ambulantes); and 16 per cent were Government or private employees. About half the migrants worked as manual workers.

Eighty-one per cent of migrants have either a plot of land or a house in Lima. It must be emphasized that the plots are mostly situated in the hills outside Lima and belonged to the state or private companies and were originally obtained either by purchase or by squatting. Twenty-seven per cent of migrants have plots which were acquired by inheritance, though some purchased them or squatted on them. Regarding houses, 58 per cent of migrants have their own house which was either bought or built by the migrants themselves. Fifteen per cent have neither land nor houses and live with relatives or in rented accommodation.

Regarding place of residence, the data show that migrants are likely to settle in Lima's shanty towns (see Table XVIII). Some of the early migrants lived in inner city slums, then gradually moved as shanty towns developed on the outskirts. There are seven such shanty towns where most migrants (81%) now live. The shanty towns are located close to one another; most of them (43 per cent) are on

the right bank of the Rimac river (the main river in Lima which divides the city into south and north) (see Map V). The rest of the migrant-members are dispersed in other areas, particularly in Callao the main Peruvian port, or in newly-formed shanty towns (for information regarding the location of shanty towns and main city areas, and the percentages of people living in them see Tables XVII and XVIII and Map V). Some migrants live in planned concourses.

The predominant age of migrant-members is between 30 and 50. Seventy per cent are in this group, 12 per cent of the members are less than 30 years, and 18 per cent are over 51 years. The sex distribution shows that 88 per cent of the migrant-members are male and 12 per cent are women. This indicates that the formal participation of women is limited, which may reflect the social position of women in the locality. Among the Ongoinos women are traditionally regarded as housekeepers and are confined to domestic work. In addition to this the women are highly dependent upon their husbands or male partners. However, there is no restriction on women becoming active members or even association representatives. Restrictions seem to stem from the idea that duties, which entail associational responsibilities, should not be undertaken by women. This sexual discrimination not only applies to membership of the association but also applies in other fields, such as participation in non-association groupings like political parties and neighbourhood unions, as well as in the administration of the domestic economy. However, some educated women are gradually becoming aware of their

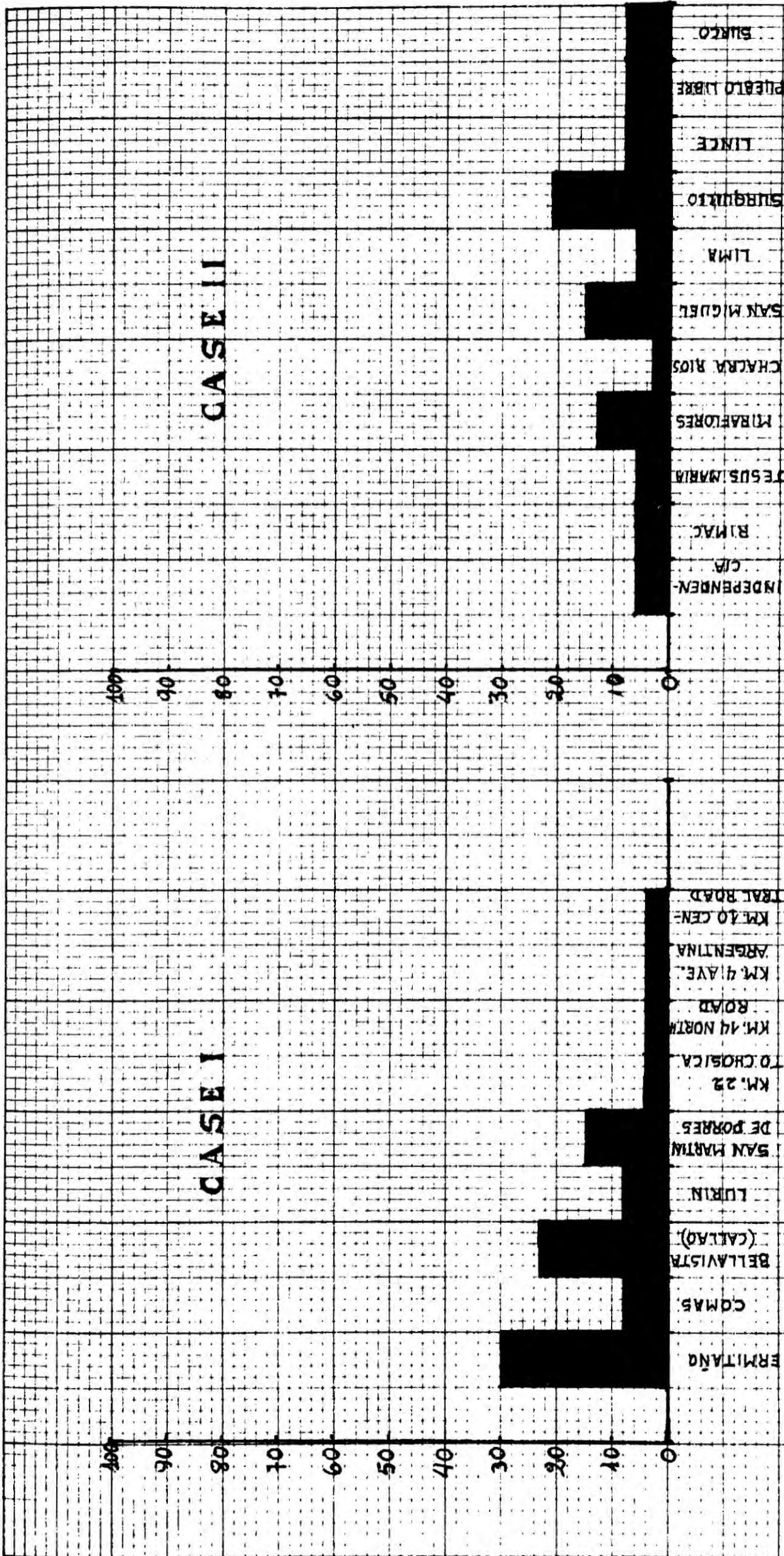


TABLE XVII DISTRICTS OF RESIDENCES OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS

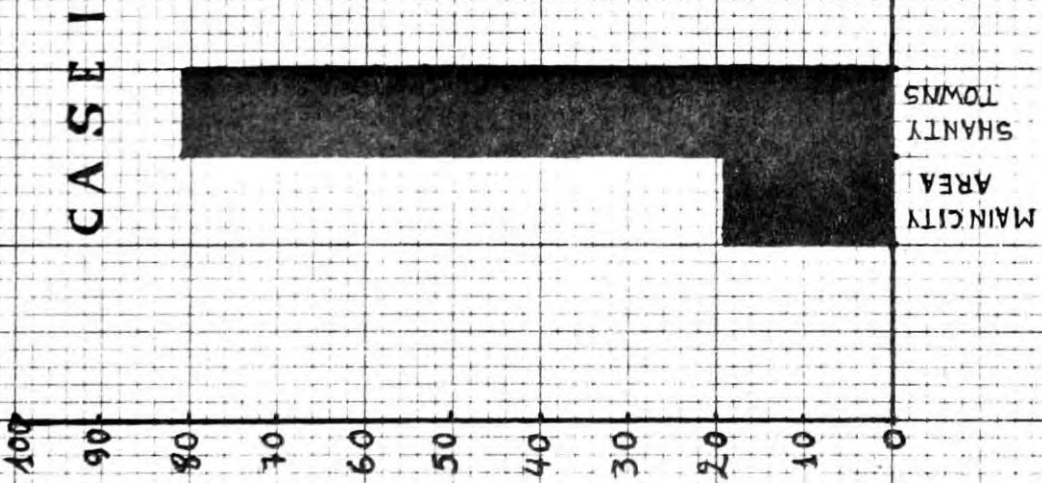
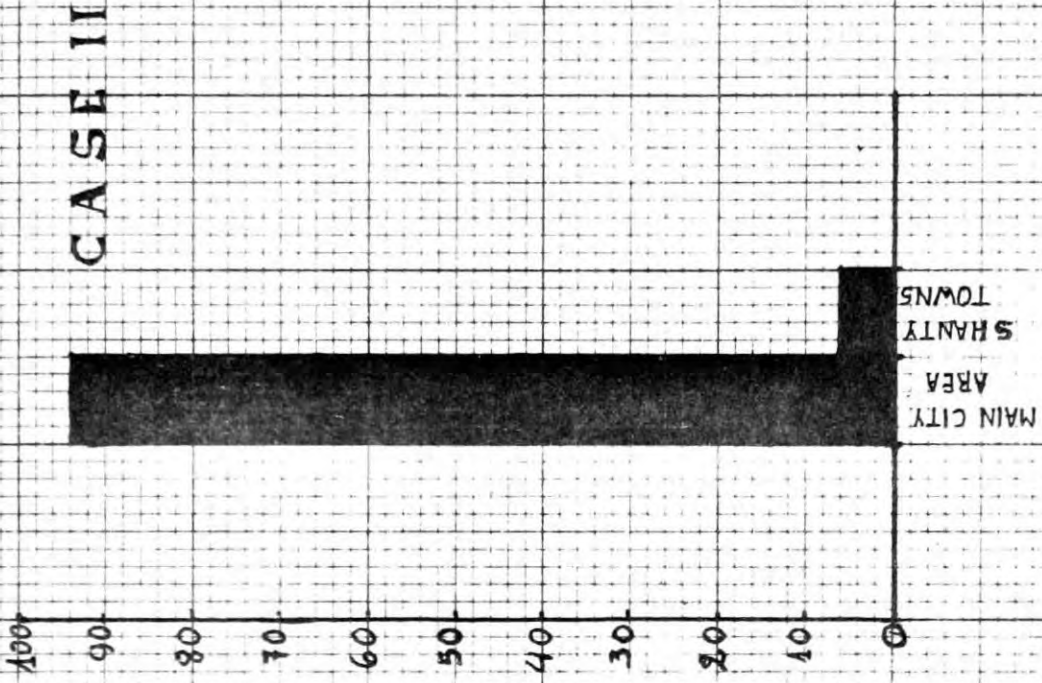


TABLE: XVIII TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL AREA

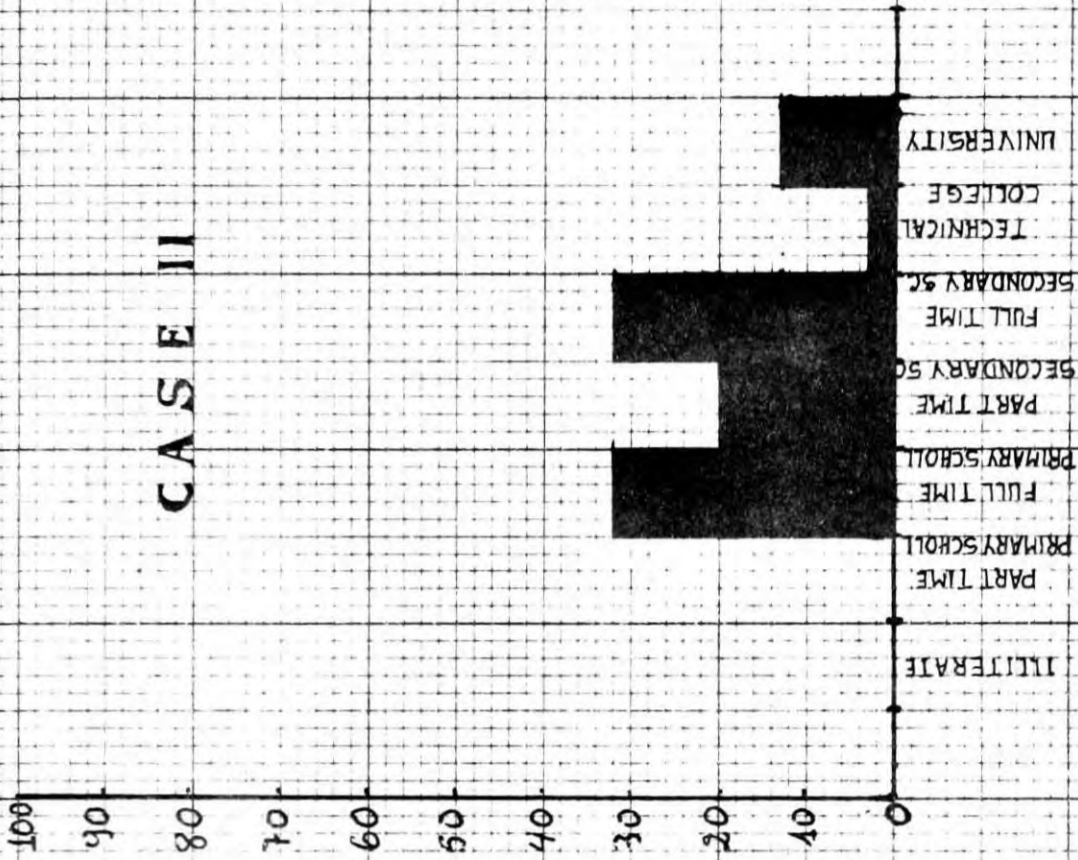
position and are not only beginning to assert their rights in the association but are also taking up occupations which were neglected previously.

The present education, occupation and income levels of migrant-members are closely related. Formal education (secondary and high level), although considered by migrants as being the main means by which to increase their social mobility, is still difficult to obtain, (see Table XIX) which shows that a very limited number of migrants have had part or full time secondary education. The overwhelming majority (73 per cent) have had only part or full time primary education. Although all the children of the migrants are now attending school, they may not be able to go on to secondary and higher education because their parents cannot afford it.

With regard to occupation (see Table XX), the situation, seen, in the past, of these people being predominantly employed in low prestige occupations, seems to be improving. Migrants are becoming increasingly willing to try new alternatives. For example, none now work as labourers in Lima; the number of domestic servants and street vendors is declining while some of the industrial and building workers are now skilled. The most preferred occupations among the Ongoinos at present are shopkeeping, working as empleados or in hospitals.

Above all, there is a change in occupational mobility, but this may be due to the fact that most migrant members have already spent many years in Lima. However, the level of income is still very low (see Table XXI). An interesting

CASE II



CASE I

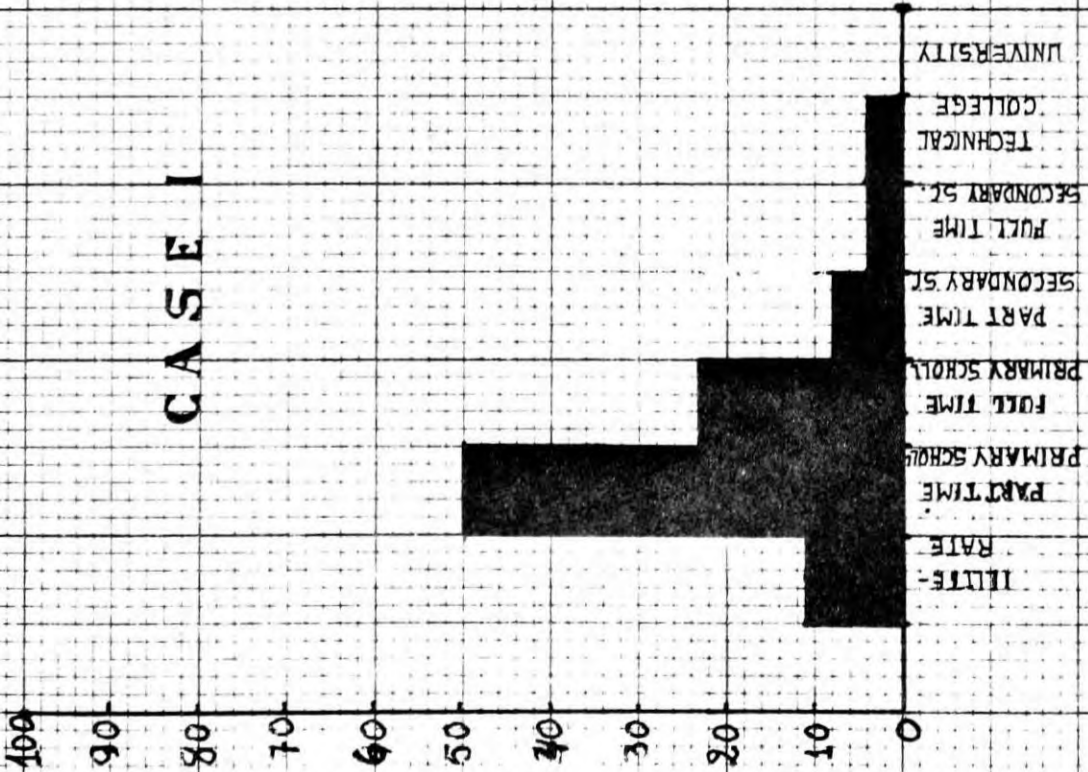


TABLE XIX FORMAL EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS

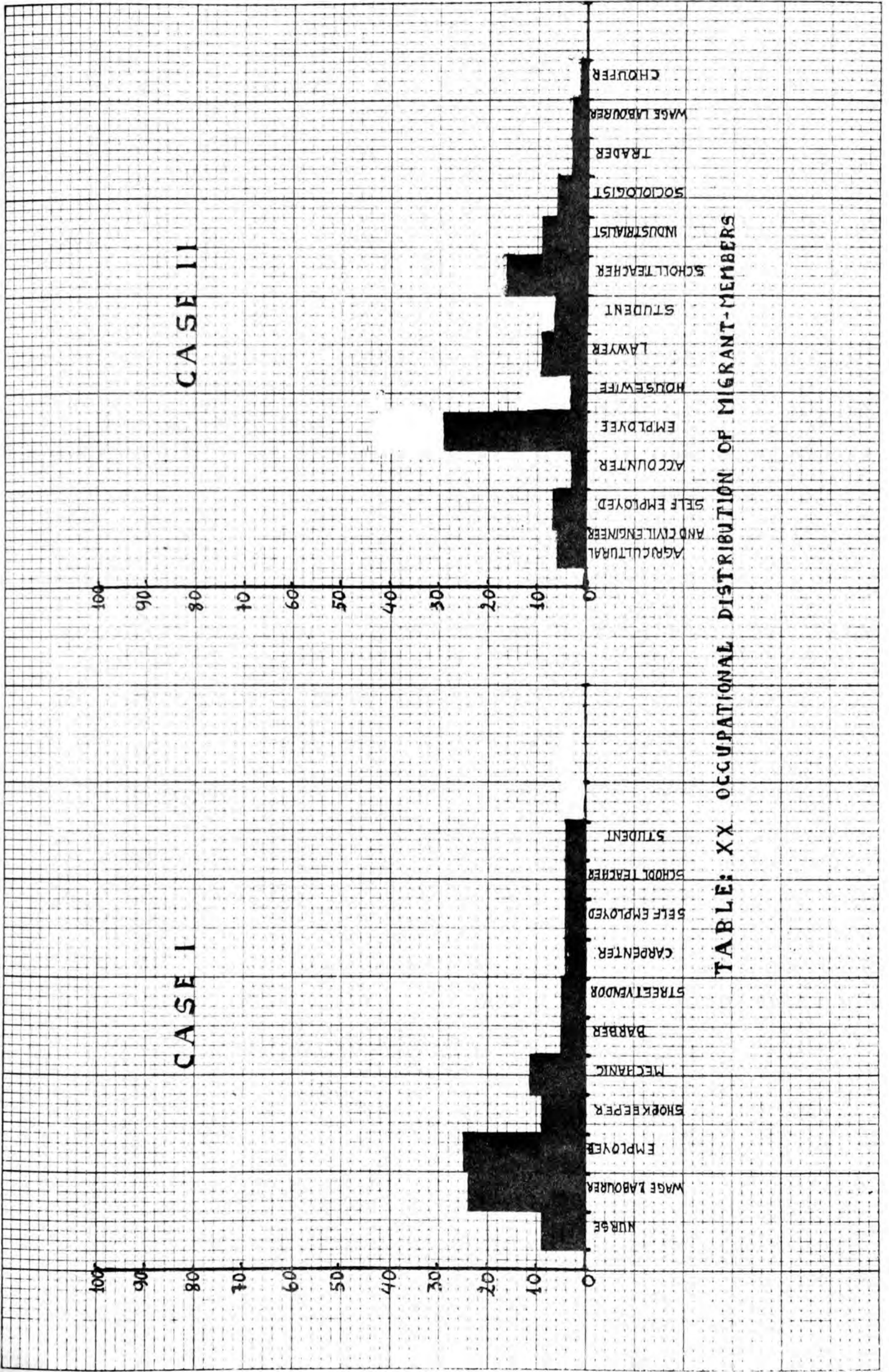


TABLE: XX OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS

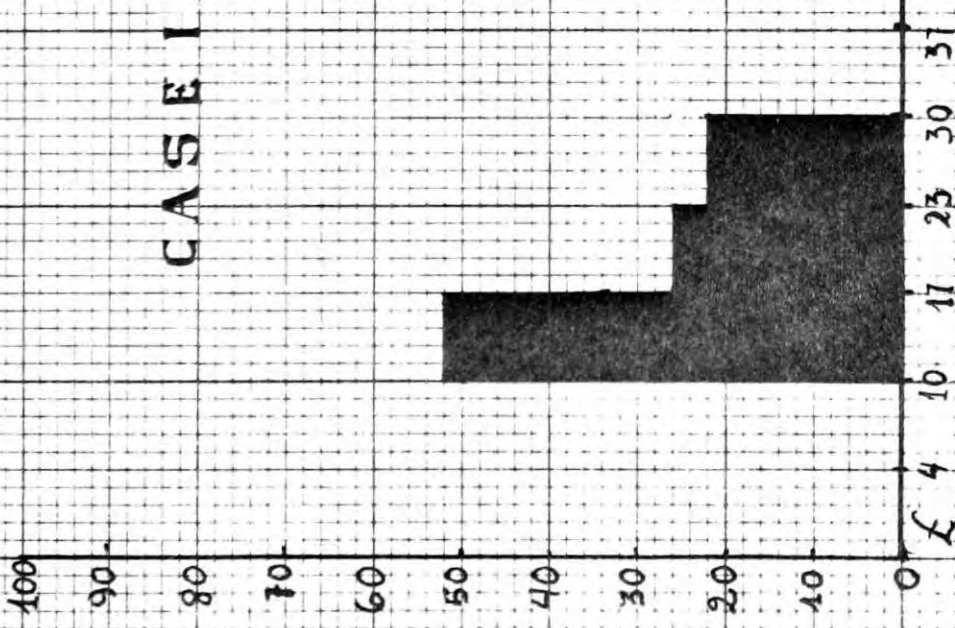
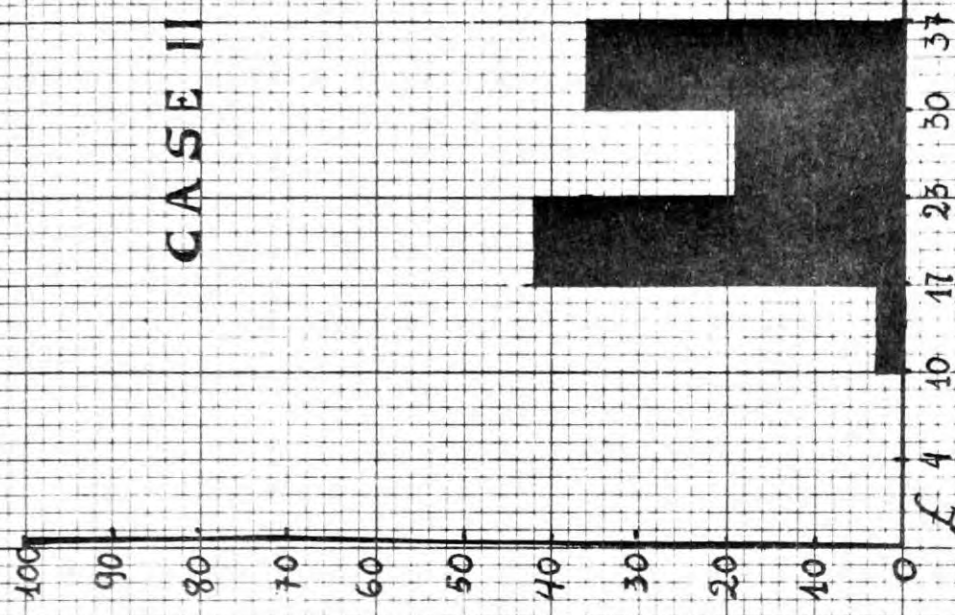


TABLE: XXI INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT-MEMBERS

feature regarding the occupational context is the number of secondary occupations. About 20 per cent of the migrants have a secondary occupation. It is the lowest paid of them who are likely to take up secondary occupations, such as that of mechanic, tailor, ice cream vendor, ambulante. Certain occupations as shopkeeping, mechanics, haircutting, selling fish, carpentry, street trading, etc., often need the labour of other people. Ongoinos find this demand no problem as they might use kinship ties. The children especially help parents and relatives. Some migrants might use village or barrio identities in order to obtain labour; for instance, one mechanic hired two migrants who came from his barrio; likewise a barber hired a fellow migrant from his barrio. Similarly, children and close relatives can help, and so on. Ongoinos do not often need to hire help on the open market for the above reasons but there also exists a great sense of co-operation between migrants. As I have pointed out earlier the association not only serves as a main channel for maintaining relations with the locality but also as a means of exchanging services, planning mutual aid, and sorting out small everyday domestic problems.

Summarising, we can conclude that in spite of the disadvantages which Ongoinos have, such as lack of previous experience in urban occupations and a generally low level of formal education, bringing language problems and economic difficulties, since the early times of migration, migrants have developed a high degree of co-operation among themselves. Such a high degree of co-operation has helped

to diminish economic and social problems present in the everyday life of migrants in Lima, a city characterised by over-population, unemployment, inflation and poverty, particularly in the shanty towns. Therefore, the common social background of migrants serves as a main source of co-operation, mutual aid and identification with their locality of origin; this serves to overcome some of the negative effects of the overall economic situation. It was reported that in periods of economic crisis migrants from Ongoy are likely to use kinship ties not only with relatives in Lima, but also with their locality in order to solve their everyday problems.

1.2.4. Interactional Patterns

Formally, the association has an internal constitution defining the rights and obligations of each member, although the regulations are only applied at times such as the renewal of membership and the re-election of officers, or when representing the association before Government or other bodies, and during formal meetings. The bulk of the association's activities takes place informally, and most members are ignorant of the details of the constitution. These informal interpersonal relations are based on kinship, friendship or on other kinds of identity such as the idea of paisano or terruño. The association permanently encourages the idea of co-operation and reciprocal relationships, particularly where illness, unemployment, and economic difficulties of its members are concerned. This kind of co-operation is more relevant to migrants with few relatives in Lima.

Interaction between members of the association is encouraged by the relative closeness of their homes. Within each residential area members of extended families or kin groups often live in close proximity to one another; for example, we found about four or five family-related units living within two adjoining blocks of Ermitaño (see Map V). Although the areas where members of the association live are relatively heterogeneous in terms of the geographical origin of migrants (i.e. many of them come from Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Ancash), interaction between migrants from Ongoy is greater. The main unifying points of reference for migrants are common pueblo, village or locality, and common association membership.

A second level of social interaction among members of the A.H.H. is represented by the relations they have with other associations from Ongoy. There are eleven associations altogether; the A.H.H. maintains close relations with associations Numbers 4, 7, 8 and 11 (see Table VIII). These associations are regarded as or thought to be even less politically active than the A.H.H. which is basically a cultural and religious association. It seems that they are not interested in establishing close contacts with the other associations who are more interested in asserting a political role.

A third level of interaction is represented by social relations with non-Ongoino associations, largely formed by migrants from South Highland Departments (Ayacucho,

Huancavelica, Cusco, Junin). These relations are fundamentally sports-oriented, taking place during holidays or weekends. Also members of A.H.H. may sometimes participate in the social dances arranged by other associations.

In terms of social interaction the first level appears to be more significant both to the association and to individual members for maintaining patterns of interaction. A popular event, which takes place at least three times a year, is the Saturday night grand social dance. Sports activities are held on most of the weekends in the year. From a survey of association archives, it was found that the most popular social event was the Sunday football match, followed by the Saturday night dance; the kermess; the sapo championship, and the pachamanca fiesta in that order. Other kinds of activity engaged in by migrants, such as weddings, christenings, and funerals are not recorded in the archives.

I shall now describe one Saturday night Grand Dance. One of the main reasons for choosing this event is because of its social and economic significance to the association. I consider the dance event to be an important way of estimating the solidarity, functionality and leadership of the association. Through the dance I was able to observe directly interpersonal relations, the conflicts within the association and also the participation of women.

Dances sponsored by the association are advertised in several ways: by volantes (leaflets), radio announcements during the mornings preceding the event; and by "passing the word". The latter is done during the Saturday or

Sunday football matches, and during dances or events of other associations, sometimes many weeks in advance. The radio plays a particularly important role in spreading club information about the Grand Dance. Members of other Ongoino associations are welcomed, as well as those from other associations.

The dance I observed took place on July 14th 1979 in the house of one of the most active members of the association (Number 1 in the Life Histories I). The dance began at 11 p.m., one hour after the announced time. The first people to arrive were the most active members, namely the officers, who arrived with their families. They wore special clothes which appeared new. Some of them wore ties; older people wore highland dress although typical "Indian" clothing is rarely seen. The orchestra which arrived before 11 p.m. was composed of six musicians (profesores who played modern and traditional Andean music. In addition to the profesores there was a record player specially for modern music.

At midnight the dance hall was full of people. There was a canteen which provided drinks and a section for food. The wives of members were asked to bring food and sell it at the party.

Social interaction among participants was subject to general highland standards of behaviour. It was very formal and reserved in the early stages of the party. Many people met friends, fellow villagers and relatives who had been absent from them for months or weeks. Friends, fellow villagers and relatives greeted each other with

abrazos. Women sat on the chairs around the party, preferring to be separate from the men. Men centred their activities around the bar. Drinking is a social ritual which involves more than two people. It is very common to use only one glass which is passed around the group. This rule is applied very conscientiously by drinkers. Practically no-one refuses to drink. A person who does not drink or refuses the glass is considered to be arrogant. Drinkers even make jokes about it sometimes. The only way to avoid heavy drinking is to dance.

Women drank relatively little. Most of them were seated, dancing or selling food. The most popular topic of conversation was about the community (el pueblo). People exchanged information about who was going back to and who was coming from the community, and who the new communal and district authorities were. Other popular topics were about the agriculture activities and the wealth of relatives back at home. Adults and older people preferred to talk and drink, while the young men and women chose to dance. Women talked among themselves about children and relatives back at home.

Nearing midnight the President of the Association gave a speech welcoming the participants and calling for unity and solidarity. He reminded them that Ongoinos should do something for the pueblo (town of Huaqana). The participants listened very carefully with great respect for the speaker. The President reminded the people that the party had two main purposes: one, the celebration of the Santo Patrón

(Virgen del Carmen, July 15th) and the other was to unite people in their common interest. The second speaker was the Secretary of Culture who thanked the participants saying that the money to be collected would be used in the reconstruction of the old church tower. He mentioned that they had sent a letter to the President of the Hermandad de la Virgen del Carmen (Brotherhood of the Virgen of Carmen) announcing the evening's event. The party started again, and people danced to Andean (huayno) and modern music. The most common topic of conversation continued to be the locality; more information about relatives was exchanged.

At 2 a.m. almost everyone was drunk. Some people spoke loudly while others preferred to dance. Although the officers are held in esteem, nevertheless, some members began to quarrel with one of them. The problem was that this particular officer was from mestizo background and the others felt that being mestizo he could not represent the indigenous population. Another officer intervened to stop the quarrel and the party became quiet again. At 4 a.m. the party was almost over. There were a few drunk people and, although women generally retired earlier than men, some women stayed to look after their husbands.

In all, there were about 60 people at the party, half women, half men. The money collected was about 50,000 Peruvian Soles, of which approximately 30,000 remained for the association.

This event shows two interdependent phenomena: on the one hand the association's identification with the place of origin which is permanently shared and does not disappear; and on the other hand, the interest and degree of participation of members in such activities. With regard to the first aspect, we should note that during the proceedings, the senior officers of the association made explicit reference to the locality of origin and to the Patron Saint, and stressed the unity of Ongoinos, reminding them of their obligation to raise money for specific development projects for their villages. These sentiments and commitments to Ongoy, and to Sierra culture generally, are also reinforced by the use of regional music and dancing. The second aspect is illustrated by the relatively high attendance by members and a few of their friends at an event held in one of their houses.

Similar patterns of interaction as found in the dance event can be observed during other organized events, such as kermesses, sapo championships, football matches, and various folklore meetings. The frequency of these activities varies: for example, football matches are held almost every weekend, sapo championships take place twice a year, the kermess once a year, and the Saturday night Grand Dance three times a year, excluding the 15th July Dance.

The degree of participation will depend on the type of event. Thus festivals for the celebration of the Santo Patrón draw not only members of the A.H.H. and their followers, but also non-member migrants and their relatives and friends. Some associations (Numbers 5 and 10 in Table VII) prefer to participate by sending contributions

to the organizers of the Santo Patrón fiesta, while others (Numbers 1,3,6 and 11 in Table VII) join the football championship which forms part of the celebrations. Different festivals, then, serve to test both the degree of internal cohesion of A.H.H. and the degree of its influence on other Ongoino associations. These events are a living indication of the large extent to which the A.H.H. continues to be the main means of asserting regional identity. Regionalism and co-operation are expressed in the everyday interaction between migrant-members who are more mobile during holidays and weekends. For example, frequent informal visits in the evenings during the week are very common: wives of members continuously exchange services; children of migrant-members are allowed to play in the homes of other migrant-members. During these visits, migrant-members, spouses, and other members of a household exchange information about relatives in the village, about who is coming and going from the village. Migrants do not usually use the post-office but send letters of both a personal and formal kind to the village with returning migrants. These visits are facilitated by the common location of residences. One important aspect I have noticed during my visits with migrant-members is the exchange of food. People who receive a product from the village like chicharrón (roasted pork or beef) must share it with close relatives and friends. When a visitor arrives at lunch- or dinner-time he is invited to join the table; not to be served is considered a great offence.

The same co-operation can be observed during funerals, christenings, weddings, etc. I shall now deal with the case for Matahuasi and highlight its similarities and differences.

CASE II

2.1. Formation and Development

Formerly founded as Sociedad Auxilios Hijos de Matahuasi in 1943, it was the first association of its kind in Lima for the whole locality. It was officially registered with the Ministry of Labour as a welfare society. Its members were comprised basically of middle class and peasant migrants from the urban, as well as the rural, sector of Matahuasi. The association had four fundamental objectives: 1) to help all members suffering through illness, disability and bereavement; 2) to build their own meeting house; 3) to celebrate the Patron Saint religious festivities each year on January 20th (San Sebastian); and 4) to establish contacts with the Comunidad Campesina in order to deal with the Church land disputes. The first objective was fulfilled by member's individual monthly financial contributions. The second objective was accomplished within a few months with money provided by individual contributions and raised from recreational activities. The third objective entailed the purchase of an image of the Virgen Asunción, and the reproduction of the respective Matahuasi rituals, customs, and celebrations in Lima. The association became the annual sponsor for these festivities. The fourth objective was achieved by the formal recognition of the society by the Comunidad

Campesina as its representative in Lima, before Government and other authorities.

All this suggests that the association was very successful at least during its first decade. Its members consisted mainly of temporary and permanent migrants. Almost every year their representatives arranged a short visit to Matahuasi, particularly during the religious celebration of Virgen del Carmen on August 15th. Three years after its foundation the association sent a domestic electric power generator to the Comunidad Campesina. The Comunidad quickly arranged for communal work (faena comunal) to build the place in which to set up the generator. During the period 1946 to 1960 no major changes occurred in the association's internal policy.

The religious celebrations took place every year and it was the major community event in Lima, which brought together Matahuasinos, even those migrants of upper status. The association was also able to help its members financially. The association had regular contact with the Comunidad, but was not totally committed to it, because it regarded the Comunidad as only one of its four concerns. Some members, mainly from the middle, and a few from the upper status group, systematically opposed furthering political relations with the Comunidad. The association, for several reasons, remained under the control of the middle status migrants. This situation produced, on some occasions,

internal cleavages which gradually and directly affected the organization of the association. Hence the association was not able to assist all of its members needing financial help. Many members complained that the association's representatives were helping their own relatives and close friends, and also alleged that the destination of some of the funds was not clear. Such problems were frequently used as a means of changing the officers.

In the early 1960's, the upper status group of migrants began to recognize a need to form their own association, and to support the group of buyers, who at that time had no representatives in Lima. However, two reasons emerge why they were not able to form an association at that time: 1) their weak attachment to group values, most of them being more interested in achieving individual goals, e.g. receiving higher education, getting prestigious occupations; and 2) the predominantly permanent type of migration among this group which discouraged people from establishing continuous relations with the locality, although some individuals began to establish informal relations with the local authorities and the local Church Committee to build a new church.

In 1961 the association began to establish relations with the Church Committee. Many of its members sent individual contributions for the construction of the new Church (see Photograph IV). During the 1960's, the construction of the Church became the central concern not only of migrant members but also of non-member migrants. It was reported that the total cost of the construction

in 1972 was about 2,000,000 Peruvian Soles (approximately £7,000) of which a significant part was donated by the Matahuasinos in Lima.

During the late 1960's, the S.A.M.H.M. gradually became somewhat disorganized because of internal disputes arising due to financial difficulties. These difficulties were caused by some members failing to make their monthly contributions. In 1970, the association tried to persuade some upper status group migrants to join the association. Many of these migrants responded favourably, and became active members. They very soon asked to call a meeting to elect new representatives. This meeting took place in 1970 and a member of the upper status group (Number 24, Life HistoriesII) was nominated as the President of S.A.M.H.M. Shortly after this, the new President tried to change the name of the association to Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi (C.S.D.M.). This move was immediately opposed by the former members of S.A.M.H.M. who objected to it on three grounds: a) they alleged that their association was welfare-based and not sport oriented; b) they also alleged that the funds were deliberately diverted for individual purposes and not for social ones; and c) the name C.S.D.M. did not reflect the main objectives of the association. An internal struggle emerged between two economically differing groups; the middle and lower status group and the upper status group consisting of professionals, and kinsmen of the group of buyers.

In the meantime, in Matahuasi, the group of buyers and Town Council members decided to recognize the C.S.D.M.

as their representative institution in Lima. Conversely the S.A.M.H.M. supporters were not able to claim backing from any institution or group in Matahuasi. As the relations between the conflicting groups worsened, there was a need for the intervention of the Peruvian P.I.P. (Policía de Investigaciones del Perú). Soon after this intervention the two groups signed an agreement stating that the S.A.M.H.M. would not change its name and objectives and that the newly formed C.S.D.M. would be recognized as a separate organization. On January 1st 1971, the C.S.D.M. was officially formed and became an independent association. A few former members of S.A.M.H.M. decided to join the new association, particularly the upper status group and some middle status members. The new association had four main objectives: a) to stand as the main Matahuasino association in Lima (Asociación Matriz); b) to include as members all Matahuasino residents in Lima; c) to coordinate joint action with the Town Council, particularly in the improvement of the urban sector of Matahuasi; d) to co-operate in activities with other associations from the Mantaro Valley, especially with those of neighbouring localities. All of these objectives were fulfilled except the second, because at the time there were four competing Matahuasino associations.

In 1973, the association sponsored the formation of the Federación Departamental de Junín (F.D.J.) which has at present 24 associations under its control. Three of the Matahuasino associations became affiliated to it, excepting the S.A.M.H.M. for obvious reasons.

2.2. Social Basis of Migrant-Members

The Centro Social y Deportivo Matahuasi can be seen to have interesting differences as compared with the first case (A.H.H.). In order to highlight the contrasts between the two, I will use the same categories as in the first case. An important point is that although both cases display opposite features, the functions of the associations are on the whole the same. But, the striking difference lies in the social groups that the associations benefit, and in the role they play in promoting social and political change within their localities.

2.2.1. Village-based Family Background

The association has 128 formal members which broadly represent 128 households with an average of 5 persons per household which is the average for Lima's urban population. The overwhelming majority of the households consists of a nuclear family composed of the migrant member, his wife and children^{together with his or her parents (see table XI)}. This contrasts with the first case where we found some households formed by a wide range of extended kin.

Regarding the place of birth of migrant-members' parents, the data show that 88 per cent of them were born in Matahuasi (see Table XI). The rest was born somewhere else, mostly in the Mantaro Valley. A small number of these parents live in Lima in their children's household (or they have their own houses). Twenty-seven per cent of the members' immediate kin (parents) are still living in Matahuasi; others tend to live in the other towns of the Valley, mainly Huancayo, Jauja or Concepción.

Looking at the migrant-members' family backgrounds, the data show that migrant-member parents in Matahuasi have the following educational and occupational characteristics (see Table XI): in contrast to the first case, only 7 per cent are illiterate, all of these being elderly people. More than half of the population has primary level education (52 per cent). A considerable number (34 per cent) have secondary school education and 8 per cent university education. All of them are Spanish-speakers. The occupational pattern (see Table XI) is more urban oriented with such occupations as economist, civil engineer, policeman and car mechanic being represented. There are 14 different occupations available in contrast to only six for the first case. Although farming predominates as an occupation this is basically commercial in nature. The occupations of tradesman and employee are perhaps the most sought after and together they represent some 31 per cent of the total. The number of housewives is almost the same as in Ongoy. The fact that small-scale entrepreneurs represent 4 per cent of the immediate kin living in Matahuasi is not only characteristic of the locality, but distinguishes it from Ongoy. The small percentage of wage labourers (only 1 per cent) is also typical of the district.

Thus this case is more heterogeneous in terms of occupations. The wide variety is in part an outcome of the regional and local economic structure with its high levels of literacy and migration, given the close proximity to wage labour centres such as the mines and urban centres (Cerro de Pasco, Huancayo, Jauja and Concepción).

Temporary migrants returning to the village do not always take up their parents' or relatives' occupation as is found with Ongoinos. Such migrants often prefer to stay as short a time as possible in the locality and move around in search of jobs. A migrant returning to the locality is frequently regarded as "unsuccessful" (fracasado).

The basic social data concerning the migrant-members' relatives in the home village suggests that most have been brought up in local middle and upper status group families. This differs substantially from the first case where the same categories of relatives were basically poor peasant farmers. This distinction is of paramount importance in understanding their social roots and in subsequently analysing their present situation in Lima.

2.2.2 Household Composition in Lima

The household consists fundamentally of the nuclear family, and of some close relatives who live with them (for details concerning relationships of household members to heads of household, see Table XIII). Ninety-four per cent of households are situated in the main city area in middle and lower middle class areas (see Tables XVIII and Map V). Only 6 per cent of households are situated in shanty towns, although such areas are not deprived ones. The areas where the households are situated are not close to each other as with the first case.

Examining the place of birth of household members, we find that 35 per cent were born in Matahuasi, 36 per cent in Lima, and 29 per cent elsewhere (see Table XIV).

In contrast to Ongoinos, these household members are not likely to take low prestige, urban occupations. None

of them, for instance, are wage labourers, street vendors. The 16 per cent categorised as domestic servants refers not to nuclear family members, but to people who serve the migrant-member and his household, and are from highland regions other than the Mantaro (see Table XV also XIII). As in the case of family members in the home village, the range of occupations is higher than we find in the Ongoy example. Furthermore, income distribution is quite different. More than half the people have £22 or more a month⁽⁷¹⁾. The level of income, of course, is closely related to the degree of formal education, the command of the dominant language (Spanish), migrational experience and type of education. Another significant indicator of economic difference between Matahuasinos and Ongoinos is the presence of servants in the household. Not a single Ongoino migrant has a servant; whereas, more than 24 of Matahuasino households have one.

Comparatively, then, there are three distinguishing features between an Ongoino and Matahuasino household in Lima. Firstly an Ongoino household generally consists not only of the nuclear family, but also of some close relatives and occasionally fellow migrants from the same barrio or village; whereas a Matahuasino household is comprised of the nuclear family, / ^{parents and/or} servants. Secondly, Ongoino migrant-members often use kinship relations in order to provide labour for their economic activities, even though

(71) It should be emphasized here that we are not including the migrant-members/heads of households themselves; but only other members of the households, including servants. For comparative details, see Table XV.

such enterprise is family-based and of a marginal subsistence kind; whereas Matahuasinos seldom make use of kinship relations but instead they prefer to hire labour in order to expand their small-scale, and even middle-sized, enterprises. Thirdly, we can argue that Ongoino relationships are therefore more cohesive and corporate, not only within households but between households of those whose members came from the same barrio and village. In contrast Matahuasino households are more heterogeneous, individualistic and therefore less corporate.

In regard to relationship of household members to heads of household, Table XIII suggests that the number of spouses is smaller than in the Ongoy case. This is because there are many widowed people which also entails that they are likely to live in their son's or daughter's house, and that their influence over other members of the household is limited. Spouses of heads of household are closely related to the associations, mainly in the festivals. Legitimate and illegitimate children are less influenced by their parents in regard to their commitment to the association. Children of members of the second case do not see the festivals as their only form of entertainment because their parents can afford to pay for more urban forms of entertainments such as the cinema, though some adult children may eventually participate in the festivals. Tables XI and XII show that unlike the first case many extended family members are parents rather than other relatives. Only a limited number of them are interested in the association but some of them may attend football matches. There is a general

tendency among these members to be less influenced by, and to be less independent on, the head of household. This may be explained by defining these members as more urban-oriented than those of the first case. Co-parenthood (compadrazgo) seems to be less frequent. Only 4 per cent of members of household are ahijados, who are not necessarily from Matahuasi, but may come from other Mantaro Valley villages and even from other highland regions such as Huancavelica. Most of them are of school age and were sent by their parents to study, but when school is finished they usually move to another place within Lima in search of jobs and are not likely to return to Matahuasi or to their place of origin. In contrast to the first case, they are not influenced by their godfather to attend the association festivals. The category of "protected" people are composed of poor children who perform almost the same duties as the servants with the distinction that most of them are male children and are unpaid, and are not treated as a relative. These children often go to the festivals.

2.2.3 Social Basis of Migrant-members of Associations

In contrast to the first case study few migrant-members come from rural areas. About 90 per cent of Matahuasino-born members studied at the primary school in their village. Around 60 per cent of them continued secondary education in Lima. Eighty per cent completed secondary school and 20 per cent of them attended university, fifteen per cent becoming professionals (see Life Histories II).

As I have already pointed out, several factors, such as the amount of previous migrational experience, the

TABLE XXIV: TABULATED LIFE HISTORIES CASE II

RANGES	MEMBERS		AGE																																				
	CATEGORIES		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34			
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY	PRIMARY	IN HATAHUASI	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	3rd	5th		5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	4th																		
		IN LIMA																																					
MIGRATION TYPE	SECONDARY	IN LIMA	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	3rd	5th		5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	5th	4th																	
		ELSEWHERE	5th																																				
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	HIGHER	5th	2nd	7th	5th		3rd																																
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	DIRECT		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	STEP	X																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	TEMPORARY	X																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	PERMANENT	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	SECRETARIAL WORK																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	AGRICULTURAL																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	SMALL INDUSTRIAL																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	COMMERCIAL	2,3																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	HOUSEWIFE																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	SCHOOL TEACHER																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	EMPLOYEE (EMPLEADO)																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	SKILLED WORKER	1																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	ACCOUNTANT	1																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	LAWYER																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	AGRIC. AND CIVIL ENG.																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	IN LIMA	S.A.M.H.M.																																					
		OTHERS																																					
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	INHERITED																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	PURCHASED	L	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	OTHER																																						
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY (*)	1970-1977	£	60	67	150	35	54	33	175		40	43		33		40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40		

(*) DOES NOT INCLUDE PRESENT OCCUPATION. NUMBERS REFERS TO FIRST, SECOND ETC. JOBS.

(***) H: HOUSE
L: LAND

amount of money taken on migration and the number of informal contacts with other people from the same status group already established in Lima, were the reasons why Matahuasinos found more profitable and more prestigious occupations.

The most common age to migrate to Lima is around 12 years old, since parents generally prefer their children to finish primary school before they leave the locality. Twenty-eight per cent of migrants emigrated to Lima directly. Twenty-three per cent have migrated in stages, working first in regional cities. Only 5 per cent are engaged in temporary migration. These migrants have double residence (in Lima and in the locality) but are likely to live most of the time in Lima (for details, see Life Histories II). No one is engaged in season migration. It is important to note that the permanent migrants are still attached to the locality though, because of the association, their families and because they may have some rented land and properties there. Migrant-members have declared that they do not wish to sever all bonds with the village, because it is their "homeland", (pequeña patria). Lastly, the permanent migrants usually return to the locality during the Patron Saint's religious celebrations of January 20th and during National Day (July 28th). The Caravana de Retorno visits are organized by making arrangements with the local authorities, particularly with Town Council members. Such occasions are used to bring presents donated by the association to a particular institution. In addition to the above reasons, there are other factors which help

maintain close relations with not only permanent migrants but temporary ones. Firstly, there is the relative proximity of Lima to Matahuasi and a well-established system of communication. Secondly, migrant-members in Lima are wealthier and often have their own cars; and thirdly there is time available on holy days and weekends.

It must be emphasized that permanent migrants can become temporary migrants, which means returning to the village at least once a year, and may spend several weeks or even months in Matahuasi. These migrants are likely to be government employees or professional. The only feature which distinguishes them from temporary migrants is that their main place of residence is, of course, in Lima. Table XXII relating to the date of arrival of the Matahuasino and Ongoino migrant-members demonstrates that the Matahuasinos were involved in earlier out-migration. The Tables show that before 1935, 17 per cent of migrant-members were already living in Lima. This fact is not accidental if we consider that the villagers from the Mantaro Valley had been emigrating not just towards Lima but also to the mines and coastal and jungle plantations since the first, second and third decades of this century. Between 1936-40, there was a significant decline in migration. In fact it appears that none of the Matahuasinos migrated. This fact may be explained by two reasons: 1) this period followed the world economic depression, and Lima was not an attractive place to migrate to; 2) at the local level during these years, Church land was being purchased by local people and this situation attracted many Matahuasinos to come back

home and take advantage of the cheap price of land. During the early 1940's, the migration began again because Lima became a growing industrial centre. This trend continued during the 1950's when migration increased considerably. These were the years when at national level rural-urban migration rose enormously. Nearly all of the shanty towns were formed at this time⁽⁷²⁾. It was during this period that 23 per cent of Ongoy migrant-members arrived in Lima and for Matahuasi the percentage is the same. During the mid-1960's, the arrival of migrants in Lima declined with only 7 per cent saying that they had arrived during the years 1966-70. If we look at the age structure of the association we notice that 42 per cent of migrant-members are over 51 years. Young migrants appear to be less interested in the association. Only 25 per cent of members are between 21 and 30 years old. In the 1960's migration, which had been the privilege of the local middle and upper status groups, became a routine practice for the lower status group. As we have explained earlier, such people will not be likely to join the C.S.D.M. but other barrio-based associations. Many new migrants prefer not to be tied by a specific association but to be more open minded or not to participate at all.

The occupational mobility of migrants contrasts with the first case in that it is less fluid. This can be explained in that migrants may continue to do the same

(72) For details see Matos Mar, 196: 263.

occupation after migration as they did before; and by the high number of employees and professionals who are likely to take up one occupation for a lifetime (for details, see Life Histories II). The overwhelming majority of migrants have had only one occupation; few of them have had as many as three different occupations.

With regard to land for housing in Lima, 59 per cent of all Matahuasino migrants have their own house, and 12 per cent have plots of land ready for building on. Almost all of them obtained their land by purchase from private owners. Although one can inherit land from parents, not many have yet passed on plots of land to their descendants. In comparison, both the land and the houses are located within the urban middle and middle-lower class areas (see Table XVII., and for the location of residences, see Map IV).

With regard to the place of residence within Lima city, Matahuasinos, since early times, have lived in the urban planned concourses. A few of them, particularly poor migrants, occupied the slums, then gradually moved to new residential areas. There are ten districts in which the majority of them are living. Only a small number (8 per cent) are living in a single shanty town (Surco). Most of the ten districts are separated from one another, although 21 per cent of migrants are living in one district Surquillo (see Table XVII). The separated location of residences can be regarded as one of the reasons why the migrants are not likely to communicate with each other very often.

As in the first case, women do not play a large part

in the association, though this is 6 per cent higher than in the case of Ongoy. This difference may be explained by the higher level of literacy and urbanization of Matahuasinos. Also, they tend to be less dependent on their husbands and relatives which reflects broadly the position of women in the locality. By tradition Matahuasina women are not regarded necessarily as housekeepers. Such independence from relatives can not be furthered because of the overall social structure of the urban, middle, and middle-lower class which is still characterized by the reluctance of women to take an active part in the social and political arena. Occupationally only half of the women-members are housekeepers, the other half having other occupations. There is a high percentage of unmarried members (32 per cent) in comparison to the first case. This suggests that unattached women migrants over 51 years are likely to be widowed; and indeed this is the case. Sixty-eight per cent of members are married, and their wives are not formally registered in the association.

2.2.4 Interactional Patterns

As in the first case the association bases its internal organization on a constitution which is applied only in formal situations. Most of the activities are organized on informal and interpersonal levels.

These interactions depend on the degree of personal trust and confidence. This personal trust is based on kinship, friendship and business interests. The idea of paisano has almost the same significance as in the first case, although it seems that in the first case it is

somewhat stronger. The idea of co-operative reciprocity and solidarity, though it is written into the internal rules and is an ideal norm, in practice it is less frequent than in the first case. Individualism seems to be gradually replacing collectivism. In addition to these factors the widespread distribution of housing for migrants has not helped to encourage close interaction among members of the association, particularly in attending meetings.

There are five Matahuasino associations, with only two of them maintaining close relations (Associations No's 3 and 5). There is also interaction between the 20 associations which are under the umbrella of Federación Departamental de Junín. Geographically these associations originate in the northern part of the Mantaro Valley.

Interpersonal relations among members are less significant than for the Ongoy case. The content of interaction, the intensity and the frequency of interaction appears to be less meaningful. Although some members have developed strong links between themselves, this is mainly among relatives and close friends. The main interaction takes place at the Sunday afternoon football match, at the association's meetings which are usually held at least once a month, and at other activities such as the dance party in January, celebrating the Santo Patrón and during caravanas de retorno. In terms of intensity and frequency of interaction, the Sunday football match seems to be more relevant not only because the event joins most of the members, but because it is the means through which inter-institutional interaction takes place.

I shall attempt through the football match to show how it is used for interaction among members, and to demonstrate solidarity. The event took place on May 13th in the football ground called "Buenos Aires" located in the western part of the main city area. Since the early hours of Sunday morning loudspeakers played popular Andean music from the Mantaro Valley (huaynos). There were around forty people in the football field. In one corner on a table stood two trophies. Meanwhile a football match between two of the 23 associations was taking place. There were other players preparing for the next match. Inside a small house a woman rented sports equipment to players. I asked the woman how many people usually come each Sunday, and she replied "about two thousand. Each spectator has to pay ten soles (about 2 pence) but players do not have to pay...". Through the loudspeakers the announcer promised that the festival would be a great occasion, and said, there would be patasca (typical dish made from maize) and caldo de cabeza (soup made from the head of a sheep). By midday the number of spectators had gradually increased. The first football match was over and the winning team received the trophy. The second match began. The members of the C.S.D.M. gradually arrived one by one. The speaker announced the presence of the Matahuasinos and said that in a few moments a typical orchestra called Hermanos Rios (The Rios Brothers) would arrive; also the great folk singer Irma Zevallos, and the Embajadore Folklóricos (Folkloric Ambassadors) named la "Huajilla" after the title of a song and dance from Rio Molinos (another

district of the valley). Around the field there were many stalls selling beer and soft drinks. The president of F.D.J., who is the ex-president of C.S.D.M. (number 24 in Life Histories II) originates from Matahuasi, had an earlier meeting with the members of the associations, some of whom were players and were ready to play after the second match. Some of the members were controlling the entrance to the field, others were selling beer, some wives were selling typical local food, others were simply watching the match. Some of them preferred to drink with companions from Matahuasi and members of other associations. The orchestra arrived. The main match began with the C.S.D.M. versus the Sporting Club Molinos. There were about one thousand five hundred spectators, most of them came from the northern part of the valley; there were very few from other parts of the valley. Everyone seemed to wear their best clothes. There was much interaction between men and women, although some adult women preferred to congregate in a certain part of the field. The young men preferred to stay with the young women. Some participants had come especially from the village of Molinos to watch their players and they brought food from Molinos. Many residents from Molinos joined their paisanos and asked about their relatives and the condition of their farms, their families and so on.

By about five o'clock in the afternoon the main football match was over. The winner was C.S.D.M. and the Matahuasinos joined together to celebrate the event. Some of them offered drinks to the players saying "viva

Matahuasi" (long live Matahuasi). In the meantime there were two orchestras competing and some folk singers were singing. This was the high point of the whole event. Many people began to dance the huaylas. Several were nearly drunk. In one corner of the field some people were playing tiro al sapo, while others ate traditional food. The grand dance was scheduled for about seven o'clock. Young people danced together. One man said, "Many marriages begin from these dances. You have probably seen some of the young people leaving the place in couples". When they were drunk, the people preferred to talk about their pueblos, and their personal experiences when they were young. The dance seemed to dispel local differences between the barrios, as the music is from the valley as a whole and people tend to express more their regional rather than their local identity. By eleven o'clock the party was over and the place was quiet. A few drunk people were left lying on the ground.

Three conclusions can be made when we compare this kind of social event with the one described in the first case study. First, it seems that the identification of members with their place of origin is most striking during football matches and also at times when activities are directly linked to the material needs of the pueblo. On the other hand, the identification with the region is significant during Grand Dances with their traditional music and food. However, the boundaries between local and regional identity appear to be less noticeable here. Secondly, a high degree of participation tends to be

limited to the Sunday football match, although identification with the place of origin is still important. Internal social and economic differences seemed to disappear during Grand Dances. Thirdly, the various social events are more commercially oriented than in the first case; those who derive most profit from them are the members of C.S.D.M. who engage in commercial activities, although in comparison with the Ongoinos, the Matahuasinos can more easily raise money to send to their locality.

The various festivities listed above differ from one another in their frequency and in the numbers involved. For instance, football matches seem to be the most frequent, followed by kermess celebrations. The main religious festival takes place one a year in honour of the Santo Patrón, and is usually followed by a social dance (baile social) where members of other Matahuasino and even non-Matahuasino associations participate. The anniversary of the association (January 1st) is also celebrated and a general meeting takes place to commemorate its foundation. This occasion is also generally followed by a social dance at which various institutions from Matahuasi and the F.D.J. are welcomed.

In addition to these events, informal personal contacts during weekdays appear to testify to a significant degree of regional commitment, although such contacts are less frequent than among members of the Ongoinos. These contacts often take place not only for business purposes but also in response to the need for co-operation and solidarity. The difficulties caused by the widely spread location of migrant residences, which may not allow frequent visits,

are to some extent alleviated by the use of migrant-members' own transport. Many have their own cars and others can use these cars in order to make visits during weekdays. For instance, migrant-members Numbers 3,5,7 and 24, who are officials of the associations, often exchange short visits. Number 3 is a lawyer who deals with the association's legal affairs and is also a close friend of Numbers 5,7 and 24. Another example of regular visiting involves Numbers 6, 16 and 32, who are close relatives. Number 6 is the father's sister of 32 and mother of 16. Again, Numbers 7 and 20 are related through occupational links since both are small industrialists. The first has a smelting factory and sells his products to the second who owns a shop which specialises in Metallic products (see Table XXIV).

Now let me give a few other examples of how these interactions take place, particularly among the wives of members. Some wives, particularly those of the members listed above, have close contacts. These contacts take place on occasions such as birthdays, weddings, christenings, and often more frequently. Their conversations tend to revolve more around their own affairs than among the Ongoinos. Thus, in general they talk less about what is going on in Matahuasi, although this theme is always present. Visits can be used to exchange information on the association's activities, such as meetings and festivals. One distinguishing feature between the first and second case is that food is unlikely to be shared on informal occasions, and the few

products sent from Matahuasi are rarely exchanged. However, it was reported that those members who live in Surquillo, one of the most densely populated city areas where middle and lower-middle status group migrants live, have a more tightly knit network and more interpersonal contacts (see Life Histories of Numbers 8,10,11,25,30,33 and 27, Table XXIV).

Finally in both cases regional commitment exhibits both common and distinguishing features. For the Ongoinos, regional commitment seems to be a significant factor throughout their lives: it brings a sense of security and makes them feel that they are not alone in the urban milieu. For the Natahuasinos, regional ties seem to operate more on an individual basis for the furtherance of personal ends but nevertheless still reinforces their sense of identification with their locality of origin. Some of these issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter V

The Problem of Regionalism, Internal Social Differentiation and Effectiveness of Associations

My main task in this chapter is to discuss the general significance of the two associations considering the social background of the migrants already outlined in the preceding chapter. I assume that it is the social background that is largely responsible for the formation, type, development, and different degree of associational commitment to the home-village. Complementary to the social background is the different effects that the city environment has upon patterns of associational organization.

On these assumptions I shall stress four interconnected points: first, the extent to which normative patterns regulate migration, and the different ways in which they link rural-urban relations and actually encourage the formation of associations; second, the way in which regional identities are combined with socio-economic differences in order to engender and shape the identity or alienation of the migrants; third, the reasons why the association must not be regarded as being either a transitional stage between "birth-ascribed" village kin groups and the achieved relationships generally associated with urban life⁽⁷³⁾, or as a collective solution to the need on the part of urban

(73) See Basham, 1978: 143.

dwellers for friendship, entertainment and support. Associations are directly related to the processes of social, economic and political change taking place in members' home localities. Finally, I shall examine the situation and circumstances in which particular associations may become sources for the formation of both regional commitment and political participation, taking into account the perception of both migrant and villager of the role played by these associations.

1. The Role of Migration in the Maintenance of Associations

For temporary and first generation migrants the effects of residence away from their village, and particularly their barrio have always been mitigated by frequent home visits and by immediate contact with fellow villagers and relatives in Lima; this is as true of the present as it was of the past. These contacts have been made through migration in both directions (return-migration and out-migration). Consequently, so long as migration is a permanent phenomenon regional associations will most likely continue to be formed.

The two most important types of migration outlined in this study (temporary and permanent) have played a decisive role in the maintenance of the associations. These types of migration have affected the organization, development and role of the associations in varying degrees. The increasing number of associations is directly related to the increasing number of migrants and returning migrants.

Migration has increased considerably since the late 1940's and early 1950's among both Ongoinos and Matahuasinos. Ever since the two villages became connected with Lima, the associations have played a significant role in this

process as the villagers have relied upon the associations for moral and sometimes financial support, especially during the period immediately after their migration. As migration in early times was predominantly temporary and seasonal, relationships with relatives and fellow villagers were likely to be maintained. Even some of those who migrated permanently did not become isolated from their villages. This is certainly so in the case of Matahuasi where, since the early 1920's or even before, some migrants have become permanent residents in Lima, and now actively participate in their regional association. Migrants are reluctant to abandon their personal or family belongings, particularly their land which represents both a resource and a spiritual and sentimental attachment⁽⁷⁴⁾, particularly in the case of inherited land. Furthermore, "branch" associations may indirectly stimulate return migration. As I have described earlier, the return migrant may also rely upon his "branch" association for entertainment and may use it to get to know people from his own and other barrios. These arguments are generally applicable to both our localities.

Social data relating to the Ongoino case indicates an important correlation between migration and the formation and development of the A.H.H. association. Migration to

(74) The sentimental attachment to which I refer is largely ignored by those scholars interested either in peasant economy or migration. This argument is largely supported by the migrants themselves. They look upon their property, whatever the size or quality, as a means of identification with their relatives, their barrio, and their community. Another additional argument for the above is the long standing struggle with those who have tried to usurp their land (e.g. hacendados, mestizos, and foreign merchants).

Lima was, and still is, an organized process based on objective, normative and individual factors. Since the beginning of migration, the migrants in Lima have continued to maintain close relations with each other, relationships which are founded upon common experiences, expectations, and problems. These similarities have stimulated the search for common solutions. The most effective legal and social resource is the association, particularly for those migrants who either want to use the association as a political resource, or who simply consider the association as a means of retaining a sense of identity with the barrio or locality.

In addition there are contributory factors which explain the reasons why a migrant is morally and emotionally attached to his locality. Considerable numbers of relatives live permanently in the village. Most migrants send back money to them, thereby causing the village household economy to gradually change from being self-sustained to being market orientated. Temporary migrants serve as channels of communication and may persuade their parents to spend a few weeks in Lima. Villagers who make temporary visits to relatives in Lima may also take with them the benefits of local association activity.

Migrants are very concerned about their property in the home village. Almost all of them own land, cattle, farm equipment, houses and other personal belongings, and when asked if he would ever want to return to the

village one migrant replied,

I will never be isolated from Ongoy
 ... Ongoy is my small country (patria
 chica) ... If I am not able to find
 work, or if I don't like Lima, I will
 return to Ongoy, where I have many
 relatives and properties ...

This was the type of response characteristic of not only temporary migrants living in Lima, but also of some apparently permanent migrants as well.

Villager-migrant relationships can be found in the links maintained between the A.H.H. and its "branch" association, Hermandad Virgen del Carmen (H.V.C.) which is basically a religious association; its name was taken from the Patron Saint (Virgen del Carmen) of the village. Forty per cent of migrant-members are temporary migrants and return to the village at least once a year for long periods. Whilst in the village, returned migrants become engaged in the different activities of the "branch" associations, particularly the religious activities and celebrations. Likewise new migrants arriving in Lima will most likely be recruited by the A.H.H. Since 1975 the rate of out-migration to Lima has decreased due to a deteriorating economic situation in the urban areas, Government anti-migration policy manifested in stricter control over squatting, and the effects of the land reform. From the interviews I carried out, these pressures have even led to many more migrants returning to the village than previously, a fact supported by the increasing number of "branch" association members.

Matahuasi data indicate a somewhat different correlation

between migration and the development of the association C.S.D.M. Although its parent association was a sort of "social insurance" for migrants, the C.S.D.M. became the representative of the local upper status group and an important channel for political action.

Relationships between kinsmen in both Lima and the village are not only less reciprocal but less intensive. As the nuclear family is dominant in both places, relations between / ^{genealogically} distant kin appears less important. In contrast to the Ongoino case, some migrants have sold or passed on their properties in Matahuasi. The majority of them still retain some property but this is not necessarily administered by a kinsman, as it is among the Ongoinos. Many migrants prefer to let their land or house. Some villagers may ask kinsmen in Lima to invest some of their money in village enterprises, and others may have their land cultivated by a relative or a fellow villager. However many of these relationships are based on straightforward economic transactions rather than being an outcome of kinship obligations per se.

Qualitative data suggest that Matahuasinos are less sentimentally attached to their properties, although many of them confess that owning land in Matahuasi means that they are still Matahuasinos, as elucidated by one informant:

Although I have no properties in Matahuasi,
some of my relatives are still living
there. I wish to go back to Matahuasi
when I am old ...

In another interview the response was:

I do not wish to return to Matahuasi
because the people are always struggling;

every one is trying to fulfil their own desires. Neither the Town Council nor the Community are really interested in the development of Matahuasi. That is a tragedy for Matahuasi.

It is clear from the above statements that Matahuasino migrants, unlike their Ongoino counterparts, have mixed feelings over the prospect of returning home. These responses may be a reflection of the type of migration as well. Many Matahuasinos, particularly the permanent migrants, look upon the locality, not as a safe place to live, but as a romantic and even tourist attraction.

Another situation that is indicative of the individualistic, rather than the collective, nature of villager/migrant relations lies in the fact that the C.S.D.M. has no formal "branch" association, though almost all Town Council members, and members of the group of buyers maintain close relations with the association. Many of the migrants, Town Council members, and commercially-oriented farmers are related through kinship. The instance of temporary migration in comparison with the Ongoino case is very low. Most of these migrants are traders, merchants, and agriculturists. Data have also produced evidence to show that migration to Lima is slowed down, and that those arriving in Lima for the first time are likely to be largely independent of the association. Some new migrants even regard the association as regressive and sentimental. I quote from a statement made by a new arrival:

Instead of wasting time by participating in the association, people must be aware of their own interests ...

In summary, I suggest that, in spite of divided opinions concerning the role of associations, the type and scale of migration are the most important factors in explaining the persistence and changing nature of associations.

2. Regionalism as a Basis for Association Organization, Development and Participation

Associations are primarily set up on the basis of common geographical origin. However, we must take into account other external aspects represented by the urban milieu. One of these is the occupational situation and type of labour process that the migrant is involved in. In some instances associations serve as a means of defence against the interference of Government, political parties, or the actions of employers.

The hierarchical structure of the two associations conforms to the standard set by Government for formally-registered organizations. Diagram III illustrates the internal organization of a regional association. This varies in minor ways for the two cases. For instance, the A.H.H. has two representatives (delegados) from the two densely populated areas where most of the migrant-members live (San Martin de Porres and Bellavista, see Map V); whereas C.S.D.M. organization includes two representatives in Matahuasi as well as a Vigilance Council composed of President, Secretary and a Vocal. In both cases the internal regulations (Estatuto Interno) specify the duties and rights of association officers as well as those of all members, although in practice these duties and rights will depend upon other social, economic and political aspects.

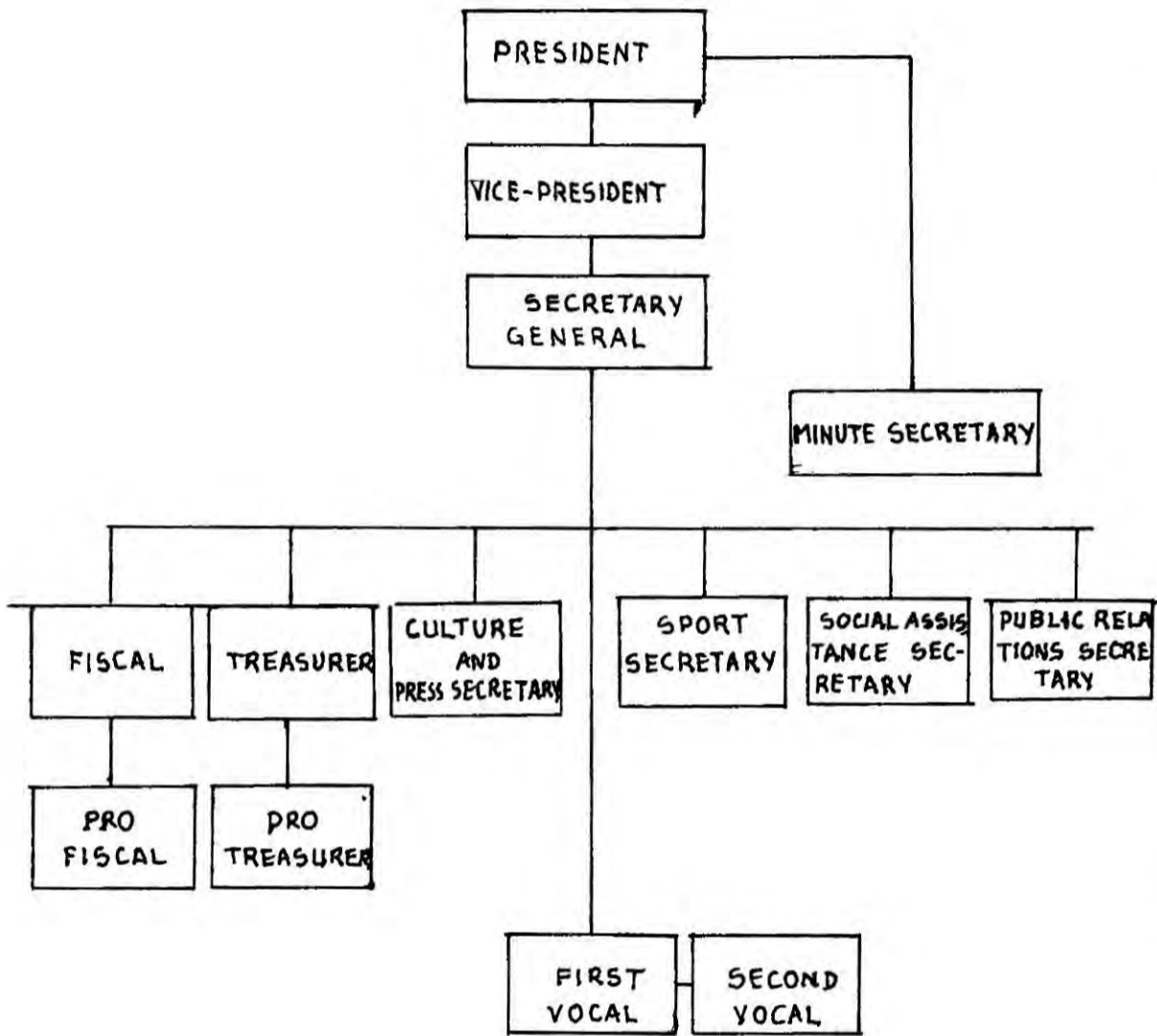


DIAGRAM III
INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATIONS

I shall now analyse the extent to which the regulations are complied with by officers and members of both associations and describe the levels of participation.

In the case of Ongoy, the level of fulfilment of duties and rights and the level of participation is higher than is the case for Matahuasi for three reasons: the relatively common social basis of migrant-members; their close relations and interaction before migration, which enable them to collectively organize for common purposes; and the relatively proximity of sites of residence in Lima.

Though the internal organization of the associations is hierarchical in nature, duties and rights are shared by all members. This means, in practice, that representatives are not likely to concentrate on accumulating either personal power or prestige. Ordinary members, however, recognize their authority as officers. Therefore plans and programmes are easily and, usually, successfully implemented. This co-operation becomes apparent when one considers the frequency of meetings (which are held at least once a month), and the high number of participants; an average of 50 per cent at each session, a figure which may vary in accordance with items on the agenda. Important decisions concerning the organization of associations and any action to be taken with regard to the village, are discussed in depth by all members. Some representatives may take advantage not only of their position but of their qualifications, such as their good command of Spanish, literacy and urban experience, in order to persuade others to take specific actions which are always related to the

interests of the association rather than the individual. Some members, particularly those who belonged to A.C.H.O. are politically more active, and would like to bring the association into the political arena. This proposition has not been rejected by other members who recognize that if the association is to be effective, it must make political decisions, particularly when dealing with the Government and the local upper status group. Any decision taken by the association must be transmitted to the "branch" association through personal or institutional contacts, and vice versa, although both associations are relatively independent with regard to their plans, programmes and actions.

In Matahuasino associations duties and rights are fulfilled in a different manner. The reasons for these differences are their more heterogeneous social composition, the less close-knit networks of the migrant-members before migration and the more individualistic strategies pursued by them and the dispersed nature of migrant-members places of residence in Lima, which adversely affects the degree of co-operation and communication.

One consequence of this is that, in practice, the administrative structure can be used as a means of not only gaining prestige, but also of manipulating social resources based on the loyalty and solidarity offered to the association by its ordinary members. Therefore plans and programmes can be deliberately modified by powerful officers, whether or not these changes are of benefit to the association as a whole. One ploy for doing this

is to take important decisions when there is no quorum of members, only ones own allies. From observations I made of association meetings, I conclude that, in spite of a large membership (128), on average only 25 members are regularly active. On occasions this number may rise to include more than half the total membership, but this is on festival days, at social dances or on the anniversary of association's foundation. Association difficulties may also be highlighted by the general infrequency of sessions, compared with Ongoino associations (i.e. they take place about once or twice every two months).

As the association has no "branch" in the locality, plans and programmes can be made freely. The two association representatives in Matahuasi have no control over these decisions, even though they are communicated to them from time to time. A preferred way of publicising association policy is through the issue of a pamphlet called El Nispero. This is named after a popular fruit called nispero grown in Matahuasi. This pamphlet is distributed amongst members and non-members in both Lima and Matahuasi.

3. Internal Socio-economic Differentiation as a Source of Association Identity and Crisis

As I have outlined in the previous chapter, the different social origins of migrant-members determine the varying degrees of identification with, participation in, and commitment to the localities. This differentiation is also related to the extent to which migrants maintain relations with their respective village households.

In the Ongoino case, it is clear from the data that

the social origins of migrant-members are relatively homogeneous. This homogeneity is the consequence of the interplay between external and internal forces, and it persists in spite of the gradually increasing social and economic differentiation between one generation and another. Migrant-members are conscious of the fact that the association constitutes not only a channel by which to communicate with parents and fellow migrants, but a source of political security. It is obvious that migrants' desire to achieve individual objectives such as better employment, higher income, and formal education for their children. However, these objectives cannot be entirely achieved because of the highly selective and discriminatory urban system. Ongoinos occupy low status in the urban structure and as such their life chances are severely limited. Nevertheless this handicap results in their consolidating their ties through concepts of regional identity and co-operation. Migrant-members in this situation see the association as a source of emotional security, which may reduce social tension and relieve psychological and psychosocial pressures to which the migrants are subject.

Evidence of this may be observed in the life histories of migrant-members (see Table XXIII) which not only reveal the historical process involved in the development of the individual migrant's career, but also the variations and changes which have occurred in Lima and the localities during the last forty years. Through life histories, the influence of education, land and conflict with landowners can be highlighted. Poor education, lack of previous

migration experience, and their ethnically and socially subordinated position in relation to mestizo landowners, means that they probably have more difficulty than, say, Matahuasinos in adapting themselves to the complexity of the urban setting.

Membership of the association may contribute towards more successful adaptation, or it may be a source of sentimental reinforcement and so slow down the process. Direct migration predominates; only 6 per cent of migrants have reached Lima via an intermediate town⁽⁷⁵⁾, and this, together with the rapid encapsulation of the newly arrived migrant in a limited network of Ongoinos has both positive and negative consequences for his integration into urban life and values.

An additional reason which has contributed to this relative homogeneity is the high degree of previous experience of participating in associations. As we can see in the life histories, only 20 per cent of migrant-members have no previous experience, and of the 80 per cent who had experience, 45 per cent have participated as active members, and some of them have been representatives of the most important Ongoino association, A.C.H.O. The rest of them were members of other Ongoino associations.

The relative heterogeneity of the Matahuasino can also be related to similar factors, like occupation,

(75) There are at least 3 important urban centres on the way from Ongoy to Lima. These are: Andahuaylas, Ayacucho and Huancayo (see Map II,VI).

education, command of Spanish, previous migration experience, property and land tenure, and consequent attitudes towards them, and previous participation in associations. The heterogeneity is also historically determined by the early development and modernization of the region to which Matahuasinos belong. In contrast to the Ongoino case, external forces appear more crucially important due to the early penetration of capitalism and urban life styles. This argument raises questions concerning the extent to which regional and national development has affected identity, and why, in the face of such socio-economic change, regional identity remains the basis for the organization of associations among Matahuasinos. The reasons are numerous, but the most important seems to be that (in contrast to the Ongoino case where economic development is less, and where local and barrio identities remain strong), Matahuasi has been restructured by regional development in such a way that local and barrio identities have become more loosely articulated, leading to the emergence of more broadly-based regional commitments which, sometimes, provide the ideological framework for the expression of class, political or other sectional interests. One indication of the significance of broader regional forms of identification is that a considerable number of migrant-members of C.S.D.M. originate from localities other than Matahuasi, in the Mantaro region (see Table XXIV). It is also shown by the existence of an organized framework of regional associations headed by the F.D.J.

In spite of this heterogeneity which has differently

affected local and regional identities, C.D.S.M. can be regarded as being very active in comparison to other regional associations of its kind, even though attendance at functions is often low. It is dominated by the elite group who have no consistent control of other members.

Within the wider social stratification of Lima, Ongoinos fall into the urban lower class, while Matahuasinos fall into the wider urban middle and lower-middle class. Hence Matahuasinos are socially more mobile and therefore can develop a wider range of relationships to deal with the various problems they encounter, although the associations still remain a continuing source of personal security. If we look at the life histories of members we see great diversity, particularly in relation to migration experience which reflects in the fluctuating membership and participation of the association. Officers have to draw up new lists of members each year in order to keep track of the changing roll. The differentiated nature of the migrant situation is also shown by the fact that some members are active, others very little and some not at all, despite their formal registration. This, I suggest, indicates the shifting interest of members and their needs for the association. In contrast to the Ongoinos, life histories show that Matahuasinos in the C.S.D.M. have very little knowledge of any other Matahuasino associations. The data show that only 34 per cent were members of the former association S.A.M.H.M. and only 3 per cent of them have been members of one of the three Matahuasino associations.

In summary, we can state that regional and local identities have been continuously affected by the social and economic differences of members. It seems that these inequalities are likely to persuade members to be more individually and family oriented rather than collectively and locally-based. Therefore, in contrast to the Ongoino case, the Matahuasino association can be regarded generally as one in permanent crisis. Although such crises do not mean, on the one hand, self-destruction or disappearance, on the other hand they do mean instability and relative disorganization. They also provide opportunities for some officers and members to take advantage in order to achieve not only institutional objectives but also personal power and prestige.

4. Mobilization of Regional Identities, Solidarities, Prestige and Individually-oriented Interests

So far, I have discussed the general and specific roles played by regional associations for the benefit of migrant-members and their influence on the localities of migrant origin. There is, however, one important feature missing; the associations may also be a means of fulfilling individual desires and hopes. Of course this feature is not explicitly or deliberately manifested either in the internal constitution, or in the general consensus regarding the role of the association. Generally, participation in the association is primarily influenced by regionalism as I have stated in the first part of this chapter. This regionalism, in combination with other factors such as the importance of kinship ties, the external role

played by the urban norms and the values and the economic pressures of the urban environment, are all likely to ensure a gradual disappearance of identity boundaries. It seems that regionalism, in the urban context, does not only encourage identity but also may be used in the political arena as a reflection of economic diversity. From the observations I have made it seems that regional identity and solidarity can be better used by certain individuals in order to acquire and manipulate power resources. Apparently these individuals are economically more active, and are committed not only to their respective associations, but also to the localities. These arguments can be better illustrated by using the two case studies.

In the case of the Ongoy, the mobilization of regional identity is established in terms of locally-based and barrio-based identities. Regional identity is primarily expressed by associations interacting with other associations from the same region. As the region is not as well-defined as the Mantaro, the associations seem likely to be more locally-based, with the barrio functioning not only as a geographical unit of identity, but a social, economic and political one.

Associations at regional level are more homogeneous and are basically formed by migrants with peasant backgrounds. The exceptions are the four main associations (asociaciones matrices) formed primarily by the local upper status groups (see Table V). As the social basis of members, in the case of the Ongoino is relatively homogeneous, the mobilization of regional identity is likely to be on a corporate basis. Kinship is a significant factor

in the maintenance of regional solidarity. Through these relationships new migrants are recruited. This is particularly true of the barrio-based associations where the majority of members are related through kin ties. As kinship is an important factor in association maintenance, it seems that instances of power manipulation are relatively uncommon among Ongoino associations. As we have observed, migrant-members are unlikely, given their urban occupations, to need to recruit labour from kinsmen. Instead the older and long-established migrants are used by new migrants, at least initially as social and economic security, while they seek jobs and accommodation.

The best use of regional identity is expressed in the political arena. Since its foundation the A.H.H. has served as the most effective method of organizing and mobilizing political resources for collective purposes. This strategy has achieved some success on several occasions, and has also created solidarity among migrant-members. After the 1974 peasant uprising, and the consolidation of the land reform, however, the association has become gradually less politically oriented. The new role, which the association is assuming, appears to be more orientated towards the modernization of the locality. In this, it is articulated with the "branch" association, which may also be regarded as one of the most go-ahead "branch" associations in the locality. In spite of its centrality as the asociación matriz, the association has no longer any effective control over the other Ongoino associations. Instead, relations are relatively balanced.

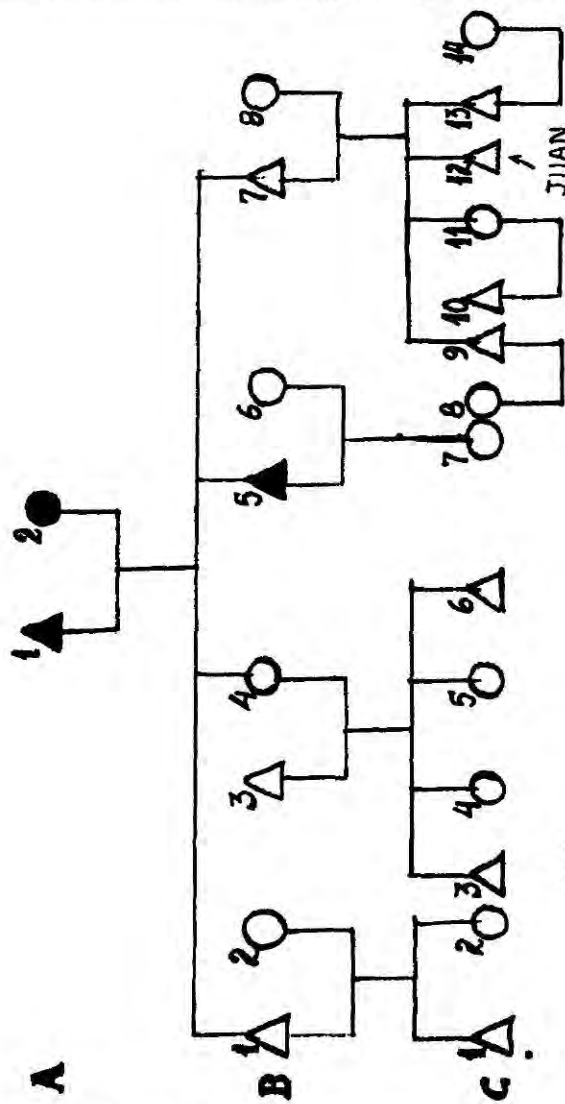
So far I have isolated a few common bases which have over time created regional identities and have been expressed in association activities. I do not wish, however, to imply that these identities necessarily create a high level of co-operation and solidarity. This is not so even in the village, where people have more in common. As I have discussed earlier, the A.H.H. is not a barrio-based association, but is essentially rural-urban based and therefore incipiently differentiated socially. Nevertheless, so far this differentiation has not led to the emergence of an elite exercising monopoly over decisions and resources of the associations.

This point can be illustrated by reference to the example of Juan, the President of the association (Number 18, Life Histories Table XXIII, Genealogy, C12). Juan has one brother (Number 16, Gen.C13) and one sister, called Rosa (Number 24, Gen.C.11), both of whom are members of the association. Juan's paternal uncle, called Vicente (Number 19, Gen.B1), was the former President of the Association but is now simply a member. Juan has two female parallel cousins (Numbers 1 and 24, Gen.C7 and C2), and two male cross cousins (Numbers 14 and 23, Gen.C3 and C6). In addition, his brother, Isidro (Gen.C 9), is the President of the "branch" association (Hermandad Virgen del Carmen). Several of Juan's and Isidro's relatives are members of the branch association, particularly B3, B8, C8, C6 in the Genealogy.

As we can see from the life histories, all Juan's relatives living in Lima who are members of the association

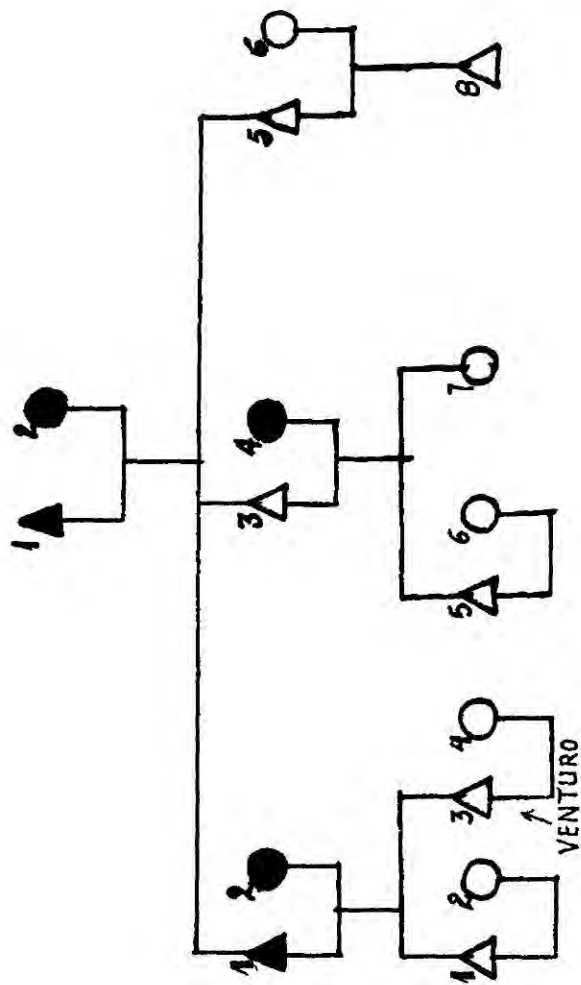
GENEALOGIES

CASE I: JUAN'S IMMEDIATE KIN



KEY
 Δ = MALE
 ○ = FEMALE
 ● = DECEASED
 ♂ = MARRIED
 ♂ = SIBLINGS

CASE II: VENTURO'S IMMEDIATE KIN



have a common social background. This shows them to be the most "urbanized" of the families of migrant-members. They have more average education; their occupations are more prestigious; their migration experience is wider than the average; they all have their own houses, and their income levels are well above average. In addition, they hold higher positions in the associations, both in Lima and the locality. We could even describe the association as being familial.

This would suggest that Juan's family are likely to become influential, not only in maintaining the association and in decision-making, but also in the orientation of objectives. Hence one might suppose that Juan and his relatives might manipulate the social and identity resources and thereby significantly increase their power position or prestige in relation to other officers and members, but they do not appear to do so because loyalties offered by ordinary members to Juan and his family are reciprocated by the active participation of his family and what they give to the association. This interpretation is supported by observation of different social events, meetings and ceremonials and also interviews I have made with members who are other than Juan's relatives.

In the case of Matahuasi, mobilization of resources is established on the basis of regional and local identities. The Mantaro region can be described as a well-integrated and well-defined region in comparison to the Pampas area. Kinship ties among migrants themselves and among migrants and fellow villagers appear, however, to be loosely

established. Regionalism as an ideological issue seems to be more important for political purposes rather than merely for purposes of solidarity. Regionalism can be manipulated by certain individuals who use regional sentiments as an excuse for taking advantage. Regionalism still constitutes the means by which migrants not only may claim certain rights but also may identify and distinguish themselves from migrants from other regions. One indication of this distinctiveness is that migrants from Montaro Valley, and particularly Matahuasi, appear very proud of their region and locality. As the C.S.D.M. is however socially and economically heterogeneous, this regionalism is often used situationally by certain groups, while others stress their socio-economic status vis-à-vis others. Moreover kinship cannot play the same integral role as it does for Ongoinos. The employment situation, as we have seen, shows considerable diversification; some occupations are more commercially oriented. This requires permanent labour which may be contracted from fellow villagers, particularly those recently arrived, or those from the local lower status groups.

The best use made of regional identity is in the political arena, as it is for Ongoinos. Political activity has been one of the major association objectives, particularly during the internal land dispute between the Comunidad Campesina and the group of buyers. These objectives have eventually been realised particularly when C.S.D.M. split from the former association, S.A.M.H.M. Lately, since 1975, as the national political climate

has changed from popularist to rightist (sympathetic to APRA), C.S.D.M. association activity has increased. National elections held this year for the constitution of the New Constituent Assembly seem to have consolidated migrant-members' political power⁽⁷⁶⁾. As the land dispute seems to be over, the Comunidad unable to find political support, the group of buyers have openly expressed sympathy for the association. In addition, the present Alcalde (Mayor), who is a son of one of the buyers, has established close links with the association and its leaders. An indication of this is the signed agreement between the President of the Association and the Alcalde in order to implement a domestic water supply project which is expected to be finished very soon. (see Photograph V).

Let us now take a look at some examples of how this political network operates in reality. Most of the senior and active migrant-members are the descendants of the group of buyers (nine of them are still alive). Some of them are related through kinship ties and most of them are professionals. The two association representatives in Matahuasi are also descendants of the group of buyers, and are prosperous farmers. The Alcalde and Town Council members are from the families of the group of buyers. The President of the Comite Pro-Templo (Pro-Church Committee) is a former land buyer (compradora) and maintains close

(76) The most senior and active members of the association are associated politically to the APRA which gained 37 per cent of the national vote.

relationships with both Town Council members and migrant-members. Almost all compradores are affiliated to the APRA party. During late 1976, after the Alcalde died, the association in Lima became very deeply involved in the internal political affairs of Matahuasi. Most of the members strongly supported a local resident comprador; and, after the decision had been taken, the association institutionally declared their support for the above candidate. At the local level, the compradores also decided to support this candidate. Neither the Comunidad, nor the other Matahuasino associations in Lima, opposed these plans, and finally the comprador was nominated as Alcalde. This action consolidated not only the political power of the compradores but the political power of the association in Lima.

Acquiring individual prestige and furthering individual economic interest appear to be other ways in which the association is used. Some migrant-members, particularly officers, are interested in reaffirming their social status over other migrant-members. These attitudes are clearly expressed in the sessions and social events. These individuals seem to combine political experience and ability, and attract personal loyalty, in order to accumulate prestige. This is not only noticeable within the association, but also in relations with other Matahuasino associations. Behind the accumulation of prestige lies the personal economic interests of some members. I shall describe one typical case.

The member in question is Venturo (Number 24, Life Histories, Table XXIV; Genealogy, C3), who is a founder of both the C.S.D.M. and the F.D.J. Venturo has one brother (Number 20; Gen.C1) and one parallel paternal cousin (Number 17; Gen.C5); both are members of the association. Venturo is also a parallel paternal cousin of Juana (Gen.C7) and parallel paternal cousin of Ruperto (Gen.C8). Juana and Ruperto are compradores and live in Matahuasi. Venturo is the tenant of a sports field in Lima where the 23 associations affiliated to the F.D.J. hold their weekly matches. He receives around \$160 a month in rent paid by the sponsor association. In addition, Venturo receives his pension as a retired employee. Other migrant-members who are commercially oriented may also take advantage, particularly those who sell liquor and drinks, sports equipment and trophies, and print for advertising.

In addition to these economic opportunities which the association may offer to some members, there has, in the past, been a belief that the financial administration of the association was somewhat irregular and that on several occasions money collected at events had gone straight into the pockets of the officers. As the control which can be exercised by ordinary members over officers is almost non-existent, these allegations could be true, though, as I have suggested in Chapter IV, the C.S.D.M. have contributed quite considerably to their locality of origin in spite of its recent foundation and apparent internal problems.

5. Associations as Viewed by Villagers and Migrants

In this part I compare village and migrant notions of their respective associations, in order to validate my general interpretations. The material is taken from interviews with specific individuals and confirms the levels of organization and functionality of each association. As the objectives of associations are related to the interests of members and villagers, it is vital to assess migrant-member and villager points of view in order to discover the extent to which associations live up to expectations.

There is general acceptance of associations. People believe there is a need not only to be organized, but also to be united in an unfamiliar environment. There is a particular phrase in which this need is expressed: No hay que olvidarse de nuestra madre tierra ("One should not forget the land from whence one comes"). From the earliest days of migration, the formation of associations therefore became the most important means of keeping alive such desires and hopes. Rather than disappear entirely, this initial ideology has been subject to qualitative changes over time, as activities have shifted from political or welfare functions to sports and the social events or vice-versa. This awareness of change and competition between groups seeking different ends are increasingly becoming reasons for associations experiencing internal crises.

In Ongoy, a number of the respondents declared that the various branches of the associations in Lima maintain

very close relations. They accepted that the associations in Lima were helping their barrios by sending gifts in the form of material aids or money. Almost all of the villagers, including the local upper status group, agreed that the associations are necessary to them. Though some villagers, particularly those from barrios which have experienced land dispute and confrontation with hacendados, and those who are more politically involved, declared that some associations are responsible for the village becoming more dependent on the outside world. I quote the response of a villager from Callapayoq barrio who supported such a view:

... we are capable of coping with all the needs of our Comunidad. We don't need outsiders interfering in our lives, except of course our borhters who are in Lima. One of the best examples of our communal efforts is the road we have built to our barrio and to Ongoy ... our barrio is the most united of all the other barrios, it is the same with our brothers in Lima, they have the most united association ...

A woman (Gen.B4, paternal aunt of Juan) owner of the only small pension (guesthouse) in Huaqana and a member of the "branch" of A.H.H. said:

The A.H.H.has considerably contributed to the town of Huaqana; they have built the walls of the school and now they are planning to send material for the roof ...

In addition, this woman listed three types of gifts out of a total of eight made by the association. She was aware that the association was helping those migrants who were planning to organize the Transport Cooperative to link Ongoy with Lima.

The President of the District Sports League, who organizes football events on Sundays, provided more details regarding the relations between associations and their respective "branches". He gave the following statement:

The overwhelming majority of the ten "branch" associations have close relations with similar associations in Lima ... The "branch" associations are organized on a barrio basis.

The informant also listed seven of the eight gifts and aids provided by the A.H.H. to the locality, particularly to the school.

A peasant from CabracanCHA barrio, and a member of its "branch" association confessed:

When we need aid from our association in Lima we usually send a letter asking them to give help to our barrio, particularly to the school ... We have received money and material aids recently.

A foreign school teacher painted a somewhat different picture regarding the usefulness of the association to the locality as a whole. He stated:

I am very critical of the local authorities as well as the associations ... What this locality needs is radical armed offensive, working towards eliminating the exploitation of peasants by the mistis (local upper status group) ... I am "marginal" in this community; people sometimes do not like my opinions. They argue that I am a foreigner and as such I do not have the right to talk about them...

The most important representative of the community who comes from the most politically active of the Comunidad barrio (Callapayoq) talked about the associations, particularly the A.H.H. :

Our people are very close to the A.D.I.P.S.A.C. association in Lima. They have supported us in our struggle with the hacendados, and also sent us aid for the completion of our barrio school ... But other associations in Lima helping other barrios are interested in modernizing the Comunidad, and these are very open to outside influence, particularly from the Government bureaucrats ...

The relationship between the A.H.H. and its "branch" association (Hermandad de la Virgen del Carmen) was described by a female representative of the branch association in the following way:

There are around 60 members in our Hermandad (Brotherhood) but only 30 are very active. There are 8 representatives, most of them are relatives of Juan (the President of A.H.H. in Lima). The Hermandad is fighting the advance of Protestant religion ... We have close communications with the A.H.H. in Lima; we believe our association to be the best in the locality. Our main interest lies in the Church; we are now building a house for the priest and providing for the maintenance of the Church.

A school teacher named Isidro (Gen.C 9) who was born in Huaqana and is now the President of the Hermandad, confirmed that help was given by the A.H.H. to the locality. He added that petitions to the A.H.H. are made from the locality in consultation with members of local institutions. He also recognized that the A.H.H. is the matrix association for Ongoy and centralizes some activities in Lima. Finally he said:

The people of Huaqana, as a whole, accept the actions of the associations in Lima ... The A.H.H. is at present the most active, and represents Huaqana ... Although there are some associations which are becoming very political, their interests are not clear because they do not like to cooperate with the progress of the Huaqana.

So far I have quoted the most representative opinions concerning the association's role and importance. Now let me quote some important statements made by migrant-members in Lima with respect to their association; these generally reinforce the villagers' views. I begin by quoting a statement made by one of the most active members of the association called Vicente (Number 19; Life Histories, Table XXIII , Gen.B1):

The old association of A.H.H. named A.C.H.O. became disorganized after 1964; this prompted people from Huaqana to found our association. Our main concern is the progress of Huaqana ... The School needs sound advice and help. Our association is very important. When we organize a festival we invite other Ongoino associations. They always participate in our events ... We are not very committed to politics. We concentrate more on development ...

In opposition to these views an ordinary member of the association said:

The associations must not only act as a means to discuss development and progress ... We campesinos (peasants) have experienced humiliation under the rule of the hacendados ... and now we have to express to the Government our views about land reform. I have heard that we will not benefit from the land reform because we are living outside the Comunidad; we could claim, we are still peasants, because our family and property are in Ongoy ...

The above viewpoint reflects a general feeling among

migrant-members of peasant background. It is, however, an opinion which is widespread, even among those members who come from the urban area.

The President of the association, Juan (Gen.C12), answering the same question, replied:

At the moment we are interested in building our own meeting house (local propio). To do this we have collected about 80,000 soles (about £300) ... In spite of the Government decision to stop collective meetings⁽⁷⁷⁾ we are having at least one meeting every two months ... But in order to avoid further difficulties we do not discuss politics ... We hope the Government will lift this ban and then we will be able to perform our duties more freely ...

A woman, who runs a small shop and whose husband is a member of the A.H.H., gave an interesting account regarding the level of participation and the advantage of being a member's wife:

My husband is an old member of the association. Sometimes he spends a lot of time at meetings ... We have many children; so, we have to work very hard to maintain them ... Women are generally not active members, but we help our husbands ... We all love our village, and when there is an event, we want to participate ... But we don't want our children to be like us; I do not think they would like to go back to live in the village.

Other migrant-members have declared an interest in keeping their association alive as long as they are in Lima; but, at the same time, they stated that it does take up a lot of time and they have to work very hard as they

(77) During the six months from July 1976 to January 1977 the Peruvian Government prohibited meetings of any kind in order to avoid further opposition to their land reform policy.

are poor. They agreed that the association activities constitute their main entertainment as other forms of entertainment were very expensive.

In Matahuasi a selected number of respondents gave an account which revealed not only the internal crisis facing the locality but also the difficulties which have faced the association since its formation. The Alcalde of Matahuasi, talking about the people of Matahuasi, said:

Since I was born I can only remember the people of Matahuasi as selfish ... There is no collaboration ... Some people say that the internal power has disappeared; but I don't believe it. What we have in Matahuasi is racism⁽⁷⁸⁾ the problem is not who is rich and who is poor ... I think there are two groups in Matahuasi; those who do work and those who do not.

With regard to the residents in Lima, but not to the association itself, he said:

Some migrant-residents in Lima only complain to us ... Some residents, like Venturo, have a strong interest and have founded an association which represents the rich people ... Although he has enormous interest in bringing together Matahuasinos in Lima ... But I have just heard that the C.S.D.M. association is facing the same problem as we have here: that is, a lack of cooperation and permanent conflict between individuals ... I know the association in Lima is planning to introduce a new Town Plan (Plano Regulador) but many people will disagree here.

An old member of the Comunidad, who has a son in Lima and who is a member of the association, stated:

(78) By "racism" he means the prejudice of local elite towards the peasants and low status groups.

The members of C.S.D.M. supported the compradores .. But, as you can see, they did not come to the funeral of our Alcalde; though I saw some who came individually ... Many Matahuasinos living in Lima are in a good position and have forgotten about Matahuasi ... There are some who are good Matahuasinos.

A returned migrant who confessed he visited Matahuasi very frequently, said that he was a member of C.S.D.M. and that he was well informed about the association's affairs. Concerning his participation he said:

I don't go to the meetings of the C.S.D.M. very frequently; being a merchant, I am often away from Lima ... although I am very glad the association is helping Matahuasi ...

The wife of the association representative in Matahuasi, who is a member of the committee for the construction of a water supply, declared:

I have heard that the Alcalde is intending to resign, but before he does he wants to call a general assembly ... In the construction of the domestic water supply none of the local institutions, except the residents in Lima, are cooperating. There are about fifteen workers each day in the field digging a hole for the water tank ... The Comunidad does not help us at all ... We are planning to raise some money to invest in the water supply...

The C.S.D.M. representative himself supported his wife's opinions by saying:

The Matahuasinos are very reluctant to cooperate; we need new people to continue the public work. It is ridiculous, but people from outside are more helpful than the Matahuasinos themselves ... We have not received any kind of help from the associations in Lima except from the C.S.D.M.

With respect to the land dispute, he said:



PHOTOGRAPH: IV CHURCH BUILT WITH AIDS PROVIDED BY MIGRANTS OF C.S.D.M.



PHOTOGRAPH: V CONSTRUCTION OF THE DOMESTIC WATER SUPPLY WITH THE FINANCIAL AID PROVIDED BY C.S.D.M.



PHOTOGRAPH: VI SUNDAY FESTIVAL OF PACHAHUARA PRESENTED BY MIGRANT-MEMBERS OF C.S.D.M.

The Comunidad is trying to revive an old problem which is dead ... The new representatives of the community are responsible for this situation (he gave three names) ... They have spent S/. 100,000 (£333) paying a defence lawyer. The Comunidad has also borrowed S/. 700,000 (£2,333) from the Agrarian Bank and they have no money to repay such a debt.

In Lima, an old man (Number 5, Life Histories, Table XXIV) at the time of the interview a member of the C.S.D.M., said:

I can remember that for many years the S.A.M.H.M. was a very helpful association, because they helped people who needed help ... Now more of the representatives are infirm ... Although I am a member of C.S.D.M. I do not participate; I know the representatives and I also know that the association is affiliated to the F.D.J. I went several times to the festivals ...

I quote here another account which apparently suggests that the association is active, well organized, and necessary to the people of Matahuasi. The informant is Ventura (Number 24, Table XXIV, Gen.C3) former President of the Association:

The C.S.D.M. is a regional institution which represents the interests of the people of Matahuasi. Since its foundation the association has done many useful things (he stated many examples of aid given to Matahuasi) ... We represent Matahuasi, we have 128 members ... of course some of them, particularly those who are not good Matahuasinos, are not interested in the association ... In addition to the help we give, we are a leading association among the 23 associations which are registered in the F.D.J. ... I am also a member of a Provincial association called Club Departamental Trujillo, because my wife comes from Trujillo ...

A different account was provided by the President of the Association. With regard to the general situation

he said:

We cannot do anything now, because the constitutional guarantees have been suspended by the Government ... The association representatives have very few meetings, although the regulations state one meeting a week ... Since I have been in charge of the association very few meetings have been arranged ... Our contacts with the people of Matahuasi are mostly at a personal level ... We are very tired; we need a break. Also with the curfew imposed by the Government there is no opportunity to meet ... We sense that within a short time we will begin to do something ... The truth is that at present we do nothing. We are very sorry for our pueblo (Town), Matahuasi, now an abandoned town. I am very sorry that these pueblos of Peru remain materially deprived ...

During a Sunday festival, where each of the 23 associations were taking part in sporting events a girl from Matahuasi whose parents are members of the association, gave her impressions:

I like to come to these festivals ... My neighbour told me about this one ... The problem is that I cannot stay here longer because I am afraid of thieves ... My husband did not come because we were invited for lunch at my mother's house, so he went alone ...

When I asked an ordinary member (Number 1, Life Histories, Table XXIV) who is the son of one of the compradores, what he thought about the association, he said:

The Matahuasinos here are more interested in their own affairs ... The association was founded with a lot of enthusiasm but I have heard that there are very few people who are really active ... Speaking for myself, I cannot go to meetings because of my work and my family ... I have, however, the choice either to go or not. The association does not punish their members when they do not

attend meetings ... I think it is difficult to unite the several thousands of Matahuasinos in Lima ...

From the different accounts of members we may argue that they partially reflect the crisis found within the C.S.D.M. Such a crisis is not only expressed in the lack of participation but in the different views and opinions concerning the association. What is important to the migrants seems to be their personal interests; the association still remains, however, as a means of identification with their locality and region. Their region is important to them because of the pride they feel not only in the fact that the Mantaro Valley is generally believed to be more advanced than any other Peruvian Highland region, but also for their music, dance, and religious celebrations. It appears that the association, as such, has no real power or sanctions over members, whereas in the Ongoino case the association is the centralizing unit and holds sway over members. It seems that loyalty to specific persons is more important than loyalty to the association among members of the Matahuasi association, whereas among the Ongoinos the situation is reversed.

Ultimately, if we wish to discover whether regionalism or political or class consciousness takes precedence in determining the situation of the migrant-member within a single context (in this case the urban situation of Lima), in relation to their place of origin, we must consider the accounts given by the migrants themselves. A classic

method by which to define class or political commitment in an urban context is by categorizing migrants' economic or political status in relation to opposing groups. Although this way of analysing a migrant's situation is useful, I have here introduced the migrants' points of view not only with regard to the associations but also with regard to their situations within the urban context. In order to clarify this component, I shall examine in the following section the extent to which regionalism has influenced the formation of class or political consciousness and vice-versa.

6. Are the Two Associations a Basis for the Formation of Regional Identities or Political Involvement?

Inequality and internal social and economic differentiation seem to be basic and inescapable aspects of migrant life in Lima. Such aspects have decisively affected both political involvement and the emergence of regional and local identities, but it is important to relate these to specific situations in which migrants are involved. For instance, political disputes that emerge within the work context, where migrants generally form part of the working class, do not often entail explicit commitments of a regional kind. Regional identities seem to be more relevant outside the work context, in this case in the different activities which the associations provide for their migrant-members. Yet associations may help to give migrant-members a sense not only of belonging to certain regions and localities, but also of belonging to specific socio-economic groups. The failure of migrants

to become "urbanized" or socially mobile, particularly those from lower status groups, results objectively from the limited opportunities they face in the urban economy but commitment to particular regional associations may reinforce their sense of their low social and economic standing in urban society. On the other hand, some migrant groups have developed successful niches within the city environment which, in turn, act as sources of social inequality and economic distinction: they, too, are often represented by associations, usually at the Provincial or Departmental level.

Associations, then, represent not only regions or localities but specific economic or political groups. But what is more relevant to migrants: the consciousness of belonging to a region or of belonging to a particular economic or political category? Or could both be relevant and not mutually exclusive?

There are three ways in which both regional identity and class or political consciousness may be expressed. First, the categories may be independent of one another. This independence can be seen in the contrast between situations inside and outside the work context, particularly when migrant-members are working in industry. Hence, for migrant workers, class consciousness is more relevant when they are within the factory or workshop and, as such, they are more likely to be politically active than others who are not either manual labourers or dependants. The same people, however, are members of their respective associations and as such they are subject to the influence of their fellows in being conscious of their duties as

migrant-members towards paisanos whatever their class position. Second, the categories may appear to be complementary to one another. This seems to be implicit in the two associations analysed. As I have stated, each of them recruits from a particular socio-economic sector: the C.S.D.M. on the one hand, represents the local upper status group of Matahuasi whose members display a sense of common interests; and on the other hand, the A.H.H. mostly represents the peasant sector. At the same time, both associations, since their foundation, have always encouraged migrant-members to be conscious of their commitment to their locality, and so, in effect, develop local and regional consciousness. Furthermore, they have acted on behalf of specific groups in their locality of origin through experiencing political goals and interests. Indeed, it appears that the associations are gradually becoming more involved in the political arena where they organize against their political rivals or enemies. Obviously, this does not mean that regional ideology is becoming obsolete; on the contrary, regionalism may provide a sense of political identity.

These arguments cannot be applied universally to all migrants since their social bases will be different. In practice, we find that some migrant-members are more likely to look upon their associations as being important politically. This is particularly the case at the social extremes of migrant social status. Thus, the poor migrant-member of A.H.H. and the well-off, migrant-member of C.S.D.M. will tend to be more conscious of the political potential of their associations; whereas middle ranked

persons might be less so.

Third, one of the categories - either regional identity or political class consciousness - may be determinant in the emergence of the other. Historical evidence presented in Chapter IV showed how, in the initial stages of associational activity, regional commitment was often dominant, leading to a more explicit political stance only at a later stage. This, of course, is probably accompanied by the fact that migrant-members gradually become more aware of their economic positions on the scale of urban status, and perhaps begin to participate in urban political activities, which may themselves lead to a redefinition of the nature of regional identity. Clearly the relationship between these factors cannot be viewed mechanically or deterministically therefore, since social consciousness and identity evolve over time and also vary according to the category of migrant-member.

Let me now use the two cases to isolate the conditions under which regionalism and political involvement emerge.

Starting with the Ongoino case, we can say that regional identities and political consciousness interact in a very complex way, neither being reducible to the other. Historical evidence reveals that when the aims of the association were directed against the hacendados and upper status mestizos, and later against the Government in opposition to the Land Reform, migrant-members were acting primarily under the umbrella of a common class/political alliance, although this alone was not enough for political action to take place, since regionalism

and even ethnic identity were complementary components. On the other hand, when migrant-members have been involved in taking decisions concerning the development of the infrastructure (e.g. schools and roads) of their locality or respective barrio, they have tended to act under the umbrella of local or regional commitments.

However, even on the issues raised in these examples migrants express differing views. Some are conscious that barrio development could bring social and political problems later. This is the case with the three politically active barrios (see Numbers 3,5 and 6, Table VII) whose members are very critical of the material aids provided them, because they believe that such "aids" only serve to undercut the self-sufficiency of villagers and that they are therefore a source of their dependence, lack of initiative and also that they contribute to paternalism. Other migrants however accept that material aids are necessary for both locality development and the fight against deprivation.

External sources, such as the economic crisis in which the country as a whole is involved, apply other pressures which reinforce political and regional alliances. Since early 1976, the economic crisis has more noticeably affected the urban population, particularly the lower-middle and lower classes. Under such pressure the members of A.H.H. developed two strategies. The first was manifested in the growing participation of some migrant-members in shanty-town-based political parties and trade unions, and also in the inclusion of political issues, their

economic situation and the Land Reform on the agenda of the normal meetings. The second was expressed in the stress on the need for increased co-operation and collaboration between migrant-members, to at least reduce the impact of worsening economic conditions. Early migrants and older members of the association were asked to help new migrants, and those who were underemployed, or had no permanent jobs or accommodation. This call for help was reinforced by the fact that most migrant-members are related through kinship or affinity. The kinship morality involves the provision of aid to those who need it. The association also decided to organize four social events in the year, specifically to raise money towards fulfilling requests made by the local authorities and "branch" associations.

Although the Ongoino migrant-members act under the umbrella of the association and are regarded as being relatively homogeneous, there are nevertheless two categories of migrants within it. The first is represented by those who have less formal education, less migration experience, and who are by and large manual labourers and therefore have lower incomes. Most of them have no property in Lima and have generally come direct from the rural areas (see Life Histories, Table XXIII, Numbers 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 17). This category represents 30 per cent of all migrant-members. The second type is represented by those who display relatively opposite characteristics, some of whom are from the urban area. They make up 70 per cent of migrant-members. For the first category, class-based

political action is perhaps becoming more relevant as the crisis affects them more severely. Although, on the other hand, regional ties remain very useful means by which migrants can relieve the problems of increasing marginalisation in the urban economy. For the second category, regionalism appears more relevant because this group can absorb the effects of the crisis more effectively, particularly as they possess more regional-based resources. However, they are conscious of the problems which their paisanos are facing and therefore they are subject to their influence and take political action on behalf of the members as a whole.

Among members of the Matahuasi case, it seems that class-based political action is gradually replacing the emphasis on village or regional commitment, although frequently both types may overlap and interplay. One indication of the latter is the continuing co-existence of a relatively high level of participation in the association, the presence of permanent internal struggle and debate, and the individual orientation of migrants. Similar historical evidence, as quoted for the Ongoino case suggests that when the objectives of the association were directed against the Comunidad organization and later against the Government, wealthy migrant-members (relatives of compradores) closed their ranks as a status group in order to support their social equals in the locality (i.e. the group of compradores). This was also true at the time of local authority appointments

and when the same members set up their own new association which discouraged entrance of lower status migrants. For this group, then, local and regional identity is manipulated to serve their own class interests.

Although the C.S.D.M. is largely comprised of upper status members, like Ongoy, we find two categories of migrants. The first is represented by middle and lower middle status migrant-members (see Life Histories, Table XXIV, Numbers 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31) who represent 57 per cent of the membership, few of them originating from the rural sector of the pueblo. The second category is represented by the upper status group, constituting 43 per cent and coming wholly from the urban centre of the pueblo. For the first category of migrant, regionalism and class commitment appears to be equally relevant: regionalism may be used by them as a source of pride and security and as a means of maintaining relations with their kinsmen in their home village. Often these migrants appear to rely more on their personal links with relatives than they do on the association. For upper status migrants, regional commitment seems less relevant, although they are, as I suggested, not averse to appealing to regional and local loyalties when it suits their interests. Also while they may unite against opposing interests, they also exhibit a tendency to be more individually-oriented, competitive, and less cohesive as a group.

I conclude this chapter by providing short descriptions

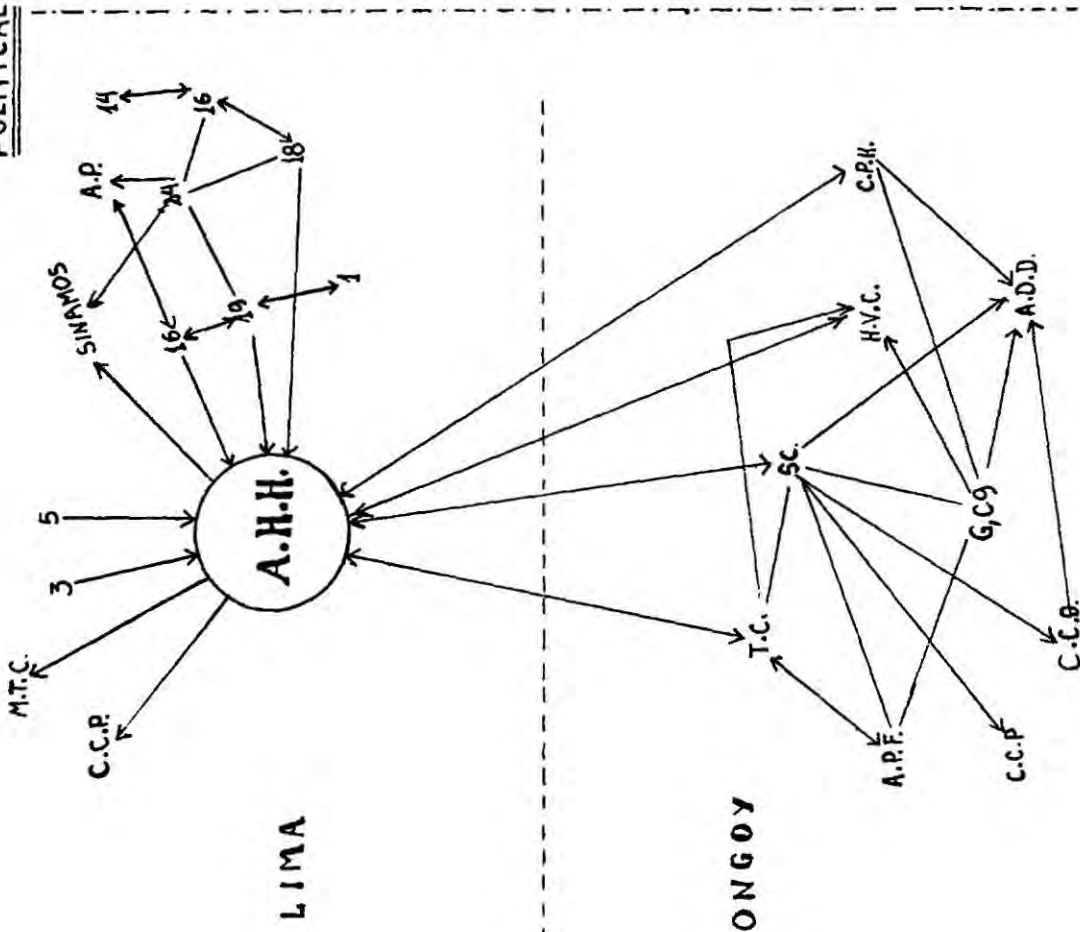
of meetings of the two associations at which members discussed their economic and political priorities. These accounts relate to the situation in Lima and to the kinds of political relationships maintained with the localities through specific institutions, such as the Town Council, "branch" associations, the Comunidad organization, Government agencies, religious groupings, and educational institutions.

In Chapter IV, I have discussed the general feature concerning the political links between Lima-based associations and locally-based institutions; primarily the Town Council, the barrios, and the community organization. In this section of the study my aim is to outline specific actions taken by the two associations and, within this, the action taken by individuals in different situations.

Political action was more significant within association meetings of the C.S.D.M. when the role of the association itself vis-à-vis the Town Council and the land dispute was being discussed; for the A.H.H. members, political relations with "branch" associations, with Government agencies, and religious linkages. Although A.H.H. is not defined as predominantly a politically-based association their activities have a political significance, and they are connected with specific social and economic groups in the locality. The C.S.D.M. seems to be more explicitly political (see Chapter III, section 2.2.3).

In the Geneology I have drawn a schematic network of the political linkages between the two associations in Lima and the locally-based institutions. This reveals

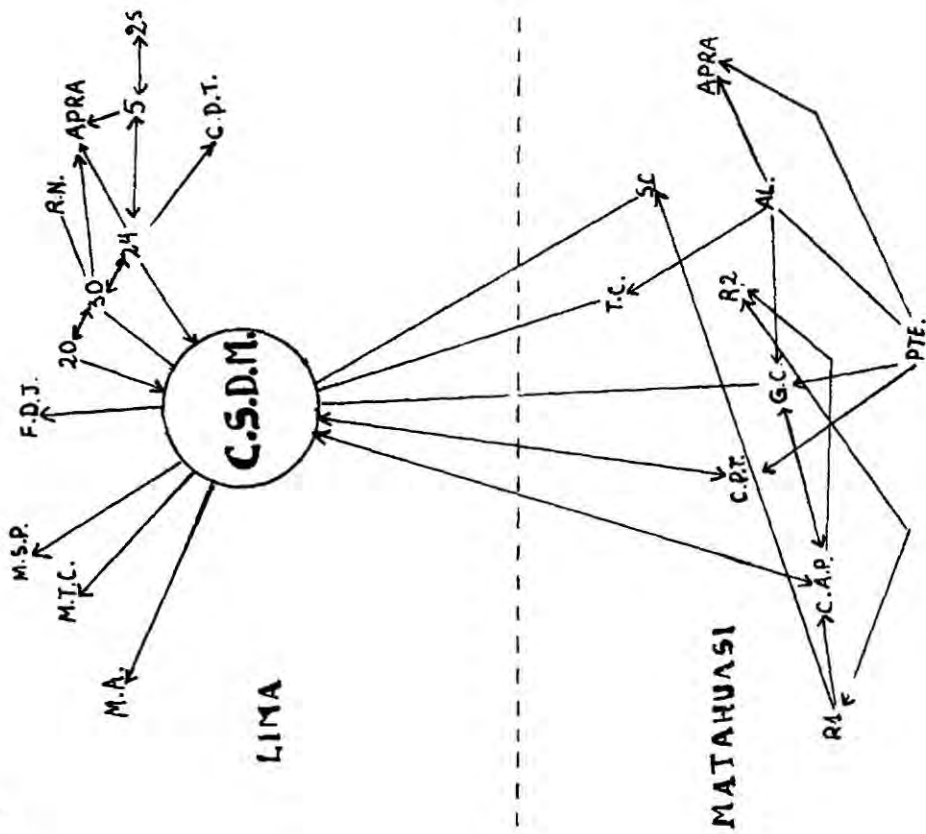
POLITICAL NETWORK



CASE I

KEY

- C.C.P.: CONFEDERACION CAMPESINA del PERU
- M.T.C.: MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT
- A.P.: ACCION POPULAR
- A.P.F.: ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL STUDENTS PARENTS.
- SC: VILLAGE SCHOOL
- C.C.B.: COMUNIDAD CAMPESINA
- A.D.D: DISTRICT SPORT LEAGUE
- G.C.9: ISIDRO IN THE GENEALOGY
- H.V.C.: HERMANDAD VIRGEN DEL CARMEN
- G.P.H.: CLUB PROGRESISTA HUABAMA



CASE II

KEY

- M.A.: MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE
- M.S.P.: MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH
- F.D.J.: FEDERACION DEPARTAMENTAL DE JUNIN
- LIFE HISTORIES NUMBERS: 20,30,24,5,25
- R.N.: NATIONAL RADIO STATION
- APRA: POLITICAL PARTY
- C.P.I.: CLUB PROVINCIAL TRUJILLO
- C.A.P.: COMITE AGUA POTABLE
- R1: ASSOCIATION REPRES. 1
- C.P.T.: CHURCH BUILDING COMM.
- G.C.: GROUP of BLUVERS
- PTE. PRESIDENT OF C.P.T.
- R2: ASSOCIATION REPRES. 2
- T.C.: TOWN COUNCIL
- AL: DISTRICT MAJOR
- SC: SCHOOL

the central position of the associations (A.H.H. and C.S.D.M.) with regard to members and the political connections of individuals with different institutions both in Lima and with the locality. The diagram contains only the politically significant linkages of the most active members, who are in both cases association officers.

In the case of the Ongoinos we can describe three important events which may be considered politically more important than any of the others.

Event I

This occurred in August 1976 during a meeting in the house of one of the association members. The main item on the agenda was a discussion of the new Land Reform. There were about 40 members involved (all members included in the ^{Histories} Life / concerning the political network were present). Few of them knew of the significance of the reforms in relation to Ongoy. Member Number 16 raised the question that the Land Reform did not favour community peasants but favoured the ex-colonos. He was also against the Agrarian debt (79). Number 19 replied that the Land Reform was beneficial for the people of Ongoy because there would be no more hacendados or haciendas and that the association must work with the Government. Numbers 18, 24 and 16 supported this argument. They agreed, but added that what Ongoy needed was not only Land Reform but more

(79) Under the Land Reform Law Agrarian debt means that peasants and colonos organized in the Agrarian Cooperatives have to pay to the Government annually for the hacienda land expropriated.

education, a road and Government aid for agricultural purposes. Numbers 16, 14 and 18 were not very satisfied with the idea of total support for the Government but, instead, agreed with those peasants who criticised the Government. They stated that help must not be given to either the church, the H.V.C. or the Town Council but to the peasant organization.

It was obvious that there was an attempt to broaden the discussion to include issues other than the one on the agenda and the President of the association found it difficult to manage or control the debate. But at the end it was necessary to decide on what the association thought about the Land Reform and the vote was 32 to 8 in favour. This decision was noted in the association's minutes and later was distributed to the Town Council and to the "branch" association H.V.C.

Event II

This was held in Ongoy, during a school teachers' meeting on August 28th 1976. The task was to report on the consignment of school books received from the A.H.H. for the local school. Present at the meeting was the headmaster of the main local school (see Genealogy, C 9) who is also President of the "branch" association H.V.C. In addition, there were about 10 school teachers and about 15 parents of school children. The headmaster acknowledged the A.H.H. and read the letter which contained details of the consignment. He then reminded those present of aid received from the association in the past and asked the participants to support morally and emotionally the A.H.H. The speech was followed by applause from the

participants. Afterwards one of the school children's parents said that most of the members of A.H.H. had been students of the school and were still attached to it. He remarked that other Ongoino associations in Lima should do the same instead of being involved in politics.

The meeting ended with a show of total support for the A.H.H. which was communicated by letter to the President of the A.H.H. in Lima. The responsibility for delivering this was given to a returned migrant who was shortly leaving for Lima.

Event III

This took place in Lima, in the house of Vicente (Number 19, Life Histories I; Genealogy B1). It was an informal meeting and the President and four members of the association were present (Numbers 1, 14, 16, and 24 in Life Histories I). The discussion was about various issues concerning the role of the association, but the most important concerned political relations with other Ongoino associations. Vicente declared that associations must not only be considered as recreational but also as a political means of supporting Government reforms (he listed the Land Reform and the Community Reform) though he did not believe that the association should be politically extremist. He numbered three Ongoino associations which already had a Left-wing orientation (he did not mention the names). Vicente called for more work within the association and more aid to the school and the church and an end of political exploitation by some political parties. The President of the association totally agreed with Vicente and added that they were trying to link up

more with SINAMOS and were also supporting the creation of the Transport Cooperative to link Ongoy with Lima. He also added that the A.H.H., as a representative association of Ongoinos in Lima, had called for a decision through a letter to the Ministry of Transport, to approve permission to operate in the near future. He finally stated that although he had voted for Belaunde and still belonged to Acción Popular (Belaunde's Political Party) he recognized that the Government was doing its best for Ongoy. Two of the members were also in favour of Vicent's and Juan's ideas. After one hour, the meeting was over.

With regard to the Matahuasinos I will describe three events where political issues were discussed.

Event I

This was held in December of 1976 in the house of member Number 30 (see Life Histories Table XXIV), who is one of the ten officers of the association. There were only ten members present; five of them, officers (Numbers 25, 5, 24, 30 and 10; Life Histories II) and the rest ordinary members. Although the number of participants was inquorate, the meeting proceeded. The central item on the agenda concerned the celebration of the political anniversary of Matahuasi on the 25th of October 1976. The meeting opened with the minutes of the previous meeting held two weeks before. The President of the association declared the need to organize a visit to Matahuasi to be present at the celebrations of the anniversary, and to send congratulations to the people of Matahuasi via

the Town Council. The idea was approved just after Venturo (Number 24, Life Histories II; Genealogy C3) had spoken against those members who had not come to the meeting. He talked for several minutes, on the need to support the Town Council as well as the compradores in their conflict with the Comunidad organization. Venturo added that those members who went to Matahuasi should use the opportunity to talk with the compradores, and give them their backing, as well as with the Comunidad organization members who should be told that their claim was without a solid basis. He stated that the association had contacts with the Ministry of Agriculture, where the Land problem was concerned, and that he had been told that Matahuasi was never declared as a Land Reform area. Two participants (Numbers 20 and 5, Life Histories Table XXIV) gave their total support to Vicente. The rest did not intervene because Venturo did not give them a chance to talk. The meeting in fact was mainly conducted by Venturo, the President and the two listed members. After two hours of deliberation the meeting ended with a final agreement which consisted of sending six of the ten officers to Matahuasi with the congratulations of the association to the District and a letter containing a list of material aids to be provided.

Event II

This took place in Matahuasi in January 1977 during a meeting concerned with the construction of the water supply. The President of the Water Supply Commission is the C.S.D.M. representative in Matahuasi (see in Diagram III Case II). Among the participants were the Town Council

Alcalde (Mayor) and three other members of the Water Supply Commission were there. The issue was related to the lack of co-operation received from the Comunidad organization and the people of Matahuasi as a whole. The President and the Mayor pointed out that the construction of the water supply was slowing down because there was, on average, only 10 people working daily while about 50 people were needed in order to finish the work within a period of six months. The Mayor accused the community of being apathetic and ordered them to go to work. He also made an effort to contact the C.S.D.M., whose financial support was invaluable though the money contributed was not enough to conclude the work. One of the participants suggested that other types of activity such as kermesses and Grand Social Dances should be held in order to collect more money. The same participant asked the Mayor to organize such events and the Mayor accepted. They finally agreed to send a letter to the Comité Pro-templo and the school in order to muster support for such activities. At the end of the meeting a letter from the C.S.D.M. was read which contained information concerning the outcome of dealings with the Ministry of Health in Lima.

Event III

This arose from a meeting, during which I had shown some slides from Matahuasi in the house of member Number 30 (Life Histories Table XXIV) in February of 1977. There were about 12 participants, all of them members of the C.S.D.M. The main issue which arose from

the session concerned the Land dispute. One of the participants summarised the history of the Land dispute. He observed that the community was responsible for the problems which were creating discontent amongst "good" Matahuasinos, who, of course, are the compradores. He pointed out that the S.A.M.H.M. was still providing political support to the community and that the Government, as well, was helping them. In addition, he listed two types of aid: that provided by the Agrarian Bank and that of the Ministry of Agriculture in providing agricultural advice. Another participant stated that the community no longer owned the Church land because the compradores had bought this legally with their own money, and had the legal documents to prove it. He also added that the best agriculturalists were the compradores because they used modern technology and were making Matahuasi one of the more successful districts in the Valley. He listed the names of three successful agriculturalists: Alberto Escobar, Sr. Herrera and Sr. Jimenez. A few other participants confirmed the above statements. One of them remarked that as "good" Apristas they must unite, in faith, those people who were interested in causing divisions amongst Matahuasinos. The session ended after one hour.

The final chapter offers an overview of the main themes and wider implications of this thesis.

Chapter VI

Concluding Remarks

1. The Argument

This study combines an analysis of regional and local processes in two different Peruvian Highland areas with an account of migration towards a common urban centre (Lima) and the subsequent formation and development of regional associations. The main concern throughout has been rural-urban linkages and the role of regional associations in the development of the two localities studied. I have argued that the type of migration, together with regional identity, have influenced certain actions and decisions taken by migrants towards their localities. The two case studies of the organization and social composition of members, and the patterns of interaction, together demonstrated how associations can be utilized as a means, not only to unite and organize migrants with common geographical, political and cultural origins, but to represent them in specific urban and rural situations. Within the urban context, associations are used not only as an institutional resource but fundamentally as a political resource. As such they can be utilized to obtain specific benefits either for the association itself or for their members. Within the rural context, associations, together with locally based institutions, "branch" associations, and even political allies, have been useful for promoting political change and socio-economic modernization. Differences in the organization of

associations, particularly from the two localities, were related to differences in the type of migration, in the social composition of migrants, and in the specific objectives of associations. It was found, for instance, that there were four categories of associations: those which are predominantly sport-oriented; those predominantly social; those predominantly religious, and those predominantly politically-oriented. Although the four types of associations are distinguished, this does not imply their functions are always separate. Kinship appears to be the basis for all types of associations if we consider that the barrio is not only the geographical unit of identification but also the place where most migrants, related through kinship ties, are members of a specific association.

The discussion of objective, normative and individual circumstances demonstrated that migration is neither a casual nor voluntary decision; on the contrary, out-migration is a rational decision in which migrants have to take into account the uncertainties and risks which the migration process, of whatever type, implies. A detailed account was given of the role of associations in the process of migrant adaptation to the urban environment, in which associations seem to have acted as a stimulating force for out-migration. The main argument here was that migrants do not become townsmen immediately after the out-migration, because they rely

on their comunidades, where their parents and properties remain, as a safe place to return at any time.

The analysis of the associations' fluctuations over time, their growth and fission, though closely related to the social, economic and political history of the two regions and localities, provided an additional feature of the study. It was found that such fluctuations in the life of associations did not originate from external urban factors but fundamentally from the social and political development of the two localities. For instance, it was noted that associations were more active and meaningful when they gave support to internal disputes between peasants and hacendados or compradores.

My analysis of the development of regional identities, political action and the institutional crisis of associations was focused on a number of interrelated factors: the social and economic basis of migrants and previous migration experiences; the general and specific objectives of associations and the localization of migrant residence in Lima; and the links with kinsmen and fellow villagers (paisanos) in the home villages. This led to a closer assessment of the degree of effectiveness of associations and to a discussion of the ways in which migrants with different socio-economic and political backgrounds exhibit unequal participation in associations. Migrants with a relatively homogeneous social and economic basis were likely to be more corporate, and more aware of not only their associational duties but their political activities. In order to validate this latter argument, I explored through the analysis

of a specific case, and within it, the internal processes, the fission and alliances and even the declining process taking place within the context of associations. Here, I demonstrated the existence of not only the potential capability of migrants to be united by specific interests, but also the limitations arising from both migrant attitudes towards their village and the external pressures coming from the urban system through Government intervention, political parties and the action of the urban upper and middle status groups. In spite of factors described above, I have also shown regionalism to be a significant and even, in some cases, a determining factor in defining the situation of migrants while in town.

On the basis of ethnographic data given earlier, the final part of the study focused on the problem of regional identity and political involvement among members of associations. The main argument was that out-migration, together with return migration, was partly responsible not only for the maintenance and continuity of associations but for the formation of "branch" associations in the villages. In the process of the formation of associations in Lima, regionalism has played a decisive part in their organization and development. Another argument in the study was that associations were organized on the basis of the social and economic structure present in the localities; in other words, associations generally tend to represent not only specific groups from the locality but they reflect the internal disputes of such groups.

It was also argued that regional identities are subject to manipulation by certain individuals and groups, in order to achieve political support or economic interests. This was likely to appear within associations whose members were heterogeneously based and with greater experience of migration.

A final concern of the study was to explore the different views expressed by the migrants themselves and villagers about their associations. The interviews showed that associations were generally accepted as necessary. It was also demonstrated that associations effectively contribute not only to the physical transformation of villages but to local and even regional political action. Yet while some associations acted on behalf of the local elite, others supported the peasant population in their struggle against the local and regional elite. Finally, associations became an important form of social organization for migrants in the city. As such, they constitute the basis of regionalism and cultural identity, and a substantial component of political action, whatever its specific interests.

2. Wider Implications of the Study

One scope of this study has been to relate these findings to a wider body of theory and methodology on migration and urban anthropology; in particular, to the understanding of regional associations in the process of rural transformation in the Peruvian Highlands.

Finally, I wish to focus my discussion on the validity of the three arguments presented in the Introduction.

In regard to the first argument, which stresses that regional associations are not merely an urban phenomenon, the study has continuously shown that, while associations are formed by migrants with specific regional and local origins, they represent not only specific social groups but they reflect the social, economic and political structure of their villages of origin. In this connection it must be emphasized that regional associations have fundamentally rural origins. Nevertheless, in the study, we have also recognized that urban influence, particularly through the mass media, political parties and the action of the Government upon associations, continuously affects the internal organization and the objectives of associations. Thus, if the associations are to be shown as not being marginal in the process of urbanization as a whole, we should incorporate these urban influences as intervening variables in the analysis of regional associations. The main argument which supports the view that regional associations are rurally-based has its foundation in the general and specific objectives for which associations are formed. In Chapters II and IV, I maintained that, throughout the history of associations, their main concern has been the village and the barrio. Another additional reason supporting this argument is that associations tend to reflect in part the prevailing cultural and ideological

patterns of rural origin in the towns. These patterns are expressed mainly via relationships of migrants outside work, mainly within a framework of kinship relations and at the different social events organized by associations. Indeed, through the case studies we have attempted to show how the social events of associations are strongly influenced by the ideological and cultural activities proper to each area or locality.

But political factors also play their part. Thus the functionality of a particular association may vary somewhat according to the political activities of its members, when the ideology of associations remains the same. It was argued that while associations are more politically-oriented, they are more effective in fulfilling their general and specific objectives. For instance, those associations whose members originate from sensitive areas (e.g. the boundaries between the Comunidad and haciendas for the first case) or had experienced disputes over the land with the Comunidad (in the second case) were subject to become politically more aware.

The pattern of reciprocity which has origins in the villages is another complementary reason to support our argument. Our findings suggest that reciprocity and exchange of products and services play a significant role in the maintenance of associations. The association provides the arena within which most reciprocities take place. Kinship and neighbourly ties in the barrio and regional identity have provided the means to organize and practice this reciprocity and exchange. Hence it

requires further comparative studies to establish how meaningful it is to speak of an exchange system linked closely with the level of effectiveness of associations.

In sum, all the above indicate that, although regional associations do reflect some urban aspects (e.g. they assist migrants in solving various social and other problems which they encounter in the city), these reasons are insufficient to categorize regional associations as essentially urban-based. If we accept that associations are urban-based, then we must accept migrants as townsmen. The ideal townsmen can be defined in two ways: as a man who has lost contact with his village and as one who lives strictly by the market. The land is no longer the medium by which he works, for he does not cultivate it or obtain anything from it. Economically, a townsman is entirely dependent on a money income and he and his family gets everything he requires through purchase in the market.

The study has shown the difficulties in applying this to urban dwellers in Lima, since migrant-members actively maintain their contacts with their villages. Land in the village was, and still constitutes, the medium in which either they work or their parents or neighbours work. Migrants obtain products from their land, to which they can return at any time because their relatives live there. Economically, although migrants are fundamentally dependent on a money income, they can obtain the needed products and services through exchange and reciprocity. And, in addition to these, there are

some migrants whose occupations are not entirely dependent or mainly independent (e.g. street vendors, market vendors, small shops, etc.).

Concerning the second argument which argues that regional associations cannot be studied separately from the migration process as a whole, the study has shown that the formation of associations was closely related to migration. This argument was illustrated by the historical account given of the two case studies. It was also suggested that the more intensive patterns of migration followed the formation of more associations, temporary migration having partly provided the stimulus for the formation of associations. In addition, rural-urban flows in both directions (out-migration and return migration) not only contributes to the maintenance of associations but to the inter-relations of the nuclear and extended family with migrant relatives in towns. In particular, return migration has decisively contributed to the transformation of the family group, the barrio, the village and even the region. This contribution can be seen in the change of cultural, social, economic and even political patterns, the formation of "branch" associations being one of the most significant changes brought by return-migrants, as I have shown in several parts of this study. The case studies have shown that the identification with the barrio rather than with the community is gradually becoming an important source for the formation of "branch" associations. Migration has also strongly influenced the relations of Lima-based associations with the "branch"

association, where most of the members are related through kinship and barrio origin. In addition to these, migration is largely responsible for the formation, maintenance and development of associations. Regional associations have also contributed significantly to the encouragement of migration from the village where migrants originate. This encouragement was founded, on the one hand, on the idea of "natives" looking down on associations as necessary not only for their village but for individuals as well; and, on the other hand, on the different actions taken by migrant-members on behalf of new and old migrant-members, as demonstrated particularly in Chapter III.

Thus, if we want to analyse the formation of regional associations in towns, particularly in developing countries, we must characterize not only the migration itself as a whole, but the regional and local processes which permanently shape this process throughout time. In addition to this, because the studies on return migration and the formation of "branch" associations are still very limited, further work must analyse how such associations are constituting an inescapable subject in studies on the rural question, particularly in the explanation of the qualitative changes on the family unit, the barrio, the village and even the region.

The third argument which points out that neither the adaptive mechanism, nor the independence from the urban social and political arena, attributed to associations

is adequate enough to comprehend the nature and particularities of regional associations. The argument presented here, based on the data presented in this study shows that this is partly true if we consider that associations either facilitate or prevent migrants from becoming townsmen. So far studies by urban anthropologists on the role of associations have over-emphasized the adaptational role of associations. The view presented here is that, although some members of associations on certain occasions might help new migrants in finding a job or introduce them to other people in town; it seems that their most important issue is to serve as the social basis for political involvement. This argument is based on empirical data from both case studies. Even some explicitly politically oriented associations do not abandon their initial basis which is founded on kinship ties, solidarities with the barrio, and even ethnic identities. Throughout the life of associations we have noticed that, in certain stages, associations are more effective than in others, although splits do continue to occur. These fluctuations emerge not only as a result of external urban influences but also fundamentally because of the circumstances of the localities. For instance, during the peasant uprising in Ongoy, or during the conflicts between compradores and comuneros in Matahuasi, associations were more active and became more meaningful both to their members and to the local groups connected with the associations in Lima. The same situation occurred during

the political change of District or Communal authorities in both localities. In addition to these points, we have demonstrated that associations are likely to establish political links both with groupings at the regional level, as is the case of three of the eleven associations in Ongoy, and also with national-level political parties, as it is clearly the case with C.S.D.M. In spite of the studies we have frequently denied the political potentialities of migrants while in town, this study has demonstrated that migrants - particularly those with previous political background - are likely to emerge as political actors. However, such political potentialities are limited due to two main reasons: Government intervention and the low degree of political consciousness among most of the migrants.

From this emerges the wider problem of how far certain types of associations have facilitated the processes of political development in both regions and at the national level (Altamirano, 1970; Sanchez, 1977; Roberts, 1978) as has been reported in some parts of Africa (Cohen, 1969). Although we have some evidence, much research is needed to examine the ways in which urban political parties penetrate regional associations or vice versa; and to analyse what types of associations and members are more subject to political action and to what extent Government intervention in regional associations is possible and successful. Furthermore, it will be necessary later to study other levels of associations (e.g. Provincial and Departmental associations) and to re-examine some of the anthropological problems raised in a more comparative perspective.

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