

PUBLIC SCRUTINY, CONSCIOUSNESS
AND RESISTANCE IN AN ECUADORIAN
HIGHLAND VILLAGE.

Jane Canavan.

London School of Economics, London University.

Submitted for a Ph.D. degree in 1996.

UMI Number: U093488

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U093488

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

THESES

F
7355

566138

ABSTRACT

Cábala is a small, rural village of *mestizo* and *indigena* people in the Ecuadorian Andes. Since the local haciendas were disbanded in 1962 the economy and population of the village have both declined and the remaining villagers have increased their engagement in the money economy. Nevertheless most contemporary villagers were suspicious of urban Ecuador which they perceived as being organised exclusively according to trade transactions and saw themselves as belonging to a distinct moral community characterised by participation in exchange relations. Cabalaño society was largely ordered according to the logic of a 'good faith economy' and any breach of the obligations inherent in exchange relations threatened not just the relationships between participants but the social order of the whole village. Transgressions of the social order were minimised by the stress most villagers placed on the correct performance of social roles and the maintenance of personal reputations. Thus the social and political order of the village was weighted towards conservatism and I describe how awareness of public scrutiny of their behaviour influenced how most villagers behaved towards members of their own household, managed their responses to the world and treated illness.

At the same time, however, many villagers were able to manipulate public opinion, at least sometimes, and were able to both initiate, and adapt to, changes in the social order. Furthermore increased engagement in the money economy suggests that villagers were aware they could choose to order their social relations according to a different logic but chose not to. In the conclusion to the work, therefore, I argue that most villagers made an active choice to stress the importance of exchange relations in order to resist the perceived anomie of the modern, Ecuadorian state.

Contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	6
INTRODUCTION	13
A Brief History of Cábala	14
Theoretical Background	20
Chapter Outline	23
Fieldwork Experiences	26
Chapter 1:	
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN CONTEMPORARY CÁBALA	31
Cultural Difference	32
<i>Blancos</i>	35
<i>Mestizo and Indígena Cabalaños</i>	37
A Celebration in Honour of the Virgin of Mercedes	42
Summary	53
Chapter 2:	
THE DECLINING ECONOMY IN CÁBALA	55
Farming	57
Increased Engagement in the Money Economy	59
Previous Engagement with the Money Economy	62
Flexibility in Current Economic Practices	65
A Moral Community: Attitudes to Wealth, Profit and Exchange	76
Summary	79
Chapter 3:	
INTER-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ORDER	81
Introduction	82
Reciprocity, Respect and Greetings	83

Strategy and Risk in Reciprocal Exchange Relations	88
Close Active Relationships and Kinship Terms	91
The <i>Compadrazgo</i> Complex	95
The Fear of Sorcery and Reciprocal Exchange Relations	100
Exchange Relations, Orthopraxy and Reputations	105
Summary	108
Chapter 4:	
THE MAINTENANCE AND REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL ORDER	109
THROUGH PUBLIC SCRUTINY	
Gossip: A Destructive Force and Political Tool	110
The Ambivalent Status of Gossip	114
<i>Envidia</i>	116
<i>Envidia</i> , Gossip and Change	121
Summary	123
Chapter 5:	
PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND THE PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD	125
ROLES	
The Composition of Houses in Cábala	126
The House as a Social and Economic Unit	129
The Contribution of Spouses to the House	131
Children's Contribution to the House	133
Women and Men as Wives and Husbands	137
Femininity	139
Masculinity	142
Domestic Violence and Hierarchy	144
Summary	149

Chapter 6:

PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND THE DISCOURSE ON EMOTIONS IN CÁBALA	151
The Physical Danger of Emotions	152
The Social Danger of Emotions	153
The Socially Acceptable Expression of Emotions	156
The Management of Emotions by 'Forgetting'	159
Motivating and Passive Feelings	163
The Person, Self and the Discourse on Emotions in Cábalá	166

Chapter 7:

ILLNESS AND THERAPY IN CÁBALA	169
Perspectives in Medical Anthropology	171
The 'Principle of Opposites'	173
Cleansing Malevolent Forces	179
The Use of Biomedicine	184
Therapeutic Choices and the Social Order of the Village	190

Chapter 8:

AGENCY AND RESISTANCE	195
------------------------------	------------

Appendices:

1. Population, Household and Occupation Statistics	204
2. Commonly Used Medicinal Plants	206

BIBLIOGRAPHY	211
---------------------	------------

Maps:

1. Republic of Ecuador	7
2. Cábalá	8

Plates:

1. A View of Cábala	9
2. The Village Square During the Easter Sunday Fiesta	10
3. The View from above Cábala	11
4. Planting Potatoes near the Village	12

Tables:

1. The Annual Income and Expenditure of Carmen's Household	70
2. The Annual Income and Expenditure of Don Ernesto's Household	74
3. Spanish and Quichua Kinship Terms for Genealogically Close Consanguinal Kin / Family	93
4. The Composition of Households in Cábala	127
5. Treatments of Commonly Occurring Illnesses	186
6. Population by Age and 'Ethnic' Identity	204
7. Frequency Distribution of Household Sizes	204
8. Frequency of Primary Occupations	205

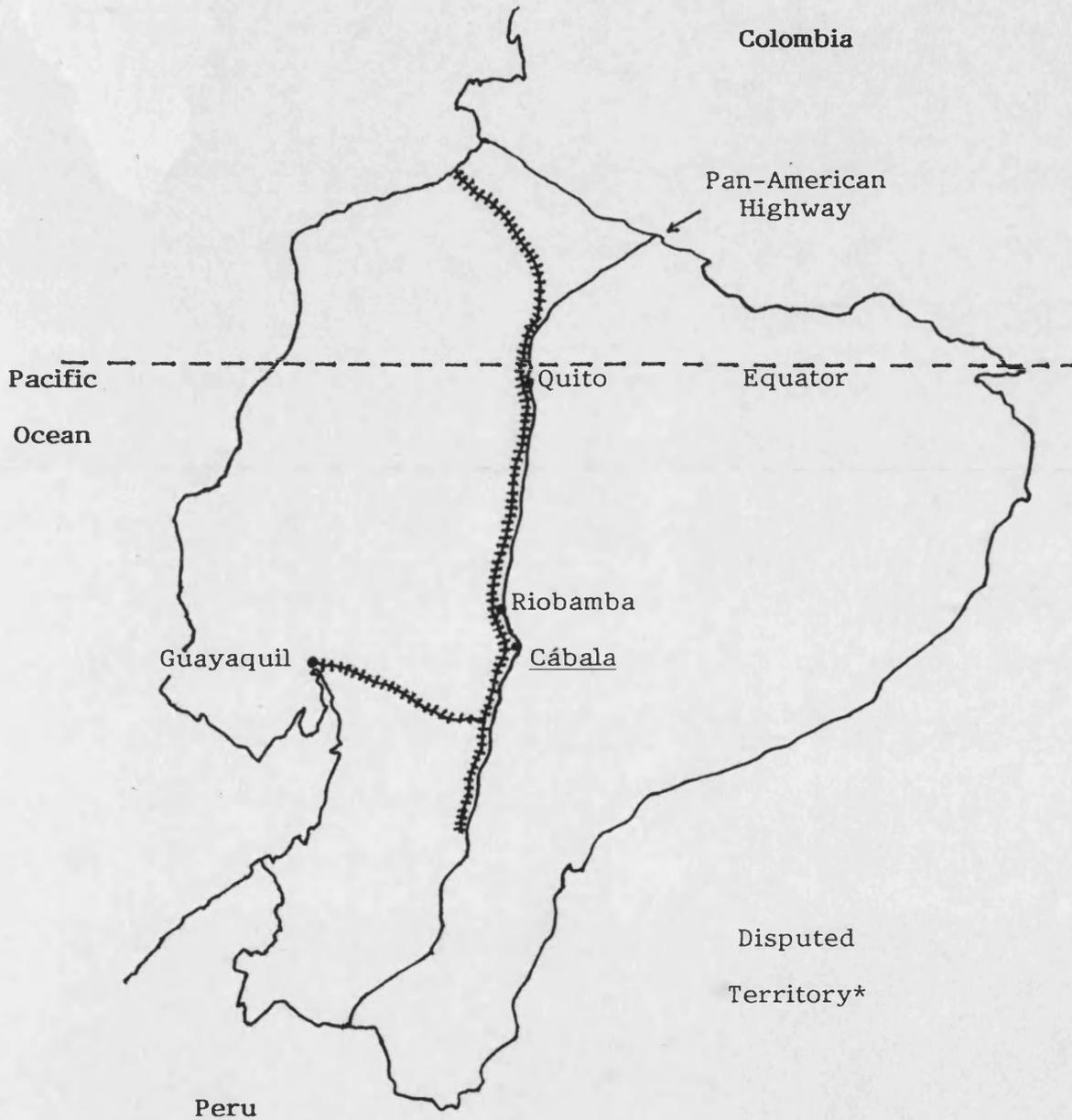
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to thank Dr. G. Bauman, Dr. A. Gell and Dr. C. Toren.

This work, however, would never have been finished if it were not for the support of William Duberley, Jane Morris, Belinda Radford and, above all, the generous help, advice and acceptance given by Cecilia Busby, Philip Thomas and Hania Sholkany.

Finally I would like to thank the people of Cábala who tolerated me and especially those members of 'Women, Workers, and Bread for All' whose kindness and sympathy went a long way to overcome our mutual incomprehension.

MAP 1 : THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR.



* The territory south of the border determined by the Protocol of Rio de Janeiro 1942 is the object of dispute between Ecuador and Peru

Map2: CÁBALA

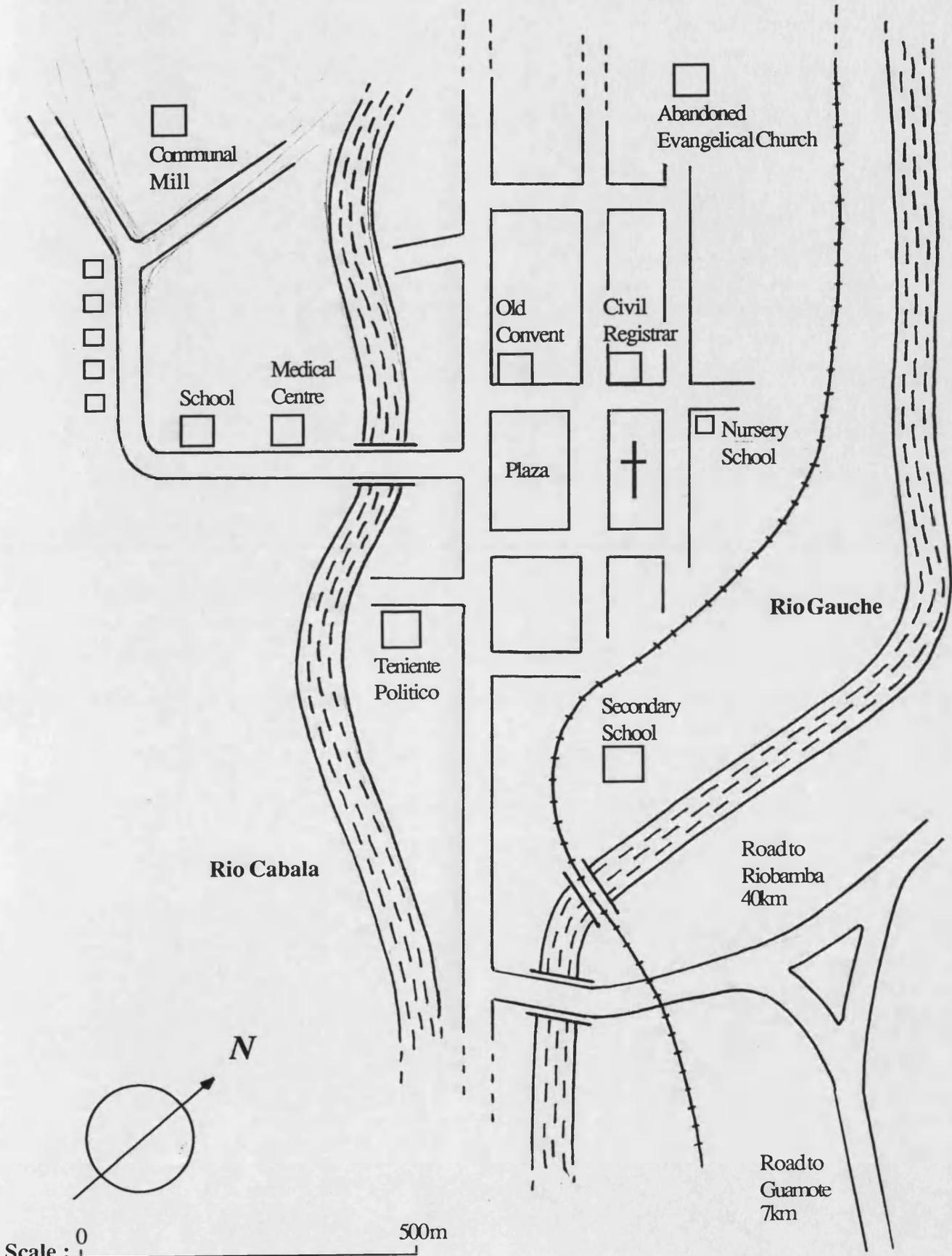


PLATE 1: A VIEW OF CÁBALA

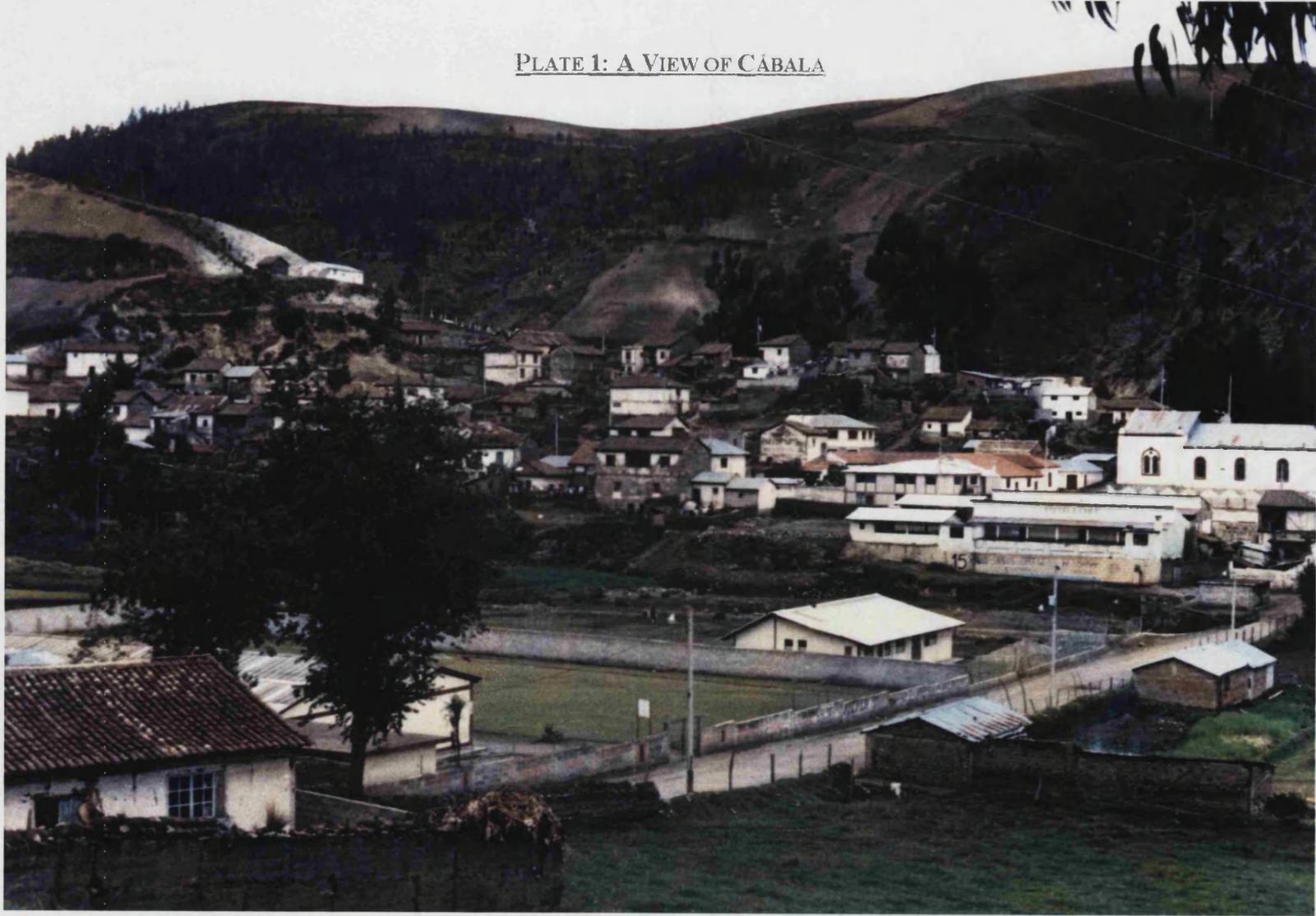


PLATE 2: THE VILLAGE SQUARE DURING THE EASTER SUNDAY FIESTA



PLATE 3: THE VIEW FROM ABOVE CÁBALA



PLATE 4: PLANTING POTATOES NEAR THE VILLAGE



INTRODUCTION

Cábala is a rural village of around 370 people situated just south of the Equator on the edge of the Inter-Andean valley in central Ecuador. It lies at an altitude of 3,200m at the head of a small, fertile valley in the foothills of Chimborazo (6,310m), the world's second highest volcano. A short slip-road joins the village to the Pan-American highway, Ecuador's major north to south road, and buses run regularly from the village square to the province capital, Riobamba, 40kms to the north. Riobamba is a prosperous, growing city but Cábala has clearly seen more affluent days. The railway station has been shut and the track has become overgrown since the train stopped running in 1987. The food-selling kiosks in the village square have not been used since the weekly market stopped functioning in the mid 1980's. The population of the village has fallen drastically since the early 1960's (see below) and in 1992 the streets of the village were scarred with the crumbling ruins of abandoned houses. Nevertheless most of the remaining villagers were proud of their identity as Cabalaños and worried that poverty would force either themselves or their children to migrate to the city.

Most Cabalaños had family and kin living in towns and cities throughout the Republic and were familiar with city life but in the village 'city-people' (*ciudadanos*) were often said to be selfish, exploitative and lonely, motivated only by business and self-interest. In contrast most villagers saw themselves as belonging to a distinct moral community which was characterised by participation in a "good faith economy" (Bourdieu 1977:172-173) as well as in the market economy. In this work I suggest that many villagers stressed the value of exchange relations and Cabalaño society was largely ordered by villagers recognising the mutual obligations inherent in those relations. I argue that by valuing their exchange relations and participating in the concomitant moral and social 'system' many villagers were defending their community and consciously resisting the perceived anomie of modern urban Ecuador.

Many anthropologists¹ have recorded practices by which 'indigenous' and / or 'peasant' people of the Andes have maintained their cultural identities against the encroachment of capitalism or "through one of the world's longest and most harmful colonial histories" (Skar and Salomon 1987:204). Much of their work has focused on people who are portrayed as having a long history of 'traditional' practices through which they have maintained a class / peasant or ethnic identity against a dominant power. In contrast the brief account of the history of the village described below shows that there have been many changes in Cábala in the last thirty years and many villagers have only come to live in the village during that time. Furthermore the people of contemporary Cábala were not 'peasants', nor did they constitute an homogenous whole, but nevertheless most participated in the moral community of the village despite differences between themselves. Thus I suggest that by valuing their exchange relationships most Cabalaños were not safeguarding an identity which can be defined in terms of class or ethnicity, but rather were trying to ensure the continuation of their village as a rural community.

A Brief History of Cábala

The province of Chimborazo, in which Cábala is situated, was once inhabited by the Puruhá, one of the many different language groups which lived in the Inter-Andean basins in the territory now known as Ecuador (Alvear 1977, Salomon 1986:192-201, Botero 1990:177-179). The region was colonised by the Inca State when it expanded north into Ecuador in the 1430's but it is difficult to know how far the Incas imposed their political and economic structures on the region or adopted Puruhán practices to their own ends (Patterson 1992:75). It is known, however, that during the one hundred years or so that the Incan State dominated the region the Puruhán people were not completely subdued (Yáñez 1992:15). It is likely, therefore, that the Incas introduced loyal subjects from other regions to the area in accordance with their policy of establishing a nucleus of loyal subjects in hostile regions (Oberem 1990:150-153, Patterson 1992:77-78). Thus, by the

¹For example see Nash 1977, Isbell 1978, Taussig 1980, Rasnake 1988.

time of the Spanish invasion in the 1530's (see Hemming 1970) it is probable that the region around Cábala was already culturally diverse.

The Spanish founded Cábala in 1579 in order to organise the extraction of labour and tribute from the local population. By the beginning of the 18th century the village population provided paid labour and services for the haciendas, landed estates, which controlled all of the land immediately surrounding the village. The haciendas developed from the early colonial *encomienda* system in which Spanish colonialists were encouraged to stay in the country by being rewarded with land and control over native workers. They perpetuated a social order in which a hierarchy was based on ethnic differences (Parsons 1945:9, Hemming 1970:145). *Blancos* (whites) owned the land but paid Spanish-speaking *mestizos* to manage it and provide paid domestic labour, while Quichua-speaking *indigenas* were expected to provide agricultural labour to the haciendas in return for the usufruct of small plots of land (*huasipungos*), gleaning and foraging rights, or minimal wages².

Despite developing out of a colonial initiative the declaration of independence from the Spanish in 1822 and the formation of the Republic in 1830 did little to disturb the hacienda system. Indeed the modern State has been shaped, and continues to be shaped by, the conservative political interests of the highland haciendas and the more liberal tendencies of the large, coastal plantations (Hurtado 1980, Corkhill and Cubitt 1988). In Cábala the hacienda system persisted until 1962 (see below) and many adult Cabalaños, therefore, remembered life during the time of the haciendas. The injustices and tyranny of the feudal system are well documented (e.g. Parsons 1945, Aguiló 1992:115, Weismantel 1988:64-72)³ and many villagers recalled how hard life had been during the time of the haciendas.

For example Elvia, an *indigena* woman, recalled that the skin on her father's feet had been so thick that occasionally it would crack and form deep painful crevices. She explained that her father was constantly terrified of being unable to work because he knew they could then be evicted from their *huasipungo*. Whenever his feet were bad her mother

²The terms *blanco*, *mestizo* and *indigena* are discussed in more detail in chapter one. Quichua is a dialect of Quechua and is spoken throughout the Ecuadorian Andes and in some regions of the Amazonian basin. Within Ecuador there are three main dialects of Quichua which are not mutually comprehensible.

³See Icaza 1985 for a moving, fictional account of life on an Ecuadorian hacienda.

would hold her father down while Elvia sewed the soles of his feet with the same crude thread and needles which she used to sew sacks for grain. Both *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers had bad memories of the haciendas although parish records show that during the time of the haciendas Cábala was populated virtually exclusively by *mestizo* residents who, in contrast to *indígena* residents of the the region, were paid for their labour on the haciendas. It is not surprising, therefore, that *indígena* residents of Cábala and in the communities surrounding the village remember Cabalaños as supporting, rather than being dominated by, the haciendas.

Members of the *indígena* communities surrounding Cábala also resented the village for the role it had played as an agent of the dominant colonial and national powers. In 1769 the village had been declared a *parroquia*, the capital of a parish, of 253 km² with an estimated population in 1990 of around 15,000 of whom 95% were Quichua-speaking *indígenas* most of whom lived outside of the village (Delgado 1990-'91:9-10). In Ecuador parishes were, and still are, the smallest units of religious and secular administration⁴ and Spanish-speaking Cabalaños had profited whenever residents of the whole parish had come to worship in the village, register a birth, death or marriage, or buy or sell anything in the weekly market. In addition from the beginning of the 20th century Cábala became one of the major centres from which contraband alcohol was sold and distributed (see chapter 2) and many contemporary *indígena* residents of the parish now resent the money which was once spent on alcohol and went straight into the pockets of *mestizo* Cabalaños. One particularly astute woman summarised the history of the village by suggesting that Cábala had been built on 'the blood of Indians and alcohol' (*la sangre de los Indios y trago*).

In summary then, until 1962 Cábala was a village which was not only populated by those who, by being paid, had benefited from the haciendas, but was also a local centre of religious worship, trade and administration. The village extracted any surplus the local *indígena* communities managed to accumulate while labouring under the exploitative hacienda system. In 1962, however, a history of violent uprisings in the region (Friere

⁴For administrative puposes Ecuador is divided into 22 provinces each further divided into cantones which were then divided into parishes (*parroquias*). Chimborazo province was divided into 9 cantones and Cábala was the parish capital of one of the 5 parishes in the cantón of Colta.

1984:22, Yánez, S. 1985: 297-338) culminated in an armed attack against the owners of one local hacienda and nearly escalated into an attack against the whole village (Yánez 1992:125-126). Following this uprising most of the hacienda owners and wealthier Cabalaños, fearing further violence and seeking wider opportunities for their children, moved to the province capital⁵. They abandoned their houses and sold their land cheaply in small plots to local people, both *mestizo* and *indígena*, and as they moved out so residents of the local Quichua-speaking communities moved in so that by 1992 roughly 45% of the population were classified as *indígena*⁶. The influx of *indígena* people has not, however, matched the number of wealthy people who left: Yánez (1992:126) reports that 430 people left the village in 1962 while in 1992, as previously mentioned, the total population numbered only 370. The initial exodus of wealthy residents has continued throughout the last thirty years spurred on by a decline in the village economy since the 1970's. Small-scale farming has gradually become more difficult and less profitable, the alcohol trade has been devastated, and changes in the local infra-structure have resulted in Cábala no longer being seen a centre of trade and commerce⁷.

Nevertheless, despite the economic difficulties they have faced in the last thirty years, most Cabalaños were adamant that they did not want to return to the time of the haciendas and welcomed the changes that had occurred in the social order of the village since their demise. Both *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers explained that during the time of the haciendas they had unquestioningly seen wealthier people as socially superior but since their demise they no longer automatically revered wealth. Most Cabalaños appreciated this relatively recent political awareness and recognised that they have been encouraged to question the old social order of the village by the local Catholic Church who have enthusiastically adopted the ideas and practices of liberation theology.

Liberation theology arose out of a meeting of Latin American Bishops following the second Vatican council (1962-1965) and is based on the idea of implementing God's

⁵The exodus of Cabalaños accords with a national trend: in 1950 28.5% of all Ecuadorians lived in urban areas but by 1990 this figure had increased to 55.1% (INEC 1992:8).

⁶This figure is based on a village census organised by myself and confirmed by a census organised by a local health organisation.

⁷See chapter two for more details.

wishes by helping the poor and oppressed in this life and not concentrating just on spiritual matters. Thus, in the last thirty years or so, the Catholic diocese in Riobamba province has decentralised religious worship and encouraged people to be morally accountable and to question oppressive power structures. Some of the resulting practices were not popular in the village but 85% of Cabalaños were loyal Catholics whose fealty was fuelled by their resentment of the rise of Evangelical protestantism in the region⁸. Cábala is less than 20kms south of Colta, the base of the first successful Evangelical mission in Ecuador which was founded in 1953 (Muratorio 1981), and in the last forty years many of the *indígena* communities in the parish had converted, virtually as a whole, to one or other of the 14 Evangelical Churches currently active in the region. Many contemporary Cabalaños were vexed by the work of the Evangelical Churches not least because they preached abstinence from alcohol and had, therefore, contributed to the devastation of the village's alcohol trade.

Many villagers recognised that liberation theology had been, and still was, a mixed blessing. The decentralisation of religious worship, for example, had contributed to the economic decline of the village by depriving it of the market opportunities which had arisen when the celebration of fiestas in the whole parish had been based in the village. At the same time, however, many villagers appreciated that the Church was working hard to help them cope with the many changes that were occurring in the village. For example in 1989 the parish priest who had been resident in the village had founded a cooperative optimistically called "Women, Workers and Bread for All" (*Mujeres, Trabajadores y Pan por Todo*) which members of over half the households in the village joined. The initial aim of the 'women's organisation', as it was commonly known, had been to counteract the effects of the economic decline in the village. The organisation worked by buying large quantities of cereals and grains, milling them, and selling the resulting flours at a profit. By 1992 the organisation had not reached the point of paying its members but in the three

⁸The 15% of Cabalaños who were Evangelical reported that they had never suffered personal discrimination from other villagers but the Evangelical church just outside the village had been shut in 1990 following continual attacks of vandalism.

years since its inception it had paid off a considerable 'start-up' loan, bought a house in the village which served as a nursery-school, and had set up and managed a community non-profit making shop. The organisation had also served to focus the increasing political awareness of many of its members and in 1990 had forwarded candidates for election to the village council (*la junta*).

The council had limited power and influence in the contemporary village and its role was largely confined to negotiating for funds from the province authorities for public works such as street-lighting and the maintenance of the main water-pipe. Nevertheless in 1992 membership of the council was a contentious issue and it had become the focus of dispute between representatives of the old and new order in the village. For fifty years prior to 1990 council members had been elected unopposed and had all been members of wealthy *blanco* families who had remained in the village after the exodus of other wealthy villagers in the 1960's. In 1990, however, members of the 'women's organisation' had apparently argued that the continuing domination of the council by *blancos* was reminiscent of the social hierarchy during the time of the haciendas. They wished to create new, more effective, power structures in the village which served their own interests rather than those of a dominant external power or local elite. By 1992 members of the 'women's organisation' had failed to win a seat on the council, largely because the *blancos* had large networks of villagers who were personally indebted to them (see chapter 3). Nevertheless, encouraged by Church personnel, the organisation continued to challenge the authority of the *blancos*, while the *blancos* resented the 'women's organisation', and there was a bitter on-going dispute between the two parties in the contemporary village.

To summarise, Cábala, unlike many Andean 'indigenous' communities, does not have a long history of aspiring towards self-sufficiency and resistance to colonial and nationalist policies. Rather, for nearly four centuries, Cábala was a Spanish-speaking *mestizo* village whose residents engaged in wage labour on the haciendas and thereby, indirectly at least, supported external dominant powers. In the last thirty years, however, the economic decline and demographic change in the village, coupled with the rise of liberation theology and increasing political consciousness, has led many villagers to re-

assess their relationship with the State. Most contemporary villagers, both *mestizo* and *indigena*, blamed successive national governments for the decline of the village arguing that national policies had consistently favoured urban, industrial Ecuador at the expense of rural dwellers. One elderly man expressed the view of many when he said "the developing Republic has forgotten us" (*La Republica ha olvidandonos* - cf. Muñoz-Bernand 1986:7). Over the last thirty years, as the following chapter will show, the differences between most Cabalaños have gradually assumed less importance than the differences between themselves and those who live in urban regions of the Republic. Most contemporary Cabalaños stressed their identity as rural dwellers, an identity which was being re-invented against against a background of great change both within, and outside, the village.

In summary then this work is not an account of people who all have a long history of resistance to a dominant power. Rather it is about a small population most of whom, I will argue, chose to participate in a distinct moral community not least because such participation inherently resisted the perceived anomie of modern Ecuador. I argue, below, that the idea of resistance should involve choice and throughout most of the following chapters, therefore, I implicitly consider issues of consciousness and intent in the contemporary village. In the following section I briefly discuss the theoretical background to these chapters before summarising the main argument by outlining each chapter.

Theoretical Background

In this work I suggest that by stressing their participation in the moral community of the village many Cabalaños were actively resisting the perceived anomie of modern, urban Ecuador. Resistance has become a topic of interest in a wide range of disciplines (see Abu-Lughod 1990:41) since the recognition that power can be exercised in a number of different ways and is not just repressive but productive (e.g. Foucault 1978, 1979). Anthropology has been accused of being the 'handmaiden of imperialism' and it is possible that those working within the discipline have a specific interest in talking about resistance. To suggest that the subjects of one's study are engaged in resistance immediately

transforms them from objects to agents and thereby demonstrates a deference towards the poor and the marginalised who are still so often the subjects of anthropological enquiry. I suggest, however, that in order to talk about resistance it is not sufficient merely to show that the apparent intentions of a dominant power are in some way thwarted but it is necessary to show that people are acting with intent and positively choosing to resist something.

In recent years the relationship between the person and the social world they participate in has become one of the more central concerns of social theorists. Both behavioural (Bourdieu 1977) and cognitive (D'Andrade 1992, Strauss and Quinn 1994) theorists have struggled to represent the relationship between the person and the social as mutually constitutive. I argue, however, that these theories do not forward any account of awareness or choice (see chapter 8) and, because I argue that these are essential elements of resistance, in this work I do not concentrate on showing how the relationship between Cabalaños and the sociocultural order in the village was dialectical. Instead I implicitly ask when action appeared to be socially determined and when it appeared to be the result of agency. In the last line of 'Among School Children' Yeats asks "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" (1990:127). Levy replies by suggesting that "sometimes we *are* the dance - are constituted by the dance - and sometimes we are distinct from it and are *doing* it for some purpose or other - wilfully putting the dance to use" (1994:183 - italics in the original) and it is this insight which informs much of this work.

The idea that people may or may not be aware of acting as they do is problematic for anthropologists because, as Cohen asks, "How do you *know* what the other person is thinking? How do you know *that* the other person is thinking? How can you discriminate between the other person's consciousness and your construction of his or her consciousness?" (1994:3). We can, of course, never be sure of the answer to any of these questions but as Cohen argues "attention to the self is essential for the understanding of society" (1994:134). In his account of action, however, Cohen tends to privilege consciousness of the self as a unified object of reflection and subject of intent and thereby neglects Wagner's (1981) insight that the self is an invention constrained by the

sociocultural environment through which it comes into being⁹. I argue that public scrutiny of their behaviour rendered most Cabalaños conscious of much of their behaviour. I suggest, therefore, that by participating in the 'good faith economy' of their moral community most villagers were, as previously mentioned, not reproducing the social order of the village but rather were consciously creating and maintaining their identity as good Cabalaños. It is, however, unlikely that the majority of Cabalaños were always conscious of their behaviour. Thus I argue that although regard for public opinion often led many Cabalaños to be conscious of their behaviour, I also try not to assume that such consciousness can be equated with self-consciousness in Cohen's sense. In other words I try not to assume that consciousness of behaviour can be equated with agency and the ability to act with intent, and use the idea of performance in order to avoid making arbitrary or reductive assumptions about the relationship between consciousness and agency.

Studies of performance can, as Handelman (1990:19) points out, stress either the enactment of a performance or the design which constrains it and the idea of performance, therefore, does not necessarily advance any understanding of the nature of the dialectical relationship between the person and the social. The idea of performance is, however, linked to the idea of an audience and, therefore, serves as a reminder of the influence of public scrutiny of behaviour in the village. Furthermore the idea of performance can incorporate the notion that people can be conscious of their behaviour without necessarily being fully aware of acting with particular intentions. Actors can consciously enact a script without being aware of all the different ways they could interpret their roles, or the meanings which the audiences might invest in their performances. Similarly I suggest that in Cábala many villagers were sometimes conscious of their behaviour without necessarily being aware of serving particular interests or having a choice in how they behaved. Nevertheless I also argue that public scrutiny of their behaviour often appeared to render many villagers conscious of their participation in the moral community of the village and conscious of defending their rural community. In other words I use the idea of

⁹In this work I use the term 'person' to describe a generic human being (see Morris 1994:10) and the term 'self' to refer to people's representations of themselves as both subjects and objects.

performance in order to describe behaviour in the village without making assumptions about consciousness and agency.

My desire not to make reductive assumptions about the relationship between public scrutiny of behaviour, consciousness and intent means that the greater part of this work concentrates on describing how and why villagers participated in the moral community of the village. I describe the role of public scrutiny in the maintenance of the social order of the village and the performance of villagers in a number of different domains of village social life. Thus, although this work is about resistance, the following outline of each chapter shows that the topic is only discussed in the conclusion of the work when I explicitly argue that many Cabalaños often appeared to be both conscious of their behaviour and conscious of resisting the perceived anomie of the modern Republic.

Chapter Outline.

In this work, as previously mentioned, I argue that many villagers defined themselves as Cabalaños by participating in the moral community of the village, characterised by a stress on exchange relations. In the first two chapters I show that participation in the moral community was not dependent upon ethnic or class criteria. The village population, however, was not homogenous and in the first chapter I concentrate on describing cultural differences between villagers. I describe how villagers organised and celebrated a fiesta in honour of the Virgin of Mercedes, the patron saint of Cábala, and suggest that participation in the fiesta enabled villagers to elaborate and assert differences between themselves. Nevertheless I suggest that although *indígena* and *mestizo* villagers recognised differences between themselves they both stressed their participation in a common moral community. In the second chapter I describe the changes in the village economy that have occurred during the last thirty years and argue that it would be inaccurate to describe these changes as characteristic of a transformation from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist economy. I suggest that most villagers have long been familiar with the market economy as well as the 'good faith economy' and, because most villagers often

had a number of different relationships to the means of production and engaged in a number of different income-generating activities, suggest that it would be inappropriate to describe the people of Cábala as peasants. It is in this chapter that I describe how villagers defined themselves as belonging to a distinct moral community by stressing the importance of exchange relations and participating in a 'good faith economy'.

In chapters three and four I suggest that the stress on exchange relations in Cábala resulted in a social and political system based on the public scrutiny of behaviour and the maintenance of personal social reputations. In the third chapter I describe how Cabalaño society was largely ordered through personal networks of debt and show how the economic and social well-being of most Cabalaños was dependent upon their participation in exchange relations. Most Cabalaños, however, recognised that they could, and sometimes did, act strategically in their own interests and recognised that 'partners' in exchange relations might renege on their obligations. Any transgression of the mutual obligations inherent in exchange relations threatened not only personal relationships but also social order. Thus I continue the chapter by describing how villagers minimised the risk of such occurrences and suggest that fear of physical and character assassination encouraged villagers to fulfil their obligations to others. I finish the chapter by arguing that most villagers placed great stress on performing their social roles correctly in order to increase the ease with which they could form exchange relations which were not just risky but were, as mentioned, the means through which villagers maintained their economic and social well-being.

In chapter four I examine the role of public scrutiny in the village and describe the influence of perniciousness in maintaining the social order within the village. Those who have described the politics of small communities from a functionalist perspective (e.g. Foster 1967, Bailey et al. 1971) have tended to portray inherently conservative systems and interpreted regard for public opinion and fear of perniciousness as mechanisms which maintained the social order. I also argue that public criticism in Cábala was often used to penalise perceived transgressions of orthodoxy and fear of becoming the subject of gossip was a conservative force in the village. However I also suggest that most Cabalaños were

skilled at manipulating public opinion and many villagers used pernicious criticism and counter-criticism in order to serve their own personal or political interests. In short I suggest that although the political system in the village was weighted towards conservatism most villagers, at least sometimes, acted with intent to form alliances within the village in order to initiate change and the system was, therefore, remarkably dynamic.

In chapters five and six I illustrate the influence of public scrutiny on all aspects of behaviour in the village. In chapter five I suggest that public scrutiny was as powerful in the domestic domain as the public. I describe the relationship between members of the same household and argue that even though houses in the village were seen as distinct social and economic units the boundaries of the house in Cábala were permeable to public scrutiny. I suggest that households were seen as distinct units because intra-household relations differed from inter-household relations in that the former exchange was not direct but mediated by the house. I then describe the intra-household hierarchy and concentrate in particular on the relationship between spouses and how it reflected the discourses on gender in the village. I argue that order within the house was largely maintained because members were aware of scrutiny of their behaviour and therefore tried to perform their household roles correctly in order to maintain their reputations. In chapter six I describe how awareness of public scrutiny influenced how people expressed their emotional responses and feelings. Feelings or emotions were considered to be physically and socially dangerous because they were seen to have the potential to motivate people to behave inappropriately and I describe how most villagers were, therefore, expected to manage their feelings by disempowering them as motivating forces. I suggest that the discourse on emotions and feelings in the village was not so much indicative of a distinct Cabalaño representation of the self as a desire to manage their relationships with others and the world around them.

In chapter seven I suggest that villagers' awareness of belonging to a moral community influenced how they treated illness. I examine the treatment and representations of illness in the village and describe each of the three different therapeutic options and when villagers used them. Many villagers often used the different treatments in a particular

order which suggested that they preferred to use treatments which were embedded in the social order of the village and confirmed their membership of the moral community of the village.

Finally in the conclusion to the work I argue that in order to describe the people of Cábala as having resisted the anomie of modern Ecuador it is necessary to show that Cabalaños recognised that they could have acted differently but chose resistance. I review the previous chapters and argue that sometimes Cabalaños appeared to be unaware of why they acted as they did but, often as a result of their awareness of public scrutiny, also sometimes appeared to be conscious of their behaviour and skilled at acting strategically within the social order of the village. Furthermore I suggest that such consciousness did not just render villagers aware of how they behaved within the village but was one strategy through which villagers maintained and defended their distinct moral community. In summary then, I suggest that although villagers were not always aware of their behaviour often they did not merely reproduce the social order of the village but were conscious of their actions and acted with the intention of resisting the perceived anomie of the modern Republic.

Fieldwork Experiences.

Before I went to Ecuador in August 1991 I was determined to live with a family in an *indigena* community and study the relationship between embodied practices and people's use of medicine. I hope the following explanation of why I did not achieve any of these objectives is not too self-indulgent but serves as a useful background from which to judge the following chapters.

When I first arrived in Ecuador I spent 2 months in the capital making links with the Catholic University and an Ecuadorian development agency (Comunidec) which worked in Chimborazo province. The development agency supported an organisation of *Indigena* health promoters (Aprisch) who were based in Cábala but lived, and did most of

their work, in the communities surrounding the village. The director of Comunidec suggested that I lived in the village but worked with the health promoters and travelled to the *indigena* communities each day. I was not happy with the idea of doing fieldwork as a commuter but thought that I could move to Cábala and obtain an all important invitation to live in one of surrounding communities once my face was known in the region.

I spent three miserable weeks in the province capital, Riobamba, waiting for a promised formal introduction to the officers of Aprisch but when it did not materialise I decided to introduce myself. I travelled to Cábala every day for a fortnight until people began to chat to me and eventually someone agreed to rent me an empty house. I dashed back to Riobamaba, bought some basic furniture and moved in that day. My first night in the village was not comfortable. I lay awake watching the rats and listening to persons unknown throwing stones against my door, something which became a regular reminder that not all villagers were pleased to have a *gringa* (white foreigner) in their midst. Over the next few days, however, kind neighbours connected me to their own electricity and water supplies and rendered my bedroom relatively free of rats.

In terms of doing any effective research language incompetence posed my first major problem: I did not want to work with a full-time assistant but desperately needed to arrange further lessons in both Quichua and Spanish. I approached a woman who seemed to demand a considerable degree of respect amongst many villagers and it proved to be a fortuitous choice as she became my most influential and consistent supporter. Serena agreed to give me daily Spanish lessons and arranged for a friend to give me Quichua lessons. In addition she was the president of the local women's organisation and she encouraged its members to accept my presence in the village and to work with me. My association with the women's organisation, however, was resented by a few other villagers.

I had only been in the village a couple weeks when a delegation of relatively wealthy *mestizo* villagers, who I came to know as the '*la gente blanca*' (the white people) came to visit with the specific intention of warning me not to receive "dirty indians and peasants" (*los indios y campesinos sucios*) in my house. The 5-strong group did not make any explicit threats, or I did not understand them if they did, but they spoke at length of

several cases of *gringos* who had tried to live in the region but had left after being robbed, beaten, and thrown in the river. Within days I realised that I had inadvertently become a pawn in a well established feud between the *blancos* and the women's organisation. I was not sufficiently skilled either linguistically or socially to please both parties and shortly after their visit the *blancos* avoided all further contact with me. This, however, seemed to increase my standing with many other Cabalaños and soon I did not have to work just to make contact with people in the village. I established a routine in which I spent the mornings helping in the village nursery-school or trying to help people as they went about their work in their houses or fields, in the afternoons I entertained visitors or visited, and in the evenings had language lessons or attended village meetings.

I was less successful at forging links with the health promoters organisation; whenever we met I was treated with painful respect but the promoters kept delaying when I would be able to accompany them as they went about their work in the *indigena* communities. By this time, however, my desire to live in an *indigena* community had lessened and I decided to stay in Cábala. I was happy with my decision to base my research in Cábala but less content with what I was doing. In particular I was puzzled as to how to proceed with my rather grand idea of establishing how Cabalaños experienced their bodies rather than used them as objects. My attempts to achieve some understanding of embodied practices by participation caused amusement but were, on the whole, an abject failure in terms of anthropological enlightenment. I took for granted the few Cabalaño practices which did become habitual to me and it is difficult to reach conclusions about anything which is not the object of reflection. While I pondered the problem pragmatism determined that I continued to collect other information but gradually I became convinced that the mysteries of embodiment would only become clear if I moved into a Cabalaño household.

By this time several households had offered me a room in their houses but I had learnt enough about Cabalaño social life to realise that if I moved in with any one household it would restrict my access to other villagers and limit the number of people who would be willing to cooperate with me. There were many shifting alliances and factions in the village and it was clear that I had to choose between being identified with one

household and building up a detailed knowledge of life within it, or remaining an outsider, cut off from some information but free to move between a number of different interest groups. I had already upset the *blancos* through my association with the women's organisation and throughout my stay in the village rumours about my behaviour abounded many of which threatened particular relationships and / or my precarious position in the village. I was careful to 'spread' myself around the whole village but even so, or perhaps as a result, one or other faction within the village would often resent my presence and there were times when I felt that I might be evicted from the village. It is questionable if there was a real foundation to my sense of insecurity but I decided not to take the risk of firmly aligning myself with one or other faction by moving to live with any one household.

My decision not to move meant that I still had no idea as to how to tackle the problem of embodiment. Finally, however, I recognised that my decision had been determined by awareness of public scrutiny of my behaviour and realised that every day I had been witnessing example after example of the regard most Cabalaños paid to such scrutiny. I became fascinated by how skilled many villagers were at manipulating public opinion and eventually the whole focus of my research shifted. I retained an interest in the use of medicine but rather than concentrating on embodiment I began to focus on interpersonal relationships, public scrutiny, and gossip.

In summary, then, my research was largely determined by pragmatic concerns: I did not achieve any of my initial objectives but adapted to the circumstances I found myself in. No account of my fieldwork experiences, however, would be anywhere near complete without me noting that at no time was I comfortable living in the village or feel integrated into Cabalaño society. There are many powerful myths about fieldwork but one of the most pervasive is that it somehow engenders a feeling of empathy, or at least sympathy, in the anthropologist. My own experience, however, suggests that this is not an automatic process and I am unwilling to inflate my own ability to be a social chameleon. While I was in the village I was unable to sacrifice my own sense of self and intensely disliked how many villagers often talked about and treated each other. If I pretended that I felt, or now feel, any sense of empathy with the people of Cábala I would have to deny differences

between who I am and what makes the people of Cábala who they are. It was only after I had returned home that I really understood that it was the mis fit between my own values and those revered by most Cabalaños which enabled me to reflect on both.

Now I am able to see that the things which I hated, and disliked myself for hating while I was in the village, the apparent pettiness, manipulation, nastiness and apparent lack of charity, were all crucial elements of a remarkable social system. It was their participation in this system which enabled most villagers to see themselves as belonging to a moral community and, therefore, to exert some control over their relations with the outside world. The elements of Cabalaño social life which I disliked so intensely enabled villagers to defend the elements of the social order of the village which I did admire.

This insight, however, came to me after I had left the village and I imagine that many people who have not spent any time in Cábala might criticise me for not being able to bracket my own ideas of how I think people should treat each other, and while I was in the village I felt very guilty about my inability to do so. It is, of course, inevitable that my distaste will have influenced my descriptions of life in the village in some way, for example, I have written much about perniciousness in the village and little about when people were kind to each other. Nevertheless most Cabalaños will explain that it is possible to manage one's personal responses so they do not generate inappropriate behaviour (see chapter 6) and I hope that despite my own responses to much of what I observed I have not been too unjust in my depiction of life in Cábala.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN CONTEMPORARY CÁBALA

Ecuador is a culturally diverse country as Whitten notes when he says the "Republic's major ethnic groupings, from a nationalist standpoint, include black Ecuadorians (*negro, zambo, moreno*) in lowland and highland settings, Andean Quichua-speaking "Indian" Ecuadorians (*indio, longo, indigena, nativo, Runa*), tropical forest native peoples (*indio, longo, Indigena, nativo, ribereños, selváticos, salvajes*) in western and eastern rainforests, and various groupings and categorical sets of putative "mixed racial groups" (*mestizo, cholo, chazo, montuvio, zambo, mulato, claro*)" (Whitten 1981:13). In contemporary Cábala villagers were familiar with most, if not all, of the terms Whitten lists but only three terms were commonly used in the village where 5% of the population were classified as *blanco* (white), 50% as *mestizo* and 45% as *indigena*¹⁰. In this chapter I examine the meaning of these terms in the contemporary village.

Throughout this chapter I try to avoid making references to 'ethnicity' not the least because, as Stutzman notes, "...it has proven difficult for anthropologists and sociologists to discern the cultural significance of being ethnic in the modern world." (1981:72). Rather I try to talk about 'cultural differences' and begin the chapter by describing how in Cábala the terms *mestizo, indigena* and *blanco* were not strongly associated with ideas of race or historical origin. I then continue by describing how *blanco, mestizo* and *indigena* villagers saw themselves and were seen by others¹¹.

In the second half of the chapter I describe how a fiesta in honour of the Virgin of Mercedes, patron saint of the village, was organised and celebrated. There has been a tendency in the Andean literature to interpret fiestas as ritual events which unite

¹⁰See Appendix No. 1 for the age, gender and 'ethnic' classification of the village population.

¹¹The *blanco* people, as mentioned in the introduction, resented my presence in the village and virtually refused to speak to me and therefore any account of how they saw themselves is missing from this description.

communities by the enactment of "shared values and beliefs" (Isbell 1978:137); which strengthen solidarity by redistributing wealth and lessening social friction (Walter 1981); or as one way through which participants differentiated and mediated between European and 'indigenous' practices. I suggest, however, that a functionalist tendency and / or focus on historical antecedents potentially detracts from understanding how people make sense of, and use, elements of rituals in the present. Thus I argue that the fiesta used to stress the differences between villagers¹² although it was also a celebration and confirmation of villagers' identity as Cabalaños and confirmed most villagers allegiance to a common moral community.

Cultural Difference

Many contemporary villagers loosely associated the terms *mestizo*, *indígena* and *blanco* with ideas of blood explaining that *indígena* people had no Spanish blood, *blanco* people considered themselves to have mainly Spanish blood, while *mestizo* people had mixed blood. Nevertheless villagers denied the idea that blood was responsible for any commonalities between people and in the contemporary village, therefore, the terms were not used as racial classifications. The association with blood, however, does suggest that in Cábala cultural differences were defined by historical origin and informed by the idea of an historical union or separation between two different peoples at the time of the Spanish conquest¹³. The following brief description of how contemporary Cabalaños spoke about their past, however, suggests that despite the association with blood villagers did not define the terms '*mestizo*', '*indígena*' or '*blanco*' according to ideas of historical origins.

In Cábala people frequently made references to the 'life of the predecessors' (*la vida de los antepasados*) but, irrespective of their social and economic positions, did so without distinguishing whether those predecessors were Puruhán, Incan, Spanish, or

¹²This interpretation of the fiesta owes much to the work of Gerd Baumann, in particular a paper, "Rituals Directed at 'Others' " delivered to the 1990 E.A.S.A. Conference.

¹³See Gose (1994:19-23) for a discussion of the 'myth of the conquest' in relation to ethnic classifications in the Andes.

otherwise. All contemporary villagers, for example, irrespective of their social or economic position, referred to Rumiñahui, a Puruhán warrior, as one of their predecessors. All villagers claimed a common history by reference to the same pool of historical narratives, including myths and stories, and when villagers referred to their 'predecessors' often they were not referring to specific people, or a specific time, but to a distant past which, through its lack of specificity, was common to all and virtually timeless. Cábala was not, however, a "cold" society (Levi-Strauss 1966:234) in the sense that history was always represented mythically and most villagers, for example, did distinguish between historical and mythical narratives. It was rather that knowledge of the distant past was said to be fragmented and incomplete in comparison to knowledge of the present and most villagers were not concerned with constructing their history as a chronological narrative.

In contrast to many nationalist historiographies¹⁴, which frequently directly link the past and present and interpret the former according to the political needs of the present, most Cabalaños rarely evoked the distant past in order to explain the present but rather to criticise it. Older people in the village, for example, frequently claimed that the predecessors knew how to respect age and evoked the past in order to criticise contemporary youths who were accused of not showing sufficient respect to their elders. Youths, in their turn, often criticised their elders for not paying sufficient attention to the 'customs' (*costumbres*) of the predecessors and in particular rued the demise of communal celebrations. In other words ethnic differences in the village were not explained according to historical origin, because all villagers claimed a common distant past, but references to different aspects of 'the life of the predecessors' did reflect some social differences in the contemporary village.

Representations of the past, regardless of the narrative mode, are one means through which a society reflects upon, and reproduces, itself (see Turner 1988) and it is likely that the lack of interest in a chronological history and claim to a common distant past

¹⁴Some of the indigenous communities near Cábala were highly politically organised in opposition to the national authorities and had interpreted their own history in a manner resembling nationalist historiographies but within the village itself such interpretations of history appeared to have had little, if any, influence.

in the contemporary village was symptomatic of the changes that have taken place in the village since the demise of the haciendas.¹⁵ During the time of the haciendas, as mentioned in the introduction, the social order of the village had been based on 'ethnic' differences so that *blanco* and *mestizo* people had seen all Quichua-speaking *indigena* people as socially inferior. In the thirty years since the demise of the haciendas, however, many *mestizo* Cabalaños have witnessed not only their own economic decline but the growing influence of the local *indigena*, Quichua-speaking communities. As a result of these changes most contemporary *mestizo* residents of the village were understandably reluctant to claim superiority to *indigena* residents and risk being held accountable for the exploitative hacienda system, and most *indigena* villagers were understandably reluctant to continue deferring to both *mestizo* and *blanco* residents. Thus I suggest that it was safe for references to the distant past to reflect age and gender differences¹⁶ in the contemporary village but the legacy of the hacienda system rendered it unsafe for most villagers to refer to the distant past in order to explain ethnic differences. By claiming a common past *mestizo* and *blanco* residents challenged the idea that they should be held responsible for the past exploitation of *indigena* people, and it was in the interests of *indigena* residents not to dispute such a claim as it contradicted the idea that a hierarchy should be, or could be, based on ideas of absolute difference. Nevertheless although most villagers claimed a common distant past most Cabalaños did recognise differences between *blanco*, *mestizo* and *indigena* residents and below I consider the issue of 'otherness' in the village by describing how *indigena*, *mestizo* and *blanco* villagers saw themselves and each other in the contemporary village.

¹⁵I was unable to establish if *blanco*, *mestizo* and *indigena* villagers had claimed different histories during the time of the haciendas. However the idea that history can be re-formulated in one or two generations is excellently illustrated by Salomon (1987) who describes that grave-robbery by the Spanish in early colonial Ecuador led the Cañaris to claim a common ancestry with the Incas despite the Incas previously having been a hated invasional force.

¹⁶For details of age and gender differences in the village see chapters 3 and 5.

Blancos

Members of four households in Cábala were called *blancos* (white). They were wealthier than most other residents in the village: they owned the busiest shops; the two privately owned vehicles and three of the five televisions in the village; employed domestic help and educated their children in the province capital. However not all wealthy people in the village were called *blanco* and the term was reserved for those few villagers who appeared to identify with urban *mestizos* even though they lived in a rural village. Other villagers often compared the *blancos* to urban *mestizos* and *gringos* (white foreigners) partly because they were perceived to see themselves as 'better' (*mejor*) than everybody else and partly because they were seen to place more value on money and the pursuit of profit rather than exchange relations.

Other villagers accused the *blancos* of trying to maintain the social hierarchy which had been axiomatic during the time of the haciendas, when most if not all, villagers had apparently unquestioningly accorded respect to those who were wealthier. Changes in the village since that time have led most villagers to revise their attitudes and, although many villagers still showed respect to 'patrons' who offered valuable goods or services to those less fortunate than themselves (see chapter 3) and the social order of the contemporary village was largely based upon networks of personal debt, most contemporary villagers did not automatically defer to those who were wealthier. Nevertheless other Cabalaños often complained that the *blancos* saw themselves as 'more refined' (*más refinado*) and more intelligent than other villagers and therefore expected those others to show respect even if they were not personally indebted.

During the time of the haciendas the hacienda owners had been classified as *blancos* and although contemporary *blanco* villagers had never owned large plots of land, other villagers accused them of wanting 'to squash' (*aplastar*) others in the village in an attempt to maintain an elite position in the village. On at least two occasions in 1992 the *blancos* approached aid organisations and argued that help should not be given to the 'womens organisation' because its members were 'undeveloped and illiterate'

(*subdesarrollados y analfabetos*). Their arguments were not heeded by the aid organisations concerned but, not surprisingly, such actions aroused considerable resentment amongst villagers. Many villagers, however, explained that they could not afford to upset the *blancos* either because they were, or hoped to become, personally indebted to them (see chapter 3). Most villagers explained, therefore, that they pragmatically continued to show respect to the *blancos* "with my lips but not my heart" (*con mis labios pero no con mi corazón*). The *blancos* were, therefore, still able to exercise considerable influence in the village without being directly challenged by other villagers and all members of the village council (*la junta*) were, as mentioned in the introduction, *blancos*.

Most villagers, however, did not see the *blancos* as belonging to the same moral community as they did. The following chapter suggests that most Cabalaños defined themselves as belonging to a moral community by the value they placed on participating in exchange relations. In contrast *blancos* were described as valuing money more than their exchange relations and by doing so were seen to be more like urban *mestizos* and *gringos*. *Blanco* Cabalaños themselves professed to be proud of their identity as Cabalaños but also stressed their alliance with urban Ecuadorians in their chosen lifestyles and attitudes. Unlike most houses in Cábala which had no tables and were, for the most part, furnished with simple wooden benches and beds, *blanco* houses were furnished with 'Western' type furniture, even if it was not always used. *Blanco* parents did not share their beds with their children, did not keep animals in the house, and were very house-proud. *Blanco* women often wore smart dresses, make-up and jewellery and certainly never wore shawls (*chalitos*) which both *mestizo* and *indígena* women in the village wore constantly not only to keep warm but to carry children, food or tools. *Blanco* villagers always spoke Spanish and refused to speak, or respond to, Quichua: and they often displayed the same pejorative attitudes to 'dirty rural-dwellers and indians' (*los campesinos y indios sucios*) as were displayed by many urban *mestizos* (see below).

To summarise, most villagers appeared to see the *blancos* as outsiders who lived within the village; an impression the *blanco* villagers reinforced by their championing of the urban lifestyle. Furthermore, by their apparent desire to maintain the social order of the

village as it had been during the time of the haciendas *blanco* villagers were different to many *mestizo* and *indígena* contemporary Cabalaños who appeared to be re-assessing their attitudes to cultural difference in an attempt to establish a new social order in the village.

Mestizo and Indígena Cabalaños

In Cábala those residents who spoke Spanish as their first language and wore 'Western' clothes, but were not seen as *blancos*, were classified as *mestizos*, while those residents who spoke Quichua as their first language and wore *indígena* dress were classified as *indígena*. The differences in language and dress however, were not absolute. *Indígena* women, for example, almost always wore long skirts (*anacus*), wide woven belts (*chunpis*) and rows of beads and were, therefore, immediately identifiable. In contrast both *mestizo* and *indígena* men often wore ponchos in the village and were indistinguishable by dress alone. Neither were language differences absolute as all *indígena* people in the village were fluent in Spanish and many *mestizo* residents, having attended school with *indígena* peers, understood Quichua even if they could not speak it fluently.

When *indígena* and *mestizo* men went to the province capital they often removed their ponchos so that they might pass as poor urban *mestizos*. Similarly *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers occasionally chose to accentuate their differences by speaking Spanish or Quichua very fast so that those who were not intimately familiar with their own language would have difficulty following what they were saying. This suggests, as Barth (1969) has suggested with reference to ethnicity, that villagers' *mestizo* or *indígena* identity might be understood as a cultural resource which people could accentuate or minimise according to what suited their interests at any particular time. In Cábala, however, villagers were not always conscious of choosing to bear the cultural identity which others imposed upon them. For example one young *indígena* girl left a school in a nearby town because, due to a discriminatory policy about school uniforms, she was not allowed to wear her customary long skirt (*anacu*) to that school. By leaving the school, however, she did not see herself as asserting her cultural identity but as failing to adjust to the demands placed upon her; she

explained that she had not wanted to leave the school and had tried to wear a short skirt but exposing her legs made her feel unbearably naked. This young girl had not chosen to wear an *anacu* in order to demonstrate her *indigena* identity but because she always had worn one. Similarly *mestizo* and *indigena* residents, for example, did not always appear to choose to speak Spanish or Quichua respectively in order to accentuate their cultural identities, or difference to others, but used the language with which they were most familiar.

In other words in Cábala cultural differences between *mestizo* and *indigena* people often manifested themselves in embodied practices and most villagers, therefore, were not always conscious of choosing their cultural identity and such identities can not be understood only in terms of being a cultural resource. Nevertheless, although most *mestizo* and *indigena* residents of the village were unable always to manipulate their own cultural identity they did appear to be changing their attitudes to the perceived differences between themselves. The hacienda system has left a legacy of mutual suspicion between many *mestizo* and *indigena* residents of the village: *indigena* residents remembered the exploitation and brutality of the hacienda owners and their *mestizo* foremen; while *mestizo* villagers remembered the violence of *indigena* uprisings (cf. Weismantel 1988:69). Furthermore the discriminatory nature of Ecuadorian society has continued to exacerbate the mutual distrust between villagers, but at the same time, as will be seen below, changes in the village during the last thirty years have led many villagers to reassess how they demonstrated their attitudes to cultural difference.

During the time of the haciendas *indigena* people were seen as being innately inferior to *blanco* and *mestizo* people. The teachings of liberation theology and the influence of *indigena* political organisations have resulted in blatantly discriminatory attitudes no longer being socially acceptable. Older villagers however, remembered the time of the haciendas and privately many older *mestizo* parents explained that they would prefer their daughters not to marry an *indigena* man because they were uncivilised, violent and dirty; while many older *indigena* parents, for their part, said they would prefer their daughters not to marry a *mestizo* man because they were lazy, violent and dirty.

Nevertheless demographic changes in the village over the last thirty years have resulted in *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers living together as neighbours with concomitant qualifications in pejorative attitudes to differences and stereotypes. Thus, for example, Serena, an elderly *mestizo* woman, said that most *indígena* people did not know how to show respect to others (see chapter 3) but went on to explain that María, Soledad, Lastenia and many other *indígena* villagers were exceptions whom she happily included in her social circle. Despite such changes, however, many younger villagers, both *mestizo* and *indígena*, accused their elders of racism although pejorative judgements of cultural difference were fuelled by contemporary concerns and were not specific to elderly residents who remembered the haciendas.

Many *mestizo* villagers, both older and younger, were concerned that *indígena* people would become so dominant in the local area that they themselves would become marginalised and the victims of racism. The social organisation and political orientation of most of the *indígena* communities surrounding Cábala differed to that within the village: *indígena* communities tended to be more communally oriented with elected leaders who, unlike the village council, wielded real political and legal power¹⁷, and while many Cabalaños passively resisted the modern State many *indígena* communities were politically organised and actively campaigned for autonomy (see TINCUI 1989). When they had migrated to the village from their communities most *indígena* residents had forfeited many of their political rights and much of their influence in their natal communities although *mestizo* villagers sometimes harboured fantasies that their *indígena* neighbours were plotting to overtake them.

For their part *indígena* residents of the village suffered petty, but infuriating discrimination in both towns and cities. It was not unusual, for example, for buses to be decorated with stickers bearing messages such as "Better an *indígena* woman than a white foreign woman with AIDS" (*Mejor la indígena que la gringa con SIDA*). Often city people (*ciudadanos*) refused to sit next to 'dirty indians' (*indios sucios*) even on crowded

¹⁷Not all *indígena* communities surrounding Cábala were organised in the same way. Some, for example were co-operatives, while others held no communal lands (cf. Molinié-Fioravanti 1982).

buses; in shops others were often served before *indígena* people, and *indígena* dress and accents were ridiculed. Most *indígena* residents of the village recognised that many of their *mestizo* neighbours did not display such discriminatory attitudes but admitted that they felt that most *mestizo* villagers were guilty of racism even if it was covert rather than blatant.

However, despite the mutual suspicion between themselves, both *indígena* and *mestizo* villagers were united in their resentment of being classified by others according to 'ethnic' criteria. Such resentment arose partly because of the considerable dissonance between the different meanings of such classificatory terms and partly because such classifications reduced the differences villagers saw between themselves and others who were similarly classified. When people described themselves as *indígena*, for example, they were usually expressing pride in their cultural identity while *mestizo* people, especially those from urban areas, often associated the term *indígena* with ideas of poverty, backwardness, violence and social inferiority. Furthermore many *indígena* villagers often declared that they were more similar to their Catholic *mestizo* neighbours than they were to other local *indígena* people who had converted to Evangelical Protestantism.

The issue of cultural difference in Cábala was so contentious that most villagers did not feel secure discussing it, except in private, and it was considered a highly inappropriate topic of conversation¹⁸. I suggest that such uniform social queasiness arose not only as a result of villagers' resentment of being classified by others but because most villagers recognised that despite their mutual suspicions they were coming to realise that often they were more similar to each other than they were to outsiders.

Many *indígena* and *mestizo* villagers felt alienated from both *indígena* political organisations and the modern State. Although both *mestizo* and *indígena* Cabalaños claimed a common distant past, the role that the village had played in supporting the haciendas meant that many politically active members of local *indígena* communities regarded *mestizo* villagers with acute suspicion, while, by moving to the village, *indígena*

¹⁸When I first arrived in Cábala I often tried to ask people about ethnicity but I was frequently told to desist in pursuing the topic. When I was organising a census of the village I was continually warned not to ask people if they considered themselves to be *mestizos* or *indígenas*. Therefore, I made a list of all the households in the village and in private asked twenty different villagers to say which were *blanco*, *mestizo* and *indígena*. All twenty lists corresponded almost exactly.

residents had alienated themselves from their natal communities. At the same time, however, most contemporary villagers resented the modern State although they were extremely proud of being Ecuadorians and solemnly kissed the national flag every Independence Day. Most villagers, for example, accused the State of discriminating against all rural dwellers by providing inferior educational and medical services in rural areas as well as favouring industrial rather than agricultural production (see chapter 2). Thus most villagers were extremely cynical about the national political and legal system and often formed uneasy alliances with local *indígena* communities rather than recognise State authorities.

Most villagers, for example, argued that it was irrelevant who they voted for in the 1992 national elections because no candidate would support rural regeneration and most said they only bothered voting because it was compulsory to do so. Many villagers displayed a similar attitude to the national legal system arguing that it only punished the poor while corruption meant that the rich could always escape justice. Thus on at least two different occasions in 1992 the village harboured alleged criminals while the police from the province capital made desultory searches of the region. Furthermore many villagers expressed support for three *indígena* communities who, on three different occasions in the same year, caught, horribly punished and imprisoned criminals according to their own rather than national procedures. In each of these cases the State authorities came to hear about these cases and sent armed soldiers to surround the communities and the Bishop of Riobamba to negotiate the release of the prisoners¹⁹. Many Cabalaños were outraged by the use of soldiers and argued that although it was wrong to treat criminals so brutally both themselves and the communities should have the right to adjudicate their own legal system.

The resentment towards the State and the resulting alliances between Cabalaños and members of local *indígena* communities are perhaps best illustrated by the vivid stories many villagers told about the 1990 national *indígena* uprising (see Macas 1991, Yáñez and

¹⁹On two occasions the alleged criminals were handed over to the Bishop after several days; on the third occasion, however, the alleged murderer died before his release was secured. Opinion in the village and the surrounding communities was divided as to whether community leaders were punished by the national authorities following these episodes. I was firmly warned by both villagers and community leaders not to arouse suspicions about my loyalties by asking too many questions about these episodes.

Figueroa 1992) when members of the local *indígena* communities had marched upon the village. *Mestizo* villagers, fearing that they would be held responsible for their past exploitation of local *indígena* villagers, had taken refuge in the church but just at the point when it looked as though violence might erupt, the village was invaded by armed soldiers who arrived by helicopter, in order to keep the peace. Their arrival apparently caused both *indígena* and *mestizo* people to forget their mutual grievances in their ensuing arguments and remonstrations with the soldiers and two years later both *mestizo* and *indígena* local people expressed outrage as they remembered the show of State force.

To summarise the State was perceived to favour urban Ecuador at the expense of rural dwellers and most villagers, therefore, often chose to support the local *indígena* people who were also rural dwellers rather than the State. *Mestizo* and *indígena* villagers did not, however, only unite in the face of State authorities but, more importantly, despite their mutual suspicions regularly participated in exchange relations and belonged to the same moral community. *Indígena* and *mestizo* villagers frequently co-operated in work parties and swapped goods and services and by doing so continually affirmed their common identity as Cabalaños. I suggest that it was this cooperation and commonality between *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers, coupled with their mutual suspicion, which created tension and led to the topic of cultural difference in the village being such a contentious issue that most villagers refused to talk about it and claimed a common distant past. The tensions between *mestizo* and *indígena* residents, however, were minimal in comparison to the tensions between themselves and the *blanco* people as the following description of a fiesta in the village illustrates.

A Celebration in Honour of the Virgin of Mercedes

The Virgin of Mercedes was the patron saint of Cábala and, as mentioned above, in August 1992 a group of *indígena* and *mestizo* youths decided to organise a communal fiesta in honour of the Virgin and Cábala itself. In the past the fiesta in honour of the

Virgin had been one of nine fiestas celebrated communally in the village each year²⁰, but economic decline and the decreasing importance of the village as a centre of religious worship meant the fiesta had not been celebrated for five years. The youths explained they were attempting to resurrect the fiesta both so the 'customs' (*costumbres*) of the predecessors would not be forgotten and so they would have the chance to drink, dance and flirt.

The youths knew that all celebrations of the patron saints of small towns and villages throughout the Ecuadorian Andes included a church service, a dance in which the Queen of the celebrations was crowned and a bull-fight. All these events would cost money to arrange and the youths immediately recognised that there was no religious or secular authority in the village who they could approach to ask for help. Liberation theology had led the Catholic Church to actively discourage the more profane and expensive elements of fiestas as both profligate and exploitative. Thus the 'women's organisation' announced that it was unable to help the youths as members were worried that if they offered official assistance they would alienate the Church authorities who had been so helpful to them. Furthermore in 1992 there was no resident priest in the village, disapproving or not, to press-gang sponsors (*priostes*) as priests in the past had done, and although the diocese agreed to provide a visiting priest to officiate the three church services necessary to the celebration, the youths knew they could not look to the Church for help in the fiesta.

Indigena organisations based in the village were reluctant to help either because the majority of their members came from surrounding local communities rather than the village itself or because the majority of their members belonged to Evangelical churches which disapproved of fiestas which celebrated virgins and saints. Finally in August, when the youths first began discussing arranging the fiesta, the *blancos* were particularly unpopular in the village having recently slandered the women's organisation to UNICEF officials in a vain attempt to persuade them not to award financial aid to the organisation. Thus, although council members were eager to help, the youths were initially reluctant to accept

²⁰Elderly villagers explained that until the early 1980's they had celebrated at least nine fiestas communally but by 1991 only Easter was celebrated communally and in 1992 Easter and the fiesta described above were the only communal fiestas.

their offers because, as mentioned above, the council members were all *blancos* and the youths feared alienating other villagers. The youths decided, therefore, that they would control the organisation of the fiesta themselves and formed a committee with self-appointed officers.

The committee's first priority was to collect funds and promises of help and they decided to approach individual households in the village and ask them to donate specific goods or money. Wealthier residents were asked to buy the sashes with which to crown the Queen of the celebrations and her companion "*Srta. Confraternidad*" (Miss Fellowship) which cost 10,000s each - the price of 200lbs of potatoes. Other families agreed to donate '*frontas*' - small elaborately embroidered caps with money pinned on them which were tied between a bull's horns and which were meant to be pulled off during the bull fight by the bravest or most skilful young men. One unmarried man, the local cobbler and hairdresser, surprised everybody by offering to pay for a band to accompany the bull fight.

While visiting all 82 houses in the village the youths discovered that the district (*barrio*) of the village furthest from the centre had been planning their own fiesta and had already collected money for the purpose. This district committee initially rebuffed the youths advances to combine forces but, in reaction to the unpopularity of the woman organising them, who ran an exploitative credit scheme, they eventually agreed that they would give their funds to the central committee. Nevertheless, despite the youths' best efforts, with less than two weeks until the fiesta, preparations remained sketchy: no major sponsors of the planned events had come forward and people appeared to be reluctant to commit either time or money saying they did not believe the fiesta would actually take place.

Around this time plans might have faltered had it not been for the perseverance of the 19-year-old president of the central committee who continually kept reiterating the adage that nothing is impossible. He called a village meeting which was poorly attended but resulted in two *blancos*, members of the council, becoming involved in the preparations. The youth committee was bitterly divided over this decision: some said that their help was essential; while others argued that once they became involved they would assume total

control. Arguments continued for a few days until they polarised around preparations for the dance and the election of a Queen of the celebrations.

The youth committee had decided they wanted to elect two Queens, one in 'modern' dress and another in *indigena* dress, and they had also made it clear that the election criteria would be based on the personality, not the appearance, of the contenders and whoever was elected would not be expected to dress in new clothes. Nevertheless, most parents refused to allow their daughters to participate in any election as they were worried that they would be criticised if they did not buy their daughter an expensive outfit if elected. Only one girl put herself forward for election. While the youths worried about how to hold an election with only one contender the *blancos* argued that no girls in the village were sufficiently 'refined' to be the Queen and wanted to look for candidates amongst the wealthy families who had once lived in the village but had since migrated to the province capital. Eventually, however, the *blancos* decided that the daughter of a wealthy, *mestizo* farmer who lived in the village would be suitable and without consulting the youths approached him and, helped by liberal amounts of alcohol, the farmer agreed that not only should his daughter be the Queen but her cousin should be Miss Fellowship.

This arrangement satisfied the *blancos* but infuriated the brother of the one girl who had put herself forward for the proposed election; he argued that his sister, and all other girls in the village, had been insulted and that the fiesta was being organised according to the wishes of the *blancos* not the wishes of the majority. The young man accused the youths of acting from self-interest and explained that they were either scared of offending, or wished to please, the *blancos*. The youths became even more factionalised when it became clear that they no longer had control over any arrangements for the dance. Traditionally the music for a dance was supplied by a hired band / orchestra but, because the cheapest one for hire from the province capital cost at least 200,000s and there was only 80,000s in the communal kitty, the youths had decided to hire a mobile disco which was half the price of live music. This idea horrified the *blancos* who insisted that live music was an essential element of any dance and persuaded the headmaster of the local secondary

school not only to hold the dance in the school but to pay for the band in return for any profits made from charging an entrance fee of 1,000s.

Many of the youths were furious with this arrangement because they had not wanted to charge an entrance fee for the dance, realising it would preclude poorer villagers from being able to attend. They argued that, as they had foreseen, the *blancos* were assuming control and were organising the celebrations according to their own aspirations with little regard for the rest of the village. The youth committee became irrevocably divided and some refused to take any further part in the arrangements saying that the committee had subordinated itself to the *blancos*. The young president of the committee denied the charge of allowing himself to be dominated by the *blancos* but argued for a degree of pragmatism. Nevertheless it looked as though the youths would lose control of the proceedings completely until the president luckily managed to organise the bull-fight and an alternative dance.

Firstly teachers from the primary schools, not wishing to be out-done by the secondary school, agreed to donate an additional 70,000s to help pay for the mobile disco which the youths had desired. This arrangement not only restored some faith in the youths, original intentions but freed the kitty money to help pay for other costs such as advertising, decorations and food and drink for those who helped at all the events. More importantly, however, the president of the youth committee managed to persuade the owner of a small copse of fully grown Euclyptus that, as he was planning to fell the trees anyway, he should allow the villagers to do so in return for the loan of the logs to build a temporary corral for the bull-fight. Thus a group of young men cut down the trees and built the corral by tying the logs together. Money to pay for the necessary rope was raised by younger children charging bus drivers a toll to enter the village.

Once the corral was built villagers began to believe that the fiesta would actually take place and the father of the chosen Queen volunteered to become a '*prioste*' and underwrite the costs and organise one of the two days of bull-fight. This prompted another villager, an *indigena* man of limited financial resources, to agree to sponsor the other day. The costs of doing so were considerable as each day of bull-fight involved six bulls which

had to be caught and herded down from the *páromo* - high, uncultivated, grasslands (see Weismantel 1988: 43-45). The bulls were never killed during rural bull-fights but the owners and men who herded the animals had to be paid in food and drink in sufficient quantities to compensate for their labour and any danger to both men and animals. The organising committee gave two crates of Coca Cola, two bottles of rum, 100 bread rolls, and a large saucepan of *Chicha* (a drink made from fermented maize) to help towards the costs but the sponsors were liable for the rest of the expenses including guinea-pigs and potatoes and plenty more alcohol.

Both sponsors explained that even though they did not have to cover the entire costs of each day of the bull-fight they still had to ask others in their social network to contribute. Unlike other regions in the Andes (eg. Allen 1988:115-119) within Cábala there was no formal 'cargo system' in which "material resources, time, and effort are exchanged for prestige and concomitant political influence" (Walter 1981:173). Thus opinions in the village differed about what had motivated the two men to agree to invest so much in the celebrations: some villagers judged both men to be motivated by a genuine desire to see the customs of the predecessors continued; while others accused one or other, or both of the men, of being motivated by conceit and a vain desire to increase their personal influence within the village.

The men themselves suggested that their generosity had been tempered with pragmatism by explaining that they had chosen to be *priostes* in order to extend their networks of exchange relations even if it was as a debtor. Each, however, had slightly different reasons for wishing to affirm their membership of the village community. The poorer, *indigena* man had only moved to the village a few years before and saw the chance of being a *prioste* as a chance to affirm his alliances with other villagers. In contrast the rich farmer explained that he was worried that by allowing his daughter to be crowned as Queen of the celebrations he would be criticised for aligning himself too closely with the *blancos* and he thought that by being a *prioste* he was confirming his allegiance with the moral community of the village (see chapter two).

With the help of the *priostes*, and many other villagers, by the evening of 18th September all was ready for the weekend of celebrations. Early that evening the statue of the Virgin Mercedes in her large glass case, donated to the village when the new church was constructed earlier this century, was cheerfully paraded around the village accompanied by a small crowd of around twenty wealthier *mestizo* people who periodically let off loud bangers and crude, but effective, rockets. As the statue passed residents came out of their houses and gave donations to be spent on more fireworks which were let off throughout the following weekend. The parade was meant to be followed by a mass to honour the patron virgin but the priest did not arrive to officiate and the mass was cancelled. This cancellation did not seem to cause undue concern to anyone except for one elderly woman who argued that the priest had probably realised he would be wasting his time coming to a village that had forgotten both God and the predecessors, who would never have continued with the celebrations without first celebrating a mass. She steadfastly refused to attend any of the ensuing events.

The dance at which the Queen was to be crowned was scheduled to begin at 7.30p.m. but at 9.00p.m. there was only a small crowd of *mestizo* villagers outside the closed secondary school hall, dressed in their best clothes and without their ponchos despite a very cold wind. There was little speculation about what was to come and the heavy, sweet smell of *trago* - cane alcohol - and the smoke from stalls selling chips, toasted corn and pig-skin, or doughnuts, which attended most events at fiestas was missing. The headmaster had previously declared that anyone selling food in the school grounds would have to make a donation to the school. Most of the women food-sellers had laughed at the declaration and stayed at home having made it clear that they had done business in more profitable places than the school without paying for the privilege. Two hours later than scheduled, but reasonably on time according to those waiting, the doors to the school hall opened and having paid their 1000s the small crowd entered into the brightly lit hall. The band's musical instruments were on the stage, chairs lined the walls, and a small bar, tended by teachers, was set up in one corner but disappointingly there were no decorations to distract attention from the bare, scuffed walls and corrugated tin roof.

The hall was not even half-full when the band began to play; as predicted by some of the youths, many villagers had stayed at home saying they could not afford the entrance fee, and the majority of the crowd were teachers, their friends, and members of an association in the province capital for ex-residents of the village. The only *indigena* resident in the room was present in her capacity as maid to the family of the appointed Queen. People sat quietly, listening to the band and not drinking, until the official proceedings began with the national anthem followed by a lengthy speech by the headmaster welcoming people and outlining at length and in immaculate detail the events of the evening. His speech was followed by several others, including eulogies to the Queen comparing facets of her beauty to notable features in the local landscape, and one from the president of the association of Cabalaños living in the province capital who turned bright red as he shouted about how his livelihood in Cábala had been taken from him, forcing him to move even though his heart still remained in the village. He used the occasion to forward his ideas about how the village should develop and to criticise the 'women's organisation'.

Finally the Queen and Miss Fellowship entered the hall, resplendent in elaborate gowns of velvet and shiny satin adorned with their respective sashes, and were led to the temporarily cleared stage by their *blanco* boyfriends (*enamorados*) who were dressed in hired dinner-suits. The national anthem was played again and the Queen sat silently on the stage as she was crowned. More speeches followed the coronation until eventually the Queen's family opened several bottles of Ecuadorian Champagne (a taste not easily forgotten) and distributed glasses, which had earlier been painstakingly unpacked from a cardboard box, to select members of the assembled company. The Queen was toasted, the orchestra began playing again, conversation resumed, and dancing, initiated by the Queen and the *blanco* president of the village council stiffly waltzing together, began and continued to the early hours of the morning.

The next day many villagers, both *indigena* and *mestizo*, were delighted that so few people attended the dance and there was much speculation as to how much money the school had lost. The *blancos* themselves, however, judged the event to be a success and continually referred to the number of teachers and wealthy ex-residents who had attended.

Later one astute *mestizo* woman suggested that the *blanco* people, as some of the youths had feared, had not intended to arrange an event which would be enjoyed by all villagers but rather to demonstrate their own aspirations and affiliation to, and ease with, the values of urban *mestizos*. In contrast to the poignancy of the dance, where champagne and glittering dresses had been set against the obvious signs of economic decline, the bull-fight (*los toros*) was smelly and chaotic but was obviously enjoyed by most villagers.

On the previous afternoon the bulls had been driven down from the *paramo* by *indigena* men on horseback blowing long horns (*bocinos*) and bulls, men and horses had all galloped through the village square with admirable panache. By the Saturday afternoon the village was full of *indigena* residents of the local communities, the women food-sellers were out in strength, and the cloying smell of cane alcohol hung in the air. The corral, where the action would take place, was overlooked by a terraced escarpment and some very drunk people suffered nasty falls trying to claim good vantage points. The small band, sponsored by the cobbler, played what seemed to be the same tune continually on battered brass instruments until finally the first of the day's bull was let into the corral.

The bull did not know that he was meant to provide good sport for the brave, or drunk, young men who were waiting to dodge and weave their way about the corral until they so confused him that they were able to pluck off the frontal which had been tied to his horns. He stood for a moment looking dazed then charged at the fence, broke straight through and galloped for the village square. Chaos ensued as food-sellers and tardy onlookers fled from his path and tried to dodge the very drunk horsemen who immediately set off in pursuit. The crowd shouted in delight and encouragement to both the bull and his pursuers and watched the chase until the main participants disappeared over the crest of a hill at which point everyone returned to the business in hand. The fence was quickly mended and a second bull was released into the corral. Both young men and the remaining five bulls acquitted themselves well and only one man was slightly gored. At half-time the band marched around the corral accompanied by the Queen who threw plastic-bags of alcohol and sweets to the crowd but by that time many appeared to have had their fill of alcohol and the audience derived much enjoyment from watching the fights which

invariably occurred whenever friends tried to stop their dangerously intoxicated colleagues from climbing into the corral.

The bull-fight was over by late afternoon and most visitors to the village made their way home. Many villagers, however, continued drinking and singing in the street and most men did not make it to mass early next Sunday morning. The *blanco* people, however, all attended the service and talked loudly as the visiting priest preached against the impossibility of worshipping both God and money. When the congregation shook hands and wished each other peace one *blanco* man in particular infuriated other villagers by strutting around the church and shaking hands as though he was "the owner of the village" (*el dueño del pueblito*). Following the service the *blancos* gathered on the steps of the church and, as the Virgin of Mercedes was paraded through the village again, they stood complaining about communist tendencies in the Church.

Gradually the village filled with visitors again and the bull-fight was repeated with a fresh set of bulls later in the afternoon. The major difference between the two afternoons was that while the *blanco* people had been conspicuous by their absence on the Saturday afternoon, on the Sunday they made long speeches at half-time over a loud-speaker system which so distorted their voices that no-one appeared to be able to make out what they were saying. The majority of the crowd appeared to be relatively sanguine about the endless incomprehensible speeches but many villagers were furious and protested that the youth committee had done all the work and should be in the corral making the speeches. Eventually the president of the youth committee was shoved towards the microphone by members of the 'women's organisation' but he was ignored. The *blancos* carried on speaking until one very popular *mestizo* villager man, also a member of the 'women's organisation', wandered into the corral and fell backwards at the feet of the speech-makers apparently unconscious with drink. As everybody fussed around the man and tried to carry him back to his family a bull was released into the corral putting an end to all speeches.

The celebrations finished on the Sunday evening with a dance in the village square with music provided by a very loud mobile disco from a nearby town. The dance had been organised by the youths who had hoped that visitors would stay in the village in order to

attend. Unfortunately in the event few did and throughout the five hours of non-stop music there were just a few scattered groups of local youths standing around the square looking very embarrassed. This was the only element of the fiesta which was judged to have been a failure and the youths agreed that they would not expose the village to a similar onslaught of pop music if they arranged a fiesta the following year. Overall, however, in the immediate aftermath of the celebrations all villagers seemed to be united in the opinion that the fiesta had been a great success despite the low attendance at both dances.

For a few days many villagers spoke about how good it was that so many villagers had cooperated to ensure that the events could take place and as such it could be argued that the fiesta can be interpreted as a ritual whose performance created a degree of cohesion amongst villagers. Within a week, however, gossip, accusations and counter-accusations focusing on who had done, or not done, what, were rife. *Blanco* people, for example, accused the youths of mis-handling the money which had been collected while the youths themselves argued that the *blancos* had assumed control of the finances and many members of the 'women's organisation' privately accused the *blancos* of stealing money from the communal funds. In short if the fiesta did create cohesion it was short lived and I suggest that a Durkheimian analysis of the fiesta would not give sufficient attention to the different ways in which villagers participated in the fiesta.

The *blanco* villagers, for example, dominated the dance at which the Queen of the celebrations was crowned and I suggest used the opportunity to stress how different they were to other villagers and how similar they were to urban *mestizos*. The speeches made during the dance stressed the need for *Cabalaños* to modernise and become part of the modern State (cf. Stutzman 1981). The clothes participants wore, the champagne and waltzes not only stressed the sophistication of the *blanco* participants but were an overt demonstration of their allegiance to the standards of urban Ecuador. During the bull-fight the *blanco* speeches were sabotaged but by charging an entrance fee the *blanco* villagers ensured that their performance would not be disturbed by the presence of those who might not aspire to such values. The dance was organised in collaboration with the headmaster of the secondary school who, like all education and medical personnel working in the village,

lived in the province capital and who was motivated to cooperate by consideration of profit.

In contrast most *indígena* and *mestizo* villagers were much more involved in the two days of bull-fights which were characterised by crowds and the chaos which accompanied excessive use of *trago* (cane alcohol). I suggest that by their enthusiastic support for the bull-fight both *mestizo* and *indígena* villagers were stressing their rural identity. Such bull-fights were specific to rural regions of the highlands and were organised through networks of exchange relations. The owners of the bulls were given, and expected, food and alcohol but they were not paid any money. The dance could not have happened without the help of those from the province capital and it was urban 'outsiders' who dominated the event; in contrast the bull-fights could not have happened without the cooperation of *indígena* 'outsiders' who owned the bulls and the crowd who attended the bull-fights came from local *indígena* communities rather than urban areas.

To summarise the fiesta was organised in celebration of the patron saint of the Cábala and by participating villagers were stressing pride in their identity as Cabalaños. However, by orientating their performance within the fiesta to different audiences, it seems clear that many villagers used the fiesta to stress the differences between themselves. *Blanco* villagers appeared to be concerned with performing for an outside urban audience and championed the values of urban Ecuador. In contrast *mestizo* and *indígena* residents appeared to be more concerned with organising an event for themselves and other rural inhabitants. *Mestizo* and *indígena* Cabalaños recognised that they were different from each other and were mutually suspicious of each other but seemed to be willing to overlook such differences and suspicions when asserting a common identity as rural dwellers.

Summary

The debate about social differentiation in much of the 'Andean' literature has focused on whether class and ethnicity should be seen as distinct domains or whether, as Gose suggests, "it is impossible to uphold any rigorous distinction between class and

ethnicity in the rural Andes" (1994:23). In this chapter, however, I have suggested that in Cábala at least, the differences between urban and rural was at least as important as any class or ethnic distinctions. In the following chapters, for example, I suggest that Cabalaño society was largely ordered through personal networks of debt and social differentiation in the village was therefore partly based on differences in wealth. However I also argue that most Cabalaños engaged in a number of different income-generating schemes and suggest therefore that considerations of class difference did not play as great a role as might be assumed. The *blancos*, for example, were not classified as such simply because they were wealthier than most other villagers but because, like urban people, they were seen not to value their exchange relations and therefore precluded themselves from belonging to the moral community of the village. In contrast the majority of the population of Cábala, regardless of whether they were *mestizo* or *indígena*, valued their membership of the moral community of the village (see chapter two) and were concerned with maintaining their identity as rural dwellers. They did not look to the cities or the modern State to show them how to live and it is not surprising therefore that they saw the *blancos* as 'outsiders' even though they had lived in the village all their lives.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DECLINING ECONOMY IN CÁBALA

One night a group of three men from Cábala hurried up the hill that overlooked the village carrying spades and a rope. Later they described how scared they had been despite the several shots of *trago* (cane alcohol) that they had drunk earlier. They stopped where the hill fell away into a steep cliff and one man with the rope tied round his waist began to climb down. He reached the place where the night before he had seen a strange flame flickering and began to dig. The flame had shown him where treasure could be found and the men had come to recover it even though they knew that by doing so they were entering into a pact with the Devil: the treasure in return for their souls. Quite quickly the man uncovered the top of a metal box and had just begun frantically to pull it from the cliff-side when he heard his wife shouting for him. She had come out knowing what he planned to do and meaning to stop him. She succeeded because at the sound of her voice the spell was broken, the metal box disappeared leaving only a smell of burning, the man came to his senses, clambered back up the cliff, and all three men ran as fast as they could back to the village.

In Cábala many villagers described life as a struggle (*la vida es una lucha*) and this story was just one of many that villagers told about being tempted to sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for treasure which would ease their economic problems. Stories about treasure and / or pacts with the Devil are common throughout many areas of Latin America (Foster 1967, Nash 1972, Taussig 1980, Harris 1989, Crain 1991) and are often interpreted as a symptom of the history of colonialism throughout the continent. However, people invest such stories with different meanings according to their particular circumstances and this chapter briefly describes economic practices in Cábala and suggests that in the village Devil and treasure stories served to remind people that although wealth is tempting dire consequences befall those who value it too much.

Anthropologists working in Latin America have often recognised the marginal position held by many rural dwellers with respect to their national economies through a classification of such people as 'peasants'. For example Taussig (1980) and Crain (1991) have both suggested that Devil and treasure stories are a political reaction to capitalist economic practices and loss of control over the means of production. Their interpretation is largely based on an approach, common to many studies of 'peasant' economic practices, in which so-called 'peasant' practices are compared and contrasted with practices that are seen as specific to a free-market system. Such an approach has been criticised in many ways (e.g. Hill 1981) and has led, as Gudeman and Rivera note, to "much talk about 'rational' peasants and 'moral' peasants, 'decisive' peasants and 'fetishized' peasants, 'exploited' peasants and 'rebellious' peasants" (1990:1)²¹. This chapter considers how most Cabalaños made, and make, decisions about work and money and suggests that it is impossible to classify most villagers as 'peasants' or describe them by the use of such singular adjectives.

I begin by reporting that many Cabalaños have increased their engagement in the money economy during the last thirty years both as farmers and consumers but argue that this increase cannot be interpreted as evidence of a shift from a 'pre-capitalist' to a 'capitalist' economic system. Many Cabalaños were engaged in the money economy prior to the changes which have taken place in recent decades and have long been, and still remain, flexible in the manner in which they make a living. Most were willing to be farmers, temporary wage labourers, entrepreneurs, employers, and employees and I suggest that to classify villagers as 'peasants' therefore involves both a denial of the flexibility of many villagers and a misleading creation of difference. The second part of the chapter describes how most, if not all, Cabalaños organised their finances according to monetary flow in and out of the house but I challenge the view that most Cabalaños organised their economic practices according to a 'house' model (see Gudeman and Rivera 1990). Rather I describe the emphasis which many villagers placed on the maintenance of exchange relations and I argue that it was this emphasis, rather than differences in economic practices themselves, which led most villagers to identify differences between their own and other's

²¹For example see Popkin 1979, Scott 1976, Ortiz 1973, Taussig 1980, and Handelman 1975.

attitudes to wealth and profit and to identify themselves as belonging to a moral community.

Farming

Throughout the Republic most *indígena* organisations have placed the ownership and control of land at the top of their political agendas (e.g. see TINCUI/CONAIE 1989, Macas 1991:10) and despite the 1964 and 1973 agrarian reform laws continue to do so. In Cábala many villagers, both *mestizo* and *indígena*, valued land ownership and when the local hacienda owners sold their estates in the 1960's (see chapter 1) those villagers who had been able to do so bought small plots. In the contemporary village just over 55% of households²² had at least one member who owned land and plot sizes ranged from 0.25 to 4 hectares with the average holding being 0.87 hectares²³. However independent land ownership has not fulfilled the promise it apparently once held for villagers who unanimously agreed that the land had 'given' (cf. Gudeman and Rivera 1990:25) more in the past.

Many villagers explained that yields were lower and less reliable in comparison to times when the land had been controlled by hacienda owners and blamed climatic changes and soil deterioration for the change. A 1990 Ministry of Agriculture report estimated that 26,000 hectares of farming land throughout Chimborazo province are lost each year due to soil erosion and supported villagers' own assessment of their current difficulties by highlighting the "irrational use of fertilisers" and "lack of irrigation" (M.A.G. 1990:112) as major problems. Less than one third of the land farmed locally was irrigated and many villagers reported that in the past the rains had always started in October whereas in recent years the rainy season had been erratic. For example in 1992 there was no significant rainy season and many villagers lost all the seed they had planted in anticipation of the rain.

²²57% of *indígena* households and 43% of *mestizo* households owned land.

²³Land holding records were apparently held in a local town but it proved impossible to gain access to them. The figures quoted were taken from the village census and were checked by pacing out land holdings. In Cábala villagers measured land which was built on in square metres but farming land was measured in *solares* or *cuadros*. One *solar* = 25 x 100m² and two *solares* = one *cuadro*.

However while climatic changes were seen as an "act of God" (*acto de Dios*) many villagers blamed themselves for the deteriorating condition of the soil. They explained that once they had become land owners themselves they had listened to radio advertisements for fertilisers and pesticides and, motivated by greed (*por la avaricia*), had 'burnt' the land with the use of such chemicals which they reasoned strengthened the crops but weakened the land. By 1992 a substantial number of villagers had reverted to the use of organic fertilisers but thought that it would take several years for the land to recover.

The moral tone with which many villagers condemned the use of fertilisers and pesticides can be compared to the Devil and treasure stories in the sense that both contained implicit warnings that little good came from greed and the outright pursuit of profit. In addition the constant worries about lower yields in the village were often accompanied by regrets at having made the transition from growing crops for sale rather than for home consumption. The haciendas surrounding Cábala had not been agribusinesses but largely self-sufficient estates and surplus perishable goods had been shared amongst even the poorest workers. However once the road system had improved in the 1970's many Cabalaños explained that they had chosen to commercialise their farming. Unfortunately, at the same time the profit to be gained from the sale of agricultural produce declined (see Rosero 1991:55-62) as a result of aggressive import substitution policies initiated in the 1950's and 1960's and continued by successive governments (Ramon et al. 1992:19-27, Isaacs 1993:38). Most villagers blamed the national authorities for the fall in agricultural profits saying they had been to work like donkeys for nothing (*trabajamos como burros por nada*). Constant references were made to the increasing difference between the price received for crops and the price paid for other goods e.g. one woman in her mid-thirties said that in her youth a length of material for a dress cost her the equivalent of 100lbs of potatoes whereas in 1992 the equivalent material cost 400-500lbs of potatoes.

The relative decline in the profits for agricultural produce led many land owners in the village to engage in a cycle of increasing dependence upon a money economy which is common throughout poorer rural regions of the world. Decreasing profits motivated many

villagers to use chemical pesticides and fertilisers in an attempt to gain higher yields, which then increased the cost of producing crops and resulted in an increased percentage of land being dedicated to crops destined for the market. This, in turn, led to an even greater dependence on the market as farmers were forced to sell a greater percentage of their crops and buy more food for home consumption.

The diet of many villagers had suffered accordingly and many households in the contemporary village both with, and without, land spent at least 60% of their household's income on food ²⁴. Most of those who had worked on the haciendas expressed few regrets about their demise (see chapter 1) but stories about the brutality of the hacienda system were often interspersed with tales about how well people had eaten during that time. For example one *indigena* woman described how she and her siblings had become so fed up with eating cheese when they were little that they had taken to smuggling cheeses out of their house to throw away. She laughed as she explained that, although she now owned her own land, she did not think that her own five year old son had ever tasted cheese because it was now one of the many foods which had become too expensive to buy.

To summarise, neither land ownership nor the commercialisation of farming have fulfilled most villagers expectations and the declining profitability of agriculture has served to remind many Cabalaños that the pursuit of profit is not without dangers. Nevertheless, as the following section suggests many villagers had grabbed the opportunity to increase their engagement in the money economy as both producers and consumers and the initial decision to grow crops for sale had not been imposed upon villagers by external pressures.

Increased Engagement in the Money Economy

The commercialisation of agriculture has been interpreted by those Popkin (1979) calls 'moral economists' (e.g. Wolf 1955, Scott 1976) as a process forced upon 'peasants'

²⁴During 1991-92 the Polytechnic of Riobamba and various development agencies had projects to encourage rural people in the province to establish kitchen gardens (*huertos*) and to teach women how to prepare the crops they grew but which for a generation they had taken to market rather than eaten themselves.

by the expansion needs of capitalism which threatened 'pre-capitalist' collective practices and institutions and thereby endangered the welfare of all villagers. In Cábala however, unlike many other rural villages or communities in the Andean region, there has been no history of 'collective' practices such as communally owned land and few formal communal institutions which functioned to protect the welfare of all residents. In addition many Cabalaños described themselves as having chosen to become small scale agricultural producers rather than subsistence farmers as a "*response to new opportunities*" (Popkin 1979:33 italics in the original) and not in response to externally imposed criteria such as increased taxes which necessitated increased supplies of money. Gudeman and Rivera (1990) describe how participants in a 'domestic economy' tend to be thrifty and minimise their involvement in the money economy, but in Cábala many villagers described themselves as having welcome the chance to change their farming practices and increase the monetary flow to and from their households. In other words although most villagers did not judge the transformation from subsistence to commercial farming as a success they did not see themselves as the naive victims of expanding capitalist processes. Similarly although many villagers were ambivalent about their increased involvement in the market economy as consumers they did not see themselves as dupes of market forces.

Hugh-Jones (1992) has described how increased consumerism amongst the subjects of anthropological enquiry has often been interpreted as a more pervasive and effective form of colonialism than political conquest, but as he points out this interpretation often neglects to enquire why people have chosen to become consumers. In Cábala increased consumerism may have increased many villagers' dependency on markets over which they had little, or no, control but most of them were careful and discriminating consumers. So, for example, although the diet of most villagers altered when they began to sell rather than eat the crops they grew, and rice for example had become a staple in the contemporary village rather than the imported luxury it once was, most villagers compared tinned or packet food to poison and refused to eat it.

Furthermore, consumption items are not only, or always, signs of detrimental capitalist / Western penetration but are greeted by people as genuinely useful improvements

to their lives. For example as opportunities for wage labour in the village declined (see below) and women were forced to dedicate more time to informal income generation or working on the land, so villagers invested in household amenities and welcomed those changes in dress and diet which alleviated some of the more onerous and time consuming domestic tasks. Thus in the village in the last twenty years over 90% of households paid to be connected to an electricity supply and piped water and most villagers said that it was worth paying the bills so as to be able to see during the evening and to not have to dedicate so much time to getting water from the river. Similarly over two thirds of households have invested in gas cookers which, although expensive to buy, were much cheaper and easier to cook with than wood fires. Additionally although nylon and acrylic fabrics are neither as comfortable or as warm as wool they lasted longer and women no longer had to spend long hours spinning and weaving²⁵.

In contrast it may seem initially that the utility of items is less easily identifiable: brand name competition about clothing was rife between youths, and young girls coveted high-heeled shoes despite their blatant unsuitability given the muddy and cobbled village. Almost all villagers wanted wrist-watches, and many households had made considerable sacrifices to buy radio cassette players. Furthermore all *blanco* households had one room furnished and laid out in a 'western' rather than 'Cabalaño' manner: vinyl and metal as opposed to wooden furniture, placed centrally in the room rather than around the walls; shelves full of ornaments and pictures rather than tools and pots. Such rooms were usually kept locked and only used for the most prestigious visitors although unlike 'western' parlours all objects, including furniture, were kept in their original polythene and cellophane wrappings. Less wealthy households also had corners in which dolls or other 'western' goods such as metal cooking utensils were displayed in their packaging.

It would be easy to dismiss these examples of apparently non-utilitarian consumption as a manifestation of the aspirations of villagers to emulate a 'western' or

²⁵Men, *mestizo* and *indigena*, wore ponchos but they were not woven in Ecuador, let alone in the village, but instead imported from Eastern Europe. *Indigena* women wore long skirts but they were made from lengths of British cloth held up with woven belts mass produced in the northern highlands, while, according to stall holders in the province capital, most of the many strands of beads worn by women also originated in Europe.

urban *mestizo* life-style and this may have been the case amongst *blanco* villagers but I suggest that there are alternative, or rather complementary, explanations. Watches and cassette players, for example, had a reasonably steady marketable value and were often demanded by creditors as insurance against loans in preference to other goods, such as agricultural produce, the prices of which fluctuated. Furthermore, as Hugh-Jones (1992:67) notes 'foreign' goods are often prestigious and desirable not just because of their use-value but because they often serve as signifiers of connections with wealthier or more powerful associates outside the village.

Gell has suggested that television sets purchased by Sri Lankan fishermen who had no electricity were "something more like works of art, charged with personal expression" (1986:114), and I suggest that in Cábala polythene covered vinyl furniture and ornaments in boxes often played a similar role. In Cábala the difference between organic and shiny, bright synthetic materials was so complete that it is possible that it was this contrast rather than the objects themselves which was revered and preserved so carefully.

In summary it would be inappropriate to interpret either the commercialisation of agriculture or the increased consumerism in Cábala as processes which have been forced upon passive villagers. Villagers saw themselves as having chosen to enter the market both as producers and consumers and furthermore, as will be seen below, no villagers were innocent of the money economy prior to the commercialisation of agriculture.

Previous Engagement with the Money Economy

The idea that agriculture in Cábala was only commercialised in the early 1970's might suggest that the village had previously been isolated from the national economy but in fact the village had long been a thriving centre of trade. In the last 20-30 years the local economy has rapidly declined and in contemporary Cábala many villagers were struggling to adjust to the changes but were doing so having had a history of involvement in the money economy. Many villagers had engaged in the money economy as wage labourers and small scale entrepreneurs prior to the disbandment of the haciendas. The haciendas

themselves had provided wage labour opportunities to some *mestizo* villagers: men were employed as foremen (*mayordomos*); poorer women worked as domestic labourers. In comparison the extent to which most *indigena* workers participated in the money economy during the time of the haciendas was limited but many still managed to earn sufficient money, either by receiving minimal regular wages, or by working sporadically as temporary wage labourers, to purchase small plots of land in the early 1960's.

However the haciendas were not the only source of paid employment and until recently the railway had provided employment for successive generations of *mestizo* men from the village²⁶. Since the beginning of this century when work began on a railway track which connected the wealthy coastal plantations and the Highlands (see Map 1) the railway has been one of the major employers in the village (Yáñez 1992:121-124). Work on the railway did, and still does, take men away from home for weeks at a time and the job was considered dangerous not just because of accidents but because workers were separated from other members of their household²⁷ and had to travel to the lower, hotter coastal regions thereby exposing themselves to the risks of malaria (*paludismo*). In recompense railway employees had job security, a reasonable salary, a pension following compulsory retirement after twenty-five years service and access to free medical treatment in the province capital. Not surprisingly therefore, despite the dangers and inconveniences involved, most young men in the contemporary village wanted to obtain a permanent employment contract with the railways. However in the 1970's, when the road system in the country improved, the railway began to lose freight business and by the 1990's the company was not taking on any new employees. Consequently many railway workers from the village who had expected to pass their jobs on to their sons have since had to watch them search for work elsewhere.

The railway had not just provided formal paid employment to *mestizo* villagers but had inadvertently contributed to the informal economy of the village and provided many

²⁶The current employees of the railway reported that in the past *indigena* men were not employed and although apparently in recent years the policy has changed no *indigena* men from the village had railway jobs.

²⁷See Chapter 7 and the description of cleansing for more details.

opportunities for private enterprise. Until the track that connected Cábala to the coastal connection was destroyed by landslides in 1983 railway workers had used the trains to smuggle contraband²⁸ cane alcohol from the coast to the village where it was then sold for substantial profits. Once the train stopped running to the village enterprising villagers might have established an alternative smuggling route but for the fact that in the early 1980's the importance of the village as a centre both for religious worship and trade declined with a concomitant fall in the demand for alcohol.

The village had been the ecclesiastical centre of the whole parish since 1769 (Yáñez 1992:36) and *indígena* people had come to the village to celebrate religious fiestas and personal sacraments, often by drinking heavily for several days and spending any surplus accumulated throughout the year. However, following the increase in the influence of liberation theology (see chapter 1), the local Catholic Church worked both to 'decentralise' religious worship and separate observance of Catholic rites from the consumption of large quantities of alcohol. Consequently *indígena* people from the surrounding communities rarely visited the village any more to celebrate either personal sacraments or fiestas. Older Cabalaños reported that until the early 1980's at least nine major communal fiestas like the one described in chapter one were celebrated annually. Each lasted a minimum of two days and attracted large numbers of *indígena* people from nearby communities to the village, who not only contributed heavily to the profits of the alcohol sellers but also to those of the women with small businesses selling cooked food. In contrast in 1992 there were only two fiestas (Easter and the celebrations for the patron virgin) which attracted outside visitors. Furthermore as mentioned in the introduction, the market for alcohol declined rapidly with the conversion of many surrounding *indígena* people from Catholicism to Evangelical Protestantism which preached the virtues of abstinence.

In addition the importance of the village as a centre of trade declined as farmers began to take their crops directly to markets in the province capital. The weekly market in the village stopped in the mid 1980's due to the lack of regular customers, further

²⁸Cane alcohol was not illegal but taxes accounted for one third of its price and by smuggling it on the train taxes had been avoided.

contributing to the decline in the profits of the local shops and food stalls. The contemporary village still has twelve houses which double as shops selling basic food items, but nine of the twelve only sold the odd bag of sugar or bar of soap whereas, as recently as a decade ago, all had apparently been flourishing businesses largely dependent upon the custom of visitors to the market and sale of alcohol for their profits.

Flexibility in Current Economic Practices

Contemporary villagers have, through necessity, adapted to the decline both in opportunities for wage labour and private enterprise and many were very flexible in the way they made a living. Labour migration amongst men has increased and over one fifth of households had a man working away from the village returning only on Sundays or for one week every one or two months. Nearly another fifth of households were headed by women and nearly all women in the village had increased the amount of work they did on the land and persevered with their food-selling businesses. Most women were highly skilled at selling and buying and took comparatively huge risks, regularly working within small profit and loss margins. For example when a small group of temporary labourers began working on the railway line about 2 km outside the village one woman immediately borrowed money to buy 50 bread rolls from a local shop to re-sell to the labourers. She made a profit equivalent to the price of 8 rolls but in doing so risked the equivalent of two days pay for agricultural labour²⁹.

Furthermore, members of over half the households in the village had joined the 'women's organisation' (see chapter 1) which although it had not reached the point of paying its members had eased the demands on households by, amongst other things, arranging for the youngest children in each family to each receive one good meal a day in the nursery school.

²⁹Each bread roll cost the woman 60s and she sold them for 70s thereby making a profit of 500s. The going rate for a day's farming labour at the time was 1,500s.

Unfortunately such efforts have only had limited success in replacing the opportunities that were afforded villagers when the village was a centre of religious observance and trade and many villagers have responded to the declining opportunities in the village itself by trying to equip their children, through education, with the resources to seek wage labour opportunities outside the village. However, education, like land ownership, has not fulfilled the promise it once held for Cabalaños and wage labour opportunities in the whole Republic are as scarce for those who complete their schooling as those who do not³⁰. Unemployed graduates of the local secondary school explained that both public and private employers had such a large pool of equally well qualified applicants to choose from that they could hardly be blamed for employing those who could pay for the privilege. Older people said that with hindsight it might have been better if they had saved the money they spent on uniforms, school utensils and school registration fees³¹ to pay a bribe to secure their children a job. But even those who had secured jobs were not guaranteed a regular salary. During 1992 for example, teachers in state schools, railway employees and pensioners were not paid for at least three months due to lack of funds.

In general then, as economic opportunities in the village have declined, villagers have become increasingly flexible in the manner in which they earn a living. It was not unusual for a woman in the contemporary village to be an agricultural labourer, to care for animals owned by the household, to invest money in food to re-sell either on a daily or weekly basis, to work with the woman's organisation grinding flour, and to grab seasonal labour opportunities such as buying freshly harvested garlic and re-selling the peeled cloves. Similarly a man might work on the land, arrange for the sale of crops in the province market, buy and sell any number of goods, as well as engaging in both temporary or permanent labour often in urban areas. This flexibility is illustrated by the following two case studies.

³⁰The 1990 national census indicated that 49% of the national population above the age of 12 years were economically inactive. While this figure can, at best only be a rough estimate, it does suggest that the country as a whole is suffering from high rates of under or unemployment.

³¹Registration fees for the village primary and secondary schools were 5,000s and 10,000s respectively. For example, one woman with four children paid 30,000s to register her children in school for a year, while her salary for working eight hours a day for six days a week was 28,000s per month.

Case Study No. 1

Carmen was a widowed woman in her mid-thirties who had six young children. She and her children lived in a house owned by Carmen's mother who also lived in Cábala but in a separate household. Carmen's husband had died from cancer two years previously but he had been employed on the railway and she received a small widow's pension. When her husband had been working their household had been relatively prosperous, they had not owned any land but his salary had been supplemented by Carmen working with her mother making bread and selling it in local *indigena* communities. Unfortunately just before he died the market for bread had decreased as the number of producers had increased and Carmen's mother had no longer been able to pay her, although she did allow Carmen to live in her house rent free and gave her bread and occasionally household goods such as blankets and saucepans.

Carmen had been a member of the 'women's organisation' since its inception and when her husband had died members of the organisation had made contributions to the funeral expenses. Furthermore because she had a reputation for being honest and hard working they had lobbied the non-governmental organisation which managed the local nursery school to give Carmen one of the two paid jobs in the school. She supplemented this income by getting up at 3a.m. five mornings a week to cook food which her thirteen year old daughter then took to a nearby town to sell. In addition she also occasionally made money by buying garlic, peeling the cloves and re-selling it. This was a risky activity however and although she usually made a profit of 20-25,000s she also sometimes lost money. Recently, for example, she had bought 78lbs of garlic at 600s per lb. After peeling she was left with 65lbs of cloves but in the intervening time the price of garlic had fallen to 550s per lb. Carmen and her children had worked solidly for three days and including bus fares they had lost 13,050s.

Occasionally Carmen also sold food at fiestas in local communities and towns. This demanded organisation and huge energy as the food, cooker and gas cylinders had to be

transported by bus. Furthermore it was also risky as it was difficult to predict how many other vendors would decide to attend any fiesta and compete for trade. Nevertheless despite the risk of suffering a comparatively huge loss Carmen judged the activity to be worthwhile whenever she had the money to make the initial investment in the necessary food. When she made a profit she usually then invested in a small pig to fatten which she tried to do once or twice every six months. Most households in the village tried to keep one or two pigs as 'piggy-banks' (cf. Gudeman and Rivera 1990:86): they were rarely profitable but could be easily sold at times of extreme need such as illness or death. However Carmen usually did make a small profit from her pigs because she rarely had to buy fodder but fed them on scraps from the nursery school where the children were given lunch five times a week, paid for by a charity.

Four of Carmen's children were too young to contribute to the household income but the eldest sold the food which Carmen cooked and her seven year old son cleaned shoes in the province capital once a week. Carmen explained that when her eldest daughter became fifteen years old she would send her to the province capital to become a maid and another child would have to leave school to take over the selling of food. With the exception of her mother Carmen had no other family members or relatives who were in a position to help her in times of need, such as when she lost money selling garlic or at a fiesta. At these times she explained that she and her children ate less and she pawned her radio, receiving 8,000s for it and paying 10,000s to retrieve it. To buy the radio back she would, as a last resort, take in washing but hated doing so because she said the few households in the village wealthy enough to pay for their laundry to be done were 'exploiters' (*explotados*) who only paid 300s for every twelve pieces of clothing washed.

The following figures show the annual expenditure and income of Carmen's household. The figures should only be taken as estimates because Carmen, like other villagers, had no difficulty in immediately recounting her regular major expenses but found it difficult to estimate how much she spent on one-off expenses such as donations to the two communal fiestas, other family fiestas, or small occasional treats for the children such as ice-lollies. More importantly Carmen typically found it even more difficult to account

for her income but as she had no savings, owned no land or major capital items, and knew her income roughly matched her expenditure, she guessed that the shortfall listed was met by her more risky activities such as selling food at fiestas or buying and selling garlic. The listed expenditure does not include the costs of investing in food, garlic or pigs which were all re-sold at a profit and therefore have been listed as income with the costs subtracted where applicable. For example one small pig every six months cost Carmen roughly 15,000s (she could not afford to invest in a breeding sow). She could sell a pig six months later for around 30,000s and therefore if all went well she made 60,000s per annum. It is this profit which is recorded below rather than the cost.

TABLE 1: THE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF CARMEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

<u>ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (IN SUQUES)</u>		<u>ANNUAL INCOME (IN SUQUES)</u>	
Rice	83,200	Wages from nursery school	300,000
Sugar	83,200	Widow's pension	180,000
Potatoes	60,000	Profits from regular food-selling	100,000
Flour	25,000	Profits from keeping pigs	60,000
Salt	6,000	Profit from shoe cleaning	50,000
Lard	10,000	TOTAL REGULAR INCOME	690,000
Noodles	21,160		
Oil	46,800		
Milk	120,000		
Meat	-		
Vegetables	152,000		
Fruit	31,200		
Bread	Donated by mother		
Gas cylinders	31,200		
Electricity	2,400		
Water	Not connected		
Shoes	84,000		
Clothing	42,000		
School registration	20,000		
<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>	818,460		

The annual shortfall was approximately 128,460s per annum.

Case Study No. 2

Don Ernesto lived with his wife, Lastenia, an unmarried daughter, María, and her three year old daughter. He had two other married daughters and one, Rosa, lived just down the hill in a shop which Lastenia had bought twenty years previously from profits made from selling contraband alcohol. Rosa's husband worked on the coastal railway for three weeks out of four and the two households were unusual in that they ate together although Rosa and Lastenia, who managed each household's daily budget, were careful to keep their expenses separate and meticulously paid each other for food purchased or eaten. Lastenia gave Rosa 7,500s each month for things such as soap and washing powder which her household bought from Rosa's shop, and Rosa gave her mother just over 20,000s each month for the food which she, her husband and children ate at Lastenia's.

Don Ernesto was often described by other Cabalaños as a "good man" (*un buen hombre*) a reputation which arose from his undoubted 'macho-ness' (see chapter 5), his proven ability to provide for and control his household, and his willingness to help others. When he first married Don Ernesto had just started working on the railway, as his father had done, and Lastenia, who had lived in a nearby town, was the daughter of a work colleague. During the twenty-five years he worked on the railway prior to statutory retirement Don Ernesto had regularly spent two months at a time working away from Cábala and when he returned to the village he apparently spent much of his time drunk. Since his retirement he had spent his time going out to shoot game which supplemented the household's diet and worked sporadically as a miller for the 'women's organisation' of which he was one of five men who were members in their own right. Occasionally he helped on the two *solares* of unirrigated land which he and Lastenia had bought in the early 1960's. Much of his time however was spent helping neighbours: he regularly chopped wood for single women, helped on irrigation work parties and was often one of the hardest workers at communal work parties (*mingas*).

Lastenia had nine pregnancies which went to term although only the three daughters had lived beyond a few days. While Don Ernesto had worked on the railway she had cared for the children, animals and their land. When the children had started at school Lastenia had arranged for the land to be worked *al partido* (sharecropped) by a neighbour and she had built up a business selling alcohol to local *indigena* communities. The resulting profits were considered to have been Lastenia's own and although she had been expected to use them for the good of the household³² when she invested in a village shop it was considered to be her property and it was she alone who decided to give it to her daughter Rosa. Lastenia explained that she personally did not regret the decline of the alcohol trade as it had provided a house for one daughter and she herself would have had no time to continue the business as she cared for María's three year old daughter. María herself worked as a maid in the province capital returning to Cábala every weekend and Lastenia said María would inherit the house they lived in when she and Don Ernesto died. Lastenia's main concern was that she was unable to give a house to her third daughter who was married and lived in the province capital. She tried to compensate by sending a high percentage of their crops and a half of every pig they slaughtered to this daughter.

Walking into Don Ernesto's and Lastenia's house it was immediately apparent they were both organised and comfortable with the way they lived. The back-yard contained the usual chickens, dogs and pigs running around but all tools were carefully stored and chopped wood was neatly stacked against every wall. Don Ernesto and Lastenia had decided not to invest in a gas cooker even though they could have afforded to do so, both because they worried that María would not always be able to afford gas cylinders and because they enjoyed the open cooking fire which was the focal point of their thatched kitchen. The family spent most of their day in the kitchen but at 7.30 p.m. they went to bed and watched one hour's television together always switching it off when the news came on at 8.30 p.m.³³.

³²See chapter 5 for details of who was expected to give what to a household.

³³Don Ernesto's household were one of five households who owned working televisions. Three of these households, but not Don Ernesto, charged other villagers 50s to watch their televisions on Saturday evenings.

Don Ernesto and Lastenia's household was not considered to be one of the wealthiest in the village although they were recognised as being reasonably financially secure and were respected for having chosen not to pursue profit at all costs. For example as a result of their long engagement in a variety of income generating activities over half the *mestizo* households who owned land did not work it themselves but had share cropping arrangements. The most common arrangement was based on the landowner supplying the land and receiving half the crop while the '*peón*' supplied seed, fertiliser and labour in return for their half share. In contrast the deal Lastenia had struck with her very poor neighbour was that the neighbour would work the land but Lastenia and Don Ernesto would pay for the seed and fertiliser although all yields would still be shared equally. Similarly María did not have to contribute her monthly salary of 30,000s to the household income. Occasionally she gave money to both her mother and sister but explained that she spent the majority of her wages on fares and clothes for herself and her daughter.

The list of annual expenditure and income for Don Ernesto's household shows a considerable shortfall which the family were unable to account for although they stressed they had no debts and knew their income and expenditure roughly balanced each year. Don Ernesto and Lastenia both agreed that the list was not exhaustive and was based on estimates and they concluded that the shortfall was due to a failure of their recall rather than their housekeeping.

TABLE 2: THE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF DON ERNESTO'S HOUSEHOLD.

<u>ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (IN SUQUES)</u>		<u>ANNUAL INCOME (IN SUQUES)</u>	
Rice	35,000	Don E.'s railway pension	940,000
Sugar	112,000	Don E.'s work as a miller	100,000
Potatoes	48,000	Rosa's payment for food eaten	250,000
Flour	69,000	Profit from pigs	46,000
Salt	4,200	TOTAL INCOME	1,297,000
Lard	92,000		
Noodles	25,200		
Oil	63,000		
Eggs	Keeps hens		
Milk	140,000		
Meat	54,000		
Vegetables	301,000		
Fruit	36,000		
Bread	175,000		
Firewood	30,000		
Water	3,600		
Electricity	3,000		
Tools	15,000		
Money to Rosa	90,000		
Shoes	80,000		
Don E.'s personal expenses	60,000		
Agriculture	18,400		
Medicine	30,000		
<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>	<u>1,533,000</u>		

Total annual shortfall was approximately 236,000s.

The two case studies show that many villagers were willing to engage in a variety of income generating activities and organised, and thought about, their finances according to a 'house model' similar to that described by Gudeman and Rivera (1990). Finances were organised according to the monetary flow in and out of the house and costs (*gastos*) and earnings (*ingresos*) were tallied so that when the former threatened to exceed the latter then savings were made. For example although Carmen's and Don Ernesto's annual household budgets roughly balanced, the finances in Carmen's household were much more precarious and as a consequence nobody in her house ate meat regularly or used soap, washing powder or similar non-essential goods³⁴.

Nevertheless Gudeman and Rivera state that the focus of the house "is to maintain itself, to meet its necessities, and to increase its holdings by keeping its remainders as a reserve" (1990:184) and suggest that those who organise their economic practices according to a 'house model' use profit to maintain or increase the security of the house rather than investing in order to maximise further profits. In Cábala, however, both men and women frequently accumulated capital in order to buy to sell for a profit, and although they may only have made sufficient profit to sustain their households it seems reasonable to speculate that this was due to limited investment capital rather than a disdain for profit in itself. Thus the economic practices of most villagers may not have been completely compatible with the 'house model' described by Gudeman and Rivera. Nevertheless the following section describes how many villagers perceived themselves to have different attitudes towards profit and wealth in comparison to those who lived beyond the village and a few who lived within it. I suggest that the difference lay not so much in attitudes to profit and wealth in themselves, and a desire only to secure the continuation of the household, but in the emphasis that most Cabalaños placed on maintaining their relationships which were created and maintained through exchange not just trade.

³⁴Those who could not afford soap or washing powder used leaves to freshen both themselves and their clothes.

A Moral Community: Attitudes to Wealth, Profit and Exchange

Popkin has argued that the moral economy approach, mentioned above, took "too benign a view of villages... and too harsh a view of market potential" (1979:29) and instead proposed a 'political economy' approach. He shifted the focus from interpreting behaviour according to the consequences it had on the welfare of the collective and instead assumed that "peasants are self-interested" (1979:29). The advantage of Popkin's approach was that he neither made assumptions about the nature of 'peasant' communities prior to engagement in capitalist practices, nor did he necessarily see 'peasants' as the passive victims of the expansion of capitalism. However the applicability of the notion of 'self-interest', which suggests an abstract, calculating, 'market-rational' being, to the people of Cábala is questionable in the light of most villagers' attitudes to wealth, profit and reciprocal exchange relations.

Most Cabalaños did not shun the idea of making profit or working hard for money but distinguished themselves from the *blancos*,³⁵ urban dwellers, and foreigners, all of whom were often described as being willing to sacrifice *everything* to the pursuit of wealth. In the village there was a strong moral discourse about the dangers of the single-minded pursuit of wealth and profit as can be seen in the Devil and treasure stories. For example in the story with which this chapter began the protagonists, men from the village, were saved from the Devil's temptations by their wives or mothers calling to them. In these stories men from Cábala were always saved while those from outside the village were invariably depicted as succumbing to temptation. The father of one family in a nearby town for example, was said to have dug up the Devil's treasure and thereby made his family rich. The family however, did not apparently enjoy their new-found wealth: the businesses in which his sons invested all failed, and his wife went mad and danced naked in the street in an attempt to distract the Devil from taking her husband. Unfortunately her efforts were to no avail as her husband died in a landslide and despite extensive searches his body was

³⁵See chapter 1.

never found. People said the Devil had claimed not only his soul but his body thus compounding the family's grief³⁶. After his death his son's businesses prospered and his wife recovered her senses but they were all said to be very unhappy people.

This story, and others very similar to it, were not just morality tales which reinforced the homily that money does not guarantee happiness, so comforting to those who are poor, but also illustrates that many Cabalaños saw themselves as different from outsiders and the *blancos* who were invariably depicted as being seduced by profit in a way that their fellow villagers were not. In other words Devil and treasure stories were part of the discourse through which many Cabalaños defined themselves as a moral community. Members of the community were expected to value their household and exchange relationships while others were seen as valuing wealth in preference to their relationships with others.

No household in Cábala independently produced all its own needs and most villagers participated both in exchange relations and trade transactions. In the village exchange and trade were strongly distinguished but not on the basis of what was exchanged or the relationship between the participants but on the predictability of what was exchanged for what. In trade transactions the exchange ratio (what was received for how much money) was known in advance by both potential participants who could then make an informed decision about whether they wished to enact the transaction or not. In contrast the return from exchange relationships was rarely immediate nor fixed in value. Such relationships were therefore largely based on trust and involved a higher degree of risk that one participant might renege on the obligation inherent in the relationship. However, despite the risk, there were a number of reasons why villagers mutually engaged in such exchanges.

³⁶Villagers invested great importance in burying a whole body. When a young man from a nearby village was swept away by a river most work in the village was suspended while the river was scoured for two days until his body was found. His parents grief was said to be unbearable because parts of his body were said to have been eaten by wild animals in the intervening period. During the celebration of the Day of the Dead, when villagers ate in the cemetery in the company of dead family members, people expressed horror at the idea of cremation saying that it was tantamount to killing a dead person again. Similarly the idea of autopsies appalled many villagers and those who could afford it often bribed doctors to write a death certificate which would alleviate the need for such a procedure, and many *indígena* organisations were campaigning against compulsory autopsies.

Prior to the commercialisation of agriculture the swapping of different produce had ensured greater variations in diet and had gone some way to alleviate the problems of storing food. In the contemporary village where under-employment was rife the swapping of different services alleviated the need to spend precious reserves of money, and enabled people to give when they had surplus and receive in times of need. More importantly most villagers recognised that in order to participate fully in the social life of the village they needed the protection which arose from alliances created and maintained by reciprocal exchange relations (see chapters 3 and 4).

Although most villagers engaged in exchange relations few people or households could afford to withstand unexpected losses due to their 'partners' renegeing on their obligations. There were strong social institutions which therefore functioned to minimise such an occurrence. For example many villagers formalised what should be given and received in at least some of their exchange relations by transforming them into institutionalised relations, such as *compadrazgo* relations³⁷, in which the ratio of trade between material aid and respect were largely predetermined. In addition, as described in chapter 4, there were strong social sanctions to discourage people from trying to make a material profit from exchange relations and such behaviour could provoke criticism, gossip, or even sorcery (*brujería*).

In brief most villagers engaged in both trade and exchange relationships but while they strove to make a profit from trade transactions to do so from exchange relationships was strongly condemned. When someone failed to fulfil the obligations in their exchange relations they were never described as having made a 'profit' (*una ganancia*) but were always criticised for having shown 'lack of respect' (*falta de respeto*). It was the value they placed on fulfilling their exchange obligations which most Cabalaños saw as distinguishing

³⁷*Compadrazgo* relations are described in more detail in Chapter 3 but briefly they were formed when one person sponsored another receiving baptism, taking their first communion, being confirmed or getting married: a godparent bond was formed between the recipient of the sacraments and the sponsor and co-parent bonds formed between the parents of the recipient and the sponsor. However although *compadrazco* bonds were formed through the recognition of religious sacraments chapter 3 describes that in practice often such relations were as concerned with material exchange as with spiritual matters and occasionally people formed 'fictive' *compadrazgo* relations by sponsoring a human effigy made out of bread rather than a person.

themselves from outsiders and the *blancos* who were both perceived as being likely to renege on such obligations.

The *blancos*, for example, were wealthy in comparison to most other villagers but they were not differentiated and criticised by most other villagers because they were wealthy, nor because they engaged in trade. A few other people in the village were as wealthy and many others earned their living through trade but were not called *blanco* and did not attract similar criticism. Rather the *blancos* were seen as different and roundly condemned because they were perceived as working so hard that they had no time to fulfil their obligations to others: their parents and children were said to be neglected, and they were said to claim the respect due to patrons³⁸ without being willing to fulfil the obligations inherent in that role.

The love of wealth displayed by the *blancos* was said to be an illness (*Ellos quieren dinero bastante, es una enfermedad* - they desire so much, it is an illness), a comparison which echoed the morality depicted in Devil and treasure stories. I suggest that the stories and the constant criticisms of the *blancos* were both elements of a discourse which implied that misfortune would visit those who might be tempted to not fulfil their obligations to others. Both served to differentiate a moral community and reminded community members that "The brutish pursuit of individual ends is harmful to the ends and peace of all, to the rhythm of their work and joys - and rebounds on the individual himself" (Mauss 1990:77).

Summary

There have been many changes in the Cabalaño economy in the last thirty years: the hacienda owners have sold their land and the wealthier people migrated to urban areas; agriculture has become commercialised; and the role of the village as a centre of trade and religious observance has declined. Many villagers have adapted their economic practices in accordance with changing circumstances but it is not appropriate to describe those changes as constituting a transition from one economic system or model to another.

³⁸Patrons gave material goods or valuable services in return for respect - see chapter 3 for more details.

To suggest that the changes indicated a transformation of a pre-capitalist to a capitalist economy would, as mentioned in the introduction, involve a dishonest simplification of the economic practices in the village prior to the disbandment of the haciendas. Equally it would be inaccurate to interpret the changes as indicative of a transformation from a gift to a commodity economy. Taussig has suggested that amongst Colombian 'peasants' Devil and treasure stories were a reaction to the loss of control over the mode of production which led to "reciprocal gift exchange" being transformed into "commodity exchange" (1980:224). However in Cábala this transformation could not be said to have taken place. Most residents had long been familiar with trade transactions and exchange and both were part of the repertoire of practices through which they made a living. Furthermore, both gift and commodity exchange appeared to exist together without one seemingly being transformed into the other and most villagers did not appear to resemble either the 'market-rational' beings of neo-classical economic theories, nor the 'peasants' so beloved of much Latin American anthropological literature.

The following two chapters illustrate the importance of exchange relationships in Cabalaño society and suggest that villagers would not be able to sacrifice such relationships without challenging their own self-conceptions and the very order of Cabalaño society. I suggest that it was the emphasis placed on maintaining exchange relations and their willingness to participate in a "good faith economy" (Bourdieu 1977:172-173) which led most Cabalaños to identify themselves as a moral community with distinct attitudes to wealth and profit even though they did not necessarily spurn 'capitalist' practices and the idea of making a profit.

CHAPTER THREE

INTER-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ORDER

"Gifts and goods pervade our lives. So do evils and injuries. Everywhere, in every society of record, there is a norm of reciprocity about such things. Returns are expected: good for good received, hostility for hostility" (Becker 1986:73).

When Lastenia's family slaughtered a pig the butchering of the animal took three adults and various helpers the best part of two days. The work began early in the morning when a long sharp knife was firmly plunged into the animal's heart. Death was relatively quick and the collected thick, steaming blood given to the dog before the carcass was then lightly scorched to remove the thick, black hair. The pig was hung up, the skin stripped in long sections and the underlying fat hacked off in big chunks. Everyone present then took a fortifying swig of '*trago*' (cane alcohol) before the intestines were carefully removed. It was at this delicate stage that the mother returned to the back yard with large plates of boiled corn and squares of soft, virtually raw, pig skin. All adults stopped for breakfast, the corpse temporarily abandoned, while the children began to deliver plates of skin and corn to various neighbours. These were the first of many plates of pig products which they delivered around the village over the next two days. Poorer households, with a member who occasionally worked for the family, were sent bowls of lard flecked with chunks of well-cooked meat so as to provide a future treat for the cook. Those who were close to the family and/or those to whom they were indebted were sent plates of crispy, deep-fried meat and toasted corn. Finally small spiced sausages, were dispatched on the bus to the province capital to be delivered to Lastenia's married sister.

To offer (*brindar*) food by sending it to another household, was one of the most common ways in which most Cabalaños signalled their willingness to recognise their obligations or debts to others (see Weismantel 1988:188). Thus all adult members of

Lastenia's household frequently stopped while butchering their pig to review the list of villagers to whom they were indebted and to argue as to whether they should send plates of skin, meat or bowls of lard. The family did not stint themselves and ate huge portions as they worked, prepared lard and meat for storage, and kept one quarter of the pig for re-selling in cooked portions the following Sunday. However they used the slaughtering of the pig and the resulting temporary abundance of prized food to those with whom they did not have a lasting relationship but who had given one-off services to the family, those with whom they regularly exchanged goods or services, and to create new relationships.

Introduction

None of the households in Cábala independently produced sufficient to meet all their own needs and all households were therefore economically dependent upon inter-household relationships. As mentioned in the previous chapter exchange relationships enabled households to swap goods and services and thereby avoid using precious reserves of money: to give in times of abundance and, within limits, to receive in times of need, and offered a chance for poorer households to benefit materially from wealthier households. In addition, as I will argue in this chapter, inter-household relations were not just economically essential but were equally, if not more, important for the social well-being of villagers and their community. I suggest that Cabalaño society was largely ordered by each villager participating in the 'good faith economy' and recognising the obligations inherent in inter-household exchange relationships.

In the following section I describe how, although all inter-household relationships in the village were characterised by reciprocal exchange, Cabalaños themselves did not talk about expectations of reciprocity but expressed an expectation that participants in any form of relationship must show each other respect (*Usted debe mostrar respeto* - You must show respect). It was through the appropriate show of respect that villagers indicated their willingness to recognise their obligations to others and, in particular, Cabalaños were expected to show respect to those to whom they were considered to be indebted. The most

common way in which villagers showed respect to each other was through the exchange of greetings and I describe how villagers greeted each other in order to illustrate how Cábalaño society was ordered by networks of debt.

I continue the chapter by describing how, despite the emphasis which was placed on the correct performance of greetings, villagers sometimes manipulated how they delivered greetings and in similar fashion also manipulated what they gave and received in reciprocal exchange relations. Exchange relations were characterised by delayed reciprocity and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there was always a risk that a participant would suffer an unexpected loss by an exchange partner renegeing on their obligations (see Bourdieu 1977:5-15). Few households could afford to sustain such losses and I describe two strategies, the use of kinship terms and the *compadrazgo* complex, by which villagers tried to minimise the risk that partners in close, active, exchange relationships would profit at their expense. More importantly any breach of the mutual obligations which characterised a reciprocal exchange relation threatened not only the relationship between two people but the social order of the whole village. Consequently, as will be seen, great stress was placed on the correct performance of social roles and the maintenance of a positive social reputation in order to minimise both the risk of personal loss and social disorder. In the final two sections of the chapter, therefore, I describe how villagers were encouraged to perform their social roles correctly and recognise their obligations to others through fear of both physical and character assassination.

Reciprocity, Respect and Greetings

The importance of reciprocity in Andean communities has been noted in the anthropological literature (e.g. Isbell 1977, Allen 1988, Bastien 1978, Gose 1994) and in Cábala both institutions, such as communal work parties, and inter-household relationships were based on expectations of reciprocity. In the village community such work parties, called *mingas*³⁹, were frequently arranged to carry out public works such as the mending of

³⁹*Minga* is the Quichua spelling (see Cordero 1989) of the Quechua word *mink'a*.

the main water pipe, or building a concrete wall around the village health-centre. *Mingas* were organised by the village council, the 'women's organisation', active supporters of the church, or anyone who could persuade sufficient members of the village of the need. Each household was expected to send one adult worker, male or female, or pay a fine, usually equivalent to one third of the usual daily wage for unskilled labour. In practice, however, fines were rarely collected although those households which did not send a representative were usually severely criticised. In the village there was a *minga* of one sort or another every two or three weeks but this form of explicit institutionalised reciprocity did not appear to be so important to the everyday order of social life in the community as the expectation that all villagers fulfilled the obligations inherent in their personal relationships.

In Cábala all inter-household relationships were ideally characterised by reciprocity but, as previously mentioned, most villagers did not explicitly talk about expectations of reciprocity but said that they must show each other respect. Many villagers explained that it was the ability to "show respect" which distinguished people from animals. It was through the appropriate show of respect to others that most villagers displayed their observance of the principles which ordered village society in general and in particular demonstrated their indebtedness to others. Respect, a display of deferential regard, was shown in a number of different ways according to context but one of the most common ways was through the exchange of greetings.

In Cábala everybody was expected to greet others who were members of their social world and even babies were encouraged to hold out their hand to greet other villagers who stopped to admire them. Greetings were short, consisting of no more than wishing someone a good day each time you passed in the street and, if conversation was to follow, shaking hands. The exchange of greetings between two people was an essential precursor to any further contact and publicly demonstrated a recognition by both parties that an active exchange relationship either existed or could potentially develop.

The exchange of greetings did not just mark the boundaries of a villager's social world but reflected differences within it as villagers were expected to show respect, by initiating greetings, to those whom they were considered to be indebted. This was not

necessarily a matter of personal or material debt, but was sometimes related to more general ideas about social status. For example women, although subject to the authority of their fathers or husbands (see chapter 5), were nevertheless seen as representative of motherhood and as such men were perceived to be in debt to them. Therefore often men were expected to show respect by initiating a greeting to women they met in the street. However as a principle of social differentiation gender was superseded by age and younger people were expected to show respect to older people. So, despite expectations that women should show how modest they were, a younger woman was expected to initiate a greeting to an older man although usually they did so while keeping their eyes firmly downcast.

Active exchange relationships were not just characterised by the exchange of greetings but in addition the exchange of goods and services. Many exchange relationships occurred between those who considered themselves to be social equals and neither participant was perceived as being indebted to the other, except by consideration of age and gender differences, and greetings were exchanged accordingly. These egalitarian, 'symmetrical' relationships were not always characterised by the exchange of goods and services of equivalent value (cf. Foster 1961:1174) but it was important that both participants accepted the priority that each gave to the relationship.

For example Don Ernesto often cut wood and did other jobs for Serena, a widow who lived with her young children. In return when Serena cooked food once a week to sell in a nearby town she sent a plate of food to Don Ernesto's household. The food she sent was scarcely of equivalent value to the labour carried out by Don Ernesto but she signalled how much she valued his services by sending plates of special food cooked at times of fiestas e.g. she always sent a saucepan of *fanesca*, a special soup, at Easter (see Weismantel 1988:135). Such foods were usually only shared amongst family members or given to those who were particularly valued and by sending them to Don Ernesto's household Serena was signalling the high priority she gave to her relationship with him. For his part Don Ernesto, being younger than Serena, always initiated greetings to her and thereby showed that although he gave more materially than he received he perceived their relationship to be egalitarian and signalled his reluctance to be a formal 'patron' (see

below). In other words a balance of sorts was achieved in the relationship by Don Ernesto giving more materially while Serena gave a higher priority to the relationship.

In contrast to relationships between peers, patronage relationships were 'asymmetrical': they occurred between those who saw themselves as occupying different social positions within the village. The patron gave valued goods or services while the recipient in turn was expected to publicly acknowledge the higher status of their patron by showing respect in a number of ways, including initiating greetings. In asymmetrical patronage relationships, material goods or services and respect were exchanged but in Cábala respect was not necessarily a form of 'symbolic capital' which the recipient could convert into material goods. Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as a "*disguised* form of 'economic' capital" (1977:183 italics in the original) comparable to the notion of 'good will' which increases the value of businesses. He recognises that "symbolic capital is less easily measured and counted than land or livestock" (1977:182) but suggests that it is readily convertible into capital or goods. This was not the case in Cábala, where few recipients of patronage were able to give a significant material return to a patron who might suddenly be in need. For example one man with a relatively lucrative job had been a patron to several other villagers. When he died unexpectedly his wife was not so concerned with receiving the respect that was her due as the spouse of a patron as she was with receiving material aid to help her cover the funeral expenses and feed her children. Unfortunately those who had been the recipients of her husband's patronage had very limited resources and, regardless of their wishes, were unable to help the widow i.e. despite her need she was unable to convert respect into material goods.

Nevertheless there was a political and social advantage in being a patron. Some villagers may have been motivated to become a patron by altruism, empathy, or in order to stress their status within the village but regardless of their primary motivation all patrons were, in effect, buying loyalty. If someone publicly recognised a patronage debt through a show of respect they potentially endangered their own social reputation as a reliable person if they publicly criticised or attacked their patron. Therefore, to a limited extent, those who

could afford to be patrons were able to exercise a degree of autonomy in their behaviour knowing they had a form of insurance against the judgements of others.

In the village the *blancos* and those who worked for national institutions, and who did not live but worked in the village such as the registrar, teachers, doctor etc., maintained and stressed their higher status by only having patronage relationships with other villagers. However most Cabalaños engaged in both 'symmetrical' and 'asymmetrical' exchange relationships and they were sometimes the donor and at other times the recipient of material goods. For example, Gladys lived with her second husband who did not contribute much to the household finances and she supported the household largely by making bread and selling it in the communities surrounding the village. Gladys was a popular member of the village and had many active exchange relationships with those who she considered to be her social equals. She also referred to a local *blanca* shop owner as "*patrona*" because this woman often gave Gladys credit when she bought flour. In turn, María who was struggling to bring up her five children alone called Gladys "*patrona*" as she often gave María bread and occasionally employed her eldest daughter. María, however, did not refer to the shop owner as "*patrona*" as she did not like her and did not have an active exchange relationship with her.

To summarise greeting others appropriately was one of the most fundamental ways in which villagers showed each other that they had the knowledge and the will to treat others correctly. Each villager not only recognised age and gender differences when they exchanged greetings with others but showed respect to those to whom they were considered to be indebted. Thus the manner in which most Cabalaños greeted each other reflected a social hierarchy predicated on who was indebted to whom, but as no villager had exactly the same network of relationships there was no one prescribed hierarchy in the village.

Greetings were laden with social meaning, being one of the more obvious ways in which villagers signalled their willingness to be a patron, the recipient of patronage, or the state of their relationship with another. Don Ernesto, for example, signalled his reluctance to be Serena's patron by initiating greetings to her even though she was materially indebted

to him. It is not surprising therefore that most villagers placed great importance on greeting and being greeted by others. Bourdieu notes that amongst the Kabyle "not to salute someone is to treat him like a thing, an animal, or a woman" (1977:11) and in Cábala the unilateral cessation of greetings by another was an almost irrevocable insult which one young girl likened to treating a person like a dog. Nevertheless, although most villagers were reluctant to sever relationships completely by not greeting another and placed great importance on the correct exchange of greetings, the following section describes that many Cabalaños used the manner in which they delivered greetings to express their opinions of others and in order to serve their own interests.

Strategy and Risk in Reciprocal Exchange Relations

Often when two people in the village quarrelled they would walk around, rather than through the village, or dodge into houses in order to avoid meeting and having to make a decision about whether or not to greet each other. Such strategies minimised the risk that the temporary discontinuity caused by the frequent and inevitable frustrations of living in a small village would escalate into permanent ruptures. However, the choice was not just simply to greet, or not to greet, because the particular manner in which greetings were delivered enabled a villager to express their opinion of another. For example if Roberto, a young man, disliked an older person he would wait until they were level in the street before initiating a greeting, leaving the recipient of the greeting to respond to thin air or make an effort to turn in order to respond to his greeting. Thus villagers were able to express their opinion of others while still behaving correctly but, more importantly, were able to manipulate the manner in which they delivered greetings in order to serve their own interests.

For example, as mentioned above, María chose not to have an active relationship with one wealthy shop owner but often she did initiate greetings to other villagers who were considerably wealthier than her, even if she was older than they. She, like many other villagers, explained that in the past she had unquestioningly thought that wealthier people

were socially superior to herself and therefore she had always initiated greetings to them irrespective of their age, gender, or her relationship with them. However she went on to explain that she no longer thought that wealthier people were necessarily 'better' (*mejor*) but recognised that often they still expected to be shown respect. Therefore she did sometimes initiate greetings to them not because she necessarily respected them but because she realised that at some time in the future she may have to turn to them for material help. Most Cabalaños readily admitted that they sometimes showed respect "with my lips but not my heart" (*con mis labios no con mi corazón*) and although villagers were encouraged to greet others as soon as they were physically able, and it was an action they repeated many times each day, it was not always an habitual action performed without thought.

Just as many Cabalaños were aware that both themselves and others, at least sometimes, performed the exchange of greetings strategically, so they were aware that both they and others could, and did, attempt to manipulate what they gave and received in reciprocal exchange relations. For example the widow, mentioned above, whose financial situation changed for the worse when her husband died suddenly, began to initiate greetings and show respect to those villagers who she had previously considered to be her social equals. By doing so she was signalling that not only did she want to become the recipient of material aid but that she would not be able to continue fulfilling the obligations inherent in her relationships in the same way. She was severely criticised by some villagers for substituting a show of respect for material goods which resulted in several of her exchange 'partners' suffering unexpected material losses. Others, however, defended the widow arguing that all she was doing was fulfilling her primary obligations to her children in the only way possible.

Cabalaños recognised that there was always a risk that a partner in a reciprocal exchange relation would attempt to renege on their debt completely, substitute respect for material goods as the widow mentioned above attempted to do, or give a higher priority to fulfilling their obligations to others. Few households could afford to sustain unexpected material losses due to an exchange partner renegeing on their obligations and most villagers

recognised that many of their inter-household relationships were precarious. The fragility of these relationships did not just arise from one or other participant attempting to alter the terms of exchange in their favour but from the tendency for other villagers to disrupt an apparently beneficial relationship.

Most Cabalaños did not appear to have an idea of all good things being limited (cf. Foster 1965, 1967)⁴⁰ but many did recognise that any one person only had limited resources to distribute amongst exchange partners. Thus if a neighbour benefited from a particular relationship many villagers behaved as if it lessened the chance that they themselves might also benefit, and sometimes they attempted to disrupt the relationship by spreading pernicious gossip about one or other participant. For example Ophemia regularly made money by buying garlic, peeling it, and re-selling the prepared cloves. She usually did this on her own but after she lost money on one transaction she did not have the capital to buy another 100lbs of garlic and began collaborating with Teresa. Several other women were apparently resentful that Teresa was given the opportunity to work with Ophemia who was alleged to be very quick at the work and skilled at selling the garlic for the best possible prices. About one month after their collaboration had begun rumours were circulated that Teresa was having an affair with Ophemia's husband. Teresa was very upset by the allegations but Ophemia laughed at them. Eventually, however, Teresa stopped working with Ophemia explaining that she could no longer afford to be the subject of so much gossip. Both Ophemia and Teresa lost by the relationship being disrupted: Ophemia lost Teresa's capital and Teresa lost the opportunity to collaborate with a skilled partner.

In summary, therefore, participation in inter-household relations was necessary but risky: there was not just the chance that a 'partner' would deliberately renege on their obligations but that others would deliberately destroy a relationship. The following two sections, however, describe strategies by which Cabalaños tried to minimise the risk of either event by making the terms of their closest inter-household relationships explicit.

⁴⁰See chapter 4 for more details.

Close Active Relationships and Kinship Terms

In Cábala most villagers had considerable choice over whom they engaged in active exchange relationships. For example, unlike many Andean communities (e.g. Brush 1977), in Cábala people chose which of their kin they had active relationships with (cf. Gudeman 1976: 175)⁴¹. The following discussion describes how most villagers distinguished two types of kinship relations not by the closeness of genealogical connections but by the quality of the relationship that was being referred to: kin (*parientes*) with whom they did not have active exchange relations; and family (*familia*) with whom they had active relationships which were comparable to the relations with members of their own house.

Cabalaños recognised kin bilaterally to a limit of two generations above and below ego and avoided open disputes with kin but, as mentioned above, did not necessarily have active exchange relationships with them. For example Rosa described how she had loaned her sister-in-law, Elvia, the money to buy two pigs on the understanding that when the fattened animals were sold Elvia would repay the loan. Elvia had never repaid the loan and Rosa explained that she would never enter into an active exchange relationship with Elvia again. She explained that because Elvia had reneged on her obligation she would be treated as kin rather than family. However when kin who were living in different households had close, active relationships and regularly exchanged goods and services they considered each other to be family rather than 'kin'. Family and kin, as will be seen below, were distinguished by the use of particular kinship terms derived from both Spanish and Quichua.

All villagers, regardless of which language they dominantly spoke, addressed and referred to kin using both Spanish and Quichua terms. As distinct systems the two kinship terminologies differ: Spanish terminology is of the Eskimo type in which sex, generation and collaterality are distinguished; while Quichua terminology is of the Hawaiian type in

⁴¹The only exception was that children were expected to maintain an active relationship with those who remained living in their natal household.

which sex and generation are distinguished but not collaterality. Custred describes the use of kinship terms in a South Peruvian Quechua-speaking community where residents also used terms from two lexical systems and suggested that the use of Spanish and Quechua⁴² terms formed "an integrated terminology" (1977: 120) in which the use of terms reflected degrees of solidarity and obligations inherent in the relationship being recognised. Custred explains that ego's parents and siblings were referred to by the use of Quechua terms; both Quechua and Spanish terms were used to refer to parents' siblings' nuclear family; while ascending and descending second generation kin as well as more distant kin were referred to using Spanish terms.

In Cábala the use of kinship terms was similar to the use Custred describes but, rather than being the result of a structural relationship between ranges of kinship and social obligations⁴³, they reflected the way that villagers both marked and limited their social obligations which did not necessarily coincide with genealogical connections. Many villagers used terms from both lexical systems in order to diminish, or mark, collateral differences depending on whether they were marking a close, active 'family' relationship or a less active 'kin' relation. The most commonly used kinship terms for close consanguinal kin are listed below, the most frequently used term being given first and Quichua terms in italics.

⁴²Quichua is a dialect of Quechua although the two are not mutually comprehensible.

⁴³The connection between genealogical relatedness and ranges of kinship appears to be more relevant in Peruvian communities than in Ecuadorian communities. For example both Custred (1977) and Brush (1977:137) note such a connection whereas Belote and Belote report that indigenous people living in the south Ecuadorian Andes "select only certain siblings, cousins...with whom to maintain the closest, most intense ties involving cooperation and obligation" (1977:115) and Botero (1990:150) reports that in Chimborazo communities there are not many structured obligations between cousins.

**TABLE 3: SPANISH AND QUICHUA KINSHIP TERMS FOR GENEALOGICALLY
CLOSE CONSANGUINAL KIN / FAMILY**

ENGLISH	SPANISH SPEAKERS	QUICHUA SPEAKERS
Mother	<i>Mamá / Madre</i>	<i>Mamá</i>
Father	<i>Papá / Padre</i>	<i>Yaya / Papá</i>
Mother's son	<i>Hijo / Huahua</i>	<i>Huahua / Hijo</i>
Mother's daughter	<i>Hija / Huahua</i>	<i>Huahua / Hija</i>
Father's son	<i>Hijo / Huahua</i>	<i>Churi / Hijo</i>
Father's daughter	<i>Hija / Huahua</i>	<i>Ushushi / Hija</i>
Sister's sister	<i>Ñaña / Hermana</i>	<i>Ñaña</i>
Sister's brother	<i>Ñaño / Hermano</i>	<i>Turi / Ñaño</i>
Brother's sister	<i>Ñaña / Hermana</i>	<i>Pani / Ñaña</i>
Brother's brother	<i>Ñaño / Hermano</i>	<i>Huaqui / Ñaño</i>
Grandfather	<i>Abuelo</i>	<i>Jatun Yaya / Abuelo</i>
Grandmother	<i>Abuela</i>	<i>Jatun Mamá / Abuela</i>
Husband	<i>Esposo / Marido</i>	<i>Cusa / Marido</i>
Wife	<i>Esposa</i>	<i>Huarmi</i>
Aunt	<i>Tía / Mamá</i>	<i>Tía / Mamá</i>
Uncle	<i>Tío</i>	<i>Tío / Yaya</i>
Cousin	<i>Prima(o) / Ñaña(o)</i>	<i>Ñaña(o) / Prima(o)</i>

In Cábala the majority of households were composed of parents and children living together (see chapter 5) but as can be seen the Hawaiian type Quichua terminology did not allow users to recognise differences between ego's parents and their siblings or between ego's own siblings and cousins. In other words the Quichua terminology did not allow the user to make a clear distinction between those who lived in the same house and those who did not. Quichua speakers in the village therefore frequently used Spanish terms to distinguish collateral differences with parents' siblings or those siblings' children who they

did not want to recognise as family. For example Elvira, a young Quichua speaker, used the Spanish terms *tía* and *primo(a)* when referring to, and addressing, a paternal aunt and her children whom she did not see very often. She also called a maternal aunt *tía* but because she had a close, active relationships with this aunt's children she referred to them and addressed them using a Quichua based terms for sibling, *ñaña(o)*⁴⁴.

In contrast Spanish speakers used Quichua terms in such a way as to ignore collateral differences between themselves and those kin whom they wished to recognise as family. Jacquela, a Spanish speaker, lived with her parents, a brother and sister and had a much older sister who was married and lived in the province capital. She called the brother and sister she lived with *ñaño* and *ñaña* respectively. In contrast she referred to the sister who did not live in the village, and whom Jacquela could not remember living with, using the Spanish term for sister, *hermana*. However Jacquela had a very close active relationship with a cousin who lived in the village and the two of them called each other by the Quichua term for sister, *ñaña*. Similarly Lastenia, a Spanish speaker, had lived with her widowed mother and a sister until her sister had married and moved away from the village. Lastenia had a close relationship with her sister's husband and his siblings who she referred to, and called, by one of the Quichua terms for sibling, *ñaño(a)*. Furthermore Lastenia had both a paternal and maternal aunt who lived nearby and she called both *tía* but she did not like the children of one aunt and both referred to and addressed them using the Spanish term for cousin, *primo(a)*, while the children of the other aunt she addressed as *ñaña(o)*.

In short, many villagers chose which kinship terms they used according to the quality of the relationship rather than just to mark a genealogical connection. Many villagers marked those kin who they considered to be 'family' with the use of terms which were used to refer to, and address, those who usually lived in the same house i.e. the terms for parents and siblings. Cabalaños said that they trusted relationships with members of their own household more than relationships with members of other households thus by referring to 'family' using the same terms which were used within the house, regardless of

⁴⁴*Ñaño* was the Quichua term for the sister of a sister but with the addition of a Spanish masculine gendered ending.

whether the person referred to lived in the same house or not, villagers indicated the high expectations which they were investing in the relationship. Such a public declaration of expectations made it difficult for a participant to renege on their obligations without arousing strong public criticism. Furthermore the mutual use of 'family' terms of address told other villagers that both participants valued the relationship and that it would be difficult for others to disrupt it with pernicious gossip i.e. it was a declaration of loyalty.

In summary then the strategic use of kinship terms was one method by which many villagers not only limited their obligations to kin but minimised the risk that they would suffer an unexpected loss from participation in relationships with those kin who were recognised as family. The following section describes another strategy, the use of the *compadrazco* complex, which many villagers used to formalise their close, active relationships, particularly those with patrons.

The Compadrazgo Complex

Compadrazgo relations were formed whenever a villager took one of the major sacraments which marked a person's spiritual development within the Catholic church. When a child was baptised, confirmed, or took their first communion⁴⁵ they were sponsored by godparents creating a relationship both between the 'godparents' (*madrina / padrino*) and child (*ahijado(a)*) and the child's parents who then referred to each other as co-parents (*comadre / compadre*). The *compadrazgo* complex is found throughout Latin America but, as Gudeman (1975, 1976) notes, despite a common root in sixteenth-century Catholic theology the manner in which *compadrazgo* relations are recognised in contemporary communities varies in accordance with the historical and social conditions in which those communities developed.

Gudeman, basing his argument on evidence from a rural Panamanian village, suggests that *compadrazgo* relations are not comparable to other relations being based as

⁴⁵Due to the expense few villagers received the sacrament of marriage in church, preferring to marry in the registry office, so few *compadrazco* bonds were formed through marriage.

they were on spiritual ties even though they involved secular obligations. In Cábala, however, although *compadrazgo* relations were part of religious institutions they were more often than not formed for material reasons. Foster suggests that in a Mexican village the *compadrazgo* complex was an institution which formed an intermediate between the "formal rigidity of the family and the absolute flexibility of friendship" (1967:76) and Osborn argues that amongst Kwaiker Indians in Colombia "*compadrazgo* ties between *mestizos* and Kwaiker constitute, in fact, little more than a patron-client relationship" (1968: 605). In Cábala, as will be seen below, *compadrazgo* relations institutionalised both close and potentially profitable patronage relations. The formation of *compadrazgo* ties minimised the risk that villagers would suffer an unexpected loss by a 'partner' renegeing on their obligations or withdrawing from the relationship.

Most villagers explained that the baptismal godparents were the most important of all godparents and frequently they were chosen either to mark one of the parent's close relationships with peers or in order to strengthen already existing 'family' ties. The Church expected baptismal godparents to take classes for a week with a local woman in order to teach them how to guide their godchild according to "the word of God" (*la palabra de Dios*). In addition to spritual considerations baptismal god-parents also served a secular function and were expected to provide for their god-children if anything should happen to the child's parents. For example Soledad, an unmarried mother, explained she had asked her brother-in-law to be her *compadre*, *padrino* to her daughter, partly because he had stood by her and protected her from the wrath of her own parents when she had become pregnant, and partly because she anticipated that he and her sister would care for her child if ever she was unable to do so. She explained that she had been unconcerned about his potential to educate her daughter as a Catholic in comparison to his ability and willingness to care for her if necessary.

Many villagers chose baptismal godparents whom they considered to be social peers and with who they already had close active relationships. In contrast many villagers explained that it was regrettable that other kinds of *compadrazgo* relations were often formed for reasons of "self-interest or business" (*por interés o de negocio*). The

godparents who sponsored a child's first communion or confirmation received no instruction from the Church although the children themselves were expected to attend one year of catechism classes before taking their first communion and two years before being confirmed⁴⁶. Godparents were often chosen in order to create or formalise already existing patronage relationships in which the parents were the recipients or in order to create a prestigious, potentially profitable, albeit often temporary, relationship. Consequently visiting anthropologists⁴⁷, *blancos* and other wealthy residents of the village, teachers and other government workers who visited the village, were popular choices.

Parents approached the potential 'co-parent' and asked informally if they would be willing to formalise their relationship. Once informal agreement was reached then the parents of the child were expected to take a gift of potatoes, guinea pig⁴⁸, and cane alcohol (*papas, cuy y trago*) to seal the relationship formally. In turn godparents were expected, at a minimum, to give relatively expensive presents at the time the child received the sacrament. Baptismal godparents gave clothes to the child and helped with the expenses of the accompanying fiesta in a variety of ways; other godparents usually gave presents such as school books, wrist watches or even electric blenders. In practice some villagers did not have any enduring contact with their first communion or confirmation godparents⁴⁹ usually because they had moved away from the village. Those relations which endured, however,

⁴⁶Two mothers in the village circumvented the expectation that their children should attend catechism classes by taking their children to another village to take their first communion and be confirmed in one service. The priest, who was incredibly drunk, was paid a considerable amount of money to preside over the service without asking if the children had been prepared. The mothers explained that the 'fee' was worth it as it meant that they only had to have one fiesta to celebrate both the first communion and confirmation. Most other villagers judged their behaviour to have been sensible, given the mothers' poverty.

⁴⁷I was asked by ten parents to sponsor their child when they took their first communion or were confirmed. I realised that regardless of other considerations I simply could not afford to become the godparent to so many children and tried to argue that because I was not a Catholic I could not be a godparent to any children in the village. Most of the parents dismissed this argument by saying that they could teach me all I needed to know about Catholicism in five minutes. Eventually my Spanish teacher in the village who also often acted as my social advisor told me I had to sponsor two children or I would face severe criticism for not participating in the life of the village.

⁴⁸Guinea-pig was a food which was never bought or sold but bred within the house and eaten at almost every special occasion (see Archetti 1992).

⁴⁹Forty-eight young villagers listed their godparents and described that they either had sporadic, or regular, contact with nearly 60% of them. The others they no longer saw usually because those concerned had moved away from the village or had died.

were expected to be mutually supportive, and were characterised by a high degree of formal respect.

The situation in Cábala then was almost the opposite to the one Foster (1967) describes as existing in a Mexican village. He suggests that people chose kin or other villagers of the same socio-economic status to be co-parents but there were many deviations from the ideal in the manner in which they treated each other. In contrast in Cábala villagers recognised that their choices of *compadrazgo* relatives frequently deviated from the ideal but once the relation was established, if it endured, it rarely deviated from the ideal.

The manner in which *compadrazgo* relatives were expected to treat each other was strictly prescribed and any deviations attracted severe criticism. For example every member of a godchild's household was expected to show respect to the child's godparents by initiating greetings. Terms of address became formal and regardless of whatever terms had previously been used were superseded by the relevant *compadrazgo* term. Thus once a person previously called *patrón*, or even *naño* (brother), became a co-parent they were referred to, and addressed, as *compadre / comadre*. Furthermore co-parents were expected to offer each other mutual support. For example Florinda owned a small patch of land near a neighbouring community which she did not use but others occasionally sowed with crops from time to time. In one of the many disputes over rights to the land Florinda's *comadrè*, a *madrina* by first communion to Florinda's daughter, argued, along with many others, that Florinda should use the land or forfeit it. Many people present, including some who used the land as well as Florinda and her supporters, were outraged that a *comadre* should act in such a fashion and argued that, at worst, if the *comadre* felt she could not support Florinda then she should have kept quiet. By speaking against Florinda's interests the woman was accused of showing lack of respect both to Florinda and the *comadre* relationship.

In other words the formation of *compadrazgo* relations, like the use of 'family' terms of address, signified a mutual declaration of loyalty and, in Cábala, the *compadrazgo* complex appeared to be more to do with the organisation and maintenance of reciprocal exchange relationships than with the formation of 'spiritual' relationships. This is best

illustrated by the fact that when there was no child for a patron or participant in a close active exchange relationships villagers sometimes created fictive *compadrazgo* relationships using a 'bread baby' (*huahua de pan* - 'huahua' being the Quichua term for child). For example over a period of time members of María's household had established close active relationships with Soledad, a single woman living in the village. Soledad often made clothes for María and members of her household without expecting payment and the two women regularly sent each other plates of cooked food. María's children were all young adults and therefore she asked Soledad to become a co-parent of a bread baby (like a large gingerbread man). Soledad was not expected to give a large present to María's household but otherwise the relationship preceded like any other *compadrazgo* relation and María's children called Soledad "*madrina*" and María called her "*comadre*".

María recognised that she benefited from her relationship with Soledad but also knew that in the village informal relationships were precarious and vulnerable to being disrupted by malicious gossip. She chose, therefore, to formalise the relationship by using the *compadrazgo* complex. The creation of *compadrazgo* relationships enabled villagers to formalise patronage relationships or strengthen other close, active relationships. They codified how participants should behave towards each other and formally defined the limits within which they could manoeuvre and thereby minimised the risk and anxiety that such relationships would be broken by one or other participant refusing to recognise their obligations.

To summarise, most villagers used family / house kinship terms and the formation of *compadrazgo* relationships to distinguish their most active exchange relationships and to indicate their high expectations of these relationships. Particular kinship terms and the *compadrazgo* complex were both used strategically in order to minimise the risk that partners in their most active or profitable exchange relations would renege on their obligations. Other villagers were less likely to disrupt 'family' and *compadrazgo* relations but the effectiveness of both strategies still depended upon villagers being reluctant to jeopardise their social identities by transgressing the mutual expectations inherent in those relations. The following two sections suggest why most villagers were reluctant to risk such

transgressions and how villagers were encouraged to perform their social roles correctly in order to safeguard both their physical and social well-being.

The Fear of Sorcery and Reciprocal Exchange Relations

In Cábala there were a number of stories and beliefs about sorcery⁵⁰ and in this section I suggest that, like the Devil and treasure stories discussed in chapter 2, they encouraged villagers to fulfil the obligations inherent in their closest reciprocal exchange relations.

Villagers explained that sorcery was done by the concentration and manipulation of naturally occurring malevolent forces in order to harm or kill another, or to bring general misfortune to a household. The malevolent forces were associated, albeit vaguely, with the Devil and it was said to be morally reprehensible, disapproved of by both the Evangelical and Catholic Churches. Thus no villager was willing to admit that they had consulted a sorcerer (*bruja/o*) with the intent of ensorcelling another, but many villagers were willing to relate stories about others who had allegedly used, or been victims of, sorcery. Often, however, villagers expressed doubts about whether they personally believed in the effectiveness of such pernicious practices. They argued that there was little material evidence that any misfortune, illness, or death in the village had actually been caused by sorcery and accused professional sorcerers, none of whom lived in the village, of being charlatans who told people what they wanted to hear and peddled poison.

Nevertheless it is difficult to formulate any definite conclusions about the status of sorcery beliefs in the village as scepticism may have been expressed as a result of the belief that only those who believed in sorcery were said to be vulnerable to its effects. Thus by

⁵⁰I use the term 'sorcery' rather than 'witchcraft' in line with the convention in the literature which defines sorcery as the manipulation of forces by using knowledge of potions, charms etc. in contrast to 'witchcraft' in which harm is done through the use of innate powers (Marwick 1982: 12, Douglas 1970: xxxvi f.n., Thomas 1982: 41). Finerman (1985) reports that in Saraguro, in the southern Ecuadorian highlands, 'Curanderos' / 'Shamans' specialised in the treatment of particular illnesses. However she relates that by the 1980's distrust in these curers was leading people to refer to them as '*brujos*' which she translates as 'witches'. However she relates that such curers often used pschotropic drugs to induce trances in the diagnostic process whereas in Cábala people reported that the '*brujo(a)s*' they consulted did not use such drugs and I have, therefore, chosen to use the term 'sorcery' rather than 'witchcraft'.

expressing their doubts villagers may have been minimising the risk that others would spend time and energy trying to ensorcel them. Even those who were most vociferous about their scepticism readily admitted that they knew of several cases where the alleged victim of sorcery had also expressed the utmost scorn of it until they themselves had become ill with an enduring and seemingly incurable complaint. Certainly, regardless of their alleged beliefs, most Cabalaños argued that it was only sensible to avoid, as far as possible, becoming the victim of sorcery. All villagers, therefore, carefully disposed of any articles which may have helped another to ensorcel them: they burnt their hair when it was cut, destroyed any old clothes which they had worn next to their skin, and kept track of any photographs of themselves.

Marwick has described sorcery and witchcraft beliefs in Medieval Europe as having been "a part of the pattern of life, but a relatively small part, activated in times of crisis and misfortune rather than being a source of continuous worry" (Marwick 1982: 14-15). The same could be said of sorcery beliefs in Cábala and, considering sorcery potentially led to death, many villagers appeared to be cautious but not overly concerned that they would become a victim. However stories about sorcery did encourage villagers to fulfil the obligations inherent in their closest, reciprocal exchange relations by warning them of the consequences that might befall them if they did otherwise. In Cábala it was said that sorcery only ever occurred between those who had, or in the ordinary course of events should have had, an active reciprocal exchange relationship (cf. Crawford 1967, Krige 1982). Those who resorted to sorcery were always alleged to have done so as a result of having perceived themselves to be ill-treated by their victim. Stories and beliefs about sorcery, therefore, warned villagers against disappointing those to whom they were, or should have been, close because to do so could potentially lead to illness as the following cases illustrate.

Case One: Many villagers described how one young woman, Sonia, became the victim of sorcery when she became pregnant but refused to marry the father of her child. Sonia herself described how she had been paralysed for five months of her pregnancy until

other members of her house saved enough money to send her to a professional sorcerer to be cured. The sorcerer told her that the paternal grandmother of her child had ensorcelled her in response to having been denied legal access to her grandchild. Sonia had regained her health after following a strict diet and taking prescribed herbal potions on the advice of the sorcerer. She asserted that she had no wish for revenge even though she was convinced that the woman identified was responsible for her five months of misery but said that she preferred to avoid meeting the woman and rarely went to the town where she lived.

Case Two: Graciela was said to have become a victim of sorcery when she and her husband borrowed money from his parents. Graciela was unable to eat and felt very weak all the time. Her husband's brother was said to have been concerned that he would not receive his share of the inheritance from his parent's house. He was alleged to have taken one of Graciela's stockings to a sorcerer in order to ensorcel her and disturb the relationship between her and his brother. Graciela went to a sorcerer and was cured. She also was told who was ensorcelling her as part of her consultation but both she and her husband also chose to take no further action other than to distance themselves from the brother.

Case Three: Gorge was said to have become ensorcelled by an ex-girlfriend when he married another woman. He suffered from a terrible back-ache and Gorge himself described how he went to a sorcerer for a cure. The sorcerer used playing-cards to identify who had ensorcelled him, and to predict a death and arguments in his family, and a robbery. The sorcerer told Gorge that he was the victim of a particularly stubborn form of sorcery, that his cure would take a long time and that he should come for at least six consultations. Gorge decided that he could not afford to pay for six consultations with the sorcerer and did not return immediately. However, shortly afterwards, a single, paternal uncle died and Gorge and his siblings argued about their respective shares of the inheritance and Gorge's pigs were stolen. Impressed by the accuracy of the sorcerer's predictions, and still suffering from back-ache, Gorge returned. The sorcerer explained that he could cure Gorge's back but would only be able to remove the sorcery from Gorge if he

retrieved the photograph which had been used to ensorcel him. Gorge had been unable to retrieve the photograph being too frightened to approach his previous girlfriend to ask for it and he had, by his own and other's accounts, changed his behaviour. Apparently before the soçery he had drunk but not caused any trouble but since being ensorcelled he had become very violent when drunk and even when sober described himself, and was described by others, as "a little strange" (*un poco raro*).

In all the above cases the victims were undergoing a major change in their lives, or facing a crisis at the time they were allegedly ensorcelled. Sonia was facing the difficulty of telling her parents that she was pregnant but was not going to get married. She admitted that by becoming ill she had avoided most of the recriminations which she had been sure would otherwise have followed the announcement of her pregnancy. At the time that Graciela became the victim of sorcery her sister explained that Graciela's husband was having an affair and stopped when he became concerned about Graciela's health. Gorge had apparently painfully vacillated between marrying his ex-girlfriend and his wife for several months and became ill after he made his choice. The victims of sorcery avoided something difficult, or gained something, when they were ensorcelled: Sonia avoided recriminations for her behaviour; Graciela regained her husband; and Gorge gained an excuse for his apparent frustrations and a virtual licence to behave as he chose⁵¹.

The cases described were also alike in that no victims sought to avenge themselves both because to have done so would have involved the victims resorting to sorcery themselves, and because victims were reportedly too scared to seek active revenge. In the village there was a strong expectation that those who had exchange relationships would return like with like. Thus, if someone treated another well the recipient was expected to reciprocate and equally if a villager treated others badly they were usually expected to treat that person badly. In cases of sorcery however villagers did not return like with like but rather they distanced themselves from their protagonist.

⁵¹In Cábala those who were deemed ill were not held responsible for their behaviour.

In other words sorcery offered an opportunity for villagers to renege on their obligations to their alleged protagonists without seeing themselves as villains who were not willing to fulfil their obligations. Rather, privately at least, they were able to portray their protagonist as morally reprehensible and willing to work with the Devil while they themselves remained safe in the knowledge that if they had not been attacked they would have recognised their obligations. However, exoneration from obligations to alleged attackers was largely a personal matter, or at most, a matter for the members of the same house, as accusations of sorcery were never made public. The cases related above had apparently happened some years before they were described to me, and in contemporary cases villagers would only name their attackers when they were sure that no one else would know the accused. Generally villagers were left to draw their own conclusions when someone who had been ill as a result of sorcery curtailed a previously close relationship. Thus although sorcery accusations served to alleviate tensions in particular relationships they served a personal, rather than a public, cathartic role.

Thus far I have described the potential advantages which victims of sorcery gained by portraying themselves as such and it may seem strange that not everyone in the village continually claimed that they were ensorcelled in order to limit their obligation networks. However in Cábala it was how an illness was cured which confirmed a diagnosis⁵² so, if a villager claimed to be the victim of sorcery but had a spontaneous recovery without paying for a cure, then the diagnosis of sorcery was assumed to have been incorrect. All the survivors of sorcery in the above cases had spent considerable money and resources to consult professional sorcerers in order to obtain a cure and Gorge's house, for example, was still paying off the debt they had incurred when they paid for his cure⁵³. In short, then, an allegation of sorcery was an incredibly expensive way merely to limit one's obligations to others or to avoid potential unpleasantness. Many households could not afford to pay for a cure and those who believed in sorcery feared falling victim to it because without the resources to pay for a cure they were convinced that death would be imminent.

⁵²See chapter 7 for more details.

⁵³Estimates of the prices sorcerers charged varied from 50,000s to 200,000s, the equivalent or more of many household's monthly income.

In summary then, sorcery beliefs did enable some villagers to make sense of acute misfortune and to limit their social network, albeit at a high price. More importantly, however, fear of sorcery and its apparently devastating effect on the health or finances of its victims encouraged villagers to at least attempt to fulfil the obligations inherent in their close, reciprocal exchange relations and thereby avoid becoming victims of such a heinous practice. However cases of sorcery in the village were relatively rare⁵⁴ and the following section describes how villagers were also encouraged to perform their social roles correctly in order to maintain a positive reputation and thereby avoid becoming victim of the more common practice of character assassination.

Exchange Relations, Orthopraxy, and Reputation

In this section I describe how most Cabalaños tried to ensure that all villagers recognised their obligations to others by placing a remarkable emphasis on the correct performance of social roles and by penalising transgressions of orthopraxy with public criticism which damaged a person's reputation.

When villagers made choices about whether to enter into an active exchange relationship they appeared to balance consideration of potential gain with consideration of the likelihood that they would receive a return on their 'investment'. Most villagers appeared to demand less assurance that their 'investment' would be returned when they formed relationships with wealthier people who were often seen as potential patrons. The risk of loss was outweighed by the potential profits to be gained and it was respect, not material goods or services, which they invested in the relationship. However, when deciding whether to enter into a relationship in which they themselves would be expected to invest goods or services most villagers tended to choose those who they considered would reliably recognise their obligations. Consequently because villagers needed exchange partners to ensure their economic and social well-being they worried about how villagers

⁵⁴Throughout my 15 months in Cábala I heard details of 26 cases of sorcery but many of those had occurred many years previously.

might judge their behaviour. Those who failed to perform their social roles adequately risked provoking gossip and criticism which endangered their reputations and thereby hindered their ability to form inter-household exchange relations. In other words fear of the potential assassination of their reputation encouraged most villagers to recognise their obligations to others. Bailey (1971) has argued that people place more stress on their own and others' reputations when there is a high concentration of multi-stranded rather than single-interest relationships. However, in Cábala, I suggest that it was the importance of the 'good faith economy' rather than a high concentration of multi-stranded relationships which led to a remarkable awareness of public scrutiny and great stress on the correct performance of social roles. Cabalaño society was largely ordered by the mutual obligations inherent in reciprocal exchange relations and all villagers were expected to play their part in ensuring social order by reinforcing the importance of everybody recognising their obligations. Consequently in order to retain their own positive reputations villagers were obliged not only to fulfil their own obligations but to register their disapproval of those who breached the mutual obligations inherent in any relationship.

For example María and Carmen had a close active exchange relation which largely arose from the enjoyment each derived from the other's company. However one day María was publicly attacked both physically and verbally by Carmen who believed, incorrectly, that she was having an affair with her sister's husband. The incident led to much comment in the village: some criticised María saying that she had shown lack of respect to Carmen by forming a relationship with her brother-in-law; others criticised Carmen saying that she had shown lack of respect to María by listening to malicious gossip. María was very upset by the incident, she had been unjustly accused and recognised that the slander might damage her reputation but despite feeling wronged, she missed spending time with Carmen. Eventually María's innocence was established and Carmen went to visit her in order to apologise. María accepted her apology but explained that although she was more than willing to resume the relationship she could not do so until Carmen made her apology publicly at a forthcoming meeting of an organisation to which they both belonged. Another villager explained that María had not demanded a public apology in order to satisfy her

personal pride but because to have done otherwise would have been taken as sign of weakness and would have further damaged her own reputation.

It is almost impossible to over-estimate the importance which most villagers invested in maintaining their own social reputations, and most Cabalaños were acutely aware of public scrutiny of their behaviour and their awareness influenced their behaviour in many domains of social life. Whenever villagers spoke privately about their own self-identified, past wrong-doings they rarely, if ever, spoke of having felt guilt (*culpabilidad*) but rather of having shamed themselves and / or other members of their household (*dar la pena* - to give shame cf. Gudeman 1976:78) by becoming the subject of gossip. Villagers rarely, if ever, spoke about personal qualities such as 'honour' and, despite the best efforts of religious, legal and educational institutions, most villagers appeared to assess their own and others' behaviour according to how it might be publicly judged rather than according to an absolute, personal moral code. Thus, when villagers discussed the behaviour of one young man who was wanted by the police in the province capital for robbery they did not so much condemn his alleged activities as his inability to avoid becoming the subject of gossip.

Nevertheless despite the expectation that villagers should try to avoid becoming the subject of gossip it was difficult for most to do so because, as I have already described, many villagers sometimes slandered each other in order to disrupt relationships. In addition it was almost impossible for a villager to please everyone all the time. Most villagers had a number of competing obligations to fulfil and the priority they gave to each often aroused criticism. For example one single woman with six children decided to send her youngest child to school in the province capital and her three eldest children agreed to work every weekend cleaning shoes, doing laundry etc., to earn the money for the bus fares. A few villagers supported the woman's decision arguing that she was making considerable sacrifices for her child. Many others criticised the woman implying that if she had the money to send her daughter to the province capital each day then she had the resources to give more to those with whom she had exchange relations.

In other words most villagers were vulnerable to becoming the subject of gossip and few could single-handedly guard their reputations as reliable people who recognised their obligations. However allies were expected to defend each other's reputations by challenging the validity of potentially pernicious gossip or criticism⁵⁵ and the greater the number of potential allies a villager had the greater the security of their reputations. Villagers formed alliances by the creation and maintenance of reciprocal exchange relations and there was, therefore, a circular relationship between the security of a person's reputation and the number of exchange relationships they engaged in. Exchange relationships were not just economically essential but were the means through which villagers defended their reputations which, in turn, were important because it was their reputation which largely determined the ease or difficulty with which villagers formed exchange relationships.

Summary

Cabalaño society was largely ordered by networks of debt and reciprocal exchange relationships which were essential both for the economic and social well-being of villagers. I have suggested that because such exchange relations were risky many villages attempted to mark and formalise their closest inter-household relations by the judicious use of kinship terms and the *compadrazgo* complex. Furthermore, as previously noted, most Cabalaños defined themselves as belonging to a moral community because of their participation in exchange relationships. Breaches of the obligations inherent in these relations therefore not only threatened the economic well-being of particular villagers but the social order of the village. Thus, within Cábala, great stress was placed on the correct performance of social roles and the maintenance of reputations in order to minimise both the risk of unexpected loss and social disorder.

⁵⁵See chapter 4 for more details.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MAINTENANCE AND REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL ORDER THROUGH PUBLIC SCRUTINY

"...from the petty competition to keep a balance in obligation and preserve one's good name, from the malice of tiny manoeuvres to spread gossip, emerge the fundamental dilemmas of being human and living in society." (Bailey 1971:24).

Anthropologists have long recognised that residents in small, rural, and / or 'peasant' communities do not always live harmoniously with their neighbours and in the 1950's often described the residents of rural communities as mean, distrustful, petty, and even cruel (Lewis 1951, Banfield 1958). Indeed, Lewis' description of relationships between residents of a Mexican village was so bleak that he was moved to temper his view with the marvellously dated comment: "Some of my best friends are peasants" (Lewis 1960-61:179). In the 1960's the focus shifted so that pettiness and gossip were seen as the inevitable consequence of a 'world view' (e.g. Foster 1965) or as elements of a political process which was largely dependent upon concern with social reputations (e.g. Bailey 1971, Hopenstall 1971). Since that time, however, there has been little anthropological interest in gossip but in this chapter I examine the influence of gossip, criticism, concern with social reputations and public scrutiny in Cábala.

Most residents of Cábala were not encumbered with liberal ideas about how people should behave towards one another and one young man succinctly expressed what appeared to be a common view when he said: "In this village lies, hate, gossip and criticism rule" (*En este pueblito las mentiras, el odio, chisme y críticas reinan*). I begin, therefore, by describing the power of gossip and criticism in the village and explain why most villagers feared becoming the subject of public comment themselves but were willing to gossip about others. The following section briefly describes how gossip was either seen as dutiful, a way to penalise breaches of orthopraxy, or as a manifestation of self-interested

perniciousness. In the second half of the chapter I describe how gossip which was judged to be pernicious rather than dutiful was often said to be the result of *envidia*. *Envidia* was seen as a dangerous anti-social emotion which motivated questionable behaviour and the attribution of *envidia*, therefore, challenged a person's reputation in much the same way as gossip did. In other words the attribution of *envidia* to explain gossip questioned the legitimacy of the gossip and was an effective counter-force to the power of gossip. Different interest groups were able to press their claims for maintenance of the status quo, or change, by the judicious use of gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia*. In the summary to this chapter, therefore, I argue that although the social and political system of the village was weighted towards conservatism it was also a remarkably dynamic system.

Gossip: A Destructive Force and Political Tool

Many Cabalaños were puzzled when I explained that in England young children were often taught the rhyme "Sticks and stones may break my bones but words will never hurt me". In Cábala, words did hurt people and most Cabalaños admitted that they enjoyed gossiping about others but also repeatedly described how hurt and impotent they had felt when they themselves had become the subject of gossip⁵⁶. The experience and views of Luisa were typical of most villagers.

Luisa laughingly explained that she, like everyone else in the village, gossiped because it was a 'habit' (*una costumbre*). However she grew serious as she recalled when she herself had become the subject of gossip and while describing her own experience she described gossip as an 'evil force' (*una fuerza mala*) and a 'moral failing' (*un fregado*⁵⁷) which destroyed everything. Luisa had married while still at school and her husband, who worked on the railway and returned to the village only at week-ends, had given her

⁵⁶I use the term 'gossip' throughout this chapter to refer to any comments which were made about someone in their absence and only occasionally make any assessment of the truth-value of the comments e.g. when I refer to slander rather than gossip (cf. Layton 1971:104).

⁵⁷The literal translation of '*un fregado*' was 'a nuisance' but was a word which was most commonly used to refer to things which people saw as being evidence of major moral failings such as the apparent rise in the number of unmarried mothers, or dwindling church attendance etc.

permission to go to the province capital to use the library. This was an unusual arrangement as young wives in particular were expected to be content to stay at home and within weeks rumours began suggesting that Luisa was meeting a lover. Her husband heard the rumours, returned home, beat her and banned her from going to the library⁵⁸. Eventually Luisa and her husband restored their trust in each other but she did not finish her last year at school. Gossip, however, was not only considered a powerful destructive force in the village because it had immediate consequences for the subjects concerned but, more importantly, because it potentially endangered their social reputations.

Luisa, and others who confirmed her account of events, were clear that she had become the subject of gossip because, by going to the library in the province capital, she had not performed her role as a new wife correctly. Luisa had thought that because she had the permission of her husband she would escape criticism for breaching other villagers' expectations of young wives but, unfortunately, she had under-estimated the stress which most Cabalaños placed on orthopraxy. In the previous chapter I have described how Cabalaño society was largely ordered by the mutual recognition of obligations inherent in reciprocal exchange relations so breaches of orthopraxy such as Luisa's therefore, threatened not only particular relationships but the social order within the village.

Gossip and criticism were used in the village to chastise those who were judged to transgress the boundaries of orthopraxy. Most villagers valued their reputations for orthopraxy being aware that their status within the village, ability to form relationships, gendered identity, and even the quality of their relationships within their houses, all depended upon how others judged their behaviour⁵⁹. Most villagers, therefore, worried about becoming the subject of gossip as they feared the effects it could have on their own and their house's reputations. Public scrutiny and gossip were, therefore, both conservative political forces in the village which acted as particularly strong versions of 'what will the neighbours say' (cf. Colson 1953:228, Foster 1967:96-100, Hepenstall 1971:166).

⁵⁸See chapter 4 for more details about 'domestic' violence.

⁵⁹See chapter 3.

However the village population was not an homogenous whole and there was not always a consensus about what constituted correct practice. Thus it was difficult for villagers not to offend members of one faction or another and to avoid becoming the subject of gossip. For example many older people often said that younger unmarried men and women were too familiar with each other. They frequently criticised Elvia who usually stopped on her way home from fetching her cow from pasture to spend five minutes playing basketball with whichever boys or girls were in the village square. In contrast most young people defended Elvia arguing that older people did not understand them and many of them criticised peers who appeared to pay too much heed to their elders. Thus Elvia, like most other villagers, could not help but provoke gossip amongst one or other common interest group within the village.

Furthermore villagers did not just use gossip in an attempt to enforce their own ideas of orthopraxy but often used slander to serve their own political interests. Thus Martha briefly became the subject of gossip when she was alleged to have sold a tiny plot of land in the cemetery and kept the money for her own use. In fact Martha had all the papers to show that she had paid the electricity bill of the church with the money received from the sale of the land. She was a member of the local 'women's organisation' and the slander against her was said, by many members of the organisation, to have been started by *blancos* who were competing for the control of village municipal assets with the organisation.

In addition villagers sometimes used gossip, and particularly slander, to further their own personal interests. For example, as mentioned in chapter 3, villagers recognised that any one person only had limited resources with which to fulfil the obligations inherent in their exchange relations. Many villagers, therefore, often tried to limit the number of relationships their exchange partners engaged in by slandering others with whom those partners had, or might have had, an exchange relationship.

For example Lola and Esther, both young unmarried women, had spent a lot of time together and considered themselves friends. Then Lola heard that Esther had been telling people that Lola's niece had had an abortion. Lola, furious at this slander of her

young, unmarried niece, hit Esther and their friendship ended. Later both Lola and Esther said that Esther had been the victim of unfounded gossip as she had never slandered the niece but the damage to their relationship had not been mended a year later. Following the disruption of Lola and Esther's friendship many other villagers speculated that the gossip had been started by members of Lola's household who were concerned that she was investing far too many resources and too much time in Esther rather than fulfilling her obligations to her household.

Gossip did not just potentially disrupt inter-household but also intra-household relationships. Members of the same house never gossiped about each other with outsiders and to have done so would have been considered a most serious breach of orthopraxy. However, depending upon their position in the hierarchy within the house⁶⁰, the subject of gossip risked being physically punished for having embarrassed their house. So, when Esther inadvertently became the subject of gossip other members of her house were furious. Despite clearly being the victim of slander Esther was beaten and her relationships with other members of her house were temporarily strained.

In summary, then, regard for reputations, awareness of public scrutiny, and fear of becoming the subject of gossip were conservative forces in the village which ensured that most villagers attempted to fulfil the obligations inherent in their roles. However it was difficult for most Cabalaños to avoid becoming the subject of gossip as villagers did not just gossip about others in order to maintain orthopraxy within the village but to serve their own personal, or political interests. The following section describes how most villagers often judged gossip as dutiful criticism of threats to orthopraxy, or as malicious self serving comments, not so much by assessing the truth value of the comments but in accordance with their relationship with the subject.

⁶⁰See chapter 5.

The Ambivalent Status of Gossip

There is little doubt that in many ways gossip and sorcery in Cábala were similar: both were indirect actions which had devastating effects on their victims, one potentially resulted in physical destruction while the other potentially resulted in the destruction of both reputations and relationships. However while the practice of sorcery was widely condemned and no villager admitted to ever having ensorcelled another⁶¹, most villagers readily admitted to having talked about others in their absence. The difference between the two was that sorcery was always seen as motivated by self interest, the desire for revenge, while those who gossiped could claim to be motivated by concern for the social order of the village even though the subjects of their comments were virtually obliged to disagree.

Gluckman has noted: "...when I am gossiping about my friends as well as my enemies I am deeply conscious of performing a social duty; but that when I hear that they gossip viciously about me I am rightfully filled with righteous indignation" (1963:315). Similarly when Pedro said that Rebecca had stolen María's shopping he did not see himself as perniciously gossiping but as warning people about Rebecca's alleged behaviour and penalising her transgression of orthopraxy. Rebecca, for her part, accused Pedro of slander and explained that he was motivated by revenge as she had spurned his sexual advances. No-one appeared to consider whether Rebecca really had taken María's shopping but those who were close to Pedro insisted that Rebecca was a thief (*ladrón*) while supporters of Rebecca insisted Pedro was a liar (*mentiroso*). This example, therefore, illustrates the ambivalent nature of gossip in Cábala which was often publicly judged as dutiful or malicious not so much by its apparent truth value but according to the listener's relationship with the subject of the comment.

Villagers often challenged the legitimacy of gossip if they were close to its subject as is illustrated by the case of Rosa, a young unmarried mother, who borrowed the keys to the local nursery school in order to spend the night there with a man who had come to visit her from the coast. Unfortunately several witnesses saw Rosa, her young son, and her lover

⁶¹See chapters 3 for further details.

entering the school and the next day there was much public comment on her behaviour. Some recounted what had happened with only minimal embellishment while others called Rosa a 'whore' (*puta*) and accused her of using the nursery as a rent-free brothel. Many explained they were commenting on Rosa's behaviour because what she had done demonstrated a lack of respect to herself; to her young son who they assumed had witnessed an act of illicit sex; to other members of her house by acting so as to shame them; and to the social order of the whole village which determined that illicit sex should take place outside the village.

It soon became clear that Rosa was going to be confronted about her behaviour publicly in a meeting of the 'woman's organisation'. Several of her allies within the organisation, including the president who was very close to Rosa, met informally and discussed how Rosa should behave in the forthcoming meeting. It was quickly agreed that she had no choice but to deny that she had ever entertained a man in the nursery school and must accuse any witnesses who contradicted her of telling malicious lies. The discussion quickly moved on to consider why Rosa's behaviour had caused such furore and who was fuelling the fire of public comment. During this discussion it became clear that supporters of Rosa did not distinguish between the different comments on her behaviour but dismissed them all as malicious and motivated by self-interest. It was agreed that some members of the organisation wished to discredit Rosa as much as possible in order to weaken the president's position within the organisation. Thus the president, and several other members of the organisation, made it clear that they would support Rosa in the proposed formal meeting and publicly questioned the motivations of her critics by accusing them of being motivated by *envidia* (see below). In time the gossip died down and Rosa did not have to face the trial of a formal public accusation although her reputation had suffered in the meanwhile.

Rosa had clearly failed to perform her role as a single woman and good mother according to the expectations of many villagers when she chose to spend the night with her friend. When the gossip had died down Rosa herself explained that she had known her action would provoke criticism but she had judged the potential pleasure to be worth the

trouble. However, villagers were sometimes slandered and, as mentioned above, it was difficult for any villager to avoid becoming the subject of pernicious comments regardless of how they behaved. Villagers often said the only way to avoid becoming the subject of potentially pernicious comments would be to live quietly without contact with people who were not members of the same house, but, in practice, even this method was not infallible. The two women in the village who lived alone with only minimal contact with their neighbours each became the subjects of gossip from time to time and both had undesirable reputations for dabbling with malevolent forces.

However both those, such as Rosa, who knew they had breached the expectations of orthopraxy and the victims of slander were, to a limited extent, able to defend themselves against public judgement by challenging the legitimacy of gossip. For example when the supporters of Rosa challenged the gossip about her they did not question if the gossip was true but accused the gossipers of being motivated by *envidia*. *Envidia*, as will be seen below, was said to be an illegitimate, malicious emotion which arose from inappropriate self-interest. Thus, by accusing those who publicly criticised Rosa's behaviour of being motivated by *envidia*, her supporters were questioning the legitimacy of the gossip suggesting it was not dutiful criticism so much as self-interested perniciousness. In addition they also challenged her critics' reputations for orthopraxy by suggesting that they were willing to act in their own interest to the detriment of their regard for others. The second half of this chapter describes the discourse on *envidia* in the village and considers how gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia* were both essential elements of the social and political system in Cábala.

Envidia

Anthropologists have often translated the term *envidia* as 'envy'. Most famously Foster examined 'envy' amongst the people of Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, and formulated his elegant model of 'limited good' (Foster 1965). In this section I compare Foster's description of 'envy' in Tzintzuntzan with the discourse on *envidia* in Cábala and argue that *envidia*

should not be translated as 'envy'. *Envidia* appeared to incorporate ideas of envy but had a greater significance in Cábalaño social life than can be suggested by ideas of personal animosity evoked by the term 'envy'.

Foster suggested that envy was an inevitable: "Where people have so little, and life is so uncertain, the good fortune of fellow villagers seems bound to arouse envy" (Foster 1967:153). He argued that Tzintzuntzaños had a 'world view' in which all good things were seen as existing in a fixed and insufficient quantity and people, therefore, inevitably resented the good fortune of others as it meant there was less available for themselves. Foster described that whenever people's circumstances improved they had to somehow compensate other villagers or suffer "gossip, slander, backbiting, character assassination, witchcraft or the threat of witchcraft" (Foster 1965:314). In other words Foster saw envy as the generating force behind conservative mechanisms which maintained the status quo in Tzintzuntzan. He argued that fear of envy and the pernicious behaviours it provoked explained why Tzintzuntzaños were reluctant to improve their own standard of living much above that of their neighbours and to risk behaving in ways that might have initiated change.

Foster, for example, reports that in Tzintzuntzan compliments were often "seen as aggressive, hostile behaviour, and far from being pleased, the recipient of compliments feels disturbed" (1965b:32). He suggests that compliments were disturbing because they were seen as a sign of envy and, therefore, a forerunner of more pernicious behaviour. Equally in Cábala villagers often described compliments as being motivated by *envidia* and 'self-interest' (*por interés*). When I complimented Ophemia on how wonderfully fat her pig was she thanked me adding that she knew I spoke 'without interest' (*sin interés*). Later she explained that it was terrible to own such a big pig as it inspired *envidia* in others who were always looking over the fence saying that she had good luck to own such a fat pig. Ophemia's discomfort with compliments about the pig arose because she interpreted the compliments as a strategy by which others were pressing their claims upon her. She worried that she would not be able to meet these claims to the satisfaction of her neighbours and that they might therefore begin to criticise or slander her.

In Cábala, just as in Tzintzuntzan, *envidia* was seen as provoking pernicious behaviour such as sorcery and malicious gossip and fear of *envidia* was, therefore, a conservative force in the village. However, unlike the people of Tzintzuntzan, people in Cábala denied thinking that all good things were limited. Indeed, if they had held such a view it seems reasonable to assume that there would have been friction, if not animosity, between people who were reliant, at least for a proportion of their income, on selling the same commodity in a diminishing market. In the village, however, the number of houses producing and selling bread had increased over the last ten years; at the same time that the market had decreased but there were few signs of particular animosity between the producers.

In Cábala good fortune did not inevitably provoke *envidia* and many Cabalaños explained that the good fortune of the wealthier residents did not provoke *envidia* amongst the majority of the population. Rather in the village *envidia* was said to occur only between those who had an active exchange relation, specifically when one 'partner' in such a relationship unfairly judged themselves not to be receiving their due from the relationship. Thus it was said that only those villagers who had direct exchange relations with the wealthier people did sometimes experience *envidia* of them; while children and those living in cities were said never to experience the emotion as neither were thought to engage in exchange relations.

In other words, whereas Foster suggested that Tzintzuntzaños had a general view of 'limited good', in Cábala villagers' idea of 'limited good' was specific to those with whom they had an exchange relation. Most Cabalaños recognised that a person only had limited resources with which to fulfil the many competing obligations inherent in their different exchange relations and *envidia* was said to be the result of someone unfairly resenting how that person chose to fulfil their obligations. Thus, whenever villagers maintained their reciprocal exchange relations by sending each other plates of food they always carefully covered the plates, not to avoid generalised envy, but to avoid their exchange partners comparing what was given to each.

To summarise, then, there were many similarities between Foster's model of envy in Tzintzuntzan and the discourse on *envidia* in Cábala. Fear of *envidia*, like fear of envy, was a conservative force which served to reinforce the need to maintain personal exchange relationships and, thereby, the social order of the village. In Cábala those who showed blatant disregard for others risked provoking *envidia* but, in the village, *envidia* was not seen as an inevitable emotion. Rather, it was seen as a symptom of unreasonable expectations of others which generated pernicious actions. In chapter 3, I have described how Cábalaño society was largely ordered by networks of personal relationships and the mutual recognition of the rights and obligations inherent in those relationships. *Envidia* was seen as a manifestation of unreasonable discontent with the balance of rights and obligations in exchange relations and it was, therefore, considered to be an anti-social, dangerous emotion which potentially disrupted not just personal relationships but the social order of the village.

In Cábala, as can be seen in chapter 6, emotions were seen to generate actions and there were a number of emotions e.g. anger (*ira*), sexual jealousy (*celos*), and disappointment (*decepción*), which villagers said potentially provoked socially inappropriate actions. Adult villagers, however, were expected *not* to allow their emotional responses to generate behaviour which threatened their own reputations for performing their social roles correctly. Thus, for example, a mother who was angry with her children and so felt like hitting them was expected to manage her anger rather than act upon it because it was considered wrong to hit a child in anger. In the discourse on emotions in the village, therefore, many emotions were sometimes seen as potentially generating inappropriate actions, but *envidia* was unique in that it was always seen to generate inappropriate, pernicious actions.

I suggest that the inevitable nature of the connection between *envidia* and pernicious behaviour arose from the manner in which the term '*envidia*' was used in the village: *envidia* was only ever attributed to others, in their absence, as a retrospective explanation for behaviour which had already been judged as pernicious. Therefore when *envidia* was attributed to another it implied that not only had they experienced an anti-

social emotion but had acted upon it and thereby threatened the social order of the village. In other words whenever a villager judged public comments to be pernicious and accused the gossipers of being motivated by *envidia* they were not only questioning the legitimacy of the gossip but were also challenging the gossipers' social reputations.

Foster appears to have assumed that in Tzintzuntzan pernicious behaviour was generated by envy but the first section of this chapter has described how, in Cábala, pernicious comments were the result of a variety of personal and political motivations. Therefore I suggest that, in Cábala, although most, if not all, pernicious behaviour was said to be motivated by *envidia* those who acted perniciously may not have been motivated by an emotion, be it envy or *envidia*, but by other political or personal interests. Furthermore in Cábala there was rarely a consensus about whether gossip was pernicious and therefore motivated by *envidia* or not. For example no villager ever admitted to having experienced *envidia* themselves and when a villager gossiped it was easy for them to persuade themselves that they were not being pernicious but protecting the social order of the village. While, for their part, the subjects of gossip and their supporters were obliged to protect their reputations by challenging the legitimacy of the gossip and so often attributed *envidia* to gossipers regardless of the truth value of the gossip.

In summary then, in Cábala, gossip was a powerful force in the village because it potentially damaged a villager's reputation but, in turn, the attribution of *envidia* also potentially damaged a gossipers' reputation. Just as a villager did not have to breach the expectations of others in order to become the subject of gossip, so a villager did not have to experience *envidia* in order to be accused of having acted as a result of it. Both gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia* were strategies by which villagers could attack others or defend themselves according to their personal or political interests. The following section describes in more detail how the attribution of *envidia* was used as a counter-force to the power of gossip and slander in the village. I suggest that, although fear of gossip and fear of *envidia* were conservative forces in the village, both were essential elements in the village's political system and together, although they did not generate change, they facilitated it.

Envidia, Gossip and Change

The 'women's organisation' in Cábala was completely disrupted for a number of weeks by gossip which alleged that María was having an affair with Michi's husband. Both María and Michi were members of the organisation and María's allies suggested that the gossip had been motivated by *envidia*. They alleged that the gossip was slanderous and themselves gossiped about how it had been provoked as a result of discontent with María's decision as to who should be given two paid jobs within the organisation. In supporting María her allies were not only defending her reputation but, to a lesser extent, their own, because if she had finally been judged as socially unreliable their judgement in choosing her as an active exchange partner would have been seen as suspect. The gossip and counter-allegations of *envidia* continued for some time and many members of the organisation virtually stopped speaking to each other and exchanged their greetings only in the most begrudging manner.

The situation resolved itself when María sacked one of the workers she had employed when it was suspected that she had stolen flour from the organisation. Following the sacking, Michi made it clear in a meeting that she did not suspect María of any wrongdoing and eventually Michi was given the job. Meanwhile the sacked worker alleged that María had been motivated by *envidia* when she had sacked her and it looked as though a new disruptive split would develop. However eventually the organisation was forced to unite in support of María when a *blanco* publicly spat at her and called her a communist⁶².

The above example illustrates how villagers used both gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia* to serve personal interests in Cábala. María had done little, if anything, to suggest that she was having an affair with Michi's husband and, like most villagers, she was unable to ensure that she never became the victim of slanderous gossip. María had allies however, who were able to accuse her detractors of being motivated by

⁶²As previously noted the *blancos* resented the 'women's organisation' and the two vied for political dominance in the village. The term 'communist' was considered to be such an insult that one woman who witnessed its use in the argument fainted!

envidia and by doing so challenged the legitimacy of the gossip and were, therefore, able to limit the damage to María's, and their own, reputations.

To a certain extent the counter-accusations of *envidia* limited the number of people willing to gossip about María because no-one in the village wanted to have a reputation as a person who regularly felt *envidia*. The few villagers who had reputations for feeling too much *envidia* (*los envidiosos*) were despised and other villagers avoided them as much as they did those who had reputations for failing to perform their social roles adequately. Thus, as mentioned in chapter 3, those villagers who had a large number of personal allies were, to a limited extent, able to challenge the standards of orthopraxy safe in the knowledge that the damaging effect of any ensuing gossip would be limited by the judicious use of counter-accusations of *envidia*.

Accusations of *envidia*, however, were not just generated in order to defend personal reputations but were also used to challenge gossip which was perceived to uphold out-dated or unpopular values. As previously mentioned there was not always a consensus in the village about what constituted orthopraxy and, therefore, ideas concerning the legitimacy of gossip varied. The criteria by which behaviour was judged to be a breach of orthopraxy and judgements about the perniciousness of gossip varied according to each villager's political interests and position in the structure of Cabalaño society. For example men often criticised women's behaviour and vice versa, and older people often criticised younger people and vice versa, so it is not surprising, therefore, that each of these different interest groups accused the others of having much *envidia*.

Villagers often formed temporary alliances, united by common interests, in order to challenge gossip which criticised particular actions and by doing so were able to change the standards of orthopraxy. For example, within the last twenty years expectations about where newly-wed couples should reside have changed. Older people related that when they married they were expected to live for several years with the groom's parents, and if they did not do so intense gossip and criticism was provoked. However, gradually over the last two decades, the practice has changed and newly-wed couples now reside wherever is most economically advantageous, without provoking comment.

Villagers themselves explained that the change in the practice was due to economic pragmatism but this does not explain why older people have apparently changed the criteria by which they judged what was appropriate behaviour for newly-wed couples and do not gossip about couples who immediately set up their own house or reside matrilocally. Newly-wed couples must, at some stage in the last twenty years, have had sufficient allies to challenge the gossip which ensued when they breached expectations regarding post-marriage residence. It is, of course, impossible to say if older people's attitudes really have changed in conjunction with changing practice or if their lack of comment on the changing practice is the result of political expediency. However, it is possible to speculate that even if older people did disapprove of the changing practice it would be futile for them to criticise a couple who chose not to live virilocally because the majority of the population would judge such gossip as pernicious and therefore accuse them of being motivated by *envidia*.

Summary

In summary *envidia* can not be translated as 'envy': those who were accused of having been motivated by *envidia* may have felt 'envy' but the discourse on *envidia* in Cábala involved much more. Most Cabalaños used both gossip and the attribution of *envidia* as political tools which, I suggest, can be understood as opposing political forces in the social life of the village. Gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia* maintained the 'dynamic equilibrium' (Bateson 1980:175) of the status quo but also facilitated change according to the relative strengths of the alliances of different interest groups. I suggest therefore, that the social and political system in Cábala was, as mentioned in the introduction, remarkably dynamic: most Cabalaños were highly skilled at manipulating public opinion and were, therefore, able to initiate or support changes in orthopraxy⁶³.

Nevertheless the political system in Cábala was weighted towards conservatism. Social and moral order in the village was largely maintained by villagers recognising their obligations to others. Most villagers were concerned with maintaining their reputations for

⁶³The issue of change in Cábala is discussed more fully in the conclusion to this work.

recognising their obligations because those with good reputations were more easily able to form, and maintain, exchange relations. Such relations were, in turn, essential not just for the economic well-being of villagers but in order for them to be able to participate in the social life of the village and defend themselves from the pernicious effects of gossip, slander and public criticism. Public scrutiny and fear of the ensuing judgements of behaviour, gossip and criticism were, therefore, strong conservative forces in the village which, as the following chapter illustrates, influenced behaviour not just in the public but also in the domestic domain.

CHAPTER FIVE

PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND THE PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD

ROLES

" In normal contexts, the room, the simplest form of shelter, expresses the most benign potential of human life. It is, on one hand, an enlargement of the body: it keeps warm and safe the individual it houses in the same way the body encloses and protects the individual within; like the body, its walls put boundaries around the self preventing undifferentiated contact with the social world, yet in its windows and doors, crude versions of the senses, it enables the self to move out into the world and allows the world to enter. " (Scarry, 1985: 38-39).

In Cábala the house (*la casa*) was an important social and economic unit distinct from the wider society of which it was part. Both the architecture of Cabalaño houses and village social life emphasised the discrete nature of *la casa* and the difference between the public and the private. Street doors were usually shut, few houses had windows which overlooked the street, and all back-yards were protected by high walls. Only the closest of neighbours visited each other at home to sit and chat and most villagers called upon each other only to deliver goods or messages or when invited to a formal social gathering such as a fiesta. Nevertheless, the distinction between the domestic and the public in Cábala was not absolute and, as will be seen in this chapter, most villagers were acutely aware of public scrutiny of how they performed their household roles.

The chapter begins with a description of the composition and definition of houses in the village and continues by describing why the house was seen as a distinct social and economic unit. I suggest that, unlike inter-household relationships, relationships between household members were not characterised by direct exchange but were mediated by the house. I then consider how husbands, wives and children all contributed to their houses in

different ways and to show how household roles differed according to gender and age differences. Finally the chapter continues with a description of the gendered nature of husband's and wife's roles which illustrates that the performance of household roles and the intra-household hierarchy was maintained, at least partly, by public scrutiny of behaviour within the house. Thus I conclude that even though houses in Cábala were seen as distinct units the boundaries of the house were permeable to public scrutiny.

The Composition of Houses in Cábala

Most Cabalaños used the term 'the house' (*la casa*) to refer to the building in which they lived and also to any capital assets such as land or animals but most frequently the term was used to refer to the household as a whole including individual members. The life-cycle of most houses in the village began when a married couple moved into their own accommodation, houses reached maturity by expanding to include children of the union, then contracted as those children grew up, married, and set up their own conjugal houses. When a married couple who had set up a house both died their capital assets were ideally divided equally between all children of the union and when the founding couple died so did the house; even if the building itself was not sold and children of the founding couple continued to live in it then it was still considered by all to be a new house.

Older residents reported that in the past married couples had been expected to spend several years living in the husband's natal house before setting up their own house (cf. Weismantel 1988:169). However, largely as a result of the decline of the village economy, the practice had changed and in recent times in the contemporary village newly-weds set up house wherever was most economically viable. It was not a change that many regretted as most older villagers, both men and women, remembered the first years of their own married life with something approaching horror and expressed the wish that their children would never have to experience anything similar. The table below shows the composition of households in the contemporary village and illustrates that few married couples now live with their in-laws.

TABLE 4: THE COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN CÁBALA

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION	%
Both parents and children	38
Mother and children - absent father*	21
Single** women and children	17
Parents, single daughter and grandchildren	10
Single women - children left home	6
Elderly couple - children left home	5
Other	3
Total	100

* 'Absent father' refers to those fathers who are regularly engaged in casual wage labour: some return to the village only on Sundays; others are away for months at a time and then return for a period of weeks; others work away from the village for three weeks out of every four.

** 'Single' refers to unmarried and widowed women as well as those permanently separated from their husbands.

The table shows that most households in the village were composed of parents and children living together in different stages of the household cycle. There was, however, a large number of households in the village headed by women. These households arose either as a result of husbands having left their wives and children or as a result of single women, with or without children, remaining in their natal house in order to care for elderly parents and then remaining in the house once their parents had died. Moreover in a number of households husbands / fathers worked outside the village and were absent from the house for considerable periods and sometimes it seemed as though the village was populated only by women, children and elderly men. However, although men were often

absent or missing and, as will be seen below, no task was exclusively gendered so women could easily manage a household, most Cabalaños strongly believed that ideally a house should be composed of parents and children living together.

Nevertheless, despite the ideal household corresponding with ideas of nuclear families, in Cábala membership of a house was defined by co-residence rather than by genealogical connections or by the sharing of a hearth. So, for example, Rosa, her husband and her children, all ate with, and spent most of their day, in Rosa's parent's house. The finances of the two houses were mutually dependent but, because Rosa, her husband and children all slept in their own house, the two houses were regarded as distinct both by the members of the respective houses and other villagers. In contrast Pedro lived with his siblings, his mother, his grandmother and a maternal uncle. Relationships between all of them were amiable but Pedro's grandmother and uncle kept themselves very separate, they lived in a separate room and cooked and ate independently of Pedro's mother and her children. They were, however, all regarded as belonging to the same house because they all slept under the same roof.

In addition incest prohibitions were based as much on co-residence as on genealogical ties (cf. Gudeman 1976:172-174). For example villagers were prohibited from having sexual relations with anyone who had lived in their own, or their parent's, natal households. Thus, first cousins could marry except when they had lived in the same house or one had lived in the house of a grandparent in which case sexual relations between them would have been prohibited. It was also co-residence rather than genealogical links which led villagers to refer to members of their own house as 'family'. Thus siblings who lived together always considered each other to be 'family' but as members of the sibling group married and formed their own conjugal households so they could choose whether to have a close relation and continue to address each other using a 'family' term or to recognise each other as kin but not have a particularly active relationship. So, for example, Carmen lived with her parents and two siblings to whom she was close and whom she addressed using 'family' terms. She also had two older sisters who had both married and moved to the province capital. Carmen was close to one sister whom she called by the 'family' term *naña*

but the other, with whom she had less contact, she called by the 'kin' term *hermana*. Another house in the village was composed of parents, their children and an orphan of one of the father's work colleagues who, although not genealogically related, was treated in every way as though he were a child of the house. Other villagers explained that this was not so unusual and it seemed that close 'family' links were as much defined by giving to, and taking from, the same house as the recognition of affinity or consanguinity in itself.

The House as a Social and Economic Unit

María lived with her daughter, parents and one sister and said that if she had to she would sell her prized possession, a radio, to help those who lived in her household with no expectation of repayment. In contrast she explained that although she would sell the radio to help her married siblings who lived in their own conjugal houses she would expect some form of repayment eventually. Finally she explained that with more distant relatives (*parientes*) such as aunts or cousins who lived in the village she would try to help them if necessary but would have to think very hard before selling the radio in case she did not receive sufficient repayment for the sacrifice. In short María was typical of all villagers in that she distinguished between relationships with members of her own house and those who lived in different houses.

In Cábala relationships between members of different houses were, as the previous chapter describes, characterised by reciprocal exchange but the relationships between members of the same house were not dependent upon the mutual recognition of obligations between persons but on the recognition of obligations to the house. Exchange between household members was mediated by the house and members of the same house gave to, and took from, the house rather than from each other. Thus siblings were expected to contribute to their natal household but, as previously mentioned, once they married and were living in their own houses active exchange relationships between them was a matter of choice rather than obligation. The mediation of the house in relations between members of the same household meant that villagers were expected to perform their household roles

regardless of the behaviour of other members of the house. For example, wives were expected to contribute to the house regardless of whether their husband contributed. Similarly parents were expected to act as parents regardless of the behaviour of their children and vice versa. Thus when a young man publicly criticised his mother for failing to pay his school registration fee he was, in turn, severely criticised by other villagers who explained that no matter how badly he was treated by his mother he should never have shamed his house by criticising her. The house was not, however, just an economic unit distinguished by each member having particular obligations to the house but was also a distinct social unit.

When villagers were aware that their behaviour had provoked criticism or gossip they invariably expressed regret at having embarrassed their house (*he dado pena a mi casa* - I have shamed my house). Loyalty to the house frequently led household members to substitute for one another in order to fulfil duties outside the house and employers often had to stress that they would only pay one specific individual in order to prevent another household member turning up to do the work. In summary, then, in Cábala houses were seen as distinct economic and social units. Unfortunately, the idea of the house as a distinct unit has frequently resulted in the relations between members of the same household being neglected (Harris 1981, Dwyer and Bruce 1988, Moore 1988). For example Gudeman and Rivera have described how many people in rural Colombia use the physical features of the house as the elements of a model which "is used to talk about and organize material practices" (1990:40). The same could be said of the people in Cábala who organised their finances according to the monetary flow to and from the house⁶⁴ and identified the maintenance (*mantener*) or support (*sostener*) of their house as their primary aim and responsibility. However Gudeman and Rivera have little to say about the ways in which the house in rural Colombia was internally differentiated. In contrast in the following two sections I describe how people's contributions to, and what they took from, their houses varied according to gender and age differences and suggest that the gendered nature of household roles resulted in an intra-household hierarchy.

⁶⁴See chapter 2.

The Contribution of Spouses to the House

In Cábala, as mentioned above, houses were founded by married couples and most villagers rarely spoke about the relation between spouses in terms of romantic attachment, which was more usually reserved for courtship and extra-marital affairs, but talked about spouses according to their ability and willingness to contribute appropriately to the house. The division of labour between spouses in Andean communities has often been described as complementary (Allen 1988:72-85, Custred 1977:127, Isbell 1978:216) and Cábala was no exception: women's work was closely associated with all aspects of the maintenance of the house while ideally it was men who dealt with the world outside the house.

In the village wives did not appear to be judged according to their ability to bear children although this was probably because barrenness was considered so dreadful that few villagers were willing even to recognise it as a possibility. There were many rumours which hinted that one elderly woman who lived alone in the village had been abandoned by her husband when she had not become pregnant after two years of being married but the rumours hinted, rather than openly suggesting, that she was unable to bear children. Fecundity therefore was apparently never openly acknowledged as an issue between spouses. Women were, however, judged as wives according to their household management skills, including the care of all members of the same house, and their willingness to be content with whatever social opportunities occurred within the house.

Wives were expected to demonstrate their willingness to remain closely tied to the house and thereby to show that they had no time to engage in illicit unions outside of the house (see below), by organising their work so as always to appear busy. Furthermore efficient management of the material resources of the house demanded that wives minimised waste and when cooking each potato was carefully peeled in a neat, thin spiral; each spring onion chopped into the finest cubes to maximise flavour; rabbits and guinea-pigs were plucked rather than skinned. Thus, although they often performed several tasks such as minding children and cooking simultaneously most wives in the village worked

slowly, steadily and meticulously, moving seamlessly from one task to the next and did not divide their day into work and leisure periods.

In contrast men ideally worked and socialised outside the house and returned home to rest. Men were often judged as good husbands according to their willingness to provide the financial resources for the house and protect it from outside pernicious influences. Responsibility for decision-making reflected the inside / outside division of labour between spouses. Thus, although women cared for children and made the daily decisions concerning their welfare, men made decisions about how to meet the education and medical needs of children "because they know the world" (*porque ellos saben el mundo*). Similarly when managing the household budget, women tended to manage the daily budget in which money was spent in familiar situations but men made decisions about investment in capital items which involved shopping in the province capital.

The material contributions which each spouse ideally made to the house were also reflected in inheritance prescriptions. Goods brought to the conjugal household from either natal house, or inherited after marriage, remained the property of the husband or wife respectively passing directly to the children of the union upon the death of the relevant spouse, although in practice the remaining spouse often retained control of the property for the duration of his or her life⁶⁵. Upon the death of both partners all major capital items such as land or livestock were shared equally amongst all children; but girls inherited pots, plates and other articles used in domestic labour from their mothers, while boys inherited tools, guns and wrist-watches from their fathers.

Nevertheless the division of labour was not absolute and as economic opportunities in the village have declined over the last 30 years so the division of labour has altered as many men in the village have become under or unemployed or have been forced to engage in temporary labour migration. In the contemporary village no task except childcare was

⁶⁵When one man's wife died he continued to live in the marital home and farm the land which he and his wife had bought together after their marriage even though her half share passed to the children of their marriage. However when he announced his intention to re-marry the children from his first marriage made a detailed inventory of their dead mother's property which their father continued to use. This was apparently a common practice in such circumstances designed to minimise inheritance disputes with any children from a second marriage.

exclusively gendered but, even though over 40% of households were run by women at least for the majority of the time, changes in the division of labour have extended, rather than radically altered, the ideal division of labour and the same principles of near / far, and inside / outside are still being applied⁶⁶. Thus in the contemporary village both men and women often worked on the land which was itself seen to be part of the household but women only sold crops locally while men took crops to the market in the province capital. Furthermore although many women in the village did earn money, most frequently by buying and selling food, few engaged in wage labour or labour migration.

In short the ideal gender division of labour within a house was largely complementary: men went out and about into the world and brought money into the house while women managed the house's resources. The following section shows that this gendered division of labour extended not only to the contribution each spouse made to the house but also to the contributions each child was expected to make.

Children's Contribution to the House

Married couples in Cábala expected to have children and most villagers said that a house ought to have children living in it (*una casa debe tener niños* - a house must have children). A grand-child was often sent to live with their grand-parents not just in order to provide care but because children were said to bring life to a house. In the past most villagers reported that married couples had as many children as possible but, as a result of economic insecurity, many contemporary villagers said that ideally they would have less children than in the past. This implies that children were seen as a drain upon, rather than contributing to, a household's expenses but at the same time most villagers said that a married couple should have at least two children: a boy to financially support, and a girl to

⁶⁶Weismantel notes that temporary labour migration amongst the men in an indigenous community in the central Ecuadorian Andes has led to households which contain "male proletarians and female subsistence farmers" (1988:31). However in Cábala, as chapter 2 notes, it would be inaccurate to describe women as 'subsistence farmers' as they engage in a number of different income-generating activities.

care for, their parents in their old age. In other words children were seen as taking from the household when young but were expected to give to the household when older.

This section describes how children were expected to contribute to their house in a variety of ways according to their gender, age, and birth order amongst the sibling group. Young children, under the age of 5 or 6 years, were thought to be innocent and not responsible for their behaviour and so were rarely expected to contribute anything to the house: occasionally they were asked to run messages or fetch things but if they failed in these duties they were not punished. As they grew older, however, children were expected to contribute, and as gender differences between children became more marked their contributions altered accordingly.

Prior to going to school children appeared to be happy to join in any activity that was going on around them but once at school they tended to form same-sex groups and many of their games reflected gender differences: the association of girls with the house and men with the wider world. Boys explained that girls could not play '*chantas*' (a game similar to marbles but played with coins) "because we play it with money" (*porque nosotros le jugamos con dinero*). Girls never played football, war, bulls, or karate, describing them as stupid (*tonto*) and instead gradually started to learn how to do household tasks and to take more responsibility for their younger siblings and their house's animals. By the time they were around 10 years old girls were expected to spend most of their time after school hours in the house helping their mothers and had to ask their parent's permission before leaving the house, a situation which only changed when they married and had to ask their husband's rather than parent's permission (see below). Girls denied resenting of this and most explained that they did not want to be like their lazy brothers who usually did nothing in the house or at most were given a specific daily task after which they came and went as they pleased.

Not only did most boys of school age contribute less to the upkeep of the house but they often took more from it than girls as they tended to stay longer in education. Most children completed the six years of primary education in local, state-funded, sex-segregated schools but many girls either did not start secondary education or only studied for three

years to receive the first-level graduation certificate, rather than complete the full six years of secondary education⁶⁷. Education was one of the major expenses of having children because although local schools were state-funded parents had to pay an annual registration fee, buy books, pencils and school clothes⁶⁸. As mentioned above when a father was present in a household he made the decisions about educating any children and many men were reluctant for their daughters to attend, or finish, secondary school. They argued that it was a waste educating girls since they were destined for marriage which required less formal education and there was a risk that they would form inappropriate liaisons with boys.

The relative cost to the house of boys in comparison to girls changed once children left school. Young men went to work, or at least spent their time looking for work, and gave their earnings to their houses. In contrast after leaving school young women were expected to retire further into the house and any work they undertook outside the house was often closely supervised by their mothers. Thus young men often contributed more in material terms than young girls although both young men and women were expected to give any money or material goods they earned to the house, and it was the desire to escape this expectation which many older residents said had led them to marry. Marriage, however, did not end a person's responsibilities to their natal house. Most villagers, both young and old, found the idea of a residential home for the elderly abhorrent and explained that not caring for elderly parents was a sin of the cities (*un pecado de las ciudades*). So, even when they married and lived in their own conjugal houses, children were expected to contribute to their natal house and care for their parents, both physically and financially, until they died.

Daughters were expected to provide physical care for their elderly parents but the greatest responsibility for providing such care often fell to the youngest daughter. Similarly

⁶⁷The local secondary school was mixed but the children specialised in vocational subjects and all the girls studied dress-making, a skill which enabled them to work from home, while the boys studied mechanics or agriculture.

⁶⁸The average annual registration fee was 10,000s and books, pencils and other expenses cost at least another 5-10,000s more without calculating the cost of school clothes. The daily wage for temporary agricultural labour was 1,500s.

sons were expected to provide financial support but younger sons frequently gave more financial aid than elder brothers who were usually married and had their own children to financially support by the time their parents became frail. In other words often it was not just gender and age considerations which determined what was expected from a child but birth order. The eldest child in a house, no matter how young themselves, was often expected to assume considerable responsibility for minding their younger siblings once they were weaned and toddling. Furthermore older siblings also contributed to the well-being of their younger brothers and sisters by giving their earnings to the house in the years between leaving school and getting married. Thus, by taking the larger share of the responsibility for providing greater care for elderly parents, younger siblings were balancing the greater contribution that their older siblings made to the natal house when they themselves were younger.

The contributions which different siblings made to their natal households was also recognised in the manner in which siblings divided their inheritance from their parents. Older siblings were recognised as having the right to adjudicate over the inheritance process but despite the prescription that property should be shared equally amongst all children often those children who had given most to their parents received a greater share of the inheritance. For example in cases where one sibling had continued to live in the natal house in order to care for elderly parents other siblings usually forswore their share of the profit which might have been gained by selling the house so that the carer could continue to live in the house undisturbed. In other words the contributions which each sibling made to a house were usually, over time, roughly balanced.

In summary, household roles also differed in accordance with variations in the gender, age and age-order of members. Furthermore not all members of the same house had the same degree of control over what they gave to, and took from, the house and relations within the house were hierarchical. Husbands were referred to as the 'head' (*jefe*) of their conjugal house and were expected to control, and were held responsible for, the behaviour of all members of the house. In practice, however, a husband usually delegated responsibility for children to his wife who, in turn, delegated responsibility for younger

siblings to older children. This hierarchy within the house was frequently reflected in the way that physical punishments were used to deal with errant behaviour e.g. when a young girl stole some alcohol and got drunk her mother hit the girl's older sister for allowing it to happen and the girl's father hit his wife. The intra-household hierarchy meant that not all household members had the same degree of choice over whether to contribute to the house or not. For example, one small boy who spent his earnings from a day's shoe-cleaning on sweets for himself was severely punished by his mother although the boy's father regularly spent most of his earnings on alcohol rather than giving it to the house and did so without fear of physical retribution.

The use of physical punishments in the house was not unusual but in the following sections I argue that most villagers strove to fulfil their obligations to their house not because they were necessarily afraid of physical retribution if they did otherwise but because they were aware that their performance of household roles was constantly subject to public scrutiny. I examine the performance of men and women as husbands and wives, as one example of an intra-household relation, and suggest that most villagers were aware that their social reputations were, at least partly, dependent upon how they were judged to perform their roles within the house. I conclude by arguing that because gender discourses within the village connected wives more intimately to the house than husbands it was more difficult for a wife to fail to fulfil her obligations to her house without endangering her social reputation and probably challenging her own subjectivity.

Women and Men as Wives and Husbands

In Cábala the contribution each spouse made to the house was seen, by both men and women, as having equal value but most, if not all, wives regarded themselves to be subordinate to their husbands and while occasionally they may have tried to circumvent their husband's authority they rarely, if ever, questioned their position in the hierarchy. In particular husbands were expected to exercise their authority over their wives by controlling when they left the house. Wives themselves did not question their husbands' authority to

grant them permission to leave the house or not, although sometimes they responded to the restraints imposed upon them by arranging their work so it gave them an excuse to leave the house and socialise with other women. Many wives, for example, led their husbands to believe that it was cheaper for them to do their laundry in the river where they had the opportunity to chat with other women rather than use the piped water and washing tanks in their own houses: the discomfort of standing in a cold river for between 4 and 10 hours a week was outweighed by the pleasure of company. Nevertheless during a course on the rights of women organised by the 'women's organisation' none of the thirty participants, all women, questioned the right of their husbands to determine whether they should be allowed to attend the course despite explicit prompting by the visiting speaker.

Many women suggested that a husband's authority in his conjugal household derived from men's financial contribution to their household. In practice however husbands were seen as the 'head' of their household even when they did not contribute, or contributed little, to their household. For example one man spent several months working away from the village and left his wife to provide for their five children and when he returned to the village he did not contribute financially to the household. Nevertheless, although his wife supported both him and their children, she still described him as the 'head' and cancelled all her appointments outside the house when he was resident in the village. In other words this wife, like many other wives in the village, recognised the authority of her husband even though he did not fulfil his obligation to the household: here the hierarchy within marriage was clearly not predicated on men's contribution to the household. Rather I suggest that the discourse which linked men's authority to their financial contribution to their households referred specifically to the masculine ability to go out into the wider world, the paradigmatic source of money and financial opportunity. In contrast, as the following description of gender relations in the village will show, most women perceived themselves as unable to go out and about in the world because the need to maintain their social reputations ideally restricted them to the house and domestic world.

The contrast between women's and men's relations to the domestic and outside world was directly related by most villagers to their nature as gendered beings and the

correct performance of their gendered roles. In the following sections, therefore, I examine ideas about the nature of the gendered roles of spouses and discourses on femininity and masculinity as they related particularly to married men and women.

Femininity

Moore has noted that "recent work in anthropology has demonstrated that cultures do not have a single model of gender or a single gender system, but rather a multiplicity of discourses on gender which can vary both contextually and biographically" (1994:142). In Cábala there were a number of feminine representations and practices but the three most pervasive discourses represented women firstly as self-sacrificing, asexual beings; secondly as sexually manipulative; and thirdly as being vulnerable to the sexual demands of men. The first image was the most socially valued one, and represented women as associated with their household, caring for other members of the house and sacrificing their own needs to do so. Thus, for example, good women were described as being content to remain in the house, to be willing to rise first in the mornings in order to prepare the house for others, to serve others first at every meal and, if necessary, to go without food in order to feed others.

In this caring role women were often represented as morally superior to men, illustrated in the Devil and treasure stories, mentioned in chapter two. In these stories women were portrayed as the defenders of the moral welfare of their husbands or sons by saving them from succumbing to the Devil's temptation. The moral strength and personally sacrificing aspects of femininity were most strongly represented in ideas about motherhood. Both men and women often spoke with tears in their eyes as they described the patience mothers often demonstrated, the sacrifices they made, and the suffering they endured, for their children. In short a woman's morality was often judged by how content she appeared to be to sacrifice her own desires for the good of other members of her household.

At the same time, however, women were also recognised to have their own interests and were often described as having manipulated men's sexual desire in order to achieve their own ends. Young women were said to be able to enslave a man into marriage by giving him food or drink mixed with their menstrual blood although the practice, being tantamount to sorcery, was widely condemned. More commonly women were said to use sex in order to attain material goods although one of the four lined songs (*coplas*) sung by women during the fiesta of *Carnaval* complained that contemporary men were mean:

Los hombres de este tiempo	The men of this time
Son de mucha fantasía	Are living in a fantasy
Meten la mano al bolsillo	They put their hands in their pockets
Sacan la mano vacía.	And pull them out empty

It was common practice for a suitor to signal his sexual interest in a woman by offering her a token of his regard usually in the form of a luxury food. Frequently young women repelled such advances by silently throwing the offered biscuit or ice-lolly to the floor and by doing so publicly demonstrated their virtue. However several young women privately explained that the longer they denied a suitor the greater his desire and 'madness' became and the better gifts they received. Most villagers said that ideally a woman was a virgin when she married but invariably added that they knew in practice the ideal was the exception rather than the rule and amongst themselves many young women attached no stigma to receiving presents for sex. For example Teresa accused Marta of having no self-respect when she thought that Marta had had sex with a man without first receiving the wrist-watch he had promised her. However once Marta was in possession of her wrist-watch Teresa was happy to collude with Marta helping her to meet her lover secretly and even looked after the watch so that Marta's parents would not find it and guess what their daughter had been doing.

Women were not always depicted as sexually manipulative but even the most modest and unaffected (*sencilla*) women were said to be vulnerable to the persistent

advances of men. This third image of femininity, of vulnerability, together with the idea of the sexually manipulative and impure image are both illustrated in a story about the origin of a large hill overlooking the village. It was said that years ago a priest had come to the village and although he was a good man he pursued and eventually seduced a young modest girl who worked for him. Other women were scandalised and gossiped continuously about the girl until the priest, overcome with guilt, responded by asking those women who were free from the sin of adultery or pre-marital sex to prove it by walking along a narrow track outside the village. Fearing for their own reputations the village women responded to his challenge causing God to punish them for their hypocrisy by turning most of them to stone and creating the breast-shaped hill as a reminder to all of the faithlessness of women.

The representation of women as both vulnerable to sexual advances and as sexually manipulative enabled others to judge a woman's behaviour differently according to their relationship to her (cf. Kelley 1991:571). Thus, for example, when a young girl of 14 became pregnant her family argued that her boyfriend had seduced her and therefore had to marry her, whereas his family argued that he had been ensnared by the girl and had no obligations to her⁶⁹. Generally most fathers tended to see their daughters as needing protection from other men whereas husbands or boyfriends appeared less convinced by the apparent vulnerability of women whom they often described as 'traitors' (*traicioneras*). However, regardless of whether a woman was judged to be the seducer or seduced, those who engaged in illicit sex, whether pre- or extramarital, risked being called 'whores' (*putas*) or 'women without shame' ("*ella no vale la pena*" - she is not worth shame). Thus although many women often laughed amongst themselves about humiliating a potential suitor or receiving presents they tried to conduct their illicit affairs as secretly as possible so as not to provoke pernicious criticism.

⁶⁹The couple themselves wanted to marry and so the wedding took place although the two families did not appear to be united by the marriage which seemed to strengthen their mutual animosity.

Illicit sex was said to take place outside households if not the village⁷⁰, and women who were judged by others to spend too much time outside their houses were criticised for being 'in the street' (*en la calle*), a euphemism for looking for, or being available for sex. Consequently women had little choice but to demonstrate that they were content with whatever social opportunities arose in the house, or as they went about their work, in order to avoid the imputation of lack of virtue or restraint and to maintain their conformity to the most highly valued image of womanhood - the virtuous woman of the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that even most single⁷¹ women chose to earn their living by doing work that was somehow associated with the house, selling food which they had prepared in the house or taking in laundry, rather than going out and about as men did. Women's regard for their social reputation, if not their own subjectivities, caused them to choose to remain in their households unless they had a good reason for going out.

Masculinity

A consideration of representations of masculinity in the village shows that men, primarily and most importantly, had to be seen to control the behaviour of the women in their house regardless of whether in practice those women needed to be controlled or not. Harvey suggests that in the Peruvian Andes "The most distinctive aspect of male attitudes towards sexuality is their exaggerated concern with female infidelity" (1994:75). The same appeared to be true in Cábala where many husbands publicly argued that wives in particular should not have free access to contraception because it was only fear of

⁷⁰The symbolic association of marital sex with the household and illicit sex with the 'wild' is discussed by Harris (1987). However in Cábala most villagers did not refer to any notion of an Andean cosmology when explaining why one type of sex was considered to be appropriate to the house and the other not, but rather explained that marital sex had to occur in the house because children could not be left and consequently it was often a rather constrained affair conducted so as not to wake up the children who usually slept in the same room. In contrast illicit sex was meant to be exciting and thereby had to take place away from the constraints of domestic concerns.

⁷¹By single I am referring to unmarried, widowed and separated women.

pregnancy and giving birth to a child by another man which kept women sexually faithful⁷².

Songs sung by men during *Carnaval* often referred to the faithlessness of women:

La naranja para dulce	The orange for sweetness
El limón para espinoza	The lemon for <i>spikiness</i>
Mi corazón para firme	My heart for firmness
El tuyo para engañoso	And yours for deceit.

In Cábala such concern was not only a demonstration of men's relations with women as the mothers of their children but, more importantly, their relations with each other and their own self representations of their masculinity. By concerning himself with his wife's fidelity a man was not just maintaining authority in his own household but thwarting the potential desire of other men and proving himself strong enough to do so. Harris (1994) notes that amongst the people in Northern Postosi, Bolivia, there were two representations of masculinity contained in animal imagery: sexually predatory condors and strong bulls. In Cábala there were few stories about condors but men were frequently compared to bulls: both men and bulls were seen as possessing the masculine quality of 'machismo' which incorporated ideas of masculinity as being both strong and sexually predatory.

Machismo was seen to provide men with both the means and cause to defend the women in their household: it was associated with sexual desire and womanising⁷³; but was also the force for which men were admired and which enabled them to be able to be independent and protect both themselves and their household from external pernicious

⁷² Women themselves desperately wanted information about contraception but all local medical services refused to even discuss the topic with a woman unless she was accompanied by her parents or her husband. In discussions about contraception nobody in the village ever mentioned the attitude of the Catholic Church.

⁷³ Many villagers said that machismo was passed on to children through breast-milk and 40% of mothers reported breast feeding their girls for between two and six months less than they had their boys as it was said that too much breast-milk resulted in girls becoming sexually rapacious and uncontrollable in adolescence (see McKee 1988). Other mothers reported that health education had led them to alter what they were taught by their mothers and to breast feed girls for the same length of time.

forces. To be a real macho 'bull' a man had to conquer other men's women while keeping his own women safe, although in practice men were respected as long as they performed the latter duty. Therefore in order to maintain their masculine identity and protect their women from others, men were expected to control and limit when their wives and daughters left the house in order to minimise the chance that they would engage in illicit sex. By so doing men demonstrated that they were strong enough to frustrate the potential desires of other men. Men who controlled the behaviour of their wives and daughters not only frustrated the desires of other men, but also rendered those women 'safe' in the eyes of other women who worried that their 'macho' husbands would seduce, or be seduced by, other women. Wives were not concerned by infidelity in itself but by the threat it posed to their households by their husbands being tempted to divert resources to their lovers, or even worse, abandoning the conjugal household to set up a new house. Both men and women therefore, criticised and questioned the sexuality of those men who seemed unable to control their wives' behaviour. Thus a man whose wife was allegedly having an affair was often criticised for not beating her sufficiently to make her change her behaviour and he was often referred to as a *maricón* (a pejorative term for a putatively feminine man). In short husbands had to control their wives' behaviour in order to maintain their own reputation in the eyes of others, and assert their gender identity.

Domestic Violence and Hierarchy

One notable feature of married life in Cábala which illustrates the influence of gendered discourses on the relationship between spouses was the frequency with which husbands hit their wives. Both men and women in the village said that a husband should physically punish his wife if she showed a lack of respect (*falta de respeto*) to him by being sexually unfaithful or arousing suspicion that she might have been; by openly challenging his authority; by not seeming to be caring efficiently for the members of the house; or if she contravened the expectations of trust/privacy (*confianza*) that characterised relationships between people living in the same house. Despite the existence of a consensus

on when women should be hit by their husbands there was still room for dispute as to whether any particular beating was justified.

Wives frequently said that their husbands maltreated them by being too brutal in their delivery of a punishment or by beating them without having a reason for doing so. Wives often distinguished between reasonable punishment which all members of a household, with the exception of the 'head', were subject to, and the violence they themselves often experienced in the form of brutal or unjust beatings. One woman, for example, explained that her husband had regularly beaten her when they first married, but although it had made her very unhappy she had not questioned it because she knew she had not been very good at managing the household. However at the time of speaking she had been married for sixteen years and knew there was no longer any doubt about her skills so when her husband had recently beaten her, causing her to miscarry, she had known the beating was unjust and had asked her brothers to seek retribution (see below).

Both men and women agreed that husbands were often violent towards their wives regardless of their wives' behaviour. For example both men and women agreed that newly-married wives, regardless of their behaviour, were most likely to suffer from unjust beatings. One woman said: "My husband is a good man, he works hard, but when we first married he was terrible. For about eleven years he treated me like a donkey, hitting me every day, I always had black eyes." Other women gave similar accounts of the early years of their marriage and said that their husbands only stopped hitting them after particular catastrophic incidents. One woman had lost an eye after being hit by her husband and another had been shot in the leg by hers. After each incident the respective husbands had virtually stopped being violent to their wives. Wives were also said to suffer violence when their husbands were drunk and many women suggested that their husbands hit them less as they got older because they were less able to get drunk regularly.

People who were drunk were not held responsible for their behaviour and many younger men explained that they had not meant to hit their wives but had done so when they lost 'awareness' through being drunk. However, although all drunk people were seen as potentially dangerous to all around them, drunk men rarely, if ever, hit their mothers or

sisters but did hit their wives. In other words a man was rarely so muddled by alcohol that he could not distinguish the woman with whom sex was socially sanctioned, who was the actual, or potential, mother of his children, and who had the most limited socially acceptable means of retribution.

Although there was no doubt that villagers linked violence and drunkenness⁷⁴, it is possible that wives were being understandably disingenuous in linking violence to alcohol consumption and not to sexual jealousy (*celos*). It was difficult for a woman to talk publicly about what might have motivated her husband to beat her without breaching the privacy that was meant to characterise marital relationships and thereby provoking criticism both from her husband and others⁷⁵. Nevertheless whenever villagers described particular examples of beatings in which they were not personally involved they invariably speculated that they had been motivated by sexual jealousy whether justified or provoked by malicious slander. For example it was said that the man who had shot his wife in the leg had been driven temporarily mad by listening to gossip about her seeing another man.

Moore posits the idea that violence "is explicable as the thwarting of the expected outcome of particular modes of gendered subjectivity" (1994:153) and in Cábala men's subjective representations of themselves as macho bulls could be thwarted not only by a wife's actual infidelity but by gossip implying that she had been: both deed and gossip challenged a husband's self-perception of being strong, authoritative, and in control. However as wives got older their husbands' gendered subjectivity was less likely to be challenged in this way as a woman's sexual attractiveness was said to decrease both with age and the number of children she conceived. The longer a wife was married the less likely she was to have the opportunity for infidelity and the more difficult it became to spread credible gossip about her alleged sexual activities. In short, therefore, it seems likely

⁷⁴Most villagers reported that the only good thing about not having so many extended communal fiestas celebrated by days of drinking was that the number of street brawls had decreased as a consequence and throughout my time in the village I only occasionally witnessed fighting between drunk men.

⁷⁵This contrasts to the situation described by Harris in Northern Postosí, Bolivia, where she suggests that because all wives suffer violence from their husbands they are able to talk about it openly and do not see it as their fault (1994:52).

that sexual jealousy, and not just drunkenness, accounted for younger wives suffering more violence than their older counterparts (cf. Toren 1994:29-31).

Harvey suggests that in the Peruvian Andes "sexual jealousy is about affinity, rather than gender" (1994:77). She compares kin and affinal relations and describes marriage, as an affinal relation, as "confrontational...because the hierarchy is not the prescribed, respectful, trusting, hierarchy of kinship but the achieved hierarchy of conquest" (1994:76). Her argument is persuasive given the situation which she describes in which wives married into their husband's kin network and the hierarchy within marriage was disputed. In Cábala however, the conjugal pair were seen as linked to, but independent from, each spouse's kin network and as mentioned above, wives did not appear to question their husbands' authority. In the village it seemed that women themselves rarely challenged a man's authority and masculinity whereas men's own desire for sex did do so: for men sex was ambiguous being both a confirmation of, and challenge to, masculinity.

Macho men were supposed to desire sex but by doing so they potentially put themselves in a position of weakness in comparison to women who were depicted as manipulating sexual relations but not desiring sex for its own sake. Furthermore, for a husband, sex was potentially even more problematic because he could never be sure that his wife was not diminishing his masculinity in the eyes of others by undermining his ability to control and protect her by having sex with others.

Legitimate sex was one factor which distinguished the relation between spouses from any other relationship. It is possible, therefore, that at least some incidents of violence towards wives were explicable in terms of husbands striving to maintain their masculinity in their own, and others' eyes, in the face of the potentially undermining consequences of maintaining a sexual relationship with women who were potentially manipulative. Moore has suggested that in examining violence we should "shift our gaze and move from imagining violence as a breakdown in the social order - something gone wrong - to seeing it as the sign of a struggle for the maintenance of certain fantasies of identity and power."(1994:154). In Cábala, I would suggest, many incidents of violence in marriage

were concerned with men maintaining their masculine social reputation if not their masculine selves.

Many writers about marriage in the Andes have noted that women have recourse to several strategies through which they can signal their disapproval of, or mock, their husbands' behaviour (e.g. Allen 1988:120-121, Weismantel 1988:181-182, Harris 1994:60). In Cábala, however, wives denied that they used such strategies, a denial which was confirmed by their children, and the only socially acceptable action open to a wife who perceived herself to be mistreated by her husband was to appeal to the male members of her natal home to confront (*reclamar*) her husband on her behalf (cf. Harris 1994:48)⁷⁶. In practice women rarely did choose to appeal to their natal family saying that it was both ineffective and shameful to do so and most women in the village said they usually "forgot" (*olvidar*) unreasonable beatings (see chapter 6). Often wives could not challenge the authority of, or criticise, their husbands in any way without causing others to speculate perniciously that they were motivated by the desire for illicit sex. Black eyes and bloody noses probably hurt as much in Cábala as anywhere else, but women had little choice but to tolerate violence passively if they were to maintain the most valued aspect of their gendered social reputation.

In summary, therefore, I suggest that the hierarchy between spouses derived from the performance of marital roles and gendered identities. It was the performance of such identities which determined that men had to be seen to control the behaviour of women in their households and which led them to use physical punishments and sometimes violence to demonstrate their control. However the use of violence was not necessarily essential in order to subordinate women. Women themselves perceived the most positive aspects of their own gendered social identity as being associated with their role in the house, caring for its members, and they could not challenge their subordinate position to men without risking this aspect of their own social identity.

⁷⁶Harris describes that in Northern Postosí, Bolivia, a wife's husband and brother frequently fought each other in 'ritual battles' and drunken fights during fiestas. This was not the case in Cábala where actual fights were very rare. Nevertheless on the rare occasions when such fights did occur the outcome was apparently of little interest in comparison with participation and the willingness to maintain masculinity by defending the right to be authoritative or protective respectively.

In other words, in Cábala the relationship between spouses was, to a certain extent, publicly supervised and this idea challenges any conception of the house in Cábala as entirely separable from Cabalaño society at large. Furthermore it was not just husbands and wives whose performance of their gendered identities and household roles was publicly scrutinised but the performance of parents, children and siblings was equally scrutinised. Just as a wife contributed to the household because to do otherwise would have risked her gendered identity and social reputation so did a son or brother. Gender relations in the village may have determined that wives and daughters were more closely associated with the house than husbands or sons but any household member who did not contribute to the household to the best of their ability risked others questioning their social reputation. Thus, although adherence to prescribed roles within the house and the appropriate recognition of authority may have been enforced by the use of physical punishments, I contend that it was villagers' awareness of public scrutiny of their behaviour and concern with their reputations which most effectively led villagers to try to fulfil their obligations to the house.

Summary

In this chapter I have suggested that people in Cábala saw houses as distinct social and economic units and relationships between members of the same household were distinct from inter-household relations. The latter were characterised by reciprocal exchange while intra-household relations were mediated by the house. Nevertheless the boundaries of the house were permeable to public scrutiny and the manner in which household members performed their different household roles was subject to public supervision. I have argued that many Cabalaños were motivated to contribute to their houses more through concern about the potential effects of public scrutiny on their positively gendered identity and social reputations than as a result of fear of physical punishment. This is not to suggest that there was not a close correspondence between villagers' subjectivities, their prescribed roles and public identities. It seems likely that much of the time wives, husbands, sons, sisters etc. performed their roles not just because they

were afraid of public judgements if they did otherwise but because being a wife or son etc. was an important aspect of their subjectivity. Nevertheless most adult Cabalaños were aware of public scrutiny of the performance of their social roles within the house and therefore in the village the separation of domestic and public spheres was not absolute. Furthermore the following chapter illustrates that public scrutiny did not just penetrate the house but also influenced how most adult villagers managed their own personal responses to the world.

CHAPTER SIX

PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND THE DISCOURSE ON FEELINGS IN

CÁBALA

The residents of the rural highlands had a reputation amongst other Ecuadorians for being reserved, except when drunk, and it is a reputation which appeared to be well deserved by many residents of Cábala who described themselves as 'closed' (*cerrados*). There was a large statue of Rumiñahui, a Purahán warrior whose name means 'face of stone', in the province capital and many Cabalaños admired, and often successfully reproduced, the statue's stern countenance. Whenever they spoke to strangers, or figures of authority, most villagers usually chose to avoid eye contact by staring at the ground, but even within the village, amongst peers, most adults tried not to give any indication of how they were thinking or feeling in their facial expressions. Many Cabalaños were acutely aware that all aspects of their behaviour, including their facial expressions, were subject to public scrutiny and inappropriate demonstrations of emotion potentially compromised their reputations and their relations with others. This chapter examines how awareness of public scrutiny appeared to influence how adult Cabalaños talked about, expressed, and managed their emotions.

I begin the chapter by describing why many villagers saw emotions as potentially endangering both their physical and social well-being. I then continue by describing how villagers were expected to disempower the potentially socially damaging motivating force of their emotions by 'forgetting' them. However, I argue that villagers did not always experience emotions as motivating forces and, therefore, did not always have to consider public scrutiny when they managed their subjective emotional responses. When summarising the chapter I suggest that it is difficult to abstract one representation of the person from the discourse on emotions in the village and suggest that it would be reductive to portray villagers as necessarily always having an idea of themselves distinct from the

social world they inhabited which they had to struggle to control in order to perform their social roles correctly.

The Physical Danger of Emotions

Most, if not all, Cabalaños saw their emotional responses as potentially endangering their health. Conceptualisations of the body and illness in the village are described in more detail in the following chapter and here it is sufficient to note that any extreme emotions, pleasurable or otherwise, or sudden emotional disturbances were said to cause the body to become unbalanced, weak and vulnerable to illness. Extreme pleasure, excitement and anger were all thought to cause the body to become too 'hot' (*caliente*), while shame and misery were considered to have the opposite effect of causing the body to become too 'cold' (*frio*). Both were states which, if not treated, were said to lead to illness as the following examples illustrate.

One elderly couple in Cábala had not heard from their eldest daughter for years since she had married and moved to Venezuela. When the daughter suddenly returned to visit her natal house her mother became ill shortly afterwards, suffering from flu-like symptoms. The ill woman herself and many other villagers explained that the illness was a result of her sudden extreme pleasure at seeing her daughter again. Similarly when Serena had a bad stomach-ache her mother explained that it was because Serena had been very angry two days previously when one of her sheep had been stolen. Serena's mother berated herself for not having thought to give Serena natural medicine (*medicina natural* - see chapter 7) when she had been so angry.

Most villagers used natural medicine to restore the body's physical equilibrium and prevent any illness which might otherwise have occurred and, therefore, took natural medicine as a prophylactic measure when they experienced a potentially weakening emotion. However villagers said that natural medicine could not always restore physical equilibrium and therefore they tried, as far as possible, to avoid situations which might have provoked extreme emotions. For example people joked that poverty was good for them as

it meant that they were not tempted to give themselves too much pleasure by eating a surfeit of rich food. Conversation was frequently littered with wishes to live a quiet life (*quiero vivir tranquilamente*) but the wish for a quiet life was often undermined by the reality of living in close proximity to others. Cabalaños, like people everywhere, had limited control over others and the circumstances of their own lives and, therefore, inevitably sometimes experienced extreme emotions. For example people said they preferred to avoid somebody they felt had wronged or insulted them explaining that confrontation often led to a heightening of potentially damaging emotions in both parties. However, if the insult had been public, people had to respond or be judged weak and suffer damage to their own social reputation and therefore they did sometimes confront (*reclamar*) others.

The Social Danger of Emotions

Emotions were not only seen as potentially physically damaging but the expression of those emotions through speech, through facial and body gestures, and through actions were also seen to be potentially socially damaging. In previous chapters I have described that most villagers valued their social reputations and emotions were seen as potentially socially dangerous because they could motivate a person to transgress the expectations of others and thereby jeopardise their reputation. Many villagers appeared to see emotions as potentially generating behaviour through a causal chain which Lutz (1987) identifies as being the basis of many 'folk' schemes of emotion. A precipitating event was seen to provoke an emotion which was then sometimes linked to a response reaction. Mercedes, for example, heard that Elvia had been seen with her husband (the event) it aroused her anger (the emotion) and she did not greet Elvia when they met (the response reaction). When they were explaining their own, or other people's, behaviour most villagers often made links between precipitating events and emotions which were largely familiar to myself. For example Fernanda, a young unmarried girl, described herself as having been 'unhappy' (*triste*) when she thought she was pregnant; Rita described herself as having been excited (*emocionada*) and scared (*tuve miedo*) on her wedding night; and Alberto

was described by others as still being furious (*todavía él está rabia^{oso}*) that he had lost his job as a foreman on a local hacienda when it had been disbanded in the mid 1960's.

The discourse on emotions in Cábala was similar to 'Western' discourses on emotion: roughly the same types of event were frequently seen as precipitating the same types of emotions with similar degrees of intensity and personal variations⁷⁷. However, although the links between precipitating events and resulting emotions were broadly the same, the two discourses differed: in Cábala the link between emotions and behaviour was not seen as so inevitable as it sometimes may seem to be in a 'Western' discourse. Cabalaños recognised that emotions could generate behaviour but adult villagers were often expected to break the link between their subjective experiences, the emotion, behaviour and their response reactions.

In the village any expression of an emotion which suggested that a villager was unable, or unwilling, to perform their social roles adequately was considered to be a socially unacceptable transgression of orthopraxy which potentially jeopardised a villager's reputation. For example when Mercedes failed to greet Elvia, her *comadre* (see chapter 3), she was judged to have expressed her emotions inappropriately and, despite a general recognition that she had been provoked by Elvia seeing her husband, the ensuing gossip and criticism of her action temporarily damaged her reputation, although it should also be said that Elvia's standing in the village was equally damaged.

All adult villagers were expected to express their emotions so as to display that they remained capable of recognising their responsibilities even in the most difficult circumstances. For example during a vigil for a husband who had died unexpectedly his wife demonstrated her grief appropriately by squatting by the closed coffin wailing, throwing her head back and forth, and wringing her hands. Meanwhile in the same room many male relatives of the dead man were drunkenly trying to hit each other around the coffin. At one point in the proceedings the youngest child of the widow came into the room and strayed perilously close to the feet of the drunk men. Suddenly the widow's wailing stopped, she leant forward, grabbed the child out of harm's way and sent her out of

⁷⁷The most notable exception was *envidia* described in detail in chapter 4.

the room before resuming her wailing. The break in the woman's display of grief lasted no more than a few seconds but the change on her face from being contorted with sadness to a look of concern and authority was immediate and complete. Later, in response to questions, other women said that the widow had acted correctly, explaining that she was expected to grieve but her ability to change her countenance so rapidly did not indicate that her grief was only a fulfilment of social expectations but rather that she was rightly aware of her responsibilities as a mother. The following day when the widow's husband was buried she fainted in the grave-yard and, although people were sympathetic and cared for her, she was criticised by some for showing excessive emotion and forgetting her responsibilities to her children and guests.

Any expressions of emotions which could lead to a personally disadvantageous change in relationships were also considered to be inappropriate as they were perceived as an indication that people were failing to recognise their responsibilities to themselves or their houses. For example one woman described how a man in the village had often made her feel angry because, she alleged, he had treated her contemptuously like "a dirty Indian" (*una india sucia*). However she explained that she had never expressed her anger as it might have provoked him, and members of his household, to sever or disrupt their relationship with her. The man's family helped the woman financially and she explained that any expression of her anger would have been judged as inappropriate not just by the man and other members of his house but by most other villagers who would regard such recklessness as irresponsible. Similarly villagers were also expected to avoid expressing their emotions if to do so it would have created a debt that it would have been difficult, or impossible, for them to repay. For example one woman received a gift which she looked at quickly and smiled broadly but when she looked up to thank her benefactor her face betrayed only a glimpse of a smile. Later the woman explained that she had been very pleased with the gift but if she had shown how pleased she would have indebted herself to her benefactor to such an extent that it would have been difficult to repay the gift. She explained that an overt display of gratitude would have been judged as inappropriate

because it would have been seen as a manifestation of 'lack of respect' (*falta de respeto*) to herself.

In summary, then, emotions were regarded as potentially socially dangerous because villagers recognised that subjective feelings could motivate a person to forget their responsibilities to others and act in such a way that not only potentially threatened personal relationships but the social order within the village. Public scrutiny monitored not just how Cabalaños performed their social roles but how they *appeared* to feel about doing so. All adult villagers were expected to show at all times that, regardless of how they might feel, they were able, and willing, to recognise their obligations both to themselves and others. The social monitoring of the expression of emotions also extended to how people talked about their feelings and, although most villagers readily spoke about their circumstances, they would rarely talk, at least publicly, about how they felt. Most, if not all, villagers were comfortable only when discussing emotional experiences which were sufficiently far back in the past, so as not to provoke any judgement that they were inappropriately expressing their emotions⁷⁸. However, despite such scrutiny, the following section illustrates that adult Cabalaños were not expected to be blank-faced automata who responded to all people and circumstances in the same manner.

The Socially Acceptable Expression of Emotions

Children were usually encouraged to manage how they expressed their emotions from a young age: small children were rarely told what, or what not, to do but whenever they wailed or laughed too loudly in the company of adults their mothers would scold or comfort them. Young children not yet at school were frequently hushed by being offered their mothers' breast while older siblings were told to be quiet or go away and if they persisted in making their feelings known were studiously ignored (cf. Briggs 1970:171-

⁷⁸It is possible, of course, that people were simply unwilling to talk about their feelings with me. However the many warnings I received not to talk about how I felt because it was too 'strong' and would cause others in the village to both criticise and avoid me suggest that it was seen as socially unacceptable to talk about current feelings and was not just a reluctance to do so in my presence.

175). The older children became the more it was taken for granted that they would manage their emotions so they did not generate inappropriate behaviour. The two or three adults in the village who consistently inappropriately expressed their emotions were all said to be ill. One man, for example regularly displayed his anger inappropriately, regardless of the potential consequences. His 'deviant' behaviour was explained by his family and neighbours as a lingering symptom of a serious illness he had suffered several years earlier. As ill people were not held responsible for their behaviour when the man shouted angrily at other villagers they could choose to ignore him, whereas if others had shown such lack of respect they would have had little choice but to respond or risk being criticised as weak⁷⁹.

However, although all adults were expected to manage their emotions most of the time, there were occasions when villagers were expected to display their feelings and to not do so was considered inappropriate. Public events, both religious and secular, did not just reproduce or create the social order of the village but also afforded villagers the opportunity to express their emotions overtly and those who failed to respond were often criticised. For example during the lent celebration of *Carnaval*, which lasted about eight days in the village, Cabalaños were expected to forget their daily worries and show how much they were enjoying themselves. Both adults and children threw water and flour at each other, got drunk, danced and sang rude songs loudly, and one elderly woman who all week refused to join in was vociferously criticised.

Villagers were also expected to mark certain important personal events with particular displays of emotion and were expected to weep at times of adversity and show their joy at achievements and triumphs. Thus Gorge attracted criticism when he did not publicly demonstrate pleasure at the birth of his first child and an elderly couple who were forced by financial troubles to sell their house and leave the village were verbally savaged when they did not appear to be sufficiently moved by such a catastrophe. However, as with

⁷⁹The pathologising of deviance has often been explained in the sociological literature as a consequence of medical imperialism (see Parsons 1964, Szaz 1970) but in Cábala no medical professional, doctor, or sorcerer played the role of 'moral entrepreneur' (Becker, H. 1963:147) in labelling those who consistently displayed their emotions inappropriately as ill. Nor did family and neighbours suggest treatments for the ill/deviant person as they did in other cases of illness (see chapter 7). The relationship between deviancy and illness, therefore, did not appear to serve a medical purpose so much as a social one.

all social behaviour, the criteria by which most Cabalaños judged expressions of emotion as inappropriate were not absolute and often varied in accordance with alliances within the village. For example while it was acceptable, even expected, that a parent should hit a child in certain circumstances it was meant to be a disciplinary action motivated by regard for the child and not done just to appease an adult's anger or displeasure. However, when a parent did hit a child who, other than the parent, could know what motivated the action? When a small crowd watched a young mother, stick in hand, chase her son across the village square, despite everybody having witnessed the same scene, opinion was divided as to whether the mother was a 'brute' motivated by anger, or, a dutiful mother necessarily disciplining her wayward son. Not surprisingly a woman in the crowd who had argued with the mother the previous week expressed the former opinion while a relative and work colleague disagreed.

Furthermore judgements of what were considered to be appropriate expressions of emotions varied according to the publicly perceived disposition (*genio*) of each villager i.e. whether they were known to be happy (*feliz*), sad (*triste*), or bad tempered (*bravo*). The criteria by which emotional responses were judged to be socially acceptable or not were, at least partly, based on ideas of each person displaying emotions as others might expect them to in light of their perceived disposition. Thus Carmen, who was renowned for her cheerful disposition, was criticised by some villagers when she did not smile as she greeted them; while no one expected such a show from Ernesto who was equally well-known for being miserable. The idea that people had innate but malleable dispositions, therefore, allowed a degree of idiosyncrasy in how villagers expressed their emotions but there were limits to the extent that personal variations were tolerated. Each person's disposition was said to be innate but those who were perceived to have a disposition at odds with widely held expectations of how they should be, in accordance with their position in the social order, were considered to be socially suspect. For example young women were expected to have timid dispositions and displays of anger were rarely tolerated but it was expected that the timidity of youth would give way to a wordliness and older women were criticised as weak if they did not occasionally display their anger.

In summary, then, villagers were sometimes able to show how they were feeling and, within limits, idiosyncratic displays of emotion were tolerated. However it is clear that adult villagers were frequently expected to manage how they displayed their feelings so as not to threaten the social order of the village. Nevertheless, as the following two sections show, it would be inaccurate to equate the idea of villagers managing their public displays of emotion with ideas of repression or control. The idea of control assumes that villagers would have wanted to act in a socially inappropriate way but repressed the desire in order to maintain their reputations, an assumption which I will argue below is, at least sometimes, questionable in light of villagers' descriptions of their own feelings. First, however, in the following section, I argue that the idea of controlling or repressing emotionally generated urges is a culturally specific idea which does not accurately describe how the people of Cábala spoke about managing their emotions.

The Management of Emotions by 'Forgetting'

Graciela spoke movingly of the time many years ago when her much loved father had been ill and her husband had refused her permission to go and visit him. She had not wanted to disobey her husband but, desperately worried about her father, she had run away from Cábala and walked all day to get back to her natal community. Her father had died before she arrived. On returning to her husband he beat her so severely to punish her disobedience that she had miscarried her first child the following day. Graciela explained, however, that she had never expressed the anger and resentment she had once felt towards her husband but had instead 'forgotten' (*olvidar*) her feelings by taking natural medicine and going for walks. In the years since she had given birth to three healthy children and continued to live with her husband but she smiled when she explained that currently she only rarely had to have sex with him because at present he preferred his lover.

Graciela explained that she remembered her resentment of her husband, hence her pleasure at no longer having to have sex with him, but by 'forgetting' had transformed her feelings from a motivating force into a passive memory. She had forgotten the desire she

once had to leave her husband or seek revenge in some way and she spoke of having forgotten feelings which in other circumstances might have kept a professional of misery in employment for many hours. Graciela's story was just one of many examples, both poignant and apparently trivial, in which Cabalaños referred to having forgotten⁸⁰ their feelings. Lastenia described herself as having forgotten her anger when her neighbour had bought a similar dress to one she herself had bought the previous week, Fernando said he forgot his disappointment when his sow only gave birth to two piglets, and Sonia said she had forgotten the sorrow she felt when a much loved sister got married and moved far away from the village.

María, an unmarried mother, described how angry (*yo tuve ira bastante*) she had been when a female cousin had publicly criticised her when she became pregnant. She said she had wanted to confront the relative and normally would have been able to do so because they were of the same age and their relationship was a matter of choice, not a social expectation, so it would not have been overly inappropriate to disrupt it. However because of family politics she had been unable to appease her emotionally generated urge by fulfilling it so she had taken 'natural' medicine, distracted herself by going out for walks, and 'forgotten' her anger. Once it was forgotten María said she had felt no desire to act on her anger although she still remembered her feeling and explained that later when the cousin became an unmarried mother she had been pleased and used the adage "revenge is sweet" (*La venganza es dulce*) to explain her reaction.

It may seem that the idea of forgetting feelings could be equated with repressing them but the latter idea is rooted in a conceptualisation of emotions in which they are seen as psychobiological forces which, when repressed, can lead to psychological disruption. In contrast, in Cábala, when people spoke of forgotten feelings they referred to feelings which were no longer experienced, if they ever had been, as motivating forces or capable of causing psychological turmoil. Thus, initially, the idea of people in Cábala forgetting feelings appears similar to Rosaldo's description of how the Ilongot forgot anger. She

⁸⁰In this chapter when I refer to Cabalaños as having 'forgotten' how they felt I always refer to their meaning of the term unless otherwise stated and do not, therefore, use apostrophes.

describes that the Ilongot did not think of "hidden or forgotten affects as disturbing energies repressed; nor did they see in violent actions the expression of a history of frustrations buried in a futile but unconscious mind" (1984:144). Rosaldo, however, argues that the ability to forget feelings amongst the Ilongot was a consequence of the indivisibility of the self and the presentation of self (see Goffman 1959) which she relates to an egalitarian social structure and lack of self concern with social status. Whereas, in Cábala, as the previous chapters have described, most, if not all, villagers were acutely conscious of their reputations and the public scrutiny of their behaviour. Thus it seems unlikely that most villagers did not, at least sometimes, distinguish between their subjective experiences as selves and their social identities or presentation of selves.

Furthermore Rosaldo hints that the idea of a person as a continuous, reasonably constant entity was not always applicable when describing the Ilongot's representations of themselves, where "character is seen less as a product of one's nature or experience in life than of the situations in which the actor currently is found" (1984:146). In contrast, in Cábala, although in the following section I will suggest that most Cabalaños recognised many different conceptualisations of the person, it was clear that, at least sometimes, they had an idea of themselves as continuous, reasonably constant, entities. For example each villager, as previously mentioned, was seen to have an innate, although malleable disposition and forgotten emotions were remembered and seen by most villagers as part of their continuing self representations. Nevertheless, despite these differences, just as Rosaldo describes the Ilongot forgetting their anger when they were unable to express it without transgressing the social order, so Cabalaños forgot their feelings in order that they would not generate potentially socially disruptive behaviour. Furthermore many villagers explained that if a person did not forget potentially disruptive emotions they would become ill despite taking natural medicine and those who did not 'forget' their emotions were seen as being irresponsible not only to others but to themselves. One woman suffered a series of minor physical complaints which many other villagers said were the result of her not forgetting her anger with an unmarried daughter who had become pregnant; her symptoms were judged to be virtually self induced. To summarise, all adult villagers were expected to

forget any potentially disruptive emotions and by doing so were expected to render their emotions into passive influences rather than motivating forces. Nevertheless, as mentioned, the idea of disempowering any potentially disruptive emotionally generated urges by forgetting them can not be compared to what Lutz has called "the rhetoric of emotional control" (1990:70). Both forgetting and controlling render emotions inert, but there were differences between the two processes. The idea of control suggests that emotionally generated urges had to be dominated even at the cost of internal disruption. For example the ideas of controlling emotions which Lutz elicited from a small sample of white people living in the United States illustrates how the control of emotions is associated with internal mayhem. She quotes a young man: "It wasn't that I wanted to cut off my emotions, I just didn't, they would get out of control, and I found that the more I tried to suppress them, the more powerful they would become. It was like this big dam that didn't let a little out at a time, it would just explode all of a sudden, and I'd be totally out of control." (Lutz 1990:77).

In contrast many Cabalaños saw feelings which were not forgotten as causing illness while those which were forgotten were not seen as leading to internal mayhem, an idea which initially may appear strange to those whose ideas about emotions have been psychodynamically influenced. However, even those whose ideas of emotions are psychodynamically influenced suggest that talking about how one feels can avert both social and internal chaos and people often exhort each other to 'get it off your chest', or 'let it all out'. They are encouraged to confess their emotional states not just because their feelings are associated with their 'true' selves (Foucault 1978a), but because talking about how they feel is somehow seen to neutralise those feelings. They do not equate talking about their feelings with controlling them because, once spoken about, any disturbance that those feelings might have caused is thought to be significantly diminished, whereas the idea of controlling an emotion suggests an ongoing psychological struggle. Therefore I suggest that forgetting feelings in Cábala is comparable to an idea of someone talking about how they feel: both processes are thought to render the feelings into passive memories which

might influence future reactions but have no power to damage people internally or generate an urge to act.

In summary, therefore, forgetting was the way in which most villagers managed their emotions so that they did not threaten their physical or social well-being. The following section suggests that villagers did not always experience emotions as motivating forces. When they did however, there is little doubt that awareness of public scrutiny of their behaviour led most villagers to manage their feelings in such a way as to ensure that they did not generate inappropriate behaviour. Nevertheless it would be inaccurate to suggest that villagers were 'controlling' their emotions because the idea of control is associated with psychological distress. Villagers forgot inappropriate feelings and the process of forgetting is comparable to the the notion of confession in psychodynamically influenced discourses on emotions: in the latter emotions were rendered inert by making them external through speech, while in Cábala talking about how one felt was considered inappropriate and people disempowered their feelings by distracting themselves. Once the comparison is made between forgetting and confession rather than between forgetting and control it no longer seems strange that forgotten emotions were not seen as "disturbing energies repressed" (Rosalso 1984:144).

Motivating and Passive Feelings

In Cábala many villagers described their subjective experiences of an emotion as a motivating force sometimes and, at other times, as a passive feeling. María, for example, described how her mother-in-law had continually hit and abused her when they lived in the same house. She said she had been "very angry" (*Yo tuve ira fuerte., bastante* - I had strong anger) but had forgotten her feelings and taken natural medicine in order to guard against illness. She denied, however, that she had ever felt any urge to confront, shout, hit or do anything else as a consequence of her anger i.e., she described herself as not experiencing her anger as a motivating force. In contrast she described many incidents when she had experienced anger as an emotionally generated urge e.g. when she heard that

the wife of her cousin had gossiped about her she had felt like confronting her and had done so.

The two examples differed because any show of anger on María's part towards her mother-in-law would have been judged as inappropriate. Villagers were expected to show respect to those who are older and active relationships with such a close affine were considered to be obligatory and therefore not to be jeopardised. In contrast María had not been overly criticised for confronting her cousin's wife as they were roughly the same age and the relationship between them was a matter of choice rather than obligation. This suggests that perhaps María's phenomenological experiences of anger may have varied in accordance with social expectations.

The idea that causes and expressions of emotion vary according to variations in the social environment has been accepted by many psychologists (e.g. Ekman 1973, Buck 1986) and anthropologists (e.g. Myers 1979, Rosaldo 1984, Lutz 1988). However the idea that phenomenological experiences of the same emotion may vary is more contentious and problematic. Myers points out that when 'emotion concepts' are being considered it is necessary to distinguish " 'words' from the 'feeling-states' they seem intended to describe both because word use ("I'm sorry") does not guarantee feeling and, relatedly, because 'feelings' are notably complex and ambivalent" (Myers 1979:343). Of course it is impossible to know with any degree of certainty how someone else is feeling and recently anthropologists have, not surprisingly, concentrated on 'word use' and the social factors that influence how people talk about feelings and the meanings of such talk. Such an approach avoids the problems posed by Solomon's question: "How does one move from what is observed (the expression) to what can not be observed (the emotion)?" (1984:246).

In Cábala emotions were often represented as motivating forces but many villagers, not just María, reported that they had experienced the same emotion in a variety of ways and it cannot, therefore, be assumed that when villagers 'forgot' their emotions they had transformed their feelings from an urge to act to a passive feeling. In other words when managing their emotions many Cabalaños apparently did not always have to give priority to their social reputation at the expense of their own subjectivity. Just as I have suggested in

chapter 5 that it is probable that there was a degree of accordance between villagers' subjectivities and their household roles, so it seems likely that, sometimes at least, the subjective experience of emotions and social expectations were in accord. It would, however, be inaccurate to suggest, as some have done, that the phenomenological experience of emotions is culturally constructed (e.g. Geertz 1980, Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987) because, if so, it becomes difficult to see why villagers frequently talked about emotions as forces which potentially generated inappropriate behaviour. For example María's anger was not always passive and she described how she felt angry with her two children in the past and as a result had felt like hitting them but usually had not done so and instead had forgotten her anger because it was not acceptable to hit children in order to appease her own feelings.

The cultural construction approach not only simplifies the relationship between the phenomenological experience of emotions and the social environment but reduces the person to a socially determined entity and leaves little room for the idea that emotions may have a psychobiological influence. LeDoux, a neurobiologist, reports that the "issue of whether visceral factors can determine the quality of emotional experience is still unresolved today" (1986:307). If other disciplines are unsure about the 'biology' of emotions it seems premature for anthropologists to dismiss emotions as psychobiological forces (see Elias 1991, Worthman 1992, Morris 1994:159). Nevertheless it is possible to leave the question of the 'biology' of emotions and people's subjective experience aside and consider only the identification and labelling of feelings without reducing emotions to culturally constructed notions or denying variations in people's descriptions of their feelings.

It is possible, for example, that in Cábala the use of 'emotion terms' was heavily dependent upon the application of some form of culturally based prototypic model contained in the historic and culturally specific emotional discourse (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990). The ways in which emotions were attributed to others in Cábala to explain their behaviour, and the ways in which villagers talked about situations in which they had experienced particular feelings, can be thought of as constituting a discourse which

contained a number of "prototypical event schemas" (White 1992:29). Wittgenstein suggested: "What I do is not...to identify my sensation by criteria, but to repeat an expression" (1953:290). Similarly when Cabalaños spoke about their feelings retrospectively it is possible they were not using emotion-terms to distinguish or label subjective feelings according to remembered phenomenological criteria but rather by recognising the contexts in which those feelings occurred and comparing them with 'prototypic schemas' contained in the discourse on emotions. In other words I am suggesting that when María described herself as having been "angry" her use of the emotion-term was determined more by the contexts in which she had felt something than her remembered phenomenological experience and whether it was passive or motivating.

The idea that villagers labelled their feelings according to prototypical schemas rather than by reference to their subjective experiences accounts for why people used the same term to describe feelings which are both passive and motivating. However by recognising that villagers did not always describe themselves as experiencing feelings as generative forces it is possible to see that villagers did not always have to pay regard to public scrutiny of their behaviour when managing their feelings. The popular discourse on emotions may have linked specific emotions with particular behaviours as noted above but, by their own accounts, villagers did not always experience emotions as motivating forces. It is not easy therefore, as the final section of this chapter shows, to abstract one representation of how people saw themselves from the discourse on emotions in the village.

The Person, Self and the Discourse on Emotions in Cábala

There has been a tendency in the anthropology of emotions to interpret variations in how people spoke about and expressed emotions as indicative of different conceptualisations of the 'self' (Geertz 1984, Rosaldo 1980, 1984). However such interpretations have often been based on the idea that people have only one conceptualisation of the self. For example Geertz has suggested that "The Western

conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgement and action organised into a distinctive whole...is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures" (1984:126). I would suggest that what is really peculiar is not the conception that Geertz describes as being specific to 'Western' people but the idea that it is possible to abstract one dominant conception of the person held by people anywhere. One only has to consider debates about abortion, euthanasia and the current confusion about who should determine how limited medical resources are spent to realise that there are a vast number of conceptualisations of the person in the 'West'.

There seems little reason not to assume that most, if not all, Cabalaños also had a number of different, even contradictory, representations of themselves as persons and selves. Geertz, however, is not the only anthropologist to suggest that people have only one dominant conceptualisation of the self. For example Schweder and Bourne (1984) suggest that the concept of the person varies cross-culturally and compare the 'egocentric' and 'sociocentric' views of the relationship between the person and the social. They suggest that where the 'egocentric' view dominates there is a clear idea of the self distinguished from the social expressed in ideas of autonomy, privacy etc. In contrast where the 'sociocentric' view dominates "the concept of the autonomous individual, free to choose and mind his own business, must feel alien, a bizarre idea of cutting the self off from the interdependent whole, dooming it to a life of isolation and loneliness" (Schweder and Bourne 1984:194). However, with regard to the discourse on emotions in Cábala, it is difficult to decide how, for example, to interpret the relevance of 'forgetting' emotions with regard to the conceptualisation of the self. Furthermore, as Morris points out, the two perspectives forwarded by Schweder and Bourne are not mutually exclusive and he suggests "a sociocentric conception of the self does not preclude an equal emphasis on individual autonomy and self development" (1994:194) and vice versa.

I suggest that to interpret feelings as somehow being indicative of the 'true' nature of a person is based upon a questionable and dated idea of the essentialist notion of

emotions. Wagner (1981) has suggested that the self is an invention created from a dialectical relationship between the person as an actor and the world they inhabit. His insight suggests that it would be wrong to abstract and reify either the person from the social or vice versa. With regards to the people of Cábala it would certainly be reductive to abstract one representation of the self from the discourse on emotions or to suggest that either the person or the social was dominant. For example the idea that emotions potentially motivated socially inappropriate actions suggests that villagers had an idea of themselves as distinguishable from their social roles. However the stress on not expressing emotions inappropriately suggests that villagers were expected to give preference to maintaining their reputations rather than fulfilling their personal desires. It would, however, be inaccurate to imply that the management of emotions was based upon the idea of personal sacrifice. Psychodynamically influenced ideas of emotions imply that people pay either a personal or social price for being sentient persons: one has to choose to act upon or express emotions or risk personal mayhem. In contrast by 'forgetting' emotions Cabalaños managed both the potential physical and social risks of feelings without apparently suffering personal strife for having done so. It was, therefore, self evident and sensible to most villagers that they would choose to manage their feelings so as not to arouse public criticism and endanger their reputations. It is impossible, therefore, to separate villagers' representations of themselves as sentient beings and their awareness of themselves as social beings with a reputation to maintain.

In summary, then, while it may be tempting to portray the self in Cábala as a victim of public scrutiny most villagers seemed to wish to manage their personal responses so as not to threaten their reputations and participation in the 'good faith economy'. It was this desire, rather than a particular conceptualisation of the person, which I suggest was stressed in the dominant discourse on emotions in the village. In the following chapter I argue that participation in the good faith economy also influenced how illnesses were represented and treated in the village.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ILLNESS AND THERAPY IN CÁBALA

"The body is at once the most solid, the most elusive, illusory, concrete, metaphorical, ever present and ever distant thing - a site, an instrument, an environment, a singularity and a multiplicity" (Turner 1984:8).

María was about 50 years old and had six children who she had supported by working in a local shop making bread and doing laundry since her husband had left her to live with another woman several years earlier. When her arms, legs and head began to ache María reasoned that, because she worked next to the bread oven, her body had become too 'hot' (*caliente*) and she used natural medicine (*medicina natural*) to treat herself. She began drinking infusions made from plants classified as 'cool' (*fresca*) in order to cool her body. She did not get any better and neighbours suggested that perhaps the problem was due to her body having become too cold from having her hands in cold water too often when doing laundry. Thus she began to drink infusions made from plants classified as both 'cool' and 'hot' in order to cover both eventualities.

Still not any better and with a large, painful, black ulcer developing on her foot which made working difficult María asked her sister-in-law to cleanse (*limpiar*) her by first rubbing her body with chilli-peppers to absorb naturally occurring malevolent forces from spaces in María's body. When that did not have any apparent effect they repeated the procedure using a guinea-pig instead of peppers. After two months María still did not feel any better and in desperation she went to the doctor in the local health-centre who told her that she had bad kidneys from constantly leaning over washing clothes and kneading dough. The doctor gave María an injection and prescribed some pills which cost her more

than her monthly salary⁸⁰. The doctor wanted María to go for tests in the province capital but although these tests were free she had not gone arguing that, regardless of what the tests showed, she had no more money for further medicines and the ones she was taking had not helped.

María had only gone to the doctor when she was no longer able to work and when the drugs (*las químicas* - 'the chemicals') failed to help she began to spend long periods of time in bed, not sleeping well, in pain, frequently crying, and saying she was dying of sorcery (*brujería*). She explained that her husband's lover was angry (*ira*) and had *envidia* (see chapter 5) because he gave a little money each month to María and because she, María, was the wife of the man she would like to marry. María argued, therefore, that her husband's lover wanted to murder her and had taken a photograph of her to a sorcerer (*brujo*) in a large town who had used the photograph to ensorcel María. María said she would gradually get worse and her body would shrivel and dry before she died: she explained that neither God nor doctors could help against sorcery and she could not afford to go to another sorcerer to be cleansed and cured.

María spent two months in bed and her household only managed to survive financially because her eldest son luckily got a temporary, but well-paid, labouring job and supported the household. When his contract finished María returned to work on a part-time basis but still felt unwell and her foot ulcer was still growing. Eventually three months later, and seven months after she had first begun to feel ill, María came to visit and pulled off her shoe to show that the ulcer on her foot was getting smaller. The week before she had apparently dreamt a cure using natural medicine and declared that she had tried it and she was well again.

María's reaction to her illness, her different ideas about the cause of her ill health, and the use of different therapeutic options in the treatment of her illness, were typical of how most of the people in Cábala dealt with chronic illness⁸¹. In this chapter I examine the

⁸⁰María earned 25,000s per month for working 4a.m. to 2p.m. five days a week. The drugs cost her 27,000s and she used the money she had been saving to pay for her children's annual school registration fees.

⁸¹The only exceptional element in María's illness narrative was that she dreamt a cure. She, and other villagers, explained that villagers did not usually dream cures and this was the only case I heard of.

different ways illness was represented and treated in the village beginning with a description of the use of natural medicine (*medicina natural*). Most, if not all, villagers were familiar with the use of the two main therapeutic techniques in the canon of natural medicine: the application of the "principle of opposites" (Foster 1988:120); and the cleansing of malevolent forces. I describe how each of these techniques was used and suggest that the former was used to manage the relationship between the body and the physical world while the latter dealt with the metaphysical world. I then go on to describe when villagers used the different biomedical resources which were available to them. In the final section of the chapter I consider the order in which many villagers often used each of the different therapeutic options and argue, in summary, that this order suggested that villagers often preferred to use treatments which were most embedded in their daily practices and confirmed their membership of the village as a moral community. Before I begin the description of different therapeutic options in the village, however, I briefly review the three main perspectives in medical anthropology in order to clarify the alternative I implicitly adopt in this chapter.

Perspectives in Medical Anthropology

The field of medical anthropology is wide-ranging but three dominant perspectives are distinguishable by their concentration on disease, sickness, or illness respectively (Frankenberg 1980, Young 1982, Hahn and Kleinman 1983). Studies of disease, defined as a pathological biological state, often concern themselves with genetic factors and epidemiology or with the causal relationships between disease and environment (e.g. see Inhorn and Braun 1990). This approach, however, tends to assume that pathology is somehow an objective, natural, phenomenon and ignores the idea that disease and the means through which it is identified - the performative act of diagnosis - are both imbued with particular historical connotations (see Foucault 1973, Taussig 1980a).

In contrast studies which concentrate on sickness, the term used to describe the locus of all social relations concerned with medicine, often adopt a 'political economy'

approach which advocates argue constitutes a 'critical' medical anthropology (e.g. Frankenberg 1980, Baer et al. 1986, Singer 1989). They are concerned with examining the role of medicine in the reproduction of power relations; challenging the medicalisation of 'conventional' medical anthropology; and often express a desire for their work to have a practical application. However by arguing that macro-level processes are determinant they merely replicate the subjective/objective dichotomy and thereby all too often inadvertently help to reproduce the very power relations they wish to transform.

Finally those studies which concentrate on illness, the term used to describe a person's experience and understanding of a perceived pathological state, whether or not it is recognised as such by a biomedical practitioner, tend to adopt a more 'sociocultural' rather than a biological perspective. Such studies have concentrated on the categorisation and semantics of illness (Frake 1961, Good 1977, Herzfeld 1986); the relationship between "clinical events and the healing (illness) process" (Young 1982:209, see also Kleinman 1980) and between illness and social relations. Studies which focus on illness have been criticised for concentrating on the delivery of health care provided by specialists or shamans (Finerman 1985:2); for portraying people as culturally determined; and for ignoring the 'macro-level' economic and power structures in which the behaviours studied occurred (Singer 1989:1194).

In short by distinguishing between, and focusing on, either disease, illness or sickness much medical anthropology has all too often adopted an 'objective' or 'subjective' perspective. Both patients and illness have been portrayed as biologically or socially determined or understood in phenomenological terms largely divorced from social and historical forces. Others, however, have argued for approaches which favour neither the objectivist (the body as 'product') or subjectivist (the 'lived' body) perspectives but instead "enlighten the ways in which a culture may incite its bearers to choose a particular form of som^atization, abreaction etc., and to show how this corporeality helps to form the culture by which it is informed" (Devisch 1985:411). In this chapter I concern myself predominantly with illness as villagers themselves understood and treated it but do not assume that such representations and practices were either asocial or socially determined.

Rather I assume, implicitly at least, as Devisch suggests, that the social order in the village encouraged Cabalaños to understand and treat their bodies and pathology in particular ways but those understandings and practices in turn then influenced the social order of the village. Thus in the summary to the chapter I suggest that the relationship between the social order of the village and how villagers understood and treated illness was not determinative but mutually constitutive.

The 'Principle of Opposites'

When María first became ill she acted, like most Cabalaños, as though her physical well-being depended upon the restoration of the temperate state of her body. In the village many substances and things were classified as 'hot' (*caliente*) or 'cool' (*fresca*) and it was said that bodies could become too 'hot' or 'cold' (*frio*) either by over-exposure to those qualities or as a result of the body's own physiological processes. A body which was too 'hot' or 'cold' was weak and vulnerable to illness and the most commonly used technique of natural medicine was loosely based on applying a 'principle of opposites' in order to restore a body to its healthy temperate state. 'Heat' and 'coolness' were treated with remedies made from ingredients classified as possessing the opposite quality, thus a 'hot' body was treated with a 'cold' remedy and vice versa. The hot/cold classification of both things and the body was not necessarily related to actual, or relative, thermal temperature but was a metaphorical classification and the use of medicine based on the 'principle of opposites', common throughout Latin America (see Currier 1966, Logan 1977, Tedlock 1987 for lists of relevant literature), has been interpreted by anthropologists as a 'humoral theory'.

Foster, however, has suggested "that the role of humoral theory in Spanish-American popular therapies is not, as has generally been assumed, to *prescribe* treatment appropriate to the illness, but rather to *validate* the use of traditional, empirical remedies administered with little or no thought to theoretical requirement" (1988:120). Certainly the way the 'principle of opposites' was used in Cábala suggests that it was derived from an understanding of the body rather than pathology. Most Cabalaños treated their bodies as

entities whose well-being depended upon the maintenance of both the internal and internal/external equilibria and were more concerned with maintaining their health than treating illness according to a consistent theory of pathology. Thus, rather than only describing the treatment of illness in the village, I begin the following description of the use of the 'principle of opposites' in Cábala by briefly describing a typical day in Jacquela's life in order to illustrate the attention most villagers paid to the maintenance of the temperate state of their bodies when performing their daily activities.

Jacquela lived with her parents, two brothers and one younger sister. She began each day by dressing before she got out of bed in the morning so as to avoid sudden exposure to the cold air. She did not wash immediately for the same reason but placed bowls of water in the back yard so she could wash later in the day when the water had been warmed by the mid-day sun. Either she or her mother boiled water for herbal tea but allowed it to cool and only served it when it was tepid. All food was set aside to cool after cooking so that the body would not become too 'hot' by eating food that was literally hot. Once Jacquela had drunk her tea and eaten a bread roll she usually took the household's pigs to pasture but before leaving the house she made sure that she had her hat and shawls in order to protect herself either from the heat of the sun or cold winds or rain.

Once the animals were safely grazing Jacquela either worked on her parent's land or helped a cousin selling food. Whatever she was doing she usually tried to ensure that she did not have to hurry, not only because it was considered unseemly (see chapter 5), but because undue haste was considered to 'heat' the body. If she did sweat Jacquela explained that she was particularly careful not to remove any of her clothing so that her body did not cool too suddenly and after finishing her main work of the day would wait for an hour so before washing for the same reason. Most villagers were aware of the climate and environment as they worked and if they had worked in the hot mid-day sun or, for example, near a hot oven then they often drank a prophylactic 'cool' drink when they finished work. Similarly they would often drink a 'hot' drink if they had been exposed to inclement weather but such drinks were sipped rather than gulped so as not to expose the body to a sudden contrast.

Once Jacquela finished work she returned home and usually helped her mother cook. They chose their ingredients not just according to availability but in order to provide a balanced diet: thus if they had eaten meat which was usually classified as 'hot' the previous day, they might chose to serve a dish composed mainly of 'cold' potatoes the next day. It was not just elements of the external physical environment which were classified as 'hot' or 'cool' but many bodily substances were also classified and some physiological processes or states were said to heat the body. Pregnant and menstruating women, for example, were considered to be 'hot' and had to take extra care not to suddenly cool or further heat their bodies: they would never eat ice-cream or drink Coca Cola, both very cold, nor chilli peppers or particular cuts of meat which were 'hot'. Furthermore, as the previous chapter describes, emotional responses were said to cause the body to heat (e.g. anger) or cool (e.g. shame) and most villagers went to considerable lengths to avoid over-excitement.

In the evening Jacquela's family liked to sit in their kitchen which was thatched and therefore warmer than the rest of the house which had a tiled roof. However no-one sat too close to the fire which would have dangerously heated their bodies but counteracted the cold night air by huddling together and going to bed early. Once the sun had gone down behind the hills most villagers were reluctant to leave their houses, not just because they were afraid of the dark, but because the night air, due to the altitude, was always extremely cold. Jacquela slept with her sister and, like most villagers, said she preferred to share her bed in order to benefit from the warmth that came from close proximity to another body.

All healthy adult villagers⁸² were considered to be responsible for preserving the temperate quality of their own bodies by avoiding, as far as possible, exposure to anything that would disturb or lead to a sudden and acute change. Most villagers, therefore, paid equal regard to the 'principle of opposites' as Jacquela when organising their activities and practices associated with the principle influenced virtually all aspects of daily life in the village. However, despite such precautions, most villagers became ill from time to time

⁸²It was a mother's responsibility to care for her children who were not considered old enough to be responsible for their own behaviour.

often leading their mothers, wives, other female relatives, or neighbours to question them to ascertain what they had been doing in the days prior to the onset of the complaint. An event or set of circumstances might be isolated which could have caused the ill body to become too 'hot' or 'cold' whether literally or metaphorically. Such events or circumstances, as the description of the precautions Jacquila took suggests, included exposure to extreme relative heat or cold, unbalanced consumption of substances classified as 'hot' or 'cool', naturally occurring conditions such as menstruation, or the experience of disruptive emotions. Many descriptions of 'humoral medicine' throughout Latin America suggest that illnesses themselves were classified as 'hot' or 'cold' (see Logan 1977:490, Finerman 1985:88) but in Cábala few, if any, illnesses were thought of as being essentially 'hot' or 'cold'⁸³. In the village it was the precipitating event, not the symptoms of the resulting illness, which indicated whether the body was too 'hot' or 'cold' and the classification was not necessarily correlative with somatic experience. For example somebody could have a sore throat and raised temperature but the actual body temperature did not indicate if the body was too 'hot' or 'cold'. If the symptoms were thought to be a result of the sufferer having been exposed to cold winds then the ill body would be classified as being too 'cold' whereas if the sufferer had stood near a hot oven then the body would be classified as 'hot'.

Once a woman had diagnosed the patient as being too 'hot' or 'cold' and elicited the symptoms and signs of the illness, she would prepare an appropriate lotion, poultice, or infusion using a variety of ingredients. Urine from a child of the opposite sex of the sufferer, classified as 'cool', was sometimes used to bathe cuts or as a treatment for scabies (see Skar, S. 1987) and milk from a lactating woman was used as ear drops to treat ear-ache that followed from exposure to cold winds. Fat, milk, blood, or specific cuts of meat, particularly offal and testicles, all classified as 'hot', were used from animals and birds which were both commonly eaten or kept for work purposes e.g. people did not eat any

⁸³In Cábala twelve people kindly listed all the illnesses they had heard of and then labelled them as 'hot' or 'cold'. The thirteenth person explained that the task did not make sense as the classification would depend upon how the body became weak enough to succumb to the illness in question. Returning to the people who had apparently quite happily fulfilled the task of classification revealed that they had been trying to be helpful and had made up the answers! Following this at least a further fifteen villagers confirmed that illnesses were classified according to what had caused them i.e., contact with 'hot' or 'cold' qualities and were not themselves inherently 'hot' or 'cold'.

part of donkeys but would use donkey milk in some remedies. A particular type of spider, or its web, was placed on boils; a type of worm was used in remedies for stomach aches; and minerals were used by boiling particular types of stones, earth or pieces of iron in infusions. However the range of human, animal and mineral substances, and the frequency with which they were used, was limited in comparison to the use of both cultivated and wild plants and most remedies included the use of at least one medicinal plant.

The number of plants known and used by women varied greatly within the population of Cábala: those who were interested named over 100 plants which they listed the uses for, while most regularly used only 20-30 plants. In contrast many men could name, but not necessarily identify, around 10-15 locally occurring and frequently used medicinal plants but were not clear how to identify them or use them. Appendix 2 lists how the more common plants were generally used although the list can not be regarded as definitive, not least because women did not always agree on how to use, or classify, a specific plant, a point which is discussed below.

Particular substances were thought to alleviate particular symptoms and for most symptoms there were both 'hot' and 'cool' plants and/or substances which were thought to be effective e.g. Capuli (*caliente*) and Alfidar (*fresca*) were both used to treat stomach aches. Furthermore substances of all types used in the preparation of remedies were not only classified as 'hot' or 'cool' but were considered to possess these qualities in differing strengths e.g. all animal fats were classified as 'hot' but chicken and guinea-pig fat were 'hotter' than sheep fat. Therefore when making a remedy women had to combine ingredients of the right classification which were effective at alleviating the particular symptoms and were matched to the likely degree of the body's imbalance judged by the severity of the symptoms suffered. For example when one mother in the village had flu-like symptoms (*gripe*), which she decided was a result of having worked bare-headed in the sun and becoming too 'hot', she made and drank a fusion of 'cool' ingredients: Coca-Cola boiled with sugar and Malva flowers to soothe her throat and to clear her head respectively. Several days later her daughter had similar symptoms, but the mother decided that because her daughter had been caught in the rain two days earlier and her body had become 'cold'

the symptoms should be treated with a fusion of 'hot' plants: Borraja and Euclyptus. She explained that if her daughter's condition had deteriorated or her symptoms had been worse she would have used 'hotter' ingredients such as pigeon blood or chicken fat.

When symptoms were not alleviated by one remedy a woman might dredge her memory, or seek the advice of others, and try a different remedy. If a person was diagnosed as being ill as a result of being too 'hot' but did not respond to 'cool' remedies then a 'hot' remedy might be tried and if successful then the initial diagnosis would be altered accordingly. Such experimentation in the treatment of illness was common in Cábala where most villagers treated chronic illness according to a process of 'conjecture and refutation' (see Popper 1963). Prior to finding a cure most Cabalaños usually formulated an hypothesis of the cause of illness and on that basis sought treatment and, assuming they got better, their hypothesis was judged to have been correct; if they did not get better the hypothesis was altered and the corresponding appropriate treatment tried until a cure was found, resources exhausted, or the person died. Villagers, however, did not always reason about the relationship between cause, body weakness, illness and treatment in a unidirectional fashion, which combined with the willingness to experiment goes some way to explain disagreements or contradictions in how women classified and used medicinal substances (see Foster 1988:121, Tedlock 1987:1080). For example if a woman used a remedy which alleviated symptoms but, according to 'humoral reasoning', should have further weakened the body, rather than reasoning that the initial diagnosis had been incorrect she might change her classification of the remedy especially if any of the ingredients were not commonly used. Consequently sometimes within the village there was not a consensus as to how and when a plant or other substance should be classified and used.

Sometimes women combined both 'hot' and 'cool' ingredients in the same remedy either because no one precipitant event had been identified and consequently it was unknown if the patient's body was 'hot' or 'cold', or in order to counteract the force of an ingredient which possessed a very strong quality and which might further weaken the body. The two reasons for mixing 'hot' and 'cool' qualities suggest that many women held

contradictory views about how natural medicine worked: the first suggests that the quality of one substance does not counteract the opposing quality of another; while the second suggests the opposite by supposing that substances possessing different qualities do counteract each other. Most women in Cábala, however, were not concerned with contradictions in how they used remedies and were more interested in efficacy rather than acting according to a consistent rationale.

The use of remedies, however, was not so experimental as to be random but rather it involved considerable knowledge and skill which most women learnt from their mothers and neighbours. People said that no one person could know all there was to know but knowledge of 'hot' and 'cold' remedies was not seen as either secret or esoteric and women freely shared therapeutic ideas with each other. Finerman (1985:110) reports that people in a highland Quichua-speaking community south of Cábala used the services of professional herbalists. In Cábala, however, despite the presence of an *indígena* health organisation in the village whose workers were professional and skilled natural medicine practitioners, Cabalaño women preferred to seek advice from each other and did not pay for advice about natural medicine. Sometimes, however, 'hot' or 'cold' remedies failed to alleviate symptoms and in such cases women would often conclude that the body was not weakened but contaminated by malevolent forces and it is the treatment of such illnesses which is described below.

Cleansing Malevolent Forces

Most villagers did not just understand their bodies as entities which had to be equilibrated but as containers which could be contaminated with malevolent forces (*fuerzas malas*). There were four common types of illness which resulted from contamination with such forces: sorcery (*brujería*); bad air (*mal aire*); fright (*espanto*), and evil eye (*mal de ojo*)⁸⁴. All were the result of malevolent forces entering the body and causing a feeling of

⁸⁴I have chosen to retain the Spanish term for 'bad air' but translate 'fright' and 'evil eye' because the term 'bad air' does not capture how Cabalaños spoke about *mal aire* both as the illness which resulted from contamination with malevolent forces and the force itself.

general malaise, tiredness, lack of appetite, vomiting and diarrhoea which, if untreated, could lead to death.

Mal aire was the result of contact with malevolent forces which tended to concentrate in particular sites such as the cemetery, along river banks, wherever rubbish accumulated or where there were deep holes or gullies in the land. Most villagers considered themselves to be safe from inadvertent contamination by malevolent forces within their own houses and explained that the further they travelled from such havens the more vulnerable they became to contamination. All villagers were vulnerable to contamination with malevolent forces but it was only small children who suffered from fright (*espanto*) and evil eye (*mal de ojo*). Fright potentially followed unpleasant surprises such as being chased by dogs, falling out of bed, or down a hillside. Evil eye resulted from strangers admiring young children, staring them straight in the eye and inadvertently causing a malevolent force to enter them. Sorcery (*brujería*), described in more detail in chapter 3, was based upon the deliberate manipulation of malevolent forces and villagers were vulnerable to being ensorcelled even within their own homes, but cases of sorcery were rare in comparison to other illnesses caused by malevolent forces. Sorcery was always life threatening and was only treated by professionals whereas other cases of contamination by malevolent forces were usually treated by women in the village who only recommended that a patient seek professional cleansing when the malevolent force was so strong as to render their treatments ineffectual. In the following description of cleansing I do not describe how professional cleansers or sorcerers worked but rather how women in the village treated cases of contamination.

Women occasionally diagnosed cases of *mal aire*, or contamination with malevolent forces by other means, when it was clear that their patient had come into contact with a malevolent force but usually the diagnosis was made by default when 'hot' or 'cold' remedies had failed to alleviate symptoms. Once the diagnosis was made the presence of malevolent forces in the body and the resulting illnesses were seen to be one and the same thing and therapeutic interventions were not focused on the treatment of particular symptoms but on the exorcism of the forces from the body by cleansing

(*limpiando*). If an illness was due to contamination by malevolent forces then cleansing alleviated the symptoms immediately. Many women, however, explained that the body often took time to recover its strength so cleansing was virtually always supplemented with the use of strength-giving tonics such as the blood of a pigeon mixed with Coca-Cola.

Cleansing was performed by rubbing and/or shaking something over the patient's body which would absorb the pernicious force and/or blowing cigarette smoke, alcohol or holy water over the body in order to displace the force. Usually the things which were used to absorb pernicious forces had some form of shell so the force would be trapped as it left the patient: eggs; oranges; chilli-peppers and hard bread rolls were all commonly used. Malevolent forces were associated with the Devil, albeit in a vague way, and occasionally candles which had been blessed by the priest, or the small ornaments used in nativity scenes, were also sometimes used. The most serious cases of *mal aire* were cleansed with small animals, usually a guinea-pig⁸⁵ but in very serious cases a black puppy or lamb. The animal invariably died while being rubbed and shaken over the patient's body and its corpse was then ripped open, washed, and read as a diagnostic tool. The corpses indicated exactly what the patient was suffering from: blood in the abdomen, for example, confirmed that the patient was suffering from *mal aire*, while an excess of tendon-like material indicated sorcery (cf. Parsons 1945:64-70). Once the cleansing had been performed any objects used had to be disposed of carefully, preferably by throwing them into running water, so that the malevolent forces they contained would not contaminate anyone else. Occasionally, however, such objects were deliberately placed in doorways so as to cause the inhabitants of a house to become ill⁸⁶.

Cleansing was usually performed in silence, with very little ceremony, by the same woman in the house who was responsible for the health of its members. The whole process

⁸⁵Guinea-pigs were kept by all family-households in Cábala (except two wealthy families). They were kept running about the kitchen in most houses or in a special dark guinea-pig house and were considered the best food one could eat. They were served at fiestas, given to ritual kin and were never bought or sold. For more details see Archetti, 1992.

⁸⁶Because I was a *gringa* I was considered to be immune from contamination by malevolent forces and three times in one year I was asked to remove objects from the doorways of houses which were suspected of having been used in cleansing. It was thought the objects had been positioned in the hope that the members of the household would not notice them but pass by closely enough to be contaminated by the forces they contained.

usually lasted only a couple of minutes and was usually performed just as the patient was going to bed and before they said their prayers. Occasionally, however, in more serious cases, one of the two women living in the village who were thought to be skilled cleansers were paid a small sum to perform the ritual. The two women, who were said to be skilled through experience rather than innate ability, both performed the ritual with a degree of panache and demanded a respectful regard from all members of the house as they worked. One, a *mestizo* woman, said the Lord's prayer while cleansing with alcohol and chilli-peppers and the other, an *indigena* woman, preferred to use a guinea-pig and chanted directly to the malevolent force in Quichua telling it to return to where it belonged (see Acero and Dalle Rive, 1989:22). Both preferred to perform cleansings on a Tuesday or a Friday night, except in emergencies, as these days were considered to be most auspicious for any type of cleansing although no one appeared to know why⁸⁷.

In comparison with many Andean communities (e.g. Bastien 1978, Harris 1982, Allen 1988) most villagers did not appear to be overly concerned with explicating or manipulating their relationship with the metaphysical world. The principle of opposites afforded Cabalaños the opportunity to theorise, and to a certain extent, control the relationship between their bodies and the physical world. In contrast, most villagers appeared to accept that they could only react to, but not control, the potential perniciousness of the metaphysical world. There were few specific practices which served to placate or keep malevolent forces in their proper place outside the body and most villagers explained that the only really effective preventative measure against contamination with such forces was to avoid coming into contact with them.

Mothers could protect their children from fright and evil eye by attempting to keep them safe from shocks and covering their eyes if strangers appeared to be staring at them and I have already described, in chapter three, that many villagers believed that they could lessen the risk that they would become the victim of sorcery by recognising their obligations to others. However in order to protect themselves from contamination with *mal*

⁸⁷Tuesdays and Fridays were called the 'Devil's days' (*Días de Diablo*) but no one in the village knew or was willing to say why those days should have been auspicious for cleansing.

aire villagers could do little except avoid the areas where the force was thought to be concentrated and such knowledge depended upon a familiarity with the landscape. Consequently men who engaged in temporary labour migration were usually pitied because not only was their body considered to be weakened by the sadness they were assumed to feel about leaving their house but the world was seen to be a more dangerous place the further they travelled from the village (see Finerman 1987). Thus when men returned from journeys outside the village, even if they had no symptoms of illness, women would often cleanse them before letting them in the house lest they inadvertently contaminate other members of the household.

Most villagers recognised that although they themselves suffered from contamination of malevolent forces others such as foreigners (*gringos*) and city-people (*ciudadanos*) did not and explained the difference by arguing that only people who believed in such forces suffered from contamination by them. Converts to Evangelical Protestantism, for example, professed not to believe in malevolent forces because, as mentioned above, such forces were associated with the Devil and converts were supposed to have renounced the power of the Devil, thus they were not supposed to suffer from contamination. In practice, however, many local Evangelical converts often covertly asked the two women who were experienced at cleansing to treat members of their household. The idea that many Evangelical converts were willing to use cleansing as a therapy suggests that, as with the therapeutic application of the 'principle of opposites', it was the need for efficacy, rather than the need to apply consistent ideas or theories, which determined the pursuit of therapy.

The need for efficacy sometimes led villagers, who had the financial resources, to use biomedical resources when both the techniques in the canon of natural medicine had failed to alleviate an illness. However cleansing sometimes indicated that a patient was suffering from contamination with such a strong malevolent force that women in the village did not have the knowledge or power to cleanse the patient fully. When this happened biomedicine was rarely used as it was said to make the patient weaker and more vulnerable to the contaminating forces: for example victims of sorcery who took biomedicine were

said to be speeding their own deaths. In such cases many households chose to invest considerable resources to take victims to professional cleansers or sorcerers rather than spending money on biomedical resources. If professional cleansing did not work, however, then villagers tended to conclude that despite prior evidence a patient was not suffering from contamination and could, therefore, be treated with biomedicine.

The Use of Biomedicine

Late one evening Rosa, an *indigena* woman, lay on her bed soaked in her own vomit and groaning with stomach pains. Her three smallest children sat on the bed next to her covered in their mother's vomit while her eldest child stood, silent and still, staring at Rosa. The local health promoter, trained in basic first aid, had been called to the house earlier and tried to persuade Rosa to go to one of the local hospitals. Rosa, however, had refused to go arguing that pharmaceuticals (^{las} *químicas*) would kill her and she did not want to die alone in a strange bed. Nevertheless, by 10 p.m. she was virtually unconscious and her pulse was weak and racing and it was decided to over-ride her wishes and try to take her to the nearest hospital.

All buses running from the village stopped at 5 p.m. and, because the village was off the Pan-American highway, there was rarely any through traffic. The two people who owned their own transport refused to take Rosa to hospital, despite being offered considerable sums of money, explaining that they were scared that she was suffering from cholera⁸⁸. The problem of how to get Rosa to hospital was being discussed when, incredibly, a lorry passed by taking people home from a fiesta in a nearby community. The driver agreed, for a price, to take Rosa, the health-promoter and myself to a hospital in a nearby town about 10 km away.

On arrival at the small five-bedded hospital we were met by two nurses who let us in but did not greet us. A doctor came and briefly examined Rosa, he asked a few

⁸⁸During 1991-1992 there was an intense fear of cholera throughout Ecuador following an outbreak in Peru - see Román Valarezo 1991.

questions and diagnosed an obstructed intestine. He gave Rosa a pain-killing injection, told the health-promoter to give her laxatives when the pharmacy opened in the morning and told us all to go home. Rosa was still retching and the health-promoter argued we could not walk to Cábala in the dark; she was ignored until I unwrapped myself from the many shawls I was wearing. As soon as the hospital staff realised that I was a *gringa* (white foreigner) beds were found for us in the otherwise empty hospital and Rosa was re-examined on the understanding that all costs would be covered. She was found to be suffering from a liver complaint, was given an intravenous drip, and soon was no longer retching.

In the morning Rosa pleaded not to be left alone in the hospital but the health-promoter had to accompany me to the local pharmacy to buy replacement medications. As we left I realised that I had left my purse in the hospital room and ran back. I walked into Rosa's room to find one of the nurses shouting at her, telling her that she was a dirty indian who did not deserve medical treatment. Rosa discharged herself from the hospital later that day, treated herself with natural medicines for about two weeks, and finally recovered her strength.

This account illustrates why many Cabalaños were suspicious of using biomedical resources and some of the difficulties they faced in doing so: the inaccessibility of services 'out of hours'; the attitude of staff; cost etc. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, most villagers did use biomedical resources from time to time and have long had access to a variety of such resources: the local pharmacy; a biomedically trained doctor and nurse in the local health centre five mornings a week and other doctors outside the village; and two small hospitals about 10 km outside the village. In this section I consider when and why villagers used each of these resources.

The pharmacy in Cábala had been run by the same *blanco* woman for over forty years. She explained that when she had first opened the pharmacy she had stocked mainly aspirins and tonics and had been called upon to attend births in the village. The pharmacist did not know of any legislation which limited the sale of medicines and over the years she

had increased both her stock and her knowledge⁸⁹. She explained that because many villagers trusted her they were more willing to take her advice and use pharmaceuticals but described her working life as a "struggle against suspicion" (*una lucha contra sospecha*). Many villagers explained that they did not like taking pharmaceuticals saying that they were expensive, and they compared them to fertilisers which had 'burned' the land: both were called 'chemicals' (*químicas*). Pharmaceuticals were often described as "too strong" (*demasiado fuertes*) for bodies to maintain their temperate state and therefore, although they were seen as efficacious, they were also perceived to have the iatrogenic effect of causing the body to become too 'hot' or 'cold' and were often used in conjunction with 'hot' or 'cold' remedies. Nevertheless, as shown in the table below, when asked how they treated three of the most commonly occurring ailments in the village, many women explained that they often used pharmaceuticals purchased in the local pharmacy.

TABLE 5: TREATMENTS OF COMMONLY OCCURRING ILLNESSES.

<u>Treatment</u>	<u>Cold/Flu</u>	<u>Diarrhoea</u>	<u>Headache</u>
Natural	34%	40%	16%
Pharmaceuticals*	16%	28%	64%
Mixed**	50%	22%	6%
Nothing	-	10%	14%

* In treating all these complaints people did not ask the advice of a doctor or pharmacist but took named brands of medication that they had taken before. Most of those who took pharmaceuticals for colds said they did so for specific symptoms such as sore throats or headaches which accompanied a cold.

** 'Mixed' refers to the use of both natural medicine or biomedicines.

⁸⁹The pharmacist had never had any formal training and explained that she gained much of her knowledge from the pharmacist in the province capital where she bought her supplies.

In many cases of illness most villagers used natural medicine before resorting to biomedicine but in treating recurring ailments most villagers often used whatever treatment had previously been efficacious in alleviating symptoms. One woman, for example, who frequently suffered headaches said she did not bother to determine if she was too 'hot', 'cold', or contaminated with malevolent forces, but went straight to the pharmacy and bought two aspirins.

Villagers with sufficient money also occasionally used the local pharmacy to buy injections to treat such diverse illnesses as sprained ankles and 'heart-ache' (*dolor del corazón*). Some wealthier Cabalaños preferred going to the pharmacy for an injection rather than visiting the doctor and were adamant that intra-muscular injections were the most powerful and efficacious form of medicine⁹⁰. It is possible that such faith in the power of injections has arisen as a result of the success of the child vaccination programme in the parish as a whole. In the 30 years prior to 1974, the year in which compulsory vaccination of babies was introduced⁹¹, the infant mortality rate was around 300 deaths of children under twelve months old for every 1,000 live births. In the years since vaccination was introduced the previously devastating epidemics of measles (*sarampión*) and whooping cough (*tos ferina*) have been partially controlled, and the infant mortality rate has fallen to approximately 100 deaths for every 1,000 live births⁹².

In summary, although many villagers said that pharmaceuticals were dangerously powerful they often would, if they had the money, use the local pharmacy to purchase medicines and injections. Nevertheless, despite a willingness to use pharmaceuticals especially in cases of recurring illnesses, many villagers were reluctant to go to a doctor. Consultations with doctors generally provoked anxiety because it was often seen as a potentially expensive, time consuming, humiliating and confusing experience.

As a parish headquarters Cábala had its own government-run health centre where a biomedically trained nurse and doctor worked five mornings a week. Visits to the health

⁹⁰Empty packages suggested that most of the injections villagers received were intra-muscular vitamins or wide-spectrum antibiotics.

⁹¹All Ecuadorians had to have their babies vaccinated before they could register them and without being registered people found it difficult to find employment.

⁹²These figures were calculated from parish records in which all deaths were supposed to be registered.

centre were both free and convenient but most villagers preferred to travel to, and pay for, a consultation with doctors based in nearby towns. Many villagers explained that they were suspicious of the inexperience of the health centre's staff who were completing their last, compulsory, year of 'rural health' training. In addition many villagers expressed concern that the staff of the health centre would gossip about them with other villagers. However, even when villagers chose to travel to a doctor and pay for a consultation, most were rarely satisfied with the service they received. Doctors and nurses were often described as 'city people' (*ciudad^{ba}nos*) who seemed to both intimidate and infuriate many villagers (see Finerman 1983:1923 and Price 1987:326). In addition many villagers explained that doctors did not usually appear to be interested in their ailments and the expensive medications they were prescribed often did not work. I suggest that both complaints arose, at least partly, from the difference between how most villagers and biomedical professionals thought about illness and the diagnostic process.

Most villagers, unlike doctors, did not distinguish between symptoms and disease. Thus, when doctors treated a disease such as tuberculosis, which demanded long-term medication aimed at curing the disease but not necessarily immediately alleviating symptoms, villagers often judged the treatment to be ineffective. Furthermore as previously described, women in the village diagnosed illness by asking the patient what they had been doing and diagnosis was based on establishing a possible cause as much as on eliciting particular symptoms. In contrast in the small number of consultations I observed between doctors and patients (twenty in total) the doctors, in accordance with their training, concentrated solely on eliciting signs and symptoms in order to arrive at a diagnosis (see Foucault 1973). It is easy to see, therefore, why villagers might have concluded that doctors were not really interested in their illness. Given this perceived lack of concern, coupled with all too common stories of patronising or discriminatory attitudes of many doctors, the long waiting times and the expense, it is not surprising that many villagers were reluctant to visit a doctor.

Most villagers would only consider going to a doctor after natural medicine and self-medication had failed to alleviate their symptoms. However, while a visit to a doctor

potentially provoked anxiety, most villagers were even more reluctant to go to hospital because they were scared of dying alone in a strange bed; and, as mentioned above, separation from members of one's house was considered to be sufficiently sad in itself to weaken the body and render it vulnerable to illness. In addition the two local hospitals both had reputations for ill-treating rural people (*los campesinos*), a reputation which may well have been justified considering the treatment Rosa received. Finally, although hospital patients did not have to pay the salaries of hospital personnel, they did have to pay for food and medication and there were at least two households in the village who had been effectively ruined in an attempt to pay hospital expenses. Nevertheless many younger women said that given the choice they wanted to give birth, at least to their first child, in hospital, and nearly all villagers said that if they suffered an acute, potentially life threatening, illness they would try to go to an hospital.

All older women in the village had given birth at home alone, or were attended by a female relative, the pharmacist, or another elderly woman in the village who was an experienced birth attendant. Even those older women who could have afforded to give birth in hospital explained that they had not considered doing so both because they would have been ashamed to expose their bodies to strangers and, more importantly, doctors and nurses did not recognise the importance of restoring the mother's body to a temperate state in the days following the birth. Many older mothers, however, also often spoke vividly of the terrors of labour and said they would be willing to make considerable financial sacrifices⁹³ to help their own daughters give birth in the hospital as long as they, themselves, could accompany their pregnant daughters in order to ensure that they were appropriately bathed and received an appropriate post partum diet. Villagers would go to considerable lengths to take victims of sudden, apparently serious traumas to hospital. For example a bus driver on the Pan-American highway was persuaded to overlook his timetable and take a small child to hospital after he had fallen and cut his head badly. On another occasion, when a local bus overturned, all the injured were ferried to hospital after

⁹³In 1992 one young woman gave birth in one of the local hospitals and her widowed mother paid 50,000s, nearly twice her monthly salary, for the drugs and equipment used.

villagers bullied the two owners of private vehicles who lived in the village. However, as the case of Rosa described above illustrates, most villagers had difficulties getting to hospital if they suffered injuries or serious illnesses outside of the times when the buses were running⁹⁴.

To summarise, in Cábala many villagers recognised that biomedicine was potentially efficacious and those who could afford to do so used biomedical resources either to treat recurring illnesses where such resources had previously proven to be efficacious, when illnesses were perceived to be immediately life-threatening, or when natural medicine had proved to be ineffective. At the same time, however, many villagers were reluctant to use biomedicine because it potentially upset the temperate state of the body, was expensive, and all too often the exponents of such resources were seen as unpleasant 'outsiders' who showed little respect for their patients. In the following section I examine villagers' therapeutic choices and conclude that while biomedicine can, and does, supplement the use of natural medicine it is unlikely to replace it while most Cabalaños continue to value their participation in exchange relations.

Therapeutic Choices and the Social Order of the Village

The account of María's illness with which this chapter began illustrates the order in which most villagers used the different therapeutic options available to them when suffering from illnesses with which they were not personally familiar or which they did not judge to be immediately life-threatening. In such cases most villagers would first use medicine based on the 'principle of opposites'; they would then, if necessary, be cleansed and only when natural medicine had failed to alleviate symptoms would they use biomedical resources. The above description of how and when most villagers used different therapeutic options suggests that considerations of efficacy and cost influenced most therapeutic choices. In

⁹⁴Buses regularly ran to and from the village between 5a.m. and 5p.m. everyday except Sundays when there were very few, if any, buses. Outside of those hours villagers were dependent upon being in favour with the two owners of pick-up trucks in the village or, as in the case of Rosa, luck in order to get to hospital.

this final section, however, I argue that although such considerations influenced medical choices in the village they can not always account for the order in which villagers often used different therapies.

Consideration of efficacy, for example, appeared to drive the process of conjecture and refutation by which most women treated illnesses but alone can not account for the order in which different therapies were often used. Biomedicine, for example, was often considered to be more efficacious, although more dangerous, than natural medicine. If efficacy, therefore, were the only consideration then it could be supposed that villagers with sufficient money would use biomedical resources, perhaps supplemented with natural remedies, in all cases of illness except contamination with malevolent forces. This was not the case, however, and even consideration of efficacy and cost combined cannot account for the order in which villagers used different treatments. It might be argued, for example, that villagers preferred to use natural medicine because although they recognised that it might be less efficacious it was usually cheaper than biomedicine. This was not the case, however, as some natural remedies were as expensive, if not more expensive, than some biomedical resources. Treating a cold with medicinal plants boiled in Coca-Cola, for example, was as expensive as buying two aspirins and the use of professional cleansers or sorcerers was certainly as expensive as most biomedical treatments. I suggest, therefore, that medical choices were not just influenced by consideration of efficacy and cost but also by the extent to which different treatments were embedded in the daily practices of villagers and confirmed their membership of their moral community.

In previous chapters I have described that most villagers perceived themselves as belonging to a distinct moral community because they valued their participation in exchange relations. The social order of the village and social well-being of villagers depended upon what was given and received in such relations being in some form of balance. The therapeutic use of the 'principle of opposites' was also based on an idea of balance in which physical well-being depended upon both internal and internal/external equilibria. The idea that health depended upon villagers maintaining the temperate state of their bodies led most villagers to try to avoid any form of excess and encouraged

orthopraxy in the village. Most villagers were reluctant to be judged as not having sufficient self-respect or discipline to maintain the equilibria of their bodies. Nevertheless many daily activities in the village were influenced by consideration of the 'principle of opposites' and when trying to determine when and how a person might have become ill it seems sensible that villagers would first assume that the temperate state of their bodies had been disturbed and act accordingly. In addition, because women frequently exchanged information and advice between themselves, the use of medicine based on the 'principle of opposites' often reinforced existing exchange relations in the village. The use of such medicine, therefore, can be described as being embedded in the daily practices of most villagers and confirming their membership of the moral community.

In comparison many beliefs about contamination by malevolent forces did not so much stress the importance of exchange relations which defined the moral community as reinforce its boundaries. Some beliefs about malevolent forces did encourage participation in exchange relations, for example, in chapter three I suggest that fear of sorcery encouraged many villagers to recognise the obligations in their closest, or potentially close, exchange relations. Perhaps as important, however, was the treatment of victims of sorcery or patients suffering from any form of contamination by malevolent forces which involved exorcising such forces from the body. In other words the process of cleansing reinforced the external boundary of the body and many beliefs about the most common form of illness arising from contamination by a malevolent force, *mal aire*, reinforced the boundaries of the house and the village itself.

Most villagers, as described above, believed that they became more vulnerable to contamination by *mal aire* the further they travelled from their houses and in particular the further they travelled outside the village. Such boundaries reinforced the differences between intra and inter-household exchange (see chapter five) and the distinction of the village as a moral community. Nevertheless although ideas about contamination by malevolent forces reinforced important boundaries they were less influential on the daily practices of most villagers than the 'principle of opposites'. It is not surprising, therefore, that

most villagers used medicine based on this principle before they tried to cleanse patients from potential contamination by malevolent forces.

Finally I suggest that biomedicine was embedded in the social order of the village only in so far as it was used pragmatically and confirmed villagers' commitment to perceived rural rather than urban values. Most villagers associated biomedicine with the urban world where most people were perceived to pursue profit at the expense of exchange relations not least because the exponents of biomedicine always charged money for medicines and advice whereas, as mentioned above, women in the village usually exchanged knowledge and advice about the use of natural medicine. Furthermore biomedical practitioners were often compared with other representatives of state authorities and were seen as outsiders⁹⁵ who ill-treated villagers by treating them in a contemptuous or patronising manner. Even the best intentioned doctors and nurses often inadvertently infuriated villagers by not recognising, for example, that there were differences between how they diagnosed illnesses with the process which most villagers used.

Nevertheless, just as villagers condemned the pursuit of profit at the expense of exchange relations but in the previous thirty years had pragmatically increased their engagement in the money economy so, in the pursuit of efficacy, many villagers had pragmatically increased their use of biomedical resources. Many morality tales and beliefs in Cábala, however, suggested that disaster would befall villagers if they pursued profit at the expense of their exchange relations and thereby encouraged continuing participation in the 'good faith economy' within the village. Similarly many villagers' ideas about their own bodies and pathology suggested that the use of biomedicine was not only efficacious but also potentially risky and thereby encouraged the continuing use of natural medicine. Pharmaceuticals, for example, were said to be so powerful that they potentially upset the temperate state of the body and consequently they were often taken in conjunction with natural medicine remedies. Furthermore the idea that biomedicine could worsen illnesses due to contamination by malevolent forces also encouraged villagers to use natural

⁹⁵Even the pharmacist was seen as an 'outsider' because even though she had lived in the village all her life most villagers classified her as a *blanco* (see chapter one).

medicine, particularly cleansing techniques, before resorting to biomedicine. Thus many commonly held ideas about biomedical resources encouraged continuing use of natural medicine.

In summary then, when most villagers treated illnesses which were not life-threatening, or which they had not previously successfully treated, they used the different therapies available to them in a particular order. I argue that this order illustrates that therapeutic choices were influenced by the extent to which different therapies confirmed villagers' membership of their moral community and were embedded in the social order of the village. The stress many villagers placed on participating the 'good faith economy', through which they defined their moral community, did influence how villagers treated, and probably understood, illnesses. Equally, however, I suggest that the way villagers treated illnesses influenced how they understood and participated in the social order of village. Many villagers, for example, did occasionally use biomedical resources in cases of perceived emergency and by doing so engaged in the money economy potentially influencing how villagers thought about their participation in the 'good faith economy' of the village. Thus I suggest, as mentioned above, that rather than the social order of the village determining how villagers understood and treated illnesses the relationship between the two was mutually reinforcing.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

AGENCY AND RESISTANCE.

In the introduction to this work I suggested that by stressing their participation in a 'good faith economy' and the concomitant social system many Cabalaños were resisting the perceived anomie of modern Ecuador. However I also suggested that in order to talk about resistance it is necessary to show that people were conscious of their actions and aware that they could act differently but chose not to. It is possible, for example, that many Cabalaños participated in the moral community of the village only because they did not recognise that they could chose to do otherwise, because they were frightened to do anything else, or because they recognised that there were alternative courses of action but they realised they were not practical. In order, therefore, to affirm the idea that villagers chose to resist the modern, urban Republic it is necessary to show that at least sometimes they acted with intent and were conscious of their own resistance. In this last short chapter, therefore, I review the previous chapters in order to make a case for recognising that sometimes people do appear to act as though they are conscious of their behaviour and suggest that, at least sometimes, most villagers appeared to be aware of choosing to resist anomie.

I begin the chapter by illustrating why it might be useful to consider when people appeared to be conscious of their behaviour. There has been a recent tendency in anthropology, as mentioned in the introduction, to examine the nature of the dialectical relationship between action and the sociocultural order. I begin the chapter, therefore, by briefly examining the advantages and disadvantages of examining behaviour in the village from a cognitive and behavioural perspective both of which are concerned with portraying the relationship between action and the social as dialectical. I suggest that although both perspectives are insightful they are unable to encompass the idea that people might sometimes be conscious of their own behaviour, or account for the idea that people do sometimes appear to be able to choose between alternative courses of action. I suggest that many Cabalaños did not appear merely to be reproducing the social order of the village but rather, at least sometimes, appeared to choose between alternative courses of action. Thus I

argue that it would not be appropriate to interpret behaviour in the village according to just one perspective. I then continue the chapter by briefly considering the nature of choices made in the village. I suggest that although villagers' choices did sometimes appear to be determined by fear of the consequences of acting otherwise this was not always the case and conclude that many villagers did sometimes choose to resist the temptations of modern Ecuador.

I have suggested that most Cabalaños saw themselves as belonging to a distinct moral community because they participated in a 'good faith economy' characterised by exchange relations. Exchange relations ordered Cabalaño society and were essential for many villagers' personal economic and social well-being. Most villagers were, understandably, more willing to engage in exchange relations with those who had a reputation for consistently recognising their obligations and most villagers, therefore, tried to maintain their reputations for orthopraxy. Morality tales about the Devil and sorcery reminded villagers to fulfil their obligations but, above all, it was awareness of public scrutiny of behaviour which encouraged orthopraxy in the village. Regard for public opinion appeared to influence how most villagers performed their roles both within and outside the house and Cabalaño society was characterised by a stress on exchange relations, personal reputations and the public scrutiny of virtually all aspects of behaviour.

This description of the social order in Cábala bears similarities to many descriptions of other small, rural communities. Bourdieu (1977), for example, has described the Kabyle as being concerned with honour and participation in a 'good faith economy'. In an attempt to transcend the agency : social dichotomy and move beyond objectivism he suggests that such participation and concerns were not a matter of choice and resistance but behaviourally determined. In his 'theory of practice' Bourdieu describes people as able to act strategically but only within strictly socially determined limits. He suggests that practices, especially those which are learnt early and / or are repetitive, predispose people to reproduce the social order into which they have been born. Thus he argues that, although people are able to act strategically, they remain unaware of why they act as they

do except when critical discourse can be established by " 'culture contact' or by the political and economic crises correlative with class division" (1977:168).

Many Cabalaños, like people everywhere, engaged in many apparently behaviourally determined, or embodied, practices and consequently often appeared to be unaware of why they were acting as they did. When I was cooking with a group of women in my house, for example, my suggestion that we put some greens in the soup was met with uniform explanations that greens quite simply did not belong in chicken soup. No-one was able, or willing, to explain why not, but instead kept repeating that it just was not done. Not all examples of apparently behaviourally determined behaviour were so trivial. For example, as mentioned in chapter five, although women tried to circumvent the authority of their husbands and fathers they did not question that it was right that they should be subject to such authority; for their part, although some men did question if it was right to hit their wives, they did not question if it was right that they should be seen as the 'head' (*jefe*) of their house.

Nevertheless often villagers did appear to be aware of their actions. Awareness of public scrutiny of their behaviour often appeared to render villagers conscious of their actions and many villagers often explained that they behaved as they did "because of the gossip and critics" (*porque los chismes y los críticos*). Many villagers were no longer "enchanted" (Bourdieu 1977:191) by the social order which had dominated the village during the time of the haciendas. They explained, for example, that although they no longer automatically respected wealthy people they still chose to initiate greetings to them either because they hoped to create a patronage relationship, or thought they may have to in the future. In other words, despite the apparent 'embodied' or habitual nature of some behaviour in the village, many villagers often appeared to be aware of acting why they did. Of course such consciousness could be described as the result of 'culture contact' and / or 'economic crises' as all villagers have witnessed, and participated in, many changes in the village during the last thirty years. In the contemporary world, however, there cannot be many people who have not experienced some form of contact with other 'cultures' or 'class division'. I suggest, therefore, that despite being insightful Bourdieu's 'theory of practice'

has severe limitations when accounting for situations where people did appear, at least sometimes, to be conscious of their behaviour. In the following discussion I suggest that the latest development in cognitive anthropology, schema theory, also has similar limitations being unable specifically to offer any insights into why people may have chosen one course of action rather than another.

Schema theory attempts to examine the relationship between performance and culture and assumes that "culture is *both* public and private, both in the world and in people's minds" (Strauss and Quinn 1994:295 - italics in the original). Schema theorists suggest that thought is, at least partially, structured by cognitive schemata, or patterns, which develop from the continual interaction of a person and the world s/he inhabits (e.g. see Dixon Keller 1992:60). In the following discussion I concentrate on how schema theory might be applied to understand one domain of behaviour in the village, how illness was represented (see chapter 7), before arguing that villagers' use of biomedicine illustrates the weaknesses of this approach.

The use of schema theory to understand representations of illness has been criticised by Good who suggests that in cognitive studies "Illness representations are ... largely understood in mentalistic terms, abstracted from 'embodied knowledge', affect, and social and historical forces that shape illness meanings" (1994:51). I suggest, however, that Good's criticisms are not necessarily justified and Johnson (1987) has pointed the way to understand illness representations through schemata which are both embodied and shaped by, and shape, social relations. Johnson has suggested that we make sense of the world in accordance with schemata which are the inevitable result of having bodies in a spatial and temporal world. He describes these embodied schemata as "Those recurring structures of, or in, our perceptual interactions, bodily experiences, and cognitive operations" (1987:79). He argues that these embodied schemata are metaphorically elaborated and extended in order to make sense of and reason about, any number of different domains of knowledge and experience. He suggests, for example, that a prototypical schema of balance can be extended so "that our experience of bodily balance, and of the perception of balance is

connected to our idea of balanced personalities, balanced views, balanced systems, balanced equations, the balance of power, the balance of justice and so on" (1987:87).

I suggest that embodied schemata might provide the means through which we make sense of the world, or at least organise our knowledge of it, but the world will always influence the ways in which embodied schemata are elaborated and extended into "metaphors we live by" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In Cábala, for example, ideas of equilibrium and containment were powerful metaphors in the social order of the village: inter-household relationships, for example, were ideally characterised by reciprocity, a form of balance (see Becker 1986:81-83); and intra-household relationships were mediated by the house as a permeable container which people gave to and took from. The use of natural medicine in Cábala was also based on the idea that the body is a container which has to be equilibrated (see chapter 6) and can therefore be understood as a metaphoric extension of the embodied schemata of containment and balance (see Johnson 1987:30-40 and 74-98 respectively). In other words, I am suggesting that the schemata which arose from having bodies in the world were elaborated in accordance with the sociocultural order in the village and extended by villagers to understand their bodies and illness, an understanding which then reinforced the sociocultural order.

Schema theory is appealing because it accounts for the mutually reinforcing nature of the sociocultural order of the village and how people understand their own bodies. Furthermore it offers a way of understanding similarities and differences between the conceptualisations of illness and health in many diverse societies. For example many different forms of medicine throughout the world all appear to be predicated on some sort of notion of balance⁹⁶. The apparent similarities between these different humoral theories have previously been interpreted as a result of diffusionism or 'deep structures' (see

⁹⁶For example ayurvedic medicine (Obeyeskere 1980:14-20), Chinese medicine (Kleinman 1980, Chen 1981, Morris 1994), the use of humoral medicine throughout Africa (Davis-Roberts 1981, Greenwood 1981, 1992) and some aspects of biomedicine (Johnson 1987: 127-137). It is worth noting, however, that the apparent underlying idea of balance arises from the tendency among anthropologists to over-systematise practices. For example this chapter has already described how easy it would have been to conclude, erroneously but inadvertently, that people in Cábala classified illnesses themselves as 'hot' or 'cold'. In addition it is inevitable that anthropologists apply their own elaborated metaphors in understanding the use of humoral medicine.

Worsley 1982:317-320) but I argue that both approaches are unsatisfactory. Diffusionist arguments struggle to account for why some elements of one 'culture' may be assimilated into another while others are rejected; the 'deep structures' argument (e.g. see Levi-Strauss 1966) is a deterministic one which, because the structures are portrayed as universal structures, can only account for similarities but not variations in cultural phenomena. In contrast the idea of embodied schemata developing through continual interaction with the physical and social world is able, theoretically at least, to account for both idiosyncratic and cultural differences as well as similarities (see D'Andrade 1992a:41).

However, no matter how appealing schema theory may be, Holland argues that "Schema theory is powerful, but it is not helpful for understanding action in many situations or for understanding the complicated pathways to censorship and inaction" (1992:75). In other words Holland suggests that schema theory can not easily account for why people will use one schema rather than another, nor why people will not always make sense of their world, or act in accordance with, established schemata. The previous chapter, for example, describes how many villagers did use biomedical resources, albeit reluctantly, even though the use of such resources did not fit with an understanding of the body as a balanced container. In summary then schema theory may be able to offer a persuasive account of a limited range of behaviour but at present it is not useful for accounting for situations in which actors make choices. The sociocultural order of the village undoubtedly did influence, and even determine, how many Cabalaños behaved but as Gell has argued, "Even granting that the 'universe of information' is socially restricted, so that agents are free to project only a limited array of possible futures... and free to communicate only a limited array of messages... there still appears to be ample room for the exercise of reason, rational persuasion, the construction and evaluation of rival projects of action, and the conscious following of rules of behaviour on rational rather than habitual grounds" (Gell 1992a:274).

There can be little doubt that many Cabalaños often did chose between alternative courses of action. Over the last thirty years, for example, most villagers have increased their engagement in the money economy as both producers and consumers. This increased

engagement has not been a process in which villagers were the 'victims' of a capitalist expansion but one in which villagers recognised and took advantage of opportunities to improve their lives. Many villagers now regret some of their choices and wish they had not put so much faith in land ownership and education but, with the exception of the *blancos*, no-one in the contemporary village rued the demise of the haciendas. Most villagers were aware that their choices had expanded since the end of the haciendas and had welcomed the opportunity to increase their engagement in the market. Nevertheless, despite recognising the potential of the market, most villagers continued to value their participation in exchange relations and order most of their relations with others according to the logic of exchange rather than the market. It is possible, however, that this continued participation in the moral community of the village was not driven by the desire to resist the perceived anomie of the market but by fear of doing otherwise.

Bailey (1971), for example, has suggested that residents of a village in the French Alps were so 'rule-bound' and concerned with their reputations that it engendered "the kind of world which stamps heavily on change and innovation. To pause before acting in order to work out what other people will think, will often mean not to act at all" (1971:23). In Cábala many villagers also often appeared to be 'rule-bound' and motivated to behave as they did by fear of the consequences if they did otherwise. Many villagers, for example, had little choice but to acknowledge the influence of public opinion as they could not afford to attract a reputation for not understanding their obligations to themselves and others. Thus many Cabalaños often appeared to consciously abide by 'rules' in order to safeguard their own reputations and by doing so they reproduced, rather challenged, the social order of the village. In chapter six, for example, I suggest that when necessary most villagers consciously disempowered the motivating force of their emotional responses so that they would not act inappropriately and challenge orthodoxy.

However, whereas Bailey suggests that fear and a concern with personal reputations engenders extreme conservatism, I suggest that villagers' consciousness of their behaviour enabled them to manipulate and work towards changing the order of the village in their own interests. I have suggested, for example, that interest-groups in the

village formed alliances and by doing so were able to manipulate public opinion by the use of gossip and counter-accusations of *envidia* and by doing so could challenge, and thereby change, ideas about acceptable practices in the village (see chapter 4). The many changes which Cabalaños have both adapted to, and apparently initiated, in the last thirty years suggest that it would be foolish to describe villagers as being so frightened that they always acted conservatively. Nevertheless despite all the changes most villagers did continue to stress their participation in exchange relations and the social order of the village continues to be largely ordered by the logic of exchange rather than trade.

It is possible, of course, that although most villagers recognised that they could organise their relations with others on a trade rather than exchange basis they were precluded from doing so for reasons beyond their control. Exchange relations, for example, lessened most villagers' dependence upon money and it is possible therefore that poverty forced many villagers to participate in the 'good faith economy'. However rather than portraying themselves as forced to engage in exchange relations villagers portrayed themselves as morally superior for doing so. They worried that poverty would force them to move to a city or town where they envisaged that relations were largely organised according to market considerations and did not just resent the *blancos*, the urban 'outsiders' within, but appeared to pity them and made it clear that they would not wish to be like them. I suggest, therefore, that most Cabalaños did not see themselves as having no choice but to engage in exchange relations but rather made a positive decision to value their participation in the 'good faith economy'.

In conclusion then I argue that although the 'good faith economy' and its concomitant social system had its own internal logic and villagers were not always aware of why they behaved as they did, by continuing to stress the importance of their 'good faith economy' villagers can be described as resisting the perceived anomie of modern Ecuador. Most villagers envisaged relations between city-people as being characterised by the logic of trade rather than exchange and saw that the modern State favoured urbanisation. I suggest, therefore, that by continuing to value their participation in exchange relations most villagers were, at least sometimes, consciously choosing to maintain their rural life and

resist the anomie of the money dominated city. The stress on orthopraxy, personal reputations, gossip, perniciousness and apparent pettiness of daily life in Cábala may strike outsiders as "wasteful, and therefore tragic" (Bailey 1971:19), but all were symptomatic of a social order which enabled villagers to continue valuing each other in a way which they perceived that modern urban life did not allow.

APPENDIX NO. 1.

POPULATION, HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPATION STATISTICS.

Table 6: Population By Age and 'Ethnic' Identity.

Age	Male Ind.	Female Ind.	Male Mes.	Female Mes.
0 - 10	32	25	24	28
11 - 20	17	18	24	22
21 - 30	16	15	11	12
31 - 40	11	12	9	16
41 - 50	6	6	6	13
51 - 60	3	6	8	8
61 - 75	2	1	6	13
Over 75			3	
Total %	23.4	22.3	24.4	29.9

Table 7: Frequency Distribution of Household Sizes

No. of persons	No. of <i>Mestizo</i> Households	%	No. of <i>Indigena</i> Households	%
1	5	6	-	-
2	11	13.4	3	3.6
3	2	2.4	5	6
4	10	12	8	9.6
5	4	4.8	9	11
6	7	8.4	6	6
7	4	4.8	4	4.8
8	5	6	1	1.2
Total	47	57.8	36	42.2

The following table shows how 136 adults over the age of 18 years in the village identified their primary occupation. It should be noted that most adults in the contemporary village participated in a number of different income-generating activities and this table, therefore, is only useful as a rough indication of the numbers involved in any one occupation.

Table 8: Frequency of Primary Occupations.

Occupation	Male		Female		Total	%
	Mest.	Ind.	Mest.	Ind.		
Self-employed in business	6	3	27	12	48	35.3
Farming	5	14	4	7	30	22
'Housewife'	-	-	7	11	18	13.2
Retired Railway Employees	13	-	-	-	13	9.7
Railway workers	9	-	-	-	9	6.6
Working for Province Council	2	7	-	-	9	6.6
Nursery-school workers	1	3	3	2	9	6.6
Total	36	27	41	32	136	100

Appendix 2

The following medicinal plants were found growing in, and around, Cabala and examples were collected by a number of women who then discussed how and when they used them. I have listed only the uses over which the women agreed. The list does not indicate what other plants/substances were used in any one remedy as the composition of most remedies varied according to context and the experience of both the curer and the patient. Equally I have not listed whether plants were classified as 'hot' or 'cold' as the classification of most plants was not unanimous. The latin names were added from Finerman 1985, Acerò and Dalle Rive 1989.

Plant	Preparation	Use
Achupalla <i>Pourretia Piramidata</i> <i>Fam. Bromeliaceuseus</i>	Apply powder from leaves direct	Burns / Scalds
Alfalfa <i>Medicago Sativa</i>	Infusion-external use	Bleeding nose or mouth
Alfider	Tea	Stomach ache
Allcu Tsilij <i>Bromus Catharticus</i> <i>Fam Gramineae</i>	Tea	Diarrhoea
Alverjilla/Culantillo <i>Fam. Leguminosae</i>	Tea	Shame
Allullo	Apply powder from leaves direct	Toothache
Aya Zanaharia <i>Arracacha Esculenta</i>	Poultice	To ensure delivery of placenta
Aya Llanten <i>Plantago Major</i>	Infusion-external use	Aching bones
Baleriana	Tea	Heart ache
Bledos	Tea (root only)	Indigestion/Diarrhoea
Bolsilla	Poultice	Fever
Boraja <i>Borago Officinalis</i>	Tea	Cough

Caballo Chupa	Tea	Liver infection
Cana Yuyu <i>Sonchus Oleraceus</i> Fam. Compositae	Tea	'Colerine' / Stomach ache
Capuli <i>Prunus Serotina</i> Fam. Rosaceae, Prunoide.	Tea	Stomach ache
Cari Lantin <i>Oenothera tetragona</i> Fam. Onagraceae	Tea	To counteract heat
Cashamurucha <i>Xanthium Catharticum</i> Fam. Compositae	Tea	Stomach ache / Liver problems
Chicoria-Blanca	Tea/Sap	Kidney and liver ache / Toothache
Chilca <i>Baccharis Polyantha</i> Fam. Comositae	Toasted and applied direct	Regulation of micturition
Chulco <i>Oxalis Peruviana</i>	Tea	Fever / Mouth ulcers
Chumbalito	Cleansing/Tea	Mal aire / Shock
Cuchi Malva	Infusion-external use	Stomach ache
Cuchi Pumo	Infusion-external use	To wash wounds
Culantro <i>Cordiandrum Sativum</i>	Tea - also frequently used in all cooking	Diarrhoea
Diente de Leon <i>Taraxacum Officinale</i>	Tea	Kidneys / Lungs / Diuretic
Euclypto <i>Euclyptus Globulus</i>	Tea applied to the nose	Colds
Flor de Nabo <i>Brassica Negra</i>	Tea	Birth inducement
Flor de Papas	Infusion-external use	Fever
Gindillupana	Infusion/Poultice	Cold / Headache
Escorsonera	Tea	Cough / Spots / Bad blood
Guantac Blanco	Cleansing	Mal aire

Guantac Rojo <i>Atropa Belladonna</i>	Cleansing	Mal aire
Hierba Buena <i>Mentha Piperita</i>	Tea	Worms
Hierba Mora <i>Solanum Nigrum</i> <i>Fam. Solanaceae</i>	Tea	Diarrhoea
Hoja de Papas	Infusion-external use	Fever
Hoja de Zanaharia	Tea	Diuretic
Huagacallo	Infusion-external use	Fever
Huarmita Chilca	Poultice	Chills
Huarmita Esconscenara	Infusion-external use	Aching bones
Huiria Huiria <i>Gnaphalium Spicatum</i> <i>Fam. Compositae</i>	Poultice	Abcesses
Ihualin	Infusion-external use	Aching bones
Ilguan	Apply direct	Cold sores
Lanzatilla	Tea/Apply direct	'Colerine'/Earache
Lanzatilla Huarmita	Tea	Stomach ache induced by shame or anger
Lanzatilla Macho	Tea	Backache
Lenta Hilya	Tea	'Colerine'
Llinllin	Infusion-external use	Fever
Lutu Yuyu <i>Basella Obovata</i> <i>Fam. Basela Ceas</i>	Tea/Poultice	Kidneys / Lungs / Toothache
Manzanilla <i>Matricaria Chamomila</i>	Tea	Stomach ache
Marco <i>Franseria Artemisiodes</i>	Cleansing	Mal aire
Mashua	Tea	Shock
Moradilla <i>Conyza Cardaminefolia</i>	Apply direct	Itching
Muelen	Infusion-external use	Sprains / Bruises
Niguas	Tea/Infusion-external use	Measles
Ñachac	Tea	Birth inducement
Oregano <i>Origanum Vulgare</i>	Tea	Stomach ache

Ortiga <i>Urtica Urens</i>	Apply direct	Headache / Foot ache
Ortigilla	Tea	Colds / Cough
Pishic	Infusion-external use	Head lice
Plantanillo	Tea	Regulate menstruation
Quinpic	Apply direct	Spots
Quishar	Infusion-external use	Aching bones
Romerillo	Tea	Muscle aches
Ruda <i>Ruta Graveolens</i>	Cleansing	Mal aire
Rugro	Tea	Indigestion
Salvia-Real <i>Salvia Officinalis</i> Fam. Labiatae	Infusion-external use	Post-natal infections
Santa María <i>Pyrethrum Parthenium</i> Fam. Compositae	Tea/Cleansing	Pain of childbirth / Mal aire
Sause	Infusion-external use	Hair tonic
Solda <i>Solidago Virga Aurea</i>	Apply direct	Bruises
Soroyuyu	Infusion-external use	Colds / Stomach ache
Tani	Tea	Lungs / Kidneys
Taratsaco	Tea	Intestinal infections
Tilo <i>Tilia Platyphylla</i>	Tea	Coughs
Tipo Fam. Labiatae	Tea	Aching bones
Toronjil	Tea	Sore throat / Heart ache
Trebillo <i>Trifolium Pratense</i>	Tea	Colds
Trinitaria <i>Psoralea Mutisii</i>	Tea	Diarrhoea
Tzani	Tea	Kidneys / Lungs / Diuretic
Tzetzetra	Infusion-external use	Sprains
Ulalac	Cleansing	Mal aire
Urcuyuyu	Tea	Stomach ache

Verbena <i>Microphila</i> Fam. Verbenacea	Apply direct	Colic / Tantrums
Zangoracha	Tea	Regulate menstruation

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, L. 1990. 'The Romance of resistance: tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women', *American Ethnologist* Vol.17:1 pp.41-55.
- Aceró, G. and Dalle Rive, M. 1989. *Medicina Indígena: Cacha-Chimborazo*, Quito, Ecuador: ABYA-YALA.
- Aguiló, F. 1992. *El Hombre del Chimborazo*, Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.
- Allen, C. 1988. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Alvear, S. 1977. *Puruhá, Nación Guerra*, Quito, Ecuador: Editora Nacional.
- Appadurai, A. 1986. *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Archetti, E. 1992. *El Mundo Social y Symbolico del Cuy*, Quito, Ecuador: CEPLAES.
- Baer, H., Singer, M. and Johnson, J. 1986. 'Toward a Critical Medical Anthropology', *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 23:2 pp. 95-98.
- Bailey, F. 1971. 'Gifts and Poison.' in F. Bailey (ed) *Gifts and Poison. The politics of Reputation*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Banfield, E.C. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, New York: Free Press.
- Barth, F. 1969. 'Introduction' in F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bastien, J. 1978. *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and Ritual in an Andean Ayllu*, Monograph 64. St. Paul: West Publishing Co.
- Bateson, G. 1980. *Naven*, (First published 1958). London: Wildwood House.
- Baumann, G. n.d. *Rituals Directed at 'Others'* Paper delivered to the 1990 E.A.S.A. Conference.
- Becker, H. S. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York: Free Press.
- Becker, L. 1986. *Reciprocity*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Belote, J. and Belote L. 1977. 'The Limitation of Obligation in Saraguro Kinship' in R. Bolton and E. Mayer (eds) *Andean Kinship and Marriage*. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

- Bloch, M. and Parry, J. 1982. *Death and The Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloch, M. and Parry, J. 1989. *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloch, M. 1990. 'Language, Anthropology and Cognitive Science', *Man* Vol. 26:2 pp. 183-198.
- Bolton, R. and Mayer, E. 1977. *Andean Kinship and Marriage*. Washington: American Anthropological Association, No. 7.
- Borofsky, R. 1994. *Assessing Cultural Anthropology* New York: McGraw-Hill Inc..
- Botero, L. 1990. *Chimborazo de los Indios*, Colección Antropología Aplicada No.1. Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, New York : Cambridge University Press.
- Bruce, J. and Dwyer, D. 1988. 'Introduction' in D. Dwyer and J. Bruce (eds) *A Home Divided*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Brush, S. 1977. 'Kinship and Land Use in a Northern Sierra Community' in R. Bolton and E. Mayer (eds) *Andean Kinship and Marriage*, Washington: American Anthropological Association, No. 7.
- Buck, R. 1986. 'The psychology of emotion' in J. LeDoux and W. Hirst (eds) *Mind and Brain: Dialogues in Cognitive Neuroscience*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, P. 1981. 'Traditional and Modern Medicine in Malaysia' in *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 15a pp.127-136.
- Cohen, A. 1994. *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Colson, E. 1953. *The Makah Indians*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Colson, A. and Armellada, C. 1983. 'An Amerindian derivation for Latin American creole illnesses and their treatment' *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 17: pp. 1229-1248.
- Cordero, L. 1989. *Diccionario Quichua*. Quito, Ecuador: Corporación Editora Nacional.
- Corkhill, D. and Cubitt, D. 1988. *Ecuador: fragile democracy*, London: Latin American Bureau.

- Crain, M. 1991. Poetics and Politics in the Ecuadorian Andes: Women's Narratives of Death and Devil Possession. *American Ethnologist* Vol. 18:1 pp. 67-88.
- Crawford, J. 1967. *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Currier, R.L. 1966. 'The Hot-Cold Syndrome and Symbolic Balance in Mexican and Spanish American Folk Medicine'. *Ethnology* Vol. 5: 3 pp. 251-263.
- Custred, G. 1977. 'Peasant Kinship, Subsistence and Economics in a High Altitude Andean Environment' in R. Bolton and E. Mayers (eds) *Andean Kinship and Marriage* Washington DC: American Anthropology Association No. 7.
- D'Andrade, R. 1992. 'Cognitive Anthropology' in T. Schwartz, G. White and C. Lutz (eds) *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- D'Andrade, R. 1992a. 'Schemas and Motivation' in R. D'Andrade and C. Strauss (eds) *Human Motives and Cultural Models*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis-Roberts, C. 1981. 'Kutambuwa Ugonjuwa: Concepts of Illness and Transformation among the Tabwa of Zaire' *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 15b: pp.309-316
- Delgado, E. 1990-'91. *Proyecto de Comunicacion para Salud*. Not published - available from Comunidec, Quito, Ecuador.
- Devisch, R. 1985. 'Approaches to Symbol and Symptom in Bodily Space-Time' *International Journal of Psychology* Vol. 20: pp. 389-419.
- Dixon-Keller, J. 1992. 'Schemes for Schemata' in T. Schwartz, G. White and C. Lutz (eds) *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Douglas, M. 1970. 'Introduction' in M. Douglas (ed) *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. London: Tavistock.
- Dwyer, D. 1988. 'Introduction' in D. Dwyer and J. Bruce (eds) *A Home Divided* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ekman, P. 1973. *Darwin and facial expression: a century of research in review*, New York : Academic Press.
- Elias, N. 1991. 'On Human Beings and Their Emotions: A Process-Sociological Essay' in M. Featherstone, M. Hepworth and B. Turner (eds) *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* London: Sage Publications.
- Featherstone, M., Hepworth, M., and Turner, B. 1991. *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* London: Sage Publications.

Feierman, S. and Janzen, J. *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Figueroa, J. and Yáñez, S. *El levantamiento Indígena del Inti Raymi de 1990*. Quito, Ecuador: ABYA - YALA.

Finerman, R. 1983. 'Experience and Expectation: Conflict and Change in Traditional Family Health Care Among the Quichua of Saraguro' *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 17:17 pp. 1291-1298.

Finerman, R. 1985. *Health Care Decisions in an Andean Indian Community: Getting the Best of Both Worlds*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles: Ann Arbor; University Microfilm International.

Finerman, R. 1987. 'Inside Out: World View and Family Health in an Ecuadorian Indian Community'. *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 25:10 pp. 1157-1162.

Fock, N. and Krener, E. 1977 / 1978. 'Good Luck and the Taita Carnaval of Cañar'. *Folk* Vol. 19-20: pp. 151-170.

Fontaine, J. 1978. *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation*. London: Academic Press A.S.A. Monograph 17.

Foster, G. 1960-1961. Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society *Human Organisation* Vol. 19:4 pp. 174-178.

Foster, G. 1961. 'The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village' *American Anthropologist* Vol. 63: 6 pp. 1173-1192.

Foster, G. 1965. 'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good.' *American Anthropologist* Vol. 67: 2 pp. 300-323.

Foster, G. 1965b. 'Cultural Responses To Expressions Of Envy In Tzintzuntzan'. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. Vol. 21: 1 pp. 24-35.

Foster, G. 1967. *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World*. Boston: Brown.

Foster, G. 1988. 'The Validating Role of Humoral Theory in Traditional Spanish-American Therapeutics', *American Ethnologist* Vol. 15: 1 pp.120-135.

Foster, M. 1985. 'Structural Hierarchy and Social Good in Tzintzuntzan'. *International Journal of Psychology* Vol. 20: pp. 617-635.

Foucault, M. 1973. *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. New York: Random House.

Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. Robert Hurley, trans. New York: Pantheon.

- Foucault, M. 1978a. 'About the Concept of the "Dangerous Individual" in 19th-Century Legal Psychiatry' *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* Vol.1 pp.1-18.
- Foucault, M. 1979. *Discipline and Punish* New York: Random House.
- Frake, C. 1961. 'The Diagnosis of Disease Among the Subanon of Mindanao'. *American Anthropologist* Vol. 63: 1 pp. 113-132.
- Frankenberg, R. 1980. 'Medical Anthropology and Development: A Theoretical Perspective'. *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 14b: pp. 197-207.
- Geertz, C. 1984. 'From the Natives Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding' in R. Schweder and R. Levine (eds) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gell, A. 1986. 'Newcomers to the world of goods: consumption among the Muria Gonds.' in A. Appadurai (ed) *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gell, A. 1992. 'Inter-Tribal Commodity Barter and Reproductive Gift-Exchange in Old Melanesia' in C. Humphrey and S. Hugh-Jones, (eds) *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gell, A. 1992a. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images* Oxford: Berg.
- Gluckman, M. 1963. 'Gossip and Scandal' *Current Anthropology* Vol. 4: 3 pp. 307-316.
- Gluckman, M. 1968. 'Psychological, Sociological and Anthropological Explanations of Witchcraft and Gossip: A Clarification". *Man* Vol. 3: 1 pp. 20-34.
- Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Good, B. 1977. 'The Heart of What's the Matter: The Semantics of Illness in Iran' *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* Vol. 1: pp. 25-58.
- Good, B. 1994. *Medicine, Rationality and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gose, P. 1994. *Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian Ritual and Class Formation in an Andean Town*. Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press.
- Greenwood, B. 1981. 'Cold or Spirits? Choice and Ambiguity in Morocco's Pluralistic Medical System'. *Social Science and Medicine* Vol.15b: pp.219-235
- Greenwood, B. 1992. 'Cold or Spirits? Ambiguity and Syncretism in Moroccan Therapeutics' in S. Feierman and J. Janzen (eds) *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Gregory, C. 1982. *Gifts and Commodities*. London: Academic Press.
- Gudeman, S. 1975. 'Spiritual Relationships and Selecting a Godparent'. *Man* Vol. 10: 2 pp. 221-237.
- Gudeman, S. 1976. *Relationships, Residence and the Individual*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gudeman, S. 1978. *The Demise of a Rural Economy*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gudeman, S. and Rivera, R. 1990. *Conversations in Colombia*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hahn, R. and Kleinman, A. 1983. 'Biomedical Practice and Anthropological Theory: Frameworks and Directions'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 12 : pp. 305-333.
- Handelman, D. 1990. *Models and Mirrors. Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Handelman, H. 1975. *Struggle in the Andes: Peasant Mobilisation in Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Handelman, H. 1979. *Ecuador, a new political direction?* Hanover: N.H. American Universities Field Staff. No.47.
- Handelman, H. 1980. *Ecuadorian Agrarian Reform: the politics of limited change*. Hanover: N.H. American Universities Field Staff. No.49.
- Harris, O. 1978. 'Complementarity and Conflict: An Andean View of Women and Men' in J. Fontaine (ed) *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation*. London: Academic Press A.S.A. Monograph 17.
- Harris, O. 1980. 'The Power of the Signs: gender, culture and the wild in the Bolivian Andes' in C. MacCormack and M. Strathern (eds) *Nature, Culture and Gender* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, O. 1981. 'Households as Natural Units.' in K. Young, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullugh (eds) *Of Marriage and the Market* London: CSE Books.
- Harris, O. 1982 'The Dead and the Devils among the Bolivian Laymi.' in M. Bloch and J. Parry (eds) *Death and The Regeneration of Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, O. 1989. 'The Earth and the State: the sources and meanings of money in Northern Potosí, Bolivia. in J. Parry and M. Bloch (eds) *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Harris, O. 1994. 'Condor and the Bull: the ambiguities of masculinity in Northern Potosí' in P. Harvey and P. Gow (eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in representation and experience*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, P. and Gow, P. 1994. *Sex and Violence: Issues in representation and experience*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, P. 1994. 'Domestic Violence in the Peruvian Andes' in P. Harvey and P. Gow (eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in representation and experience*. London: Routledge.
- Hemming, J. 1970. *The Conquest of the Incas* (Revised Edition 1983) London: Penguin Books.
- Hepenstall, M. 1971. 'Reputations, Criticism and Information in an Austrain Village' in F. Bailey (ed) *Gifts and Poison. The politics of Reputation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Herzfeld, M. 1986. 'Closure as Cure: Tropes in the Exploration of Bodily and Social Disorder'. *Current Anthropology* Vol. 27: 2 pp. 107-121.
- Hill, J. 1988. *Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past Urbana and Chigaco*: University of Illinois Press.
- Hill, P. 1981. *Development Economics on Trial*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, D. and Quinn, N. 1987. *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* New York and London: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, D. 1992. 'The Woman who climbed up the house: some limitations of schema theory' in T. Schwartz, G. White and C. Lutz (eds) *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hugh-Jones, S. 1992. 'Yesterday's Luxuries, Tomorrow's Necessities: Business and Barter in Northwest Amazonia' in C. Humphrey and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) *Barter, Exchange and Value*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Humphrey, C. and Hugh-Jones, S. 1992. *Barter, Exchange and Value: An Anthropological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hurtado, O. 1980. *Political Power in Ecuador* (first publ. 1977) trans. Nick Mills. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- INEC. 1992. *Analisis de los resultados definitivos del V censo de poblacion y IV de vivienda*. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos. Quito, Ecuador.
- Icaza, J. 1985. *Huasipungo* Colombia: Editorial La Oveja Negra.
- Ilich, I. 1975. *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health*. London: Calder and Boyars.

- Inhorn, C. and Brown, P. 1990. 'The Anthropology of Infectious Disease'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol 19: pp. 89-117.
- Isaacs, A. 1993. *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972-92*. London: Macmillan.
- Isbell, B. 1977. ' "Those Who Love Me" : An Analysis of Andean Kinship and Reciprocity Within a Ritual Context' in R. Bolton and E. Mayer (eds) *Andean Kinship and Marriage* Washington DC: American Anthropology Association No.7.
- Isbell, B. 1978. *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village*. Latin American Monographs, No.47. The Institute of Latin American Studies, Austin: The University of Texas.
- Janzen, J.M. 1978. *The Quest for Therapy in Lower Zaire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Johnson, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kelley, H. 1991. 'Unwed Mothers and Household Reputation in a Spanish Galician Community'. *American Ethnologist* Vol. 18:3 pp. 565-581.
- Kleinman, A. 1980. *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture. An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine and Psychiatry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kluckhohn, C. 1962. *Navaho Witchcraft*. New York: Beacon Press.
- Krige, J. 1982. 'The Social Function of Witchcraft' in M. Marwick (ed) *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (First published 1970) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Kroeber, A. 1948. *Anthropology*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Larner, C. 1984. *Witchcraft and Religion. The Politics of Popular Belief*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Layton, R. 1971. 'Patterns of Informal Interaction in Pellaport' in F. Bailey (ed) *Gifts and Poison. The politics of Reputation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Leach, E. 1982. *Social Anthropology*, London: Fontana Paperbacks.
- LeDoux, J. 1986. 'The neurobiology of emotion' in J. LeDoux and W. Hirst (eds.) *Mind and Brain: Dialogues in Cognitive Neuroscience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LeDoux, J. and Hirst, W. 1986. *Mind and Brain: Dialogues in Cognitive Neuroscience*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1966. *The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levy, R. 1994. 'Person-Centred Anthropology' in R. Borofsky (ed) *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Lewis, O. 1951. *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Re-studied* Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Lewis, O. 1960-61. "Some of My Best Friends are Peasants" - a rejoinder to Foster, G. 'Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society'. *Human Organisation* Vol. 19: 4 pp.174-184.
- Logan, M. 1977. 'Anthropological Research on the Hot-Cold Theory of Disease: Some Methodological Suggestions' *Medical Anthropology* Vol. 1: 4 pp. 87-112.
- Lutz, C. 1987. 'Goals, Events and Understanding in Ifaluk Emotion Theory' in D. Holland and N. Quinn (eds) *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* New York and London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lutz, C. and Abu-Lughod, L. 1990. *Language and the Politics of emotion*. New York and London: Cambridge University Press.
- MacCormack, C. and Strathern, M. 1980. *Nature, Culture and Gender* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- M.A.G. 1990. *Diagnostico Social, Economico Y Fisico. Provincia de Chimborazo*. Ministerio de Agricultura. Riobamba, Ecuador: Ministerio de Agricultura.
- Macas, L. 1991. *El Levantamiento Indígena Visto Por Sus Protagonistas* Quito, Ecuador: Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas.
- Marwick, M. 1982 'Witchcraft as a Social Strain-Gauge' in M. Marwick (ed) *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (First published 1970) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Maturana, H. and Varela, F. 1988. *The Tree of Knowledge* trans. by R. Paolucci. Boston and London: New Science Library.
- Mauss, M. 1990. *The Gift* (1st published 1950) trans. by W. Halls. London:Routledge.
- McKee, L. 1988. 'Controles tradicionales de la reproducción en la Sierra Ecuatoriana; efectos en la estructura demográfica" in L. McKee and S. Arguello (eds) *Nuevas Investigaciones Antropológicas Ecuatorianas* Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception* Colin Smith, trans. London: Routledge.
- Messer, E. 1981. 'Hot-Cold Classification: Theoretical and Practical Implications of a Mexican Study' *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 15b: pp. 134.

- Molinié-Fioravanti, A. 1982. 'The Andean Community today' in J. Murra, N. Wachtel and J. Revel (eds) *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moore, H. 1988. *Feminism and Anthropology* Oxford: Polity Press.
- Moore, H. 1994. 'The Problem of Explaining Violence in the Social Sciences' in P. Harvey and P.Gow (eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in representation and experience*. London: Routledge.
- Mora, E. 1990. *Nueva Historia del Ecuador Vol 2*. Quito, Ecuador: Editorial Grijalbo Ecuatoriana Ltda.
- Morris, B. 1994. *Anthropology of the Self: The Individual in Cultural Perspective* London: Pluto Press.
- Muñoz-Bernand, C. 1986. *Enfermedad, Daño e Ideología* Quito, Ecuador: Abya Yala.
- Muratorio, B. 1981. 'Protestantism, Ethnicity, and Class in Chimborozo' in N. Whitten (ed) *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador* Chigaco: University of Illinois Press.
- Murra, J., Wachtel, N. and Revel, J. 1982. *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers, F. 1979. 'Emotions and the Self : A Theory of Personhood and Political Order among Pintupi Aborigines.' *Ethos* Vol. 7 : 343-370.
- Nash, J. 1977. 'Myth and Ideology in the Andean Highlands' in J. Nash, J. Corradi and H. Spalding (eds) *Ideology and Social Change in Latin America*. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Oberem, U. 1990 'El período Incaico en el Ecuador' in E. Mora (ed) *Nueva Historia del Ecuador Vol 2*. Quito, Ecuador: Editorial Grijalbo Ecuatoriana Ltda.
- Obeyesekere, G. 1980. *Rationality, Theory and Explanation in Ayurvedic Medicine* The United Nations University. Printed in Japan.
- Ortiz, S. 1973. *Uncertainties In Peasant Farming: A Colombian Case*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Osborn, A. 1968. 'Compadrazgo and Patronage: A Colombian Case' *Man* Vol.13. No.4: 593-609.
- Parsons, E. 1945. *Peguche: Canton of Otavalo, Province of Imbabura, Ecuador, A Study of Andean Indians* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Patterson, T. 1992. *The Inca Empire* New York / Oxford: Berg.
- Popkin, S. 1979. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Popper, K. 1963. *Conjectures and Refutations : The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Price, L. 1987. 'Ecuadorian Illness Stories: Cultural Knowledge in Natural Discourse' in D. Holland and N. Quinn (eds) *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramon, G. et al. 1992. *Actores de Una Decada Ganada: Tribus, Comunidades y Campesinos en la Modernidad* Quito, Ecuador: Comunidec.
- Rasnake, R. 1988. *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Riches, D. 1991. Aggression, War, Violence: space/time and paradigm. *Man* Vol. 26:2 pp. 281-297.
- Román V. 1991. *El Protagonismo de la Sociedad Hacia Año 2000: A Proposito del Colera en el Ecuador* Quito, Ecuador: Comunidec.
- Rosaldo, M. 1984. 'Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling' in R. Schweder and R. Levine (eds) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion* London and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosero, F. 1990. *Levantamiento Indigena: Tierra y Precios* Quito, Ecuador: Centro de Estudios y Difusion Social.
- Rubel, A. 1960. 'Concepts of Disease in Mexican-American Culture' *American Anthropologist* Vol. 62:5 pp. 795-814.
- Sahlins, M. 1974. *Stone age Economics* London: Tavistock Publications.
- Salomon, F. 1986. *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scarry, E. 1985. *The Body in Pain: the making and the unmaking of the world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. and Lock, M. 1987 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology'. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* Vol. 1: pp. 6-41.
- Schodt, D. 1987. *Ecuador: an Andean enigma* U.S.A.: Westview Press.
- Schwartz, T., White, G. and Lutz, C. 1992. *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schweder, R. and Levine, R. 1984. *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schweder, R. and Bourne, R. 1984. 'Does the Concept of the Person Vary Cross-Culturally?' in R. Schweder and R. Levine (eds) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion* London and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scott, J. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the peasant* New haven : Yale University Press.

Singer, M. 1989. 'The Coming of Age of Critical Medical Anthropology' *Social Science and Medicine* Vol.28 pp.1193-1203.

Skar, H. and Salomon, F. 1987. 'Introduction' in H. Skar and F. Salomon *Natives and Neighbours in South America* Sweden: Ethnological Studies Vol. 38, Goteberg Etnografiska Museum.

Skar, S. 1987. 'The Role of Urine in Andean Notions of Heath and the Cosmos' in H. Skar and F. Salomon *Natives and Neighbours in South America* Sweden: Ethnological Studies Vol. 38 Goteberg Etnografiska Museum.

Solomon, R. 1984. 'Getting Angry: The Jamesian Theory of Emotion in Anthropology' in R. Schweder and R. Levine (eds) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*, London and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, C. and Quinn, N. 1994. 'A Cognitive / Cultural Anthropology' in R. Borofsky (ed) *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, New York: McGraw-Hill Inc..

Stutzman, R. 1981. 'El Mestizaje: An All-Inclusive Ideology of Exclusion.' in Whitten, N. (ed) *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, University of Illinois Press.

Taussig, M. 1980. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*, University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill.

Taussig, M. 1980a. 'Reification and the Consciousness of the Patient'. *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 14b pp. 3-13.

Tedlock, B. 1987. 'An Interpretative Solution to the Problem of Humoral Medicine in Latin America'. *Social Science and Medicine* Vol. 24 pp. 1069-1083.

Thomas, K. 1982. 'The Meaning of the Term Witchcraft' in M. Marwick (ed) *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (first published 1970) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

TINCUI / CONAIE 1989. *Las Nacionalidades Indigenas en el Ecuador*. Ecuador: ABYA YALA.

Toren, C. 1994. 'Transforming love: representing Fijian hierarchy.' in P. Harvey and P.Gow (eds) *Sex and Violence: Issues in representation and experience*, London: Routledge.

Turner, B. 1984. *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, T. 1988. "Ethno-Ethnohistory: Myth and History in Native South American Representations of Contact with Western Society" in J. Hill (ed) *Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*, Urbana and Chigaco: University of Illinois Press.

Wagner, R. 1981. *The Invention of Culture*. (Revised edition) Chigaco: University of Chicago Press.

Walter, L. 1981. Social Strategies and the Fiesta Complex in an Otavaleño Community. *American Ethnologist* Vol. 8 :1 pp. 172- 185.

Weismantel, R. 1988. *Food, Gender and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes* University of Pennsylvania Press.

White, G. 1992. 'Ethnopsychology' in T. Schwartz, G. White and C. Lutz (eds) *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* New York and London: Cambridge University Press.

Whitten, N. (ed) 1981 *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*. University of Illinois Press.

Wittgenstein, L. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford. Blackwell.

Wolf, E. 1955. 'Types of Latin American Peasantry': A Preliminary Discussion. *American Anthropologist* Vol. 57: 3 pp. 452-471.

Worsley, P. 1982. 'Non-Western Medical Systems' *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 11: pp.315-348.

Worthman C. M. 1992. 'Cupid and Psyche: Investigative Syncretism in Biological and Psychosocial Anthropology' in T. Schwartz, G. White and C. Lutz (eds.) *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* London and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yáñez, S. 1985 *Sublevaciones Indigenas en la Audiencia de Quito* (3rd.Ed.). Quito, Ecuador: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica.

Yáñez, S. and Figueroa, J. 1991. *El levantamiento Indigena del Inti Raymi de 1990*. Quito, Ecuador: ABYA - YALA.

Yáñez, F. 1992. *Monografía de la Parroquia de C_____* Quito, Ecuador: ABYA YALA.

Yeats, W.B. 1990. 'Among School Children' in N. Jeffares (ed) *W.B. Yeats Selected Poetry* London: Pan Books.

Young, J.C. 1978. 'Illness Categories and Action Strategies in a Tarascan Town'. *American Ethnologist* Vol. 5: 1 pp. 81-97

Young, A. 1982. 'The Anthropologies of Illness and Sickness' *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 11: pp.257-285.