

BOLIVIA REVISITED:
New Directions in North American Research
in History and Anthropology

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A recent diagnosis of the health of Latin American studies in the United States reveals that Bolivia is among the forgotten or ignored countries.¹ U.S. scholarship on Mexico, Brazil, and Peru vastly outranks research on Bolivia. Following the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, U.S. universities turned out a host of dissertations and books on Bolivia, but since that time, the U.S. community of Bolivianists has declined. Yet anthropological and historical research on this southern Andean country seems to be flourishing. Although some political scientists attracted to problems and prospects for reform created by the Revolution have turned their attention elsewhere, Bolivia still fascinates scholars interested in the deeper currents of historical change and the remarkable resilience of rural Andean peoples in their struggle to preserve their cultural integrity.

The following pages briefly outline some recent anthropological and historical currents in U.S. scholarship on Bolivia. Without pretending to be comprehensive, this essay highlights research (some still in progress and not yet readily accessible) that promises to open new perspectives on several contemporary and historical problems. But one would be remiss to overstate the claims of U.S. research on Bolivia. During the last several decades, Bolivian scholars have broken much new ground, especially in anthropology, sociology, and history. Several Bolivian institutions, such as the Centro para la Investigación y Promoción del Campesino (CIPCA) and the Centro para el Estudio de la Realidad Económica y Social (CERES), have become major sources of social science research on Bolivian society. Also, European scholars in Andean studies have pioneered in such fields as ethnohistory and structural anthropology. In fact, much of the new vigor and richness of U.S. scholarship on Bolivia derives precisely from the cross-fertilization of international scholarship on Bolivia. This trend may also explain why much recent research on Bolivia has broken free of formal disciplinary constraints. Bolivianists in the United States and abroad seem to be

casting their studies in interdisciplinary molds bound to leave new impressions on a human landscape that is now only barely charted.

THE LEGACIES OF REFORM AND REVOLUTION

In all expansionist societies, the imperatives of imperialism influence the aims and content of research on the subject population. Thus it was after 1952 that the United States targeted Bolivia for intelligence surveillance, backroom diplomacy, massive economic aid, and social science research that could serve Washington policymakers. As U.S. foreign policy in Latin America began to shift toward more “progressive” forms of social control in the 1960s (the decade of the Alliance for Progress), Bolivia continued to attract the attention of many North American social scientists. The 1960s were also the decade of “Big Research,” when U.S. researchers interested in social change, economic development, and revolution in the Third World could mount ambitious projects to probe those urgent issues. Bolivia attracted many young U.S. scholars sympathetic to the Revolution’s initial goals and eager to trace the impact of government reforms on social structures, political institutions, and the mentalities of Bolivians, especially the poor and disenfranchised. A rich harvest of scholarship resulted, particularly in political science and anthropology, on Bolivia in the post-revolutionary years (Heath, Erasmus, and Buechler 1969; Carter 1964; Malloy 1970; Malloy and Thorn 1971; Simmons 1974).

One of the most significant team research projects carried out in Bolivia during the 1960s was sponsored by the Research Institute for the Study of Man (RISM). Under a contract with the Peace Corps, the three-year project combined ethnographic and epidemiological research for two related ends: to study the social features of six rural communities located in different ecological zones, and to identify problems of health and disease in those communities (McEwen 1975, vii).² Three years of fieldwork generated massive bodies of epidemiological and ethnographic data. The information on health and disease was quickly analyzed and published (Omran, McEwen, and Zaki 1967), but only recently have several researchers produced major studies based on the ethnographic field notes and household surveys. William McEwen’s *Changing Rural Society* (1975) and Jonathan Kelley’s and Herbert Klein’s *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality* (1981) analyze much of the raw data generated by the RISM field staff some ten or fifteen years earlier. Although the RISM project was originally designed to study comparatively the sociocultural characteristics of Bolivian communities, it was evident from the start that several of those communities were caught up in the process of social transformation set in motion by the Revolution of 1952. Thus the two works are not static community studies be-

cause they use the field data to analyze the impact of revolution on the material conditions of individuals and groups in different communities. Yet paradoxically, they could not differ more in their aims and approaches to the topic.

Deeply involved in the fieldwork, McEwen synthesized much of the data on the six communities to determine the influence of the Revolution and the agrarian reform on changes in their social structure, patterns of social stratification, and degree of politicization. What did revolution and reform mean for Compi, an Indian village formerly incorporated into an hacienda, or for San Miguel, a traditional Indian village on the Altiplano, or for Sorata, a bustling "mestizo town"? McEwen's fine-grained study shows how varied and uneven are the influences of revolution and reform. Yet overall, McEwen traces progressive changes in the six communities. In some old hacienda zones, estates were dismantled and the power of landlords diminished. Peasants were thrust into the monetary economy, as they organized syndicalist unions and gained new "confidence." However patchy the results of political reform and economic opportunity, McEwen discerned a countryside in the midst of flux, where peasants were beginning to emerge as a powerful political force and were taking charge of their own destiny.

It is somewhat sobering to read such optimistic conclusions from fieldwork conducted between 1964 and 1966 in a book published almost a decade later. The lack of an epilogue spares readers a grimmer picture of local life under repressive regimes of the late 1960s and early 1970s: the insidious "pact" between the military and peasant sectors, and the economic downturn in those years as the IMF tightened the screws on Bolivia's economy (Albó 1979; Eckstein 1983).

Even as a short-term assessment of the Revolution's social achievements at the community level, McEwen's findings are somewhat contradicted by the Kelley and Klein study based on the same body of data. Their *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality* sets out to show that while a "radical revolution improves standards of living for the majority, reduces inequality, and causes inherited privilege to decline," in the long run, it regenerates a new elite that transmits privilege and status to the next generation (Kelley and Klein 1981, xii).³ The Bolivian Revolution of 1952 provided their case study, but as the abstract language implies, Kelley and Klein purport to generalize beyond the Bolivian data. Their broader aim is methodological in presenting a mathematical model to study the short- and long-term effects of radical revolution on income inequality and inherited privilege. As a result, their study deviates so much from McEwen's descriptive community profiles that the two analyses are hardly comparable. While McEwen isolates the distinct community settings where social change occurs, Kelley and Klein aggregate the ethnographic community data and, after

elaborate computer processes, melt the data down into bland, generalizable observations. Their study takes little note of the sharp contrasts among the six communities, other than to posit that they are representative samples of Bolivia's diverse communities and multiethnic society. Kelley and Klein take the individual as their unit of analysis to measure, for example, trends in inequality of income and education. Thus readers learn that fourteen years after the Revolution, a "sizeable gap" remained between the rich and poor in Bolivia. Lurking somewhere behind the sociological jargon about "human capital" are inferences that the Revolution in fact intensified processes of class differentiation among the peasantry in certain regions. But their discussion is almost devoid of class analysis. The authors are uninterested in the qualitative dimensions of social change, rural class relations, or political mobilization. Rather, the statistics are rendered to tell a somber story about the intrinsic limits of revolution.

The Kelley and Klein study's most promising empirical contribution is found in the fifth chapter, which explores how ordinary people who lived through the Revolution viewed it in retrospect (1981, 118). Analyzing survey data from a series of open-ended questions asked of community members, the authors came up with interesting generalizations about popular perceptions of the Revolution and its effects. They found a surprising degree of ambivalence toward the Revolution among "ordinary people." Almost half of the respondents believed that life was better after the Revolution, but a third thought the Revolution had disrupted the economy and made life harder than before (1981, 119). Not surprisingly, "Indian peasants" expressed the strongest approval of the Revolution. In their eyes, it had brought "freedom, the end of slavery" on haciendas where generations of their forebears had toiled in servitude. Even in this limited, quantitative study of the political and social consciousness of peasants looking back on the legacies of revolution, Kelley and Klein have suggested an important future direction of research. The questionnaires and survey data generated by the RISM project provide a rich source of insights into the complex facets of peasant consciousness of their changing world following the Revolution and the agrarian reform. Kelley and Klein have mined the data for quick, quantifiable returns. But much remains to be done.⁴ The material waits for scholars attuned to the nuances of local language and discourse to focus on the ideology (norms, values, and political consciousness) of rural people whose words and thoughts were captured by the field researchers in the mid-1960s. The RISM project may yield still another study on the legacies of revolution and reform.

In the last several years, a younger generation of North American scholars has taken a fresh look at the effects of the Revolution of 1952 on rural society. But the conditions and methodological aims of

research have changed: the Revolution is a fading memory, the era of Big Research is long over, and U.S. State Department policymakers have turned their attention elsewhere. As a result, the currents of recent U.S. social science research on Bolivia have moved in more disparate and autonomous directions. Much of the new research shifts the focus away from the heartland of agrarian reform (on the Altiplano and in the major agricultural zones in the high valleys) to the marginal regions of the eastern escarpment and the tropical lowlands beyond the eastern cordillera. From the southeastern frontier, the view of the Revolution of 1952 and the agrarian reform is strikingly different. The eastern lowlands were not targeted for systematic land redistribution, after all, but indirectly they were affected by the agrarian reform in the highlands. One side effect of land reform in the densely populated highlands was the resettlement of small farmers in the tropical lowlands through government-directed and spontaneous colonization. A host of recent studies by North Americans have assessed the effects of migration and resettlement on both the new lowland frontier colony and the original highland community (Hess 1980; Jones 1980; Stearman 1979; J. Weil 1980; C. Weil 1980; see also Blanes 1983).⁵ These studies examine migration, the resettlement process, and the formation of new communities in the tropical lowlands. But in general, they provide local case studies of frontier communities and the adaptive strategies of colonists outside the larger historical context of political and economic change. Readers lose sight of the conceptual links of a legacy: how the eastern frontier assumed growing economic and political importance as the agrarian reform reached its limits and the ideals of the Revolution receded.

Two recent studies of eastern zones that have raised these larger historical issues are Kevin Healy's *Caciques y patronos: una experiencia de desarrollo rural en el sud de Bolivia* (1983) and Leslie Gill's dissertation, "Commercial Agriculture and Peasant Production: . . . Agrarian Reformism and the Development of Capitalism in Northern Santa Cruz" (1984). Gill studies the creation and transformation of three frontier communities in the northern region of Santa Cruz. Her study of these lowland peasant communities is set against the backdrop of Santa Cruz's regional transformation, as the Bolivian government shifted its priorities from peasant colonization in the 1960s to capitalist agricultural development in the 1970s. Unlike most studies of frontier colonies, Gill focuses on peasants who must confront the forces of capitalist development that have dramatically altered the regional balance of classes, terms of exchange, and ecological setting in ways threatening to the precarious lifeways of those colonizing peasants. The scale and momentum of capitalist development in Santa Cruz have ruined the economic autonomy of frontier communities. On the one hand, the small-

scale farmers of the lowlands cannot compete with the capitalist agricultural enterprises that receive aid, subsidies, credit, technical assistance, and protection from the Bolivian government. On the other hand, a new entrepreneurial elite has consolidated its own economic power by diversifying its holdings into cash-crop agriculture, commerce, export-processing manufacturing, and the cocaine and contraband trades. A small group of peasants have also prospered through commercial monopolies and brokerage activities.

If capitalist development has subordinated small-scale farmers and unleashed the disintegrative forces of class differentiation among the peasantry, it is not yet threatening the existence of lowland peasant communities. Gill argues that the “depeasantization” of the lowlands and the creation of a rural proletariat for Santa Cruz’s sugar, rice, and soybean plantations ultimately run against the grain of capitalist agriculture in lowland Bolivia. After all, its labor needs are intensive but seasonal only. The coexistence of a peasant subsistence sector allows seasonal agrarian workers to carry most of their own subsistence costs. Furthermore, the short lifespan of most frontier peasant communities serves to advance the agricultural frontier by clearing land and later leaving it to be sold to speculators or planters, who are spared the expenses of deforestation and road building. Gill’s study thus documents how once-independent frontier communities have come to subsidize the Cruceño export industry at the expense of their own livelihood. The very existence of capitalist agriculture in eastern Bolivia depends on this forced peasant subsidy, if it is to compete in a world market structured in favor of the advanced capitalist nations (Gill 1984, 265).⁶

Healy’s *Caciques y patronos* also studies the betrayal of the earlier redistributive ideals of agrarian reform in favor of agricultural development. But he studies the evolution of land tenure and class relations in a traditional hacienda region in the remote eastern valleys of Chuquisaca. The area of Monteagudo, where Healy carried out his fieldwork, sits along the cultural and ecological borderlands dividing Bolivia into the traditional high-valley Quechua-speaking peasant zone and the tropical lowlands inhabited by Guaraní-speaking Indians, which stretches southeastward into the upper reaches of the Paraguayan Chaco. The dominance of traditional haciendas made the Monteagudo region a prime target for agrarian reform. But as in much of Chuquisaca, the traditional landed oligarchy of Monteagudo blunted the impact of reform, managing to “neutralize” the most radical aspects of the agrarian reform by co-opting government officials, sabotaging efforts to redistribute land, and blocking the formation of peasant unions.

Why were the landlords at least partially successful in derailing the agrarian reform? Healy explains the outcome in terms of their clever

tactics, on the one hand, and the intrinsic limits of the reform movement, on the other hand. But because his study focuses on the structure of power in the region, Healy does not explore the other side of the social equation as fully. That is, he does not explain why the local peasantry was so ineffective in mobilizing to enforce agrarian reform laws in the region. The Chiriguanos' rights were never recognized during the agrarian reform, and they continued to serve as peones on haciendas long after the Revolution. Eventually, many Chiriguanos fled the region for the sugarcane and cotton fields of Santa Cruz. The descendants of the fierce warriors of the distant past appeared to be numbed during the decade of reforms, only to abandon the haciendas later for slave wages in the export sector. The long history of the Chiriguanos is a curious and sad story that has only begun to attract the attention of historians (Saignes 1974; Langer 1984).

The region of Monteagudo is notable not only for the ability of its landlord elite to shield itself against the agrarian reform. Like Santa Cruz, it was also the target of capitalist development. Healy's *Caciques y patronos* traces the onset of development projects between 1967 and 1976, when other development agencies channeled aid, services, and opportunities to the regional oligarchy. Rural development was designed to integrate Monteagudo and surrounding areas into the national market by modernizing maize agriculture and stock raising and developing the region's infrastructure. Healy shows how development strategies have reinforced the power of the traditional oligarchy while creating the basis for a network of "caciques." These individuals control public offices, the distribution of the "resources of development," and agricultural cooperatives. Moreover, in classic form, they have woven a tight network of patron-client relations at the regional level to reinforce their power. Capitalism does not penetrate deeply in this world because it is embedded in a traditional society where class relations change form but not substance. "Directed development" has brought agribusiness to Monteagudo but has corroded neither traditional politics nor labor relations on haciendas. Having resisted the redistributive reforms of the 1960s, the traditional regional oligarchy now reaps the fruits of "desarrollista" goals.

Perspectives on the legacies of revolution and reform have changed dramatically over the past fifteen years. Based on the fieldwork carried out in the middle 1960s, McEwen's *Changing Rural Society* celebrated the power of policy and economic opportunity to transform class relations, narrow the distance between rich and poor, and consolidate peasant political power in syndicalist networks. A decade of reform seemed to be moving Bolivia down a progressive path toward a more just society. More recent studies, however, cast a much more somber light on the reform process. Drawing on the same data base as

McEwen, Kelley and Klein's *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality* reappraises the impact of revolution on local society and shatters the optimistic view of the earlier study. More important, new archival and field research has begun to assess the legacies of revolution and reform by tracing the patterns of regional change over two decades (the 1960s and the 1970s). In their regional studies, both Gill and Healy trace the shift from the Revolution's redistributive phase to its new emphasis on capital formation, productivity, and foreign exchange, and they analyze the social consequences of that shift for peasant producers in areas targeted for agricultural development.

PEASANTS AND MINERS, CULTURE AND CLASS

Studies of capitalist development in Bolivia have focused much attention on the tropical lowlands around Santa Cruz. Nowhere are the transformative effects of capitalism—in the form of agribusiness—so vivid and brutal. Yet it was in the heartlands of highland Bolivia that capitalist relations took root in the early twentieth century and reintegrated Bolivia into the world market. Industrial mining communities grew rapidly in response to world-market demand and new sources of capital and technology. But many industrial enclaves, so alien to rural inhabitants, continued to be surrounded by traditional Andean communities. The contrast between mining enclave and Andean *ayllu* (communities) was starkest in the region of northern Potosí. Industrial capitalism penetrated the interior of highland Bolivia and altered the socio-economic contours of the landscape, but it did not destroy Andean *ayllus* or doom highland peasants to extinction.

Much recent scholarship on the interpenetration of capitalist mining and *ayllu* society in highland Bolivia therefore transcends the current debate over the fate of peasants before the advancing forces of capitalism.⁷ For example, the studies of Olivia Harris and Xavier Albó (1975), Ramiro Molina and Tristan Platt (n.d.), and Olivia Harris (1982) on mining and patterns of peasant participation in mining underscore the extremely uneven impact of industrial mining on the surrounding hinterlands. Platt (1982) and O. Harris (1982) emphasize the ways in which *ayllu* peasants of northern Potosí have conditioned and constrained the development of mining in the region. The cultural and material imperatives of the *ayllu*, perhaps more than the pressures and opportunities generated by the mining economy, have borne directly on the terms and intensity of peasant involvement in mining-related activities. Even where highland peasants have succumbed to the forces of change and taken their place among the mining proletariat in Oruro, Colquechaca, or Catavi, they have retained elements of their cultural heritage. Andean belief, ritual, and myth have served to bind individu-

als together in the harsh human landscape of the mining town. As Frank Salomon warns, the new ethnographic research on urban workers in the Andes cannot afford to “explain ethnic consciousness away as an obsolete or false consciousness” (Salomon 1982, 85). Such research must grapple instead with the complexities and contradictions of Andean ethnicity, even in highly polarized class settings.

Two recent studies by anthropologists based in North America examine the changing content and function of culture and ethnicity among contemporary peasants and miners in highland Bolivia. Ricardo Godoy’s doctoral dissertation, “From Indian Miner and Back Again: Small-Scale Mining in the Jukumani Ayllu” (1981), and June Nash’s *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* (1979) both recognize the importance of ethnicity in defining collective social identities and bridging—or distancing—the distinct worlds of mine workers and ayllu peasants. Because Godoy studies Andean society at the level of the maximum ayllu, he frames his analysis of ethnicity in more rigorous anthropological terms. Ethnic self-identity and the concept of “other” are tightly drawn in his ethnographic discussion of ayllu society. Nash’s looser analysis of ethnicity is subordinated to larger cultural perspectives on Andean religion, ritual, and worldview that, even amidst strong acculturative forces, still defined a collective identity distinct from Western creole society. Yet neither study reifies “lo andino” to interpret patterns of economic or social behavior. Godoy and Nash are sensitive to Andean historical peculiarities, and they are basically concerned with the historical determinants of ethnic self-identity and social solidarity. Context is all-important in these studies, and it makes them studies in contrast. Godoy chose the Jukumani ayllu in northern Potosí, where ayllu peasants have participated only marginally in small-scale antimony mines in the region. Nash studies a mining community on the outskirts of Oruro, where miners are no longer peasants but Andean ritual and myth still animate social relations in the workplace and the community.

Drawing on the traditions of urban ethnography and labor history, Nash explores the forms and content of working-class culture. Bolivian mine workers are famous for their highly developed political consciousness and militant collective action, but until recently, few social scientists have appreciated the rich cultural influences and expressions that strengthen their solidarity and endow their everyday activities with symbolic meaning. Political histories of mine workers that give primacy to class relations have traditionally obscured or dismissed the “ethnic problem.” In contrast, Nash reintroduces the cultural dimensions of working-class experience to explore how ethnic self-consciousness (forged in this urban environment) has intensified class solidarity in the mining community.

The community that Nash describes displays many of the social

attributes of other export enclaves in Latin America. First, these mine-workers are relatively isolated from peasants spatially and temporally. Most miners have loosened or lost their ties with peasant communities.⁸ They are fully proletarianized—dependent upon the mining company for their survival. Reproduction of the domestic unit depends on supplementary income provided by women's and children's labor, but the basic wage and a modicum of company benefits are the mainstay of the family economy. Nash shows vividly how the company intrudes into every corner of the workers' lives, controlling the conditions of work and family consumption as well as dictating the rhythm of daily life. Second, the miners' shared experience derives from their pivotal position as workers in the export sector of a monocultural economy. As enclave workers, these miners are among the most powerful labor groups in the nation. Yet they are extremely vulnerable to world-market conditions (even after the mines were nationalized in 1952) and to government policy and corruption. This paradox constantly unmask the exploitation to which mine workers are subject. Third, precisely because of their strategic position in the export sector, these workers have little room for political maneuvering or struggling to improve their plight. Nash describes the mining town as existing in a latent state of siege that frequently explodes in violence. In this context, even collective struggle over "economistic" issues often provokes violent retaliation by the state. These classic enclave conditions incubate "dangerous" political ideologies. Bolivia's mine workers know their Marxism-Leninism, and militant political discourse is part of the texture of everyday life in the mines. Nash, however, studies the forms and expressions of social solidarity and worker militancy primarily at the community level. She argues that the "special nature of the mining community cultivates a total participation of all those who live and work in it" (1979, 113). All depend on the enterprise for their survival; all are vulnerable to state-led massacres; and all must cope with the inhuman conditions of daily life. Out of this collective experience of exploitation and struggle, which extends far beyond the workplace, the mining families have forged a community. According to Nash, this self-defined community of workers and their families provides members with the strength "to resist cooperation and personal dehumanization from those who exploit their labor and try to rule their lives" (1979, 119).

What goes into the making of a cohesive, self-conscious mining community? Here, Nash moves far beyond traditional Marxist approaches to class consciousness. Rather, she frames the discourse in anthropological terms and sets out to discover the "worldview" of mine workers, that is, "how the workers put together the orientations they acquire in the family, in their work, in the union . . . , and church and political parties" (1979, 8). Only then does she analyze the culture of class and how the workers' orientations connect with their ideology and

political action. This conceptual framework permits Nash to incorporate normative elements of the Andean world and to study them in the context of an industrial enclave. Perhaps her most important contribution is exploring the cultural pluralism of the mineworkers. She shows how certain Andean beliefs and practices sharpened the boundaries of this community and strengthened its internal unity. At certain historical junctures, ritual and belief can stimulate class awareness and rekindle the sentiment of rebellion, even when collective action must wait for a tactically opportune moment.

The "culture of class" in the mining community is one of transition. But Nash does not reduce it to a syncretic culture, nor does she locate the "cholo culture" on a continuum somewhere between indigenous and acculturated groups. The cholo culture she describes contains disparate cultural strands from the Andean past and the petty commercialism of the present. It is a local culture full of contradiction, which is precisely the source of its adaptive vitality. Nash shows how miners can entertain apparently contradictory worldviews by segmenting them in time and space. Ancient mythic forces enter the miners' lives only at certain moments in the shaft and in their life cycle, as in the celebrations of Carnival and the earth-warming ceremonies. Furthermore, Andean beliefs may lie latent, at a nearly subconscious level, but "they provide deep roots for the people's sense of their identity" and the spiritual resources of a class engaged in perpetual struggle (1979, 168).

Nash's pathbreaking work has rescued the subject of mining class struggle from partisan political historians. But her study of culture and ideology leaves several important ambiguities unresolved. Despite Nash's emphasis on elements of cultural continuity, little attention is paid to the historical processes that engendered this mining proletariat and gave substance to a distinct cultural and class identity. To capture the texture and meaning of ordinary life and struggle, Nash sacrificed historical depth and broader ethnographic research into the networks that mining families have utilized to reach out into the countryside, sustaining traditional links or forging new ones with distant peasant families and communities. Her focus on mining culture in situ narrows the reader's view of the relationships that have traditionally extended beyond the geographic and cultural bounds of the industrial mining community and leaves unresolved questions about the historical origins and diverse ethnic roots of this group. A social history of the formation of the industrial proletariat in early tin mining, both in the older cities of Oruro and Potosí as well as in the urban creations of modern tin mining such as Catavi and Uncía, has yet to be written. As a result, no deep historical context exists for studying the "cultural continuities" that Nash identifies as the moral sinews binding members of the mining community.⁹

Ricardo Godoy's study provides an interesting counterpoint to

Nash's approach (Godoy 1981). His subject is the rural Andean community and its engagement in antimony mining as a strategy of preserving their traditional lifeways, communal lands, and ethnic identity. Thus he focuses on a peasantry coping with ecological and social constraints, trying to harness small-scale mining activities and commerce to the ayllu economy, and in the process resisting the forces of proletarianization virtually in the shadows of the tin mountain of Llallagua.

Following the path of Tristan Platt and Olivia Harris, Godoy's fieldwork among the Jukumanis brings into focus another piece of the ethnic map of Northern Potosí. Similar to the Macha and Laymi ayllus studied by Platt and Harris, the Jukumanis have retained a high degree of group self-sufficiency and ethnic solidarity. They hold lands across three ecological zones and engage in reciprocal exchange among members of the extended kin group. Although their society has never been free of internal tensions, rivalries, or wealth differences, the Jukumanis managed until recently to absorb or channel conflicts in a way that preserved their overarching unity. Like neighboring ethnic groups, the nested ayllus of the Jukumanis have maintained a collective self-identity that at times has helped shield them from hostile outside forces.

Yet these people have never been insular or hermetic. The Jukumanis (like neighboring ethnic groups) have historically participated in product and factor markets, largely as strategies of family or communal defense against subsistence insecurity or shortfalls. The patterns of their participation—or nonparticipation—in the market have been governed by the changing imperatives of the ayllu and the peasant family economy. Thus with the advent of antimony mining in the region in the 1950s, the Jukumanis supplied much of the mining labor force. But the participation of village peasants in mining has remained erratic and subject to the needs and norms of the ayllu. Godoy argues that the need to obtain cash is a necessary, but insufficient, factor “pushing” peasants out of their ayllu. Jukumanis sell their labor only when it does not threaten or undermine their subsistence base in the ayllu. On the one hand, Jukumani mine workers are likely to be *taseros* (full community members and taxpayers) who enjoy access to ayllu resources and can call upon poorer landless peasants to fulfill their labor commitments to the ayllu in their absence. Poorer peasants cannot afford to jeopardize their precarious social standing in the ayllu by working for a season in the antimony mines. Social commitments to the ayllu by both prosperous and more marginal peasants have inhibited the creation of permanent wage workers in this mining sector. On the other hand, many Jukumanis engage in seasonal mining to supplement their family income. Mining enterprises therefore have had to adjust to the seasonality and instability of the work force. Antimony mines have remained precapitalist in organization, dependent primarily on a contract or piecework system.

At first reading, Godoy appears to be describing a classic case of functional symbiosis between peasant agriculture and small-scale mining. The Jukumanis depend on seasonal mine work to ensure the reproduction of their family economy; the antimony mines, in turn, benefit from cheap labor whose subsistence does not depend on wages. The arrangement of seasonal contract labor has given the mineowners tremendous flexibility in the face of volatile prices. But the apparent equilibrium between ayllu agriculture and small-scale mining turns out to be less stable than would first appear. Godoy's study reveals ominous signs of ecological and social crisis in Jukumani villages. He detects symptoms of population pressure in land shortages, shrinking pastures, out-migration, and the internal colonization of marginal lands. Society seems to be more brittle than before and the sexual division of labor is sharper. The deterioration of rural life is throwing more Jukumanis on the economic defensive and forcing them to participate in mining (both small-scale antimony mines and the industrial enclave of Llallagua) under sharply deteriorating terms of trade.

Godoy's study raises questions about the future of Jukumani village life and patterns of labor-force participation. Perhaps more difficult to gauge is how agricultural deterioration and patterns of labor-force participation in the mining sector have affected the content and forms of ethnicity among the Jukumanis. In a recent article, Godoy suggests that ethnicity among the Jukumanis is "gaining saliency" as conditions worsen (1985, 60). The question is not merely heightened rivalry among the Jukumanis and neighboring ayllus (particularly the Laymis) nor deepening antagonism between industrial mine workers and the Jukumani peasantry. Godoy argues that recent expressions of ethnicity are "the partial cause and consequence of deeper penetration by the state into the countryside" (Godoy 1985, 62). During the 1970s and early 1980s, the Jukumanis manipulated the content and boundaries of ethnicity in a bid for patronage by the military government. The state in turn reinforced ethnic self-definition among the Jukumanis to serve its own purpose of utilizing the ayllu as a base of operation to control social unrest among proletarianized mine workers at the nearby mining town of Llallagua. Thus while Jukumanis themselves may work seasonally in small-scale antimony mines, they view the industrial mine workers in the great tin mines of Llallagua as longstanding enemies.¹⁰ The state has capitalized on antagonisms between peasants and miners and on ethnic rivalries in northern Potosí to assert more control over the mining sector. In this historical context, ethnicity has served less to defend the Jukumani community than to advance the repressive aims of the Bolivian state.

Together the recent studies of Godoy and Nash shed new light on the historical contingencies of culture and class among Jukumani peasants who are part-time miners and Oruro miners, many of whom

were once peasants. The studies open windows on the complex interactions between peasants and miners who are confronting an intrusive and repressive state. Yet perhaps ironically, while Godoy studies how ethnicity among Jukumani peasants advances the interests of the Bolivian state against the militant miners of Llallagua, Nash shows how ethnic identity among Oruro miners reinforces class solidarity and political militancy in their own struggle against the state. These studies represent two of the first serious attempts to grapple with the complexities of class and ethnicity in a highly charged political situation, where the state has traditionally tried to pit peasants against miners.

Unfortunately, both studies are now somewhat dated. The collapse of tin prices in the world market in 1985 and the current efforts of the Paz Estenssoro government to dismantle the state-owned tin mines, eliminate thousands of jobs, and relocate former miners have shifted the balance and the terms of the struggle sharply against the workers—especially since August 1986. At the same time, neonativism and political activism have resurged among some sectors of Bolivian peasants. The state now contends with the Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB), a militant sindical and political movement known widely as *el katarismo*. This confluence of political forces in Bolivia is rapidly changing the contours of class and ethnic alliances in profound ways that remain little understood.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL SOCIETY

Issues of class formation and cultural resilience have also animated much of the new research on rural history. Over the past decade, the interests of ethnohistorians, anthropologists, and historians have increasingly converged in the study of Andean rural societies in transition. These studies may focus on different historical periods, such as the century and a half of transition (1500–1640) from Incaic rural to early Spanish colonial rule or the half-century (1870–1930) of rapid expansion of silver and later tin mining and the consolidation of the latifundia in many parts of highland Bolivia. Ethnohistorians and historical anthropologists may emphasize the distinctive traditions and ideals of Andean rural society to explain the remarkable capacity of ayllu peasants to respond to outside mercantile and political forces over centuries of change (O. Harris 1982; Murra 1975, 1978; Platt 1982; Rasnake 1982; Rivera 1978a; Saignes 1978; Spalding 1984; Stern 1982; Wachtel 1971). In contrast to the anthropological stress on the endurance and adaptability of Andean norms and social organization, historians have charted the historical forces of change that have inevitably impinged on the lives of Andean peoples at particular points in time. But the interdisciplinary mix of perspectives has created a dynamic framework of analysis

within which to study two broad topics: how the incorporation of Andean societies into a European (or Western) political economy affected the internal structure of those societies, and the social consequences of Andean responses to outside political and economic forces in terms of the social relationships within these Andean societies and their impact on the larger political economy to which these groups were subordinated.¹¹

In the Andean context, particularly in Bolivia, historians and anthropologists confront a stark contradiction between the overwhelming forces of change emanating from a dominant mining economy and the extraordinary resilience of Andean social relationships and ideology in the hinterlands of that economy. Furthermore, historians and ethno-historians have long documented the multifarious ways in which Andean peasant communities have historically subsidized the export sector (Assadourian 1982; Bakewell 1984; Choque 1978; Larson 1983; Platt 1978, 1982; and Tandeter 1981). Andean peasants and members of the ethnic hierarchy participated in the colonial mercantile economy, either by coercion or by "choice," from the onset of colonial rule and the spectacular growth of silver mining at Potosí. Yet as discussed earlier, labor prestations and indigenous participation in the market economy (in colonial or more recent times) did not inevitably unravel the bonds that held Andean society together, nor destroy vertical landholding patterns, nor corrode traditional norms of reciprocity, redistribution, and communal responsibilities (see Godoy 1981; O. Harris 1982; Murra 1978; Rivera 1978a; Rasnake 1982; Platt 1982). Needed now are more fine-grained comparative studies to determine why and how some ayllus manage to preserve their overarching unity in the face of mercantile pressures and state intervention while others seemed to succumb to the disintegrative forces of class differentiation and hacienda encroachment in certain historical periods. For example, why did the ayllu of Chayanta survive the transition to colonial rule and even the liberal assault on their corporate landholdings in the late nineteenth century while in the contiguous region of Cochabamba, Andean communities foundered and disintegrated during the colonial era?¹²

Among North American historians working on various dimensions of these issues, two methodological approaches are emerging: historical demography and regional history. Neither is particularly innovative, but Bolivian rural history is so understudied that both approaches are rapidly establishing some conceptual parameters and posing questions that will probably inform historical debate for the next several years.¹³

Like their earlier Mesoamerican and Peruvian counterparts, several historians of Bolivia have found a rich source in the Indian census records (*padrones*) for charting population trends among tribute-paying

Indians living in communities (ayllus) and on haciendas (Grieshaber 1977; Klein 1982a; Sánchez-Albornoz 1978). Beyond addressing straight demographic issues, the padrones provide insights into the institutions of colonial rule and the responses of native peoples to external pressures. For example, Sánchez-Albornoz's research on Indian population in Upper Peru revealed enormous numbers of *forasteros* (Indians lacking direct access to land who lived outside their own ayllu in "foreign" Indian communities or in Spanish haciendas or towns) throughout Bolivia in the late seventeenth century. The dispersion and dislocation of Indians was one factor in the general crisis in silver mining and was symptomatic of a weak colonial state during that period.¹⁴

More recently, two North American historians have examined Indian census records between 1838 and 1877: Erwin Grieshaber's "Survival of Indian Communities in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia" (1980) and Herbert Klein's "Peasant Response to the Market and the Land Question in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Bolivia" (1982a). Like the seventeenth century, the early decades following Independence have attracted little scholarly attention. Yet the historical experience of rural Mexico and other Latin American countries in the early republican period has led many historians to assume that Independence ushered in an age of hacienda expansion at the expense of ayllu autonomy. The studies by Grieshaber and Klein have helped revise that picture by documenting the "survival" and even growth of ayllu population until at least the late 1870s. Grieshaber's statistics show clearly that the overwhelming number of tributary Indians (males between the ages of eighteen and fifty who were matriculated as Indian tributaries, either as landholding *originarios* or as landless *forasteros*) lived in communities, not on haciendas, during the nineteenth century. Moreover, the number of ayllu tributaries increased in absolute terms and in proportion over time. Indian communities "not only survived, but expanded their control over available laborers" (1980, 236). This trend did not occur everywhere, however. Grieshaber shows sharp regional variation among the highland regions and the eastern valleys of Cochabamba and tropical Yungas east of La Paz. In those zones, the tributary population of communities and haciendas rapidly disappeared following Independence.¹⁵

Klein's analysis of Indian population trends in the same period is confined to the department of La Paz (Klein 1982a). This area holds particular interest because it contained an Indian population concentrated in the nearby Altiplano and sprinkled across the eastern valleys and escarpment. At the same time, a strong pulse of economic change beat in this unlikely landscape during the latter part of the nineteenth century, as rails, markets, and haciendas expanded. Klein analyzes Indian census records to chart the patterns of peasant response to the

quicken pace and intensity of economic change as Bolivia's silver mines recovered once more, the arrival of rails linked the Altiplano and mines to the Pacific ports, and the national government began to opt for free-trade policies.

Like Grieshaber's work, Klein's demographic analysis reveals a surprising resilience in the Indian male tributary population during the middle decades of the nineteenth century: "Despite the pestilence and famines of the first decade of the nineteenth century and the virulent epidemics of the mid-1850s, Indian . . . [tributaries] in all categories [were] growing throughout this period" (1982a, 116). Perhaps more striking is Klein's documentation of the rapid growth of *forasteros*, who exceeded all other categories listed by national census takers. Could it have been that (analogous to what happened in the seventeenth century) relatively greater numbers of Indians were abandoning their communities and converting themselves into landless *forasteros*, who were eventually assimilated into Spanish enterprises, towns, or "foreign" Indian communities? Klein believes that this scenario was not the case because he found little evidence of migration from the Altiplano or a net outflow of Indians to haciendas (where they would presumably have assumed the ascriptive status of *forastero*).

How, then, is one to account for this "second cycle" of *forasteraje* that occurred during the nineteenth century? At the current intersection of demographic and social history, the methods of historical demography fall far short of the historian's appointed task. Klein himself can only extrapolate from the hard data on the underlying social forces determining the proliferation of *forasteros*. He interprets it as a functional response by Indian communities to the intensified commercial and tributary pressures that bore down harder on most peasants. Klein argues that villages responded to outside opportunities and pressures by fostering the expansion of a more marginal class of peasants. The *forasteros* "had less land and were more mobile than the originarios in terms of labor recruitment both for work on the originario lands and outside the community" (1982a, 122). Apparently, *forasteros* provided a cushion for the "core members" of the community against the growing commercial influences that otherwise might have penetrated deeper into the heart of Andean social organization.

This hypothesis certainly merits consideration. Klein goes farther than Grieshaber in attempting to explain Indian population trends in terms of the internal social dynamics of village society. But on this level of analysis, Klein's contribution rests more with the questions he poses than with the explanations he offers. The question of Andean initiatives and responses to market forces and the onslaught of liberal reforms in the late nineteenth century raises ethnohistorical issues concerning the diversity of collective and individual strategies of defense within the

matrix of an ayllu (see O. Harris, Larson, and Tandeter, n.d.). The question also reestablishes the centrality of ritual and belief, culture and ideology. To understand why, how, and with what social consequences highland ayllus confronted the pressures (and new opportunities) of industrial capitalism and the threat of economic liberalism, historians must move beyond quantitative approaches to analyzing regional change. Tristan Platt's recent study of Chayanta, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino*, points the way (Platt 1982). He analyzes the impact of tribute, and more broadly, the relations between the Bolivian state and ayllu peasants from within Indian society. He is as much concerned with Andean perceptions and legitimation of state policy on tribute and ayllu lands as he is with the socioeconomic effects of those policies. Platt's moral economy approach stands at the crossroads of ethnohistory and social history, and as such, it advances significantly toward interpreting the social strategies and consequences of ayllu Indians confronting the forces of incipient capitalism.¹⁶

Regional history, so strong in Mexican and Peruvian historiography, is only beginning to "come of age" in Bolivia. In a country marked by striking regional differences and divided sharply into three distinct ecological zones (Altiplano, high intermontane valleys, and tropical lowlands), the need for regional history is obvious. Yet the way that historians slice up the Andean landscape is subject to controversy. Most would define regions in accordance with Western geopolitical norms, but ethnohistorians are quick to remind them of the discontinuous territorial patterns of Andean settlement. Throughout history, Andean communities have extended their collective reach across distinct (and usually dispersed) ecological zones in a "vertical landscape" (Murra 1975; Bouysse-Cassagne 1978). Thus "regional history" that even vaguely defines a territorial unit, usually coterminous with political-administrative boundaries, displays an implicit conceptual bias. In spatial terms, this approach to regional history establishes the field of forces in Western territorial terms. The locus of analysis is neither the ayllu nor even Andean rural society in general. It is the total regional economy and society in the context of the larger social system. Historians of regional change center their analysis at the axis of Indian-European relations to gauge the struggle between, say, ayllu peasants and haciendas in specific historical periods and to assess the factors causing the balance of power to shift in favor of one or the other. Regional analyses also provide a framework for studying the articulation between subregional rural economies and the dominant export sectors in particular historical periods. The new kind of regional history does not take an insular approach, therefore, raising instead larger issues about the relationship between a dominant export economy, subject to the vicissitudes of the world market, and a rural economy where semiautonomous peasant communities coexisted uneasily with haciendas.

The high, temperate valley regions of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca have been studied recently by two North American historians (Larson 1983 and n.d.; and Langer 1984). The regions have had a good deal in common, and the two studies provide some obvious points of comparison. First, both regions have similar climatic and ecological features that made them attractive to Andean and European grain cultivators. In preconquest times, the valleys were cultural frontiers where an ethnically diverse population cultivated maize and other lowland crops for the Incas or for kinsmen living in distant highlands. Both regions experienced profound transformations in the early colonial period, as Europeans extended their control over land and labor in the valleys. Andean communities and Spanish haciendas continued to coexist uneasily in the eastern valleys, but in both regions, most peasants were eventually subordinated to the economic power of landlords. Second, both regions were deeply affected by cyclical and secular trends in the mining economy, particularly at Potosí. Accordingly, the two regional studies analyze local patterns of historical change in the larger context of economic and political trends emanating in good measure from the dominant mining economy.

But the two studies examine different historical periods. My own study, *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia*, traces the long-term evolution of agrarian change in the valleys of Cochabamba from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, with primary focus on the late colonial period. Much emphasis is placed on the interaction between regional or local patterns and broader forces of change in the colonial and world economy. In contrast, Erick Langer's dissertation, "Rural Society and Land Consolidation in a Declining Economy: Chuquisaca, Bolivia, 1880–1930," focuses on the period when traditional silver mining collapsed and industrial tin mining shifted Bolivia's center of economic gravity to the north and out of Chuquisaca's orbit. By limiting his temporal framework, Langer is able to delve more deeply into the divergent patterns of change in distinct zones of Chuquisaca. His study encompasses frontier and marginal areas, such as Azero and Tomina, as well as Chuquisaca's "core area" of valleys and *serranía*.

While the two studies do not overlap much temporally, both examine the adaptive responses of landlords and peasants to the stagnation and decline of silver mining and markets in Bolivia's southern highlands. They both examine the changing nature of landlord-peasant relations on traditional valley haciendas as grain markets narrowed and income from silver mining dried up. On first reading, the two studies reveal striking differences in patterns of land tenure and labor relations on haciendas in Chuquisaca and Cochabamba in the nineteenth century that merit further comparative analysis. In brief, the hacienda system in Cochabamba was decaying by the nineteenth century, a victim of many corrosive forces. The outstanding feature in Cochabamba's rural land-

holding pattern was the proliferation of small-scale commodity producers who wore away the economic power of hacendados. Long before the advent of the "second" agrarian reform,¹⁷ Cochabamba's temperate plains and valleys were quilted by fragmented estates and independent smallholders. In part, the gradual loss of effective landlord control over cereal production was their own doing. During the eighteenth century, landlords adjusted to the decline of mining and market demand for wheat and maize by shifting to rentier forms of income—particularly tithe speculation. Tenants took over more estate land, and later generations of tenants were not easily expelled. But peasants adjusted to the changing balance of pressures and opportunities by combining traditional forms of reciprocal and communal labor with petty commodity production and economic diversification into crafts and commerce. In some parts of the valleys, the rise of a rival peasant economy gradually undermined the hegemony of property owners and inhibited landlords from modernizing agricultural enterprises—even when new commercial opportunities beckoned at the turn of the twentieth century. But my study tries to show that peasants themselves were also victims of this slow process of "economic involution" by the late nineteenth century, when a growing number of landless or smallholding peasants migrated from the valleys to the nitrate fields of Chile and later to the new tin mines on the Altiplano.

By contrast, Chuquisaca's landed elite fared better—at least until the end of the nineteenth century. Until the collapse of silver mining at Potosí, Chuquisaca's oligarchy preserved its economic and political hegemony in the region. After all, its aristocrats were involved in high government at Sucre. Also, many hacendados had considerable investments in mining. Their class position was more entrenched, as indicated by the effective control that most landlords exercised over Indian laborers on their estates. Borrowing from the "moral economy" model,¹⁸ Langer studies the "smooth" functioning of peasant-landlord relations on many estates in Cinti and Yamparaez, in accord with the ideals of reciprocity and redistribution. Relations of power and subordination were lubricated and maintained by mutual obligations between hacendados and peones. Hacendados gained a compliant labor force while peasants were granted a certain measure of subsistence security. The persistence of Andean rituals, customs, and beliefs in the context of the Chuquisaca hacienda reinforced the class structure based on property relations.

The actual degree to which patron-client relations "functioned smoothly until the decline of silver mining" is perhaps somewhat questionable (Langer 1985, 265). Future research on Chuquisaca's rural society in the colonial period undoubtedly will discover such relations to have been less tranquil than Langer's statement suggests. But he sets

his sights on the wrenching changes that sundered the old bonds between landlords and tenants during the first decades of the twentieth century, and in comparison to times past, they seem destined to erode patron-client relations on many haciendas.

Rather than “retire” from managing their estates as many Cochabamba lords did, Chuquisaca landlords reacted to the collapse of silver mining by gradually channeling their entrepreneurial energy into agriculture. They tried to generate higher returns from their estates by bearing down harder on their tenants or by modernizing their enterprises to take advantage of local commercial opportunities. In either case, landlords increasingly violated traditional norms governing labor relations on their own haciendas, and not surprisingly, they incurred the wrath of their peones. In a recent article, Langer focuses on two estates in Chuquisaca where the owners attempted to concentrate lands, improve efficiency, and regiment labor (Langer 1985). On one of those estates, the company maintained a modicum of paternalism to mitigate the effects of modernization on its agricultural laborers. But in most cases, the transition to capitalist agriculture provoked labor strikes and other forms of resistance among peones as well as ayllu peasants, whose autonomy was now threatened. Thus in contrast to Cochabamba about a century earlier, Chuquisaca’s haciendas entered a phase of expansion and consolidation following the steep decline of silver mining at the end of the nineteenth century. But that expansion threatened the balance between estates and ayllus in Chuquisaca and destroyed traditional labor relations within the haciendas. The balance of class forces tipped dramatically in favor of enterprising landlords—despite the violent opposition of many peasants.

These historical perspectives on Bolivian regions underscore the country’s extraordinary regional diversity. It was once commonplace, for example, to speak of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca in the same breath. According to the received wisdom, they were areas where an acculturated peasantry was locked away on feudal haciendas until the Revolution burst their chains. Yet the studies by Langer and Larson illuminate distinct trends in the two regions, whereby haciendas expanded in Chuquisaca at the same time that they crumbled in Cochabamba. Further, these studies destroy the myth of neofeudal estates with passive *pongos* crushed under the burden of labor services. In different ways, dependent peasants in Chuquisaca and Cochabamba developed strategies of subsistence that impinged on the autonomy of landlords. But while the peones of Chuquisaca estates preserved and manipulated norms and rituals of reciprocity, many peasants in Cochabamba engaged more intensively in trade and commerce. Over the longer term, these regions assumed distinct socioeconomic and cultural identities.

These recent studies in Bolivian agrarian history illuminate some of the apparent legacies of reform and revolution discussed earlier in this essay. For example, these works dispel the myth that the minifundia so prevalent in Cochabamba today was a product of the agrarian reform; in fact, peasant smallholding was rooted deeply in the colonial past. Also, they provide new insights into the rapid growth and consolidation of the hacienda on the eastern frontiers of Chuquisaca during the late nineteenth century, following the conquest of the Chiriguano "nation." As Healy's work demonstrated, these haciendas that developed so late ultimately proved almost immutable to the impact of the Agrarian Reform of 1953. Most important, the new regional history explores how Bolivian peasants, even those living on haciendas, drew on a rich cultural heritage to affect the course of historical change in their own society.

CONCLUSIONS

North American scholarship on Bolivia has flourished in the past ten years. It has also diverged from the earlier parallel tracks of local-level ethnographic research and macro-level studies of the Revolution and its reforms or its betrayal. The recent research outlined above embraces themes and problems that have engaged social scientists working in other parts of Latin America. For example, the field studies of Gill and Healy on agrarian reform and change in two lowland frontier areas address larger issues related to the transition to capitalism and the alliance and tension among development agencies, the military state, and local agribusiness (or traditional hacendados) in hastening that transition in the lowlands. The historical studies of Langer and Larson explore the impact of a volatile mining export economy and fluctuating market on class and ethnic relations to study the transition or failed transition to capitalism in two distinct valley regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nash's study of tin miners and Godoy's analysis of the articulation between an ayllu economy and antimony mining both address issues of cultural meaning and ethnic identity during periods of political and economic change. All of these studies contribute to the ongoing debates about the uneven and contradictory effects of market forces and state policy on class and ethnic relationships in the Andes, and they lay the empirical basis for future comparative study with other regions, communities, or social groups in Latin America.

But their contributions go beyond the substantive themes addressed because of their interdisciplinary and intrinsically historical approaches to contemporary social problems. In terms of the research questions posed and the methods used, many Bolivianists have man-

aged to cross the disciplinary divide to engage in historical anthropology or anthropological history. Perhaps this outcome characterizes a small field, in which the international scholarly community of Bolivianists is tightly knit. Or perhaps the legacy of John Murra's approach to Andean ethnohistory has led several generations of anthropologists into the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia and historians to the mountains and valleys and to archeological sites for field observation. But I think the strong interdisciplinary bent of recent research also reflects the growing awareness of foreign scholars that in myriad and sometimes subtle ways, the Andean past is omnipresent—even in the grittiest industrial workplace and the ongoing political struggles of peasants over land rights.

If recent research on Bolivia has helped to bring this part of the Andes to the attention of the scholarly world outside, it has not yet become readily accessible to the Bolivian community of scholars. Bolivians are more isolated than ever from the fruits of North American research. The current economic crisis does not help foreign authors seeking publishing outlets in Bolivia. More often than not, authors must personally subsidize translation and publishing costs. Yet during the past five years, Bolivian scholarship has flourished and broken out of the constraints of a small elitist circle. A new emphasis has emerged on "democratizing" the production and consumption of scholarly material in Bolivia. In short, some of the most exciting and creative work in the social sciences in Bolivia today is being published and packaged for a readership that extends far beyond the hallowed halls of local Bolivian academies. Examples of serious scholarship aimed at popular audiences are numerous. CIPCA has published readers on Aymara and Quechua history, language, and struggles; and CERES, the other major center of social science research, has published a series of ministudies on historical and contemporary themes (including frontier colonization and migration, peasant household economics, and social mobilization) that are meant for wide distribution. Two recent histories of Bolivia are inexpensive readers that reinterpret Bolivian social and political history from the perspective of popular participation in shaping a society and nation (Albó and Barnadas 1984; Rivera 1986). Finally, the Taller de Historia Oral Andina is a collective of Aymara historians who are capturing in print (in Aymara, Quechua, and Spanish) the historical memory of women and men who engaged in political struggle against the state and elements of creole society during the first half of the twentieth century (Taller de Historia 1986). Even amidst deep economic crisis, many Bolivian scholars are creating a new historical and social science literature whose aims are defined not by the canons of the university or foreign foundations but by the priorities of scholars who want to reach beyond narrow academic boundaries. We Bolivianists outside the country have

much to learn from our Bolivian colleagues if we want our research to reach the peoples whose history and society we study.

NOTES

1. Gilbert W. Merckx, "Research Manpower Needs for Latin America and the Caribbean: An Assessment," *LASA Forum* 15, no. 3 (Fall 1984):11–19.
2. The six communities are Reyes, Coroico, Compi, Villa Abecía, Sorata, and San Miguel. While these communities are located in Bolivia's three distinct ecological zones and differ socially and ethnically, they do not encompass two important zones: mining communities and the central valleys of Cochabamba, where peasant activity was particularly intense during the Revolution and the reform.
3. Kelley and Klein define a "radical revolution" as "a revolution that liberates a previously exploited population . . . by destroying the old elite's economic privileges, reducing taxes or interest rates, redistributing land, allowing free access to opportunities in farming and business, expropriating or destroying accumulated wealth, or in other ways" (1981, 3). In accordance with these criteria, the authors categorize the Bolivian Revolution of 1952 as a "radical" one like the French, Russian, Mexican, and Chinese revolutions.
4. Antonio Mitre, personal conversation, New York, 1974. Mitre had the opportunity of immersing himself in the data when he coded it for Kelley and Klein.
5. One of the most valuable of recent lowland colonization studies is Connie Weil's dissertation, "The Adaptiveness of Tropical Settlement in the Chaparé of Bolivia" (1980), which examines the Chaparé frontier before the onset of rapid expansion of coca production for export. She studies the migration of highland peasants to low-altitude tropical forests and the adaptive strategies of Quechua peasants in the lowlands. Her study casts a critical light on both spontaneous and directed settlement of the Chaparé. For example, she found that the colonization projects were replicating polarized patterns of land tenure and destroying the delicate ecological balance of tropical forests.
6. Gill's study contributes to ongoing debate about the Latin American peasantry and processes of class differentiation set in motion by agrarian capitalist enterprises. See, for example, Bartra (1974), Long and Roberts (1978), and Lehmann (1982).
7. On the debate, see R. Harris (1978), DeJanvry (1981), and Mallon (1983).
8. It would be interesting to study comparatively the "peasant-miners" of the central Peruvian highlands and the first generations of industrial miners in Bolivia. The research of Julian Laite and that of Norman Long and Bryan Roberts has focused on circular migration patterns and the enduring link between miners and their peasant origins and communities. In contrast, it has been assumed that industrial miners in the big tin mines in Bolivia severed most material and social ties to their rural communities. See Laite (1981) and Long and Roberts (1984).
9. Ann Zulawski's (1985) important dissertation studies migration and labor patterns in seventeenth-century Oruro. But its time period and scope have little connection with Nash's contemporary study. A provocative preliminary study of the social origins of industrial miners in the Llallagua area is the forthcoming work by Molina and Platt (n.d.).
10. This antagonistic relationship contrasts markedly with the longstanding alliance between other ayllus, such as the Laymis, and the miners of Llallagua (see Harris and Albó 1975).
11. This theme was the organizing framework of a 1983 international conference, Market Expansion and Penetration of the Andes, held at the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia in Sucre. A selection of those and other papers on the theme are being published in Harris, Larson, and Tandeter (n.d.).
12. Thus far, no systematic comparison of these regions has been undertaken. But the outlines of historical change in the two regions are emerging from the work of Platt (1982) and Larson (1983, n.d.).
13. Special note should be made of the work of Herbert Klein. Since his political history

- of Bolivia was published in 1969, Klein has written numerous articles on Bolivian history. In addition, he recently published a general history of Bolivia that spans the centuries from precolonial times through the contemporary period (1982b). *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society* weaves into its text many recent interpretations and studies by other scholars working on various facets of Bolivian history.
14. For a different perspective on migration and forasteros, see Saignes (1978 and 1985).
 15. Some of Grieshaber's interpretations of the demographic data have been challenged. Klein (1982a) notes that after 1830, the padrones undercounted women and children.
 16. A work in this tradition that reaches strikingly different conclusions is Mallon (1983).
 17. The term *second agrarian reform* is borrowed from Platt (1982) and refers to the Agrarian Reform of 1953.
 18. See especially Scott (1976).

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