

Colonial Latin American Historical Review

Volume 6

Issue 3 Volume 6, Issue 3, Summer 1997

Article 5

6-1-1997

Edited by Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris with Enrique Tandeter, Ethnicity, Markets and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology

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Recommended Citation

Gagliano, Joseph A.. "Edited by Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris with Enrique Tandeter, Ethnicity, Markets and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 6, 3 (1997): 417.
<https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/clahr/vol6/iss3/5>

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Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology. Edited by Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris with Enrique Tandeter. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995. viii + 428 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. \$57.50 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

This volume represents an updated and substantially expanded English-language version of *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: estrategias y reproducción social, siglos XVI-XX*, which Brooke

Larson, Olivia Harris, and Enrique Tandeter edited in 1987. In twelve densely written essays, its contributors delineate the involvement of indigenous peasants in Andean markets from their sixteenth-century encounters with Europeans to the present day. Departing from the often strident controversies between mainstream developmentalist and Marxist scholars, the restrained and convincing analyses in these essays bring balance to the debate among Andean anthropologists and economic historians concerning the transition of agrarian societies to a capitalistic orientation.

John Murra provides a historical context for considering the factors leading to Indian participation in the emergence of Andean markets by contrasting the impact of the Spanish conquest with socioeconomic organization in Tawantinsuyu. While illuminating the rapid growth of such participation after the establishment of Potosí and the Toledan reorganization of Indian communities, several other essays address documentation problems. Challenging much of the information found in fiscal archival records, for example, Steve J. Stern suggests the need for investigation of "noneconomic sources." Susan Ramírez explains that linguistic misperceptions resulted in sixteenth-century Spanish commentators erroneously describing northern Andean exchange specialists as merchants who had been engaged in European-like commerce even in pre-Columbian times. Several of the contributors agree that migrations to urban sites and to the mines, as well as the process of *mestizaje*, also hinder efforts to analyze and quantify Indian participation in Andean markets by the end of the eighteenth century.

Nineteenth-century political and economic developments further hamper attempts to ascertain the indigenous role in the growth of market economies in Peru and Bolivia. Influenced by racist theories as well as their own prejudices, policymakers during the second half of the century increasingly marginalized Indians with claims that their isolation and backwardness impeded modernization and progress. Liberal reforms, which accelerated *ayllu* expropriations while retaining tribute in new forms, increased migrations to urban areas and mining centers as Indians sought employment and mercantile opportunities. To escape tribute obligations to national and regional authorities, such migrants often concealed their ethnic identity by passing as mestizos. In his essay, Tristan Platt delineates such practices and relates the ties Indian migrants maintained with their original highland communities.

Although twentieth-century reforms, such as those in Bolivia during the early 1950s and in Peru in the late 1960s, resulted in limited Indian gains, indigenous peoples continue to be marginalized in regional and local economies. Invariably, they are excluded from leadership in local markets, which are controlled by mestizo merchants and traders. Emphasizing that Indian women seeking access to Cuzco's market economy face far greater obstacles than Indian males, Marisol de la Cadena indicates that only by the

process of *mestizaje* can a female domestic achieve social mobility. The persistent assertion that indigenous peoples are incapable of engaging successfully in a money economy because of their historic association with poverty is refuted by Olivia Harris. She shows that these groups have dealt with coinage since colonial times. Their perception of its significance, however, differs from that of the dominant Hispanic society. In her essay, which concludes the book, she speculates that current neoliberal policies will exacerbate the plight of Andean Indians despite their long experience and proven ability since the sixteenth century as effective market participants.

Providing a readily available English-language version of the earlier study published in Bolivia, this important work undoubtedly will become a standard reference source for Andean specialists. Its thoroughly documented and provocative essays, as well as extensive annotations and bibliography, detail historiographical trends and issues. In addition, most of the essays direct researchers to new areas for investigating Andean social and cultural development.

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