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"TO SEW OR TO SOW?" EUROPEAN GENDER IMAGES AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL ECUADOR

by

BARBARA GRÜNENFELDER-ELLIKER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1998

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

30 April 1998
Date

June Nash
Chair of Examining Committee

30 April 1998
Date

Louise D Lennihan
Executive Officer

Dr. María Laura Lagos

Dr. Louise Lennihan

Dr. Sara Stinson

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

"TO SEW OR TO SOW?" EUROPEAN GENDER IMAGES AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL ECUADOR

by

Barbara Grünenfelder-Elliker

Advisor: Professor June Nash

This thesis examines the impact of a gender specific Swiss development project on Andean artisans women who struggle to intensify their craft production in the face of an increasing subsistence crisis characteristic among rural small producers around the globe. The selection of a project which has proven sustainable over a number of years allowed the author to conduct fieldwork in three different settings (1992-1995): among two hundred artisan women from eleven rural communities in Ecuador's Azuay province, who embroider table linen and apparel for export; among Ecuadorian and expatriate Swiss development specialists in Quito and Cuenca; and, to a limited extent, with policy makers and programmers at the headquarters of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation in Berne. The thesis analyzes how European gender stereotypes contravene the stated project goal to slow down rural emigration and interfere with the transfer of grassroots management skills. Research with development agents shows that gender and their cultural as well as geographic distance to "aid receiving" populations influence how well local needs are assessed. The Swiss case reveals that development agency staff are active in policy making; a lack of knowledge about current social science debates partly accounts for shortcomings in gender specific programming. Swiss foreign policy past and present is examined to expose the links between a nation's internal situation and development programming, which is influenced by kind and degree of colonial and neo-colonial activities of the donor nation.

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Acknowledgements

"Al jinete se instruye, al caballo
se adiestra; a la mujer se doma."
Sabiduría ecuestre
["Horsemen learn, horses need to be
broken in, but women must be
brought to heel."]
Cowboy wisdom

No work in anthropology is possible without the generosity, wisdom, and hospitality of perfect strangers who become friends. Therefore the first place in a long list of people to whom I am deeply indebted belongs to the women of Centro de Bordados Cuenca in Ecuador, in particular Aida Maita Supliguicha and brother Segundo, María and Lina Maita and family, Delia Orellana Supliguicha, Matilde Supliguicha, Chavela Alvarado Yuquilima, Guillermina Conce, Elsa Reino, Carmen Reinoso, Marlene Rubio, Yolanda Yuquilima, Bertha Ordóñez and her grandmother Teresa Guaraca Maita, María Luísa Guaraca and husband Manuel, Ilde Conce and family. Very special thanks for extensive hospitality go to Alwina Alvarado Yuquilima and Maira, to Esperanza Alvarado Yuquilima and family, to Doña Mercedes ("Mamita Miche") Yuquilima and the late Don Cruz Alvarado, and the to Mendieta Jimenez family.

Those at Centro Bordados Cuenca who I call Rolando, Octavio, Flurina, Urs and their spouses know how much I owe them in terms of knowledge about rural Azuay, helping me to get started and to meet the women artisans, and their general kindness, friendship and hospitality. The entire staff at the COTESU [Cooperación Técnica del Gobierno Suizo] office in Quito deserve my heartfelt thanks for inviting me to share their office life, archival resources, and knowledge about development programs in Ecuador. Régis Avanthay and Peter Meier were instrumental in lending support to do a project ethnology which included a small but very welcome travel award. Laurence Pfeiffer, and Yolanda Sandoval helped me make sense not only of archival idiosyncrasy but of detail in project implementation, and they always let me know when something interesting was going to happen in Quito or in one of the project sites.

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The Latin America section of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation [SDC] made my stay at headquarters in Berne possible, and special thanks go to Adrian Schläpfer, Crista Cüeni Bossart and Florence Boegli. I also wish to thank all those at SDC who generously granted me interviews and insight into policy making and development agency practice. The Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in New York generously supported part of this research, and their contribution is gratefully acknowledged.

Like many companions in trade before me, I had an early interest in "the other," stimulated by my family's constant attention to events happening beyond the boundaries of our small landlocked patchwork of an ethnically and linguistically diversified country. As a young adult I chose the foreign service career for two major reasons: It gave me the opportunity to live in faraway places, rather than just visiting them as a tourist. Equally important, working for the government offered the opportunity to serve the wider whole known as "nation." Thirdly, in the late 1970s, as a woman I had a far better chance to get an overseas assignment by joining the government, than by taking a job with private enterprise. Eight years in the consular service showed that certain problems in intergroup relationships were hard to solve either by the means of diplomacy or by individual psychology. I decided to find a trade which would enable me to take a socially more holistic approach to humanity. I felt that the rich descriptive tradition of Teutonic ethnology should be wedded to the "four fields" which attracted me for their diversity and for their coherence as a holistic science of humanity. One of my foreign office assignments had taken me to South America, which left me with the wish to specialize in Andean cultures. A twist of fate allowed me to do so.

The anthropology department at my Alma Mater, Lehman College of the City University of New York, had not only provided me with the classical four fields approach to anthropology but offered a wide geographic range in ethnology and a broad variety of issues in anthropological theory. My first and foremost thanks go to Professors May

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I am grateful to my peers for many hours of stimulating and fruitful discussions, in particular to Angela Français Simbürger and to her husband Gaël, Maureen O'Dougherty, Rosamel Millaman, Jaime Atencio, Janet Page-Reeves and husband Paul, Nancy Rosoff, Kate McCaffrey, Jonathan Hearn, Helio Belik whom we all miss greatly, Belkis Necos, and Eric McGuckin.

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* * * * * *

To Dedega

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Abbreviations

AT	[Personal] Administrativo y Tecnico: Administrative and Technical [Personnel] Asistencia Tecnica: Technical Assistance. The two terms are interrelated: AT licence plates are extended to foreign development agency personnel as well as to administrative and technical staff of Embassies. At times, when there is no definite and separate "development office," a foreign aid officer may be affiliated directly with her/his country's embassy as AT. But normal administrative and technical embassy officers who have nothing to do with development work are categorized likewise.
BAWI	Bundesamt für Aussenwirtschaft (Office of Foreign Economic Affairs/Foreign Trade)
CARITAS	Catholic relief organization
CBC	Centro de Bordados Cuenca
CH	Confoederatio Helvetica, name conferred upon the Swiss Confederation through Napoleon's Act of Mediation. CH is the international postal and car identification code for Switzerland, but the country's official name is the "Swiss Confederation."
CONAIE	Confederación de Naciones Indígenas del Ecuador
COSUDE	Cooperación Suiza para el Desarrollo (SDC's Spanish abbreviation used in Central America and, since 1996, in all of Latin America)
COTESU	Cooperación Tecnica del Gobierno Suizo (SDC's Spanish abbreviation used in South America until 1996)
DEH	Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und Humanitäre Hilfe (SDC's German abbreviation until 1995)
DEHZO	Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, humanitäre Hilfe und technische Zusammenarbeit mit Zentral- und Osteuropa (SDC's temporary German abbreviation during 1995 restructuring)
DEZA	Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, humanitäre Hilfe und technische Zusammenarbeit mit Zentral- und Osteuropa (SDC's German abbreviation since 1996)
EU	European Union (European Community, grown out of the European Economic Union)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization (U.N. division, based in Rome, Italy)

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FEPP	Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio: Development agency of the Ecuadorian Catholic Church. Based on Pope Paul VI's encyclica "Populorum Progressio," whereby the Catholic Church received a mandate to further directly and materially the well-being of its most destitute constituency.
FUT	Frente Unitario de Trabajadores
GNP	Gross National Product
IERAC	Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria y Colonización
IESS	Instituto Ecuatoriano de Seguridad Social
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JHT	J. Trachsel, Trading Company
LDC	Least Developed Countries
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIC	Newly Industrialized Countries
OSEC/SHZ	Office suisse d'expansion commerciale/Schweizerische Handelszentrale
PIC	Parque Industrial Cuenca
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. The Swiss government's aid agency, known as DEZA (Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Humanitäre Hilfe, und Technische Zusammenarbeit mit Zentral- und Osteuropa). The agency is increasing its focus on Central and Eastern Europe, as are similar agencies of other European countries, and in particular those of the reunited Germany.
SOFI	Swiss Organization for Facilitating Investments
TGC	Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales
UCCG	Union de Comunidades Campesinas de Gualaceo: Umbrella organization of Gualaceo's Peasant Communities.
UNDP	United Nations' Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations' Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (headquarters are in Paris)
UNICEF	United Nations' (International) Children's (Emergency) Fund

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WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization (U.N. division based in Geneva, Switzerland)

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Glossary

Symbols and explanations:
- a slash / separates female and male endings/versions of nouns and adjectives
- parentheses () indicate plural form when it departs from the usual "s" added to the end of nouns and adjectives
- a vertical slash | separates the word when gendered and plural forms involve more than a mere change in the ending
- brackets [] contain alternative spellings, mainly those pertaining to Southern Andean (Quechua) versions
- unless otherwise noted, foreign language terms are in Spanish; (q) indicates a Quichua/Quechua term, or a word derived from it, (a) Aymara, (f) French, (g) German, (i) Italian, (o) other
- "zh" in Ecuadorian Quichua and in quichuaoid Spanish is pronounced "sh"
- The Latin taxonomy of indigenous plants is taken from Ríos and Borgtoft (1994 [1991])

abono	fertilizer
achote	Bixa orellana: jungle fruit from which a red substance is extracted and dried to make a powder with which salty dishes are colored and seasoned; [achiote]
ají (es)	(q) Capsicum sp: hot peppers; known as chiles in Central America
alpage	Alpine use of high altitude summer pastures
anejo	annex; parish borough; usually a former closed corporate indigenous community
audiencia	second highest administrative unit in Andean colonial administration, subject to the Viceroy; the territory of modern day Ecuador, as well as Southern Colombia, the Amazon down to Iquitos, and northernmost Peru were part of the Audiencia of Quito
ayllu	(q) Andean form of clan structured territorial and social control over productive resources and their exchange among virtually and ritually related member groups; organizes access to different ecological tiers
Aymara	(q, a) Andean language, part of the vocabulary is akin to Quechua; ethnic group of Western Bolivia and Southeast Perú;
Azuayo	person living in or originary of Azuay province
babaco	Carica pentagona: mountain grown variety of papaya (Carica papaya); the white pulp is blended with water and sugar to produce a delicate nectar

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bolsi l cón (cones)	over skirt worn on high holidays over the embroidered pollera
bordadora	embroideress
cabildo	town council; cabildo "pequeño" (small council): indigenous community's political council to which elders of both sexes ascended through gender complementary work and expenditure within the civil-religious hierarchy
cacicazco	the domain/rule of a cacique
cacique	indigenous rulers, usually on local or regional level; term imported by the Spaniards from Caribbean languages
cambiamanos	labor exchange among rural social peers ("minka" in Bolivia)
campesinista	social science concept which focuses on the socio-economic, rather than ethnic identity of rural population; contrasts with indigenismo and descampesinista
campesino/a	peasant; tribute paying rural dweller; rural labor force
Cañarejo	person from Cañar province, since "Cañari" denotes precolumbian inhabitants of the prehistoric Cañar domain which was considerably larger than the modern province
canelazo	sugar cane alcohol with lemon juice, sugar and water
cangagua	(q) compact dirt, hard as rock and sterile; now at times provoked by mouldboard ploughing of high Andean flats, leading to wind erosion of topsoil which leaves the raw earth exposed to the relentless daily sun
cédula	1) colonial: royal edict; 2) modern: national identity card
chagra	(q)1) field planted with maize (Indian corn) [chacra, also meaning smallhold in the Southern Cone]; 2) corn plant
chalina	shawl; also used to fasten burdens on the back of human carriers
chancar	(q) to coarsely grind corn
chicama	(q) Polymnia edulis or sonchifolia (?): tuber; sweet and soft beetlike root which can be eaten raw [jiquima, jícama]
chicha	1) Andes : lightly fermented maize beer; 2) apple cider or other

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	fermented fruit juice
Chiquinteño/a	person from Chiquintad
cholo/a	label given to Indians who shed indigenous garb, and certain cultural practices; disrespectful term used by indigenous as well as mestizo and white groups; in Southern Ecuador as well as in Perú and Bolivia women's chola dress is a Spanish style wide skirt whose embroidered seam descends well below the knee; a particular style of straw or felt hat is usually worn with it
choza	straw covered hut
chullquero	(q) informal money lender, "usurer;" loans are usually made against real estate collateral and are nowadays often used to defray the high costs of illegal emigration to North America
cofrade	member of a religious brotherhood
cofradía	religious brotherhood
com	adre/padre	god- or co-parent
compadrazco	god- or "co-parenthood;" a social relation between adult couples established through marriage or baptism
comuna	usually a closed corporate indigenous community; tax unit under Habsburg Spanish rule in the colonies
comunero/a	member of an Indian comuna; denotes someone with rights to comuna resources, mainly land in various ecological tiers; vis-à-vis Spanish tax authorities the same person is a quinto
consejo administrativo	board of directors
consejo de vigilancia	board of trustees
concertaje, concierto	indigenous labor force on hacienda bonded through debt peonage; either comuneros with insufficient subsistence base who work as day laborers or resident huasipungueros
conquistador	first wave of Spanish expatriates who came to explore and claim overseas territories for the queen and king of Spain; Francisco Pizarro was the main protagonist in the Andes, his companion Sebastián de Benalcázar made the first European incursion into what is today modern Ecuador
corregidor	high level Spanish colonial official

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corregimiento	Spanish colonial administrative unit, subordinate to the audiencia
Costeño	from the Coast; someone from the hot lowlands on the Andean foothills and along the Ecuadorian Pacific coast
Coya	Female Inka ruler; sister-spouse to Inka [I interpret her as a "peace-chief", in contrast to the war-chief "foreign minister" Inka]
coyote	literally the desert fox; travel assistant to illegal emigrants, "tout"; intermediary, broker
criollo	American born Spaniard from the colonies; when used as a term for animals originally imported from Europe it denotes local subspecies, rather than what are considered "pure breeds"
cuadra	Spanish colonial land measure: 1 ha (10.000 square meters), still in use today
cuy (es)	guinea pig; domestic animal raised on maize and fresh grass, provides delicate rabbit-like meat for human consumption
demesne	latifundia lands cultivated by serfs for the exclusive usufruct by the manor's owner
descampesinista	social science concept which advocates the integration of rural populations to the condition of "citizens," with equal rights and obligations as the rest of the country's (more privileged) populace; contrasts with campesinista and indigenista views
doctrina	administrative and tributary church unit in the colonies; charged with converting Indians and collecting dues (for mass and other services) from them; their boundaries more or less correspond to those of modern parishes
encomendero	colonial landlord
encomienda	colonial land grant made by the Crown to Spanish settlers and to criollo descendants
entrega de trabajo	pay-day in the rural cottage industry; in the case of CBC, day when the pick-up truck delivers new cloth and pay for work handed in
escaramuza	mock battle delivered on horseback during communal fiestas
feudo	also called "fundo," big landed property; usually worked by debt

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	peon labor force; may have a resident landlord
fiesta	major religious holiday, including those honoring village or parish saints; sponsorship of such fiesta was a prerequisite for ascent within the civil-religious hierarchy
forastero	originally a run-away Indian escaping Spanish tribute burdens; later entire populations were given this status; usually exempt from the head tax, they were used as indentured labor on haciendas; they lacked access to land rights within their community of origin due to absence, neither could they claim such rights in their new place of abode, for not belonging to the local ayllu clan structure
gañanes	(q) Inka servile caste
granadilla	Passiflora sp: passion fruit
guagua	(q) child [huahua, wawua]
hacendado	owner of an hacienda
hacienda	extensively farmed estate in Latin America; combines raising cereal crops and animal husbandry, particularly dairy and beef cattle as well as sheep
hectare	abbrev. ha; land measure: 2.5 acres or 10.000 square meters
hornado	oven roasted whole pig
huasipungo	(q) rural serfdom, debt peonage, term used in Ecuador; resident hacienda labor force who were given small subsistence plots; they worked three to four days per week for the hacendado whose cash advances for ritual expenditure (baptism, marriage, death) and emergency food and clothing grants led to the accumulation of hereditary debts by which the next generation was bonded to the hacienda; in literal translation the term means "at the door of the [hacienda's 'big'] house"
huasipunguero	(q), rural serf, see huasipungo
ikat	(o) weaving with a multicolored warp dyed in the batik technique to arrive at a predetermined multichrome pattern. Double-ikat involves the additional batik-dying of weft, resulting in highly complex patterns; it is very rarely done
indigenista	term/ideology which extolls the indigenous past while denying Indian autonomy in contemporary society

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Kauf	(g) cottage industry where artisan-crafts"men" buy all input and are in control over the productive process; contrasts with Verlag
Kulak	(o) modernizing rich peasant, "upstart;" expanding smallholder on the way to commercial farming; term comes from rural transformation in Russia at the turn of the century
kuraka	(q) Andean leadership position within the ayllu structure and the Inka empire [curaca]
Landflucht	(g) land flight; rural emigration; abandoning of smallholder agriculture
latifundia	extensive landhold, estate worked by indentured workers and day laborers; hired overseers and administrators manage it for the absentee landlord
Llintigueño/a	person from Llintig
máchica	(q) toasted, ground barley
mayu-dama	(o) socio-cultural concept describing marital personnel and status exchange among the Kachin of Highland Burma
Mayuntureño/a	person from Mayuntur
melloco	(q) Ullucus tuberosus: tuber, smaller and sweater than potatoes
mindalá, mundalá	(q) trade guild of the Inka empire
minga	(q) communal work gang; part of Andean reciprocal labor exchange, usually organized among social peers; often called upon by local and regional state authorities to carry out public works without having to incur into formal labor expenses [minka]
mita	Spanish corvée labor service; recruitment was initially based on Inka population statistics and the organization of Inka corvée gangs
mitayo	Andean Indian serving as forced labor for Spanish
mitmaq (-kuna)	(q) Inka settlers; in the Northern Andes dentoes loyal Inka groups brought to help integrate peaceful newly conquered populations into the Inka empire; in the Central and Southern Andes these are usually rebellious Northern groups which were forcibly relocated to the Inka heartland; in a pan-Andean context, it is part of ayllu ecological diversification strategy [mitmac, mitimaes]

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montaña	humid, temperate forested ecological tier between high páramo and tropical lowlands
mote	hominy; the maize is soaked in ash water or other calcium rich solution, peeled and boiled; the corn opens up like a flower, similar to pop-corn but with a soft floury texture, not crunchy
novena	prayer meetings, vigils, taking place during the nine days prior to a major holiday
obraje	colonial textile sweat shop employing corvée Indian labor
olla	pot; in the countryside: a local ceramic pot where maize is boiled over a wooden fire
Otavaleño/a	member of the Otavalo ethnic group
paja toquilla	Carludovica palmata: fine round stalks of bleached and dried palmetto straw; used to weave "Panama hats;" [Jipijapa]
paño	ikat-woven and embroidered shawl that is part of the festive version of the Azuay "chola" outfit
páramo	windswept, cold and humid high mountain environment; ideal grazing for sheep and Andean cameloids (llama, alpaca, vicuña); beyond are the rock and glacial formations of volcanos
parcialidad (es)	fragment of a doctrina, historically a closed and corporate indigenous community
patrón	"boss," usually hacienda owner; employer; the term connotes unequal reciprocity: the serf, servant or worker provides extensive and cheap labor power in order to call upon the patrón's economic and political clout in times of personal/familial distress
penko	(q) Capraria biflora: agave, maguey plant; in Ecuador the pulp is extracted, boiled and the juice - probably high in calcium - used to be a dietary mainstay; today it is used for curing purposes [penco, penqo]
piso alto	ecological tier bordering on páramo
plazoleta	small plaza, usually a minor square in a city or town; small main square in a village
pollera	skirt worn by chola women
poroto	Phaseolus vulgaris: red beans [purutu]

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promotor/a — promotor; assistant; teacher of courses in technical skills transferral

protector de naturales — protector of Indians; crown official whose duty it was to protect Indians from legal and physical abuse by Spaniards and criollos, a legal advisor to Indians of sorts; more often than not these officials took the side of their fellow white "adversaries,"

qazhil — (q) generic term for certain grains when intercropped with maize as animal fodder; also for certain legumes other than those of the bean family

Quechua — (q) Lingua Franca or trade language of the Inka empire; native language of contemporary indigenous groups in Peru and parts of Bolivia

Quichua — (q) Northern Andean version of Quechua; native language of modern indigenous groups in the Ecuadorian highlands (Sierra) and parts of the Amazon

quinoa — (q) Chenopodium quinoa: small grain, indigenous to the Andes, similar in shape and size to millet; its nutritional value is high, including protein residue, along with mineral, vitamin and carbohydrate contents

quinto — tribute paying Indian under Spanish rule

Raetoromansh — Latin derived language of eastern Switzerland (Grisons Canton)

realengas — Crown lands to which Spanish and criollo settlers could make claims

reatas — seam laces on the interior of the pollera

reconquista — Spanish war against the Moors, ended in 1492 and brought Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón as joint rulers over a united Spain kingdom

reducción (es) — Spanish colonial tax domain; Indians were forced to concentrate in reducciones for enumeration and facilitated tax extraction

reducidos — Indians who live in a reducción, not as servants in the urban homes of criollo families

relación — report by catholic missionary priests/Spanish overseas officials to the Pope/Crown, describing many aspects of material and intellectual culture among native Americans

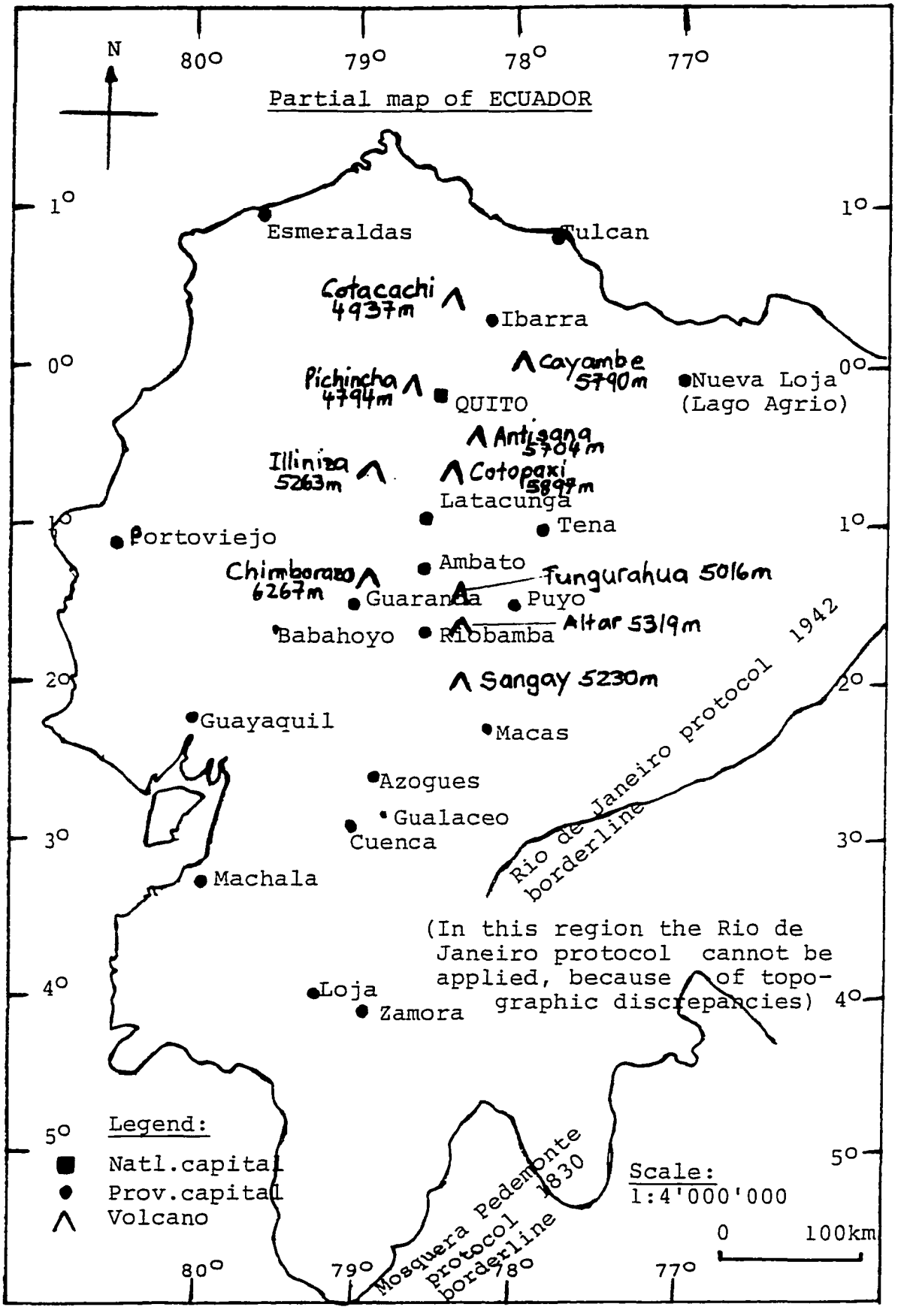
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república de Indios	Indian "republic" or tax domain; the Habsburg Crown distinguished between so-called "republics" of Indians and of Spaniards in its American colonies; through this administrative and tributary division of people along ethnic lines the Spanish Crown tried to control the use of Indian labor and resources by its expatriate subjects (colonizers)
repartimiento	Bourbon colonial tax domain; the Bourbon administrative reform brought tighter control and more exact enumeration to the former Habsburg reducciones
Romand/e	(f) Swiss citizen of the country's French speaking region
seco	meat with rice and cooked vegetables; meaning "dry" in contrast with "soup," which is liquid
Serrano	someone from the Sierra or highland
saya	(q) Inka administrative and socio-structural unit, bigger than a minimal ayllu, subordinate - in geographic rather than political terms - to the suyu
síndico	president of indigenous church board; coordinator of communal religious activity with the parish priest
solar	Spanish colonial land measure still in use today; exact equivalency in meters varies
Swissgerman	Swiss citizen from the German speaking region of the country
suyu	(q) "quarter," biggest administrative unit in the Inka empire
Tahuantinsuyo	(q) "The four quarters;" name of the Inka empire [Tawantinsuyu]
teniente político	mayor
Ticinese (i)	(i) Italian speaking Swiss citizen of the Ticino canton
tomate de árbol	Cyphomandra betacea: red, elliptic fruit of the size and shape of an Italian "pomodoro di sugo;" grows on a small slender tree; the pulp is used for nectar
toquillera	woman straw-hat weaver; ....industry: hat weaving
trago	alcoholic beverage, normally sugar cane liquor or mixed drinks with sugar cane liquor base

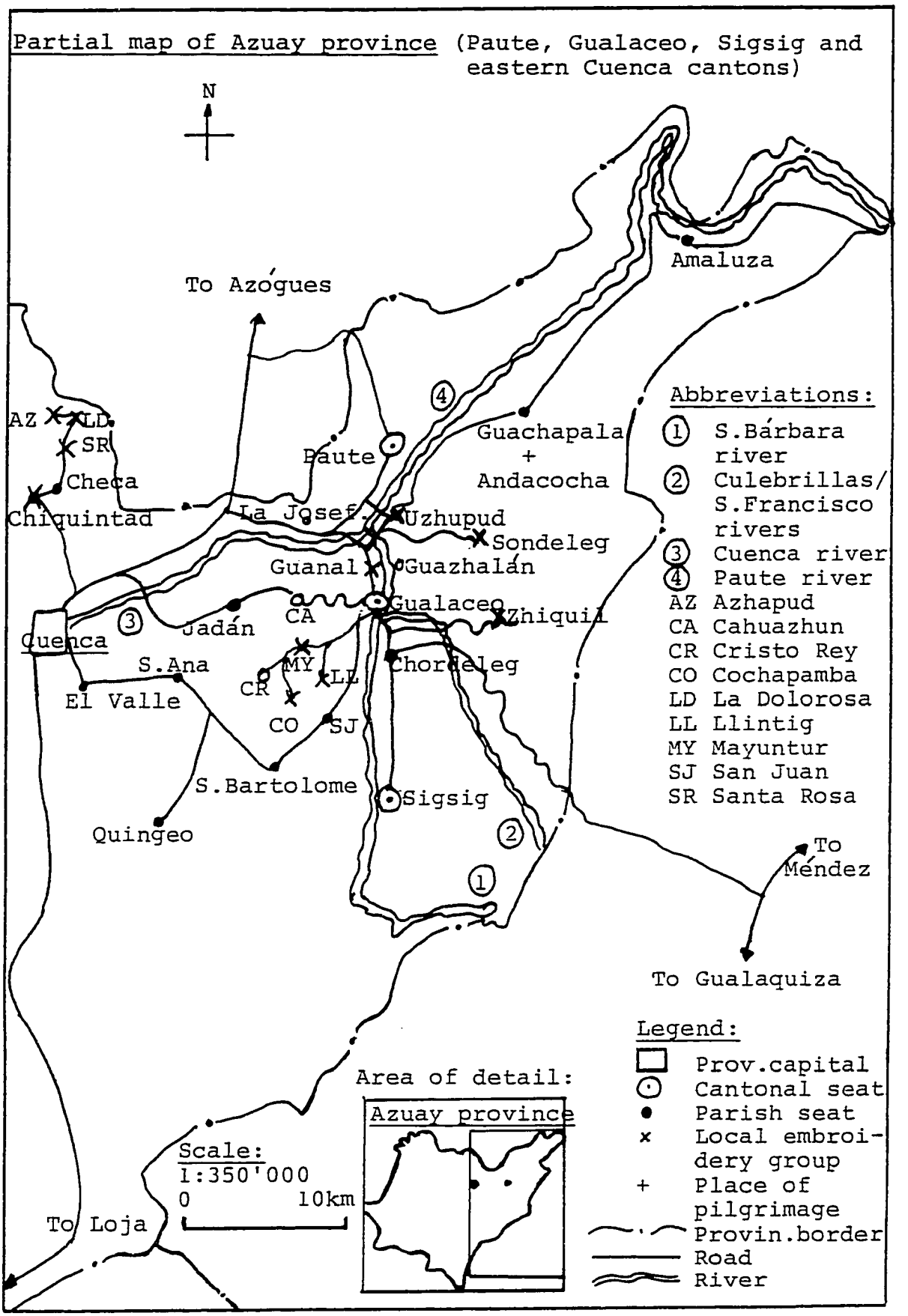
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Verlag	(g) cottage putting out where an intermediary supplies the artisan with input and pays for piecework; patterns and work processes are controlled by the putter outer, not the artisan; contrasts with Kauf
villa	small white colonial settlement; smallest unit in a "Republic of Spaniards," who were forced to live in towns and cities, not among Indians in the rural countryside
yanakona	(q) Inka laborer caste (?), probably tribute exempt, maybe only males; also textile artisan working in imperial Inka ateliers; this service was part of peasant communities' corvée labor duties to the Inka [yanacona, yanakuna]
yunta	a pair of draught animals used under the yoke

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I Introduction

> **"Human beings are not merely 'broken upon the wheel of culture,' to serve life sentences at forced labor in meeting the functional prerequisites of their cultures. They also seek the Golden Fleece, and wrest the gift of fire from the Olympian gods... [therefore] we must first rethink the categories of our thought and practice."**
>
> **Eric R. Wolf (1974:xii)**

ANDEAN COMPLEMENTARITY OR TECHNOLOGICAL PERFECTION: DILEMMAS IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

The idea that beautifully embroidered greeting cards and impeccably stitched white-on-white table linen are made by the skillful hands of women in remote Andean villages appeals to customers in the North. These and similar crafts from the South are thought to embody a soul that is lost in industrial production. The devilish image of impersonal machine manufacture production, where environmental pollution and work place illness loom large, seems far removed from the pristine air and "simple life" of rural artisans in the Third World. The romantic idyll sells well, even though it is a far cry from real people's lives.[1] The very fact that these crafts are sold in a global market is not an indicator of "progress," but a sign that subsistence agriculture has become alarmingly precarious.

The rural subsistence base in the South has diminished, because colonial

[1] Romanticism is a sales argument with Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs) which specialize in the direct marketing of Third World products. The difficulties faced by ATOs when marketing exclusive top quality crafts are discussed by Page-Reeves (1993) and include the quick saturation of small market segments and the conflict of combining gift and personal use items into the same marketing venture. One such ATO - Pueblo to People - which had relied heavily on the romantic production idyll has gone bankrupt (Page-Reeves 1997).

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expansion and subsequent agro-industrial consolidation encroached on smallholders' most productive parcels, limiting household subsistence agriculture to remote and climatically marginal erosion prone land. Artisan production increasingly occupies part time agriculturalists in an effort to mitigate the loss of land and surplus staple sales. However, grassroots artisan organizations face nearly insurmountable problems when they try to integrate their products into the world market. There, capital intensive technological adaptations are necessary for a continued competitive production. "Deregulating" the flow of capital, labor, merchandise and services does not mean that a global market operates "freely," but that transnational finance corporations, rather than local communities or nation states, direct such movements according to the needs of capital renewal.[2]

Multiple threats to subsistence agriculture propel rural populations into commercialization of artisan products in order to survive and reproduce. Development projects promoting the intensification of such production in global markets often fail to attain the goal of integrating communities into the modernizing trajectory defined by their promoters, because of a failure to take into account the structural predispositions of the Andean people and the very dynamic that the presence of development agents sets in motion.

My study of an embroidery cooperative promoted by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation [SDC] and the Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio [FEPP][3] dispels western assumptions about integration in a market economy predicated on a unilinear evolutionary progression. Rural society perceived as a "closed system" (Chayanov 1986 [1925]) contrasts with a reality where petty craft and other

[2] Alpine Europe, for example, lost its prerogative of local regulation governing the transit and entry of goods and people during the past centuries. Still existing custom houses dot certain parts of Switzerland. Residence and marriage laws - a form of dealing with migration - attest to local governance of these issues. (Sarganser Landrecht und Mannszuchtrodel n.d., J. Mathieu 1987)

[3] SDC is the Swiss government's agency for international techno-social cooperation; FEPP is a Catholic Ecuadorian Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)

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commodity production is in dynamic interaction with subsistence agriculture (Mintz 1973, Nash 1993a, Roseberry 1976, Tax 1950) rather than a step toward all out proletarianization (Lenin 1974 [1899]). I propose a "conflict model" where the communication breakdown between development agents and target populations results in the reinterpretation of the aims of the project. Instead of halting rural land flight, the project advanced those skills which enabled women to enter the migratory streams along with men. By taking into account the existing resources of rural communities, and especially an indigenous vision of complementary gender relations, development agencies might avoid the structurally destabilizing consequences of their programs. With the latest shifts in the development focus toward Eastern Europe and Central Asia the necessity for socio-cultural accuracy becomes paramount, as resources are diverted from the world's poorest populations in Africa, South and South-East Asia, and Latin America, and as new "others" become the center of development attention.

While western development agents often possess useful knowledge on changing market trends, western gender stereotypes narrowly define women's possible field of action. This European iconography - outdated in the agents' own culture - depicts women as existential bearers of both, nature (children) and culture ("traditions, reproduction of rural society), burdening social actors with responsibilities beyond their natural and social abilities, beyond their economic and political means. My thesis proposes that development programmers' limited focus on women's reproductive and domestic duties leads implementing agencies to offer time consuming courses on home economics, rather than giving artisans management training from the very beginning. Gender complementarity is the backbone of Andean social organization and of contemporary struggles in economic diversification (Babb 1985, Harris O.1978, McKee 1997, Pomeroy 1988, Silverblatt 1987, Vokral 1991a, Weismantel 1988). European models which conceptualize single sex segregation fail to address this complementarity and therefore cannot encompass the outcome of even simple small scale development models.

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I shall show that the unpremeditated effects of such a project become transformative channels whereby goals are diverted from continued subsistence agriculture due to its combination with export-oriented production. The labor of women is increasingly absorbed in artisan production, resulting in agrarian neglect and increased out migration by the target population.

First I shall show that cooperative action is a positive but not sufficient element to achieve the targeted goal of halting rural mass exodus. The "simple reproduction squeeze" faced by rural smallholders in the Third World is often the result of development programs where increased costs of production (the use of more expensive input and technology) do not guarantee higher net cash returns with regard to the labor invested, since the unfavorable terms of exchange faced by petty commodity producers also add on to decrease a potential profit margin (Bernstein 1979:427). This "simple reproduction squeeze" is embedded in a global division of labor according to gender, ethno-political and socio-educational criteria. It pushes the most skilled and educated rural poor from the Southern hemisphere to clandestine informal production sites of the North. Therefore, rural communities and development projects often lose their most important grassroots leaders to international migration.[1] Second this thesis proposes that the struggle between the Swiss Development Cooperation and Andean artisan women in highland Ecuador to reconcile these contradictions leads to distinct goals that contravene the aims of the contestants in the new social fields set up by the cooperative. These goals can better be fulfilled if an agent's individual knowledge about rural life is assessed prior to project or program conception. I argue that an agent's relationship with grassroots partners in development is greatly influenced by gender as well as geographic and socio-professional distance to the aid receiving population.

[1] There is a significant difference in kind, not only measurable distance , between internal migration to cities and international "illegal" exodus: those living as undocumented workers in the North increasingly need to hide from officialdom, making long distance communication via courier and telephone precarious. Sporadic home visits are impossible for those who mortgage their small fortunes to hire coyotes who lead them to the "promised land."

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

I have carried out my research in three different development settings in order to examine the relationship between development policy and agency practice as it emerges from the implementation of general programs and specific projects and to assess the effects on the "target population." Stereotypes regarding gender capacities in both cultures, that of the European agents and the contemporary Andes, fail to fully integrate women into the new labor system as managers of the cooperative as well as agrarian producers. Furthermore, the general failure to realistically assess and appreciate women's inputs in the local agricultural system causes project administrators to ignore their potential for strengthening and increasing subsistence agriculture with the end result that the project involuntarily helps to accelerate the migratory flows it was designed to stem.

The geographic focus of this monograph is on the Ecuadorian Andes where artisans struggle to maintain their semi-subsistence economy by complementing cash earnings with what the earth can be enticed to produce on precarious and erosion plagued slopes. Thematically, this book will cover almost as many facets of social life as the Andean Cordillera has ranges. It will primarily focus on the development and organization of a medium sized embroidery cooperative which has brought together participants from very different geopolitical regions in Ecuador's Azuay province. Connections will be made between a group of smaller villages and political processes within their country, and with a global network of socio-economic ties traced across oceans.

Since neither products nor persons stand as isolates in a recently emerged present, histories will have to be explored. We shall look at population movements in the Andes from the distant past of the Inka expansion to the present mass exodus of Azuayos to cities of the promised land in North America. Time will be spent sitting on a stone or bench, listening to women and men tell their stories. This will enable us to put global

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events present and past into the context of individual human lives. The reader will examine development aid documents which range from a young cooperative's consensus driven by-laws to international treaties signed by ministers and ambassadors. We shall also sit in on meetings held in adobe village chapels and in cramped NGO quarters. We shall look for offices in the labyrinth of two national capitals and listen to interviews with development agency staff in Quito Ecuador, and Berne Switzerland.

The main protagonists are the women of Centro de Bordados Cuenca [CBC], an embroidery cooperative started in 1989 by women artisans from Gualaceo canton, in Eastern Azuay province. Their aim to enter new markets for their craft caught the interest of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation [SDC], known in Ecuador as Cooperación Técnica del Gobierno Suizo [COTESU].[5] COTESU's local NGO partner, Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio [FEPP], had already worked with women knitters in Gualaceo who had organized a self-help group to buy wool in bulk. Since the Ecuadorian market for coarse sheep wool sweaters is limited to foreign visitors, the artisans were trying to enter the export market. The women were tired of knitting for town intermediaries, and itinerant indigenous traders from Northern Ecuador, some of whom did and still do export these sweaters to the United States and Europe. The artisans wanted direct access to the international marketplace. However, it was clear to the development agents involved that this sort of garment stood very little chance of competing against luxurious Alpaca sweaters from the Southern Andes. Quite a few knitters were also at times engaged in embroidering the long maxi dresses fashionable in the U.S. and Europe during the Hippy culture boom. This encouraged the Swiss agent engaged in the preliminary feasibility study to propose a new line of products: high quality embroidery of table linen catering to the European market (CORQUI: t.311 29.1, July 1988).

All artisans speak Spanish as a mother tongue, but in some villages older people

[5] In 1996 SDC's name in Spanish changed to Cooperación Suiza al Desarrollo [COSUDE], a label which had only been used in Central America.

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reported that their grandparents were native Quichua speakers, and that their parents had still been fluent in the Inka empire's lingua franca. Some women and men over fifty years old still have a fair knowledge of Quichua. At CBC Quichua speaking was perceived as a structural obstacle by the implementing staff. On those grounds aspirants from a community where Quichua still serves as mother tongue were not admitted into CBC, because it was already difficult to find adequate translators for the German speaking technician who had been delegated to impart new embroidery techniques.[6] Dealing with Quichua would have meant extra cost for the training of a relatively small number of artisans, and the additional cultural barriers made agents fearful of wrongly assessing that population's long term involvement in the embroidery project.[7] Hindsight and knowledge about the long term destabilizing effect of international emigration lead me to predict that Quichua speakers with community based land resources might be a craft work force less prone to desertion. However, the already complicated logistic, infrastructural, and linguistic dynamics posed by an artisan project in rural Latin America prevent international development workers from including too many socio-cultural variables into the implementation of a project, since coordinating them might well be beyond their skills.[8]

My first visit to Centro de Bordados Cuenca in February of 1992 came as I was searching COTESU archives in Quito for a suitable site to study the impact of western development projects on rural women's social status, political power, and economic

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[6] Most of this translating was done by the Swiss project manager's Ecuadorian wife as an unpaid voluntary service to the project. Later on the Swiss social worker took on this responsibility in addition to her 50 to 60 hour per week schedule.

[7] They also had information on unsuccessful Swiss sponsored attempts to introduce "women's programs" into Quichua speaking communities in Cotopaxi province (Meister 1989).

[8] That this is a problem even for plurilingual Swiss who grow up in what appears to be a multicultural state raises questions about how hegemony mitigates the advantage of growing up "multicultural."

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opportunities.[9] At that time COTESU supported over 35 projects in Ecuador (COTESU 1991)[10], but only four were directly carried out with the involvement of a Swiss (German in one case) "expert" or project manager or other expatriate staff, allowing for a field obersvation of gender dynamics emanating from the interaction between grassroots participants, local staff, and international personnel. These were, apart from CBC: a cheesemaking, fruit orchard, and forestry project, all of which, while involving women participants, had been designed without a "gender orientation" in the mid-eighties. Centro de Bordados Cuenca, on the other hand, was a "women's project" specifically aimed at bringing the "gender variable" into development planning.[11] It was unique in that it tied women's grassroots support together with export oriented production.[12]

The possibility of observing a cooperative in the making was very appealing, since I had no particular interest in doing "just another village study." The development project had recruited around 200 women from 11 villages located in two geopolitically very different areas of Azuay province, another plus, because my early introduction to the virtues and shortcomings of Steward's cultural ecology had left me with an interest

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[9] The reasons for choosing a Swiss development project are explained in the methodology section of this chapter.

[10] The projects concerned:1) agricultural production (fruit orchards, potato seed research, beans, tool innovation); 2) irrigation and rural development in six highland areas (Pilahuín, Chingazo-Pungal, Patococha, Riobamba, Penipe, Licto); 3) environmental protection; 4) small business support (among them cheesemaking, embroidery, and metalworking/mechanics), 5) special programs, among them "women's support" (see Meister 1989), and "volunteer expert corps; and 6) post-harvest management and rural finishing processes.

[11] SDC conducted gender awareness workshops in 1991, and the effort to address what were seen as women's particular needs began in the late eighties at SDC headquarters (DDA 1991).

[12] Women grassroots organizations, especially in urban Ecuador, center around basic services and infrastructure, but are not grounded in a productive enterprise (see Amy Lind 1991 and Astrid Müller 1991).

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in what I term geopolitical variables.[13] The variations in size, infrastructure, access to services, road-connections, climate, geographic location, and male-migration patterns among the eleven villages involved in the project allowed me to examine the similarities and differences between the women of Centro de Bordados Cuenca.

The setting gave me the the chance to study a socio-cultural and economic network which had arisen in more or less arbitrary fashion, rather than a population linked with one site or purely driven by a dogma. Here was an organization in the making which - if successful - had all the potential to become a "total social phenomenon." In early days of pre-cooperative project activities, women congregated primarily to acquire specific technical skills, but soon the embroidery project began to address issues of general interest, such as: health concerns, legal rights and procedures, and corporate organization. In one village it attracted wives and sisters of early migrants, in search of a "pastime" and "spending money" rather than serving immediate economic needs as in most other cases. Communal stores sprang up in two villages. The yearly general assembly evolved into a ritual with some characteristics of the traditional fiesta-cargo system, or priostazco, as it is known in the Northern Andes.

My original plan had been to study gendered subsistence agriculture, but over the past fifteen years, we have seen small plot cultivators becoming an endangered species. Wage labor or cottage industry/putting out have to supplement decreasing returns on precariously small family holdings (Shenton and Lennihan, 1981, Roseberry 1983, Nash 1994, Nash and contributors 1993). Nobody doing research in the Andes can escape dealing with micro-ecological diversity and its dynamic interplay with human behavior (Murra 1978). The notion of cultural ecology (McGovern 1986) relativizes the importance of mere topography and climate on differential use of resources. Human ideology and political organization influence the choice of resources to be exploited by populations sharing a "habitat," (McGovern ibid, Smith R. 1978). Different social

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[13] See Steward 1955, Steward and contributors 1956, Cole and Wolf 1974

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groups that share the same set of natural resources may orchestrate access and use differently according to the political and economic systems to which they are subject (Cole and Wolf 1974). In order to cover ecological as well as geopolitical variables among the eleven communities participating in the Centro de Bordados cooperative effort, I selected two different research locales:

Chiquintad, a parish seat in Canton Cuenca, is a mere twenty minute bus ride over a paved road from Cuenca, Azuay's provincial capital. Apart from a sizable church, Chiquintad hosts basic stores, telephone and international courier offices, as well as an elementary and a high school. Like any parish seat in the Andes, the town has a weekly market, held on Sundays. The embroidery group at Chiquintad counts about 25 members, a small proportion among the several hundred households in the parish. However, its proximity to Ecuador's third largest city make wage labor opportunities in industry and the service sector more readily available and accessible to members of Chiquinteño smallholder households than for those in more remote parts of rural Azuay.

Llintig is a subsistence oriented community linked to Gualaceo, the cantonal parish center, by a bumpy dirt track requiring a four-wheel drive vehicle. Llintig's plaza has a small adobe chapel and six room schoolhouse, rounded off by eight small houses to form a small nucleated center. Five more houses are lined up on the dirt road leading to the plaza. The remaining population of roughly one thousand lives in non nucleated dispersed smallholds characteristic of Andean agriculture. There are thirty-five CBC artisans who form the Llintig embroidery group. Approximately two hundred people live in the thirty households from which CBC draws membership, meaning about twenty percent of Llintig households have a CBC artisan.

While Llintig has its own elementary school, some parents are not satisfied with erratic teacher attendance and low academic achievements and send their children to private elementary schools in Gualaceo. These private school pupils are not necessarily from an emerging kulak élite. My host family who owns at least two hectares of land

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(20.000 m^2), three cows and two bulls, deals in cattle and operates a small store, gas and liquor outlet, does not prioritize quality education. The family of Tella, on the other hand, owns 1.700 m^2 (less than 1/2 acre), has no cattle but sends three boys to a private elementary school in Gualaceo at great financial sacrifice. Indeed, the same is true among embroidery households in nearby Mayuntur. The value of children's education seems to be inversely proportional to the amount of land available, since for those with no base in agriculture the only future lies in wage labor, and the better the education, the higher one's earning power.

ISSUES IN GLOBAL AND LOCAL RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The transnational system of production and service provision presently concentrates increasing amounts of capital and profit margins in the hands of an ever smaller number of powerful shareholders. The contradictions resulting from this increased cleavage between rich and poor globally and within individual nation states make international development cooperation a question of how to do the least damage rather than how to optimize the effort to improve marginal living conditions, increase social justice and further the economic and political positions of marginalized populations. Aid receiving populations, joined by development agencies in a struggle to pursue these aims, are often forced to concentrate on individual mid-range strategies. These strategies bring quicker cash to the household purse, but they seldom serve long term cooperative goals located on the fault line of contradiction inherent in the capital accumulation process.

In order to understand the conflict ensuing from development approaches which combine contradictory goals for rural artisan participants we need to combine an analysis of globally structured food production and exchange with attention to gendered divisions of labor both in indigenous society and within development agencies. Historical changes in the Andes are as salient to the analysis as is the confrontation of today's aid receiving populations with socio-reproductive and economic gender models introduced

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by outside experts and consultants. Assumptions and models underlying development strategies need careful scrutiny and socio-historical positioning. Changes in development approaches and philosophies are often linked to a particular donor nation's internal situation and policy goals, rather than being a response to changing and emerging social science theory. The present "conflict model" proposes that an increased participation of grassroots aid recipients in the diagnosis of their own needs, in the formulation of remedial policy, and in the implementation of strategy and action can give rise to international cooperation which goes beyond band-aid solutions. Cooperative structures introduced by the development effort need to build on existing and culturally transmitted native management skills, rather than focusing on what is absent from a technically informed western "trait list."

The internationalization of commodity exchanges is threatening subsistence cultivators in countries of the South with cheap consumption staples dumped by agribusiness corporations operating in global markets. Small scale artisan production, which used to be a supplement to food subsistence, becomes ever more important, making it possible for semi-subsistence household production to survive (Fernández-Kelly 1990; Nash 1993a). Also, the added family income generated by craft production allows debt ridden governments to shift resources from social welfare programs to interest payments on external debt. World Bank and International Monetary Fund [IMF] - institutions created in the post World War II Bretton Woods agreements - mandate that Third World governments lower state expenditure on education, health care, and public works, and close state owned production sites, which hits their poor where they are most vulnerable (Nash 1992, 1994, Ruthrauff 1998). International development policies assimilate these IMF and World Bank parameters generated by western countries. In the post-cold War, global environment, there is a shift from development expenditure in the South, where conditions of extreme poverty prevail, to increase the flow of resources toward countries of eastern Europe and Central Asia. This policy has become prevalent

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even though it is widely recognized that their populations are far from struggling for mere survival as people do in Africa, India, and parts of Latin America (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1991b:4).[14]

The control of state and private capital over local resources (water, land, labor, credit) and politics has decreased women's economic and political control (Arizpe 1990, Bourque and Warren 1981). These global processes have led to unequal emancipation of women along class lines (Stephen 1991). Rural development efforts also stimulate further socio-economic differentiation among the aid receiving population (Deere 1982a, Van Crowder 1991; COTESU fruit-orchard experts: personal communication 1993). Feminist scholars since the mid 1970s have called for gendered examinations of development and its differential impact on Third World societies. What remains largely unexamined is the impact of gender specific development efforts by foreign governments and NGOs of the North on poor women's economic and political conditions in the South. Latin America's well documented process of precolumbian state expansion (Salomon 1986), of subsequent European colonization (Stern 1986, 1987a) and of concomitant changes in women's position due to Inca, Aztec, and Spanish influences (Nash 1979; Silverblatt 1987, 1991) provide meaningful historical data for comparison with current culture change.

Feminist approaches to anthropology analyze historic changes in women's position and status (Silverblatt 1991). Together with critical fieldwork, this approach highlights the crucial contribution of women in non-western societies to the socio-economic reproduction of their groups (Leacock 1986; 1993). Gendered approaches to rural production need to assess social, economic, and cultural differences among women. We need to establish how "tactical power" is wielded in intergroup relations that create the local intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity and then examine what relationship

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[14] The Swiss Government has recently opened a development aid bureau in Moscow, and the staff at the Sarajewo office number over 40, practically double the number of SDC agents operating in the entire Latin American subcontinent!

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that intersection has with export trade and intercontinental finances (Wolf 1990).

In areas with a long colonial history, well ingrained local gender inequalities and those of the policy makers' cultures are cumulatively reproduced through the development effort. Even in contexts where equal social relations between women and men prevailed, colonial officials regarded women's work as inherently less complex, less important, and less productive, creating an image of "natural" inferiority of women. (Etienne and Leacock 1980, Guyer 1984). Today, aid packages focusing on paid productive activities tend to ignore women's unpaid housework and socialization of children (Wood 1991), reinforcing western stereotypes of "ideal womanhood." This creates tremendous tensions for women and men in ethnically despised and socio-economically exploited sectors of society (Mullings 1992).

An analysis of differences among actors needs to complement our focus on gender segregation within a working population. This attention to multiple variants will reveal the full range of complexities involved in the creation and maintenance of unequal economic and power relations. In Ecuador, ethnicity - often ascribed from without - has a dialectical relationship with socio-economic change (Stark 1981, Stutzmann 1981). In the gender-segregated life of laborers, artisans, and brokers researchers also need to determine the status of these actors' domestic partners. This will lead to a focus on class differences and convergencies within marriage, households, and families, pointing to an intersection of class, gender, and ethnicity in the productive realm. The unpaid triple-days that women work include activities like housekeeping, socializing of children, and ritual duties, which often exacerbate these inequalities (Mullings 1992).

The outlook for individual petty or cooperative commodity producers in the Third World is rather grim. Attention has been paid to their fate for almost two decades. It has so far been impossible to raise income levels for independent small craft producers (Cook and Binford 1990 citing Novelo 1976). Privately owned small and middle range textile workshops "turned out to be a dependent production unit" where

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mediators control access to supply of input, pertinent designs and marketing channels. These mediators dominate the lion's share of profits to be made from garment production (Cook and Binford 1990, citing Alonso). A similar picture emerges from the development agency sponsored cooperative venture in Azuay: administrative overhead is far greater than total wages paid to women out-workers, and the development agents in question are far from having a firm grip on product development, seasonal changes in design, or marketing skills. The artisans' migrating family members in turn are at the lowest salary echelon in cities of North America, where they work as undocumented laborers - again in petty and "underdeveloped" labor intensive sweat shops (compare: ibid). Male and female migration also introduces new and often conflicting gender roles, making western ideals of perpetual monogamy, predicated on its assumption of domestic harmony, unattainable. Such ideological and economic duress, created by the collision course between cultural norms and capital needs, leads to increased domestic and intra-community violence. (Mullings 1992).

An assumption which underlies development strategies is that members of the same household share ideology, resources and income in Rousseauian harmony. However, Ehlers (1990) points out that the individuals composing a household often are the locus of distinct and conflicting decision-making. In fact, differences over the allocation of labor within the household arise when gendered tasks become differentially important for petty capital accumulation. Conflict arises over the disposition of accumulated income, and a family's most basic needs may be disputed (Bernstein 1978, Buechler 1991, Stephen 1991). The household is not necessarily a harmonious unit of production and consumption, but rather the locus of class and prestige conflicts among its members (Guyer 1984, Stephen 1991). The danger of losing control exercised in patriarchal household units may even lead to homicide as men perceive cooperatives as a threat,

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because they allow women's direct access to markets and wages (Nash 1993a:12).[15]

The cultural relativism of development agents can reinforce patriarchal control when remuneration and fringe benefits are allocated to male workers through formalized wage jobs but elude their wives when they become involved in gender-stereotyped "housebound" cottage industry (Nash 1988c). At this juncture, women may all of a sudden find themselves increasingly involved in marginal agriculture *because*, rather than *despite* patriarchal patterns, as shown by Minge Kalman (1978) examining rural proletarianization in the Swiss Alps. Agricultural labor loads for women increase dramatically when proceeds from small scale agriculture are used to subsidize children's expensive education, because wages for male labor cannot support it (ibid). This part of the reproduction squeeze is becoming acute among Azuay women artisans. However, as Nash points out (1988a), the gender of who farms or earns a wage is not critical, but rather how household composition, labor allocation, income distribution and consumption are affected and altered. Development which ignores or destroys productive strategies that allow women to cope with the production-reproduction squeeze have provoked hunger when monocrops succumb to a massive onslaught of pests; infant mortality has risen when breast-feeding is supplanted with bottle-feeding to "free" day laboring women from home; capital intensive big scale agriculture has increased intra household and community wide conflict over land and labor (Nash 1988a). When tractors were purchased during the Green Revolution to free men from manual ploughing without the introduction of mechanical weeders to alleviate back breaking female drudgery, the development effort introduced new gender inequalities not based on preexisting inequalities but on a new sex-tool-task segregation (Mencher 1966, Nash 1988a, Guyer 1980, 1984). Such technological segregation is radically

[15] The political climate in Ecuador is far from the brutal repression experienced in modern Mesoamerica. I heard about occasional intra-couple homicide while doing fieldwork. Interestingly, the three cases reported to me (one from the neighboring province of Loja) involved relatively young husbands. The deaths were attributed to their wives who had supposedly hired killers or set a trap. The widows were said to have been after their late husband's land or after social security pensions.

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different from those indigenous notions of a sexual division of labor which value and reward gendered contributions to production and reproduction equally. Where rural change has focused on agricultural intensification, cash-cropping conflicts with subsistence agriculture (Nash 1988a, Lennihan 1991, Shenton and Lennihan 1981). Such intensification and mechanization can be detrimental to women's day labor income - miserable as it may be - when technological change does not go hand in hand with a gendered attention to income differentials (Mencher and D'Amico 1986). When rural development programs interact with artisan production similar conflicts of interest burden women in charge of both, rural production and craft intensification.

Wallerstein (1984) points out that household production cannot be seen as outside or apart from a world system of capitalist productive relations, but as a response to them. On the other hand, a strictly systemic approach does not explain intra-household class differences. It implies that a universal pattern of patriarchy must account for women's subordination to men, leaving unexplained the reasons for and consequences of socio-economic differentiation among women. Household composition and function is culturally variable, conditioned by time, space and the politico-economic situation (Russell 1993). Even within a culture, household function - let alone composition and form - may vary which makes impossible the definition of a "household" by a single set of criteria (Wilk and Netting 1984). Cultural variables are not the only ones defining inter-household differences. Time, space and politico-economic situations defy a single set of criteria for household typology (Long 1977, Orlove and Custred 1980, Wilk and Netting 1984, Russell 1993). Households are not necessarily units of reproduction and consumption nor of harmonious group-decision making (Aguiar 1983, Ehlers 1990, Harris O. 1984, Wong 1984, Wolf D. 1990). More often than not, incipient class formation takes place at household level (Cole and Wolf 1974, Lofgren 1984, Rebel 1983) , giving rise to an often gendered conflict over the distribution of resource and access to prestige (Buechler 1991, Nash 1993a, Stephen 1991).

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Western cultures tend to perceive women as apart from society, rather than part of it. Therefore, the development focus on women has led to gender segregated programs with separate agendas and finances. Attention to gender variables are often rooted in the premise that female-centered households have an inherent qualitative difference from households with co-habiting adult men (Phillips 1987). The premise that women are inherently different from men explicitly underlies the "feminization of technology" approach to development (Warren and Bourque 1989). These unstated premises entered into COTESU's decisions about the kind of their Azuay development project and certain procedures. While different types of handicrafts (blouses, sweaters, 'Panama' hats) have been produced by women - and men - in Azuay province since the 1930s, the fact that the COTESU embroideresses are "migrants' wives" is an important factor for the rationale of establishing a "traditionally" female artisanry (CORQUI 1986-1992). The decision to teach a western female craft took precedence over hard-core marketing considerations, at times forcing the COTESU embroidery project to sell its products at a loss on the export market (CORQUI 1986-1992).

With the best of intentions, an assumption of "psychic unity of womankind" also underlies attempts to "free" women from time-consuming domestic tasks by extending an "adequate technology." This tends to force rural women into a gendered division of labor where they must live up to occidental standards of "efficiency" in the domestic economy (Warren and Bourque 1989). Ideally, to become a skilled embroideress, an Azuay woman should spend six to eight hours per day at her stitching frame. Mostly young single girls follow this pattern, as well as some single mothers. For the latter the need to acquire a gas stove, electrical appliances, and fast preparable staple foods becomes inevitable, because time-consuming fuel collection and cooking practices are incompatible with her craft. In every case the consumption of expensive electricity goes up with the need for artificial light at the work place, and more time must be devoted to house-cleaning and bodily cleanliness, since the slightest spot on embroidered cloth

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leads to a price cut. [16]

Social and political scientists often indict patriarchal oppression when talking about women's unequal political and economic opportunities in general (Hartmann 1987). The effort to integrate western women into career hierarchies also filtered down into development strategies, where the existence of wage labor is seen as a liberating force, albeit tempered by male discrimination against and physical aggression toward women in the work place (Lim 1983). Critics say new wage earning opportunities for women often consist in low paying jobs with little stability, lacking the many benefits which are extended to white collar workers of both sexes in the management sector of factories and projects (Baca Zinn 1987). In 1993, at Centro de Bordados Cuenca, the embroideresses' average earnings were 39 percent below the Ecuadorian minimal artisan wage.[17] Embroidery wages do not include any fringe benefits. The project, while bringing much needed cash to rural women, reinforces patterns of subordination through its gendered skill transferal and management structure (Cook and Binford 1990).

It is not clear whether wage work boosts poor women's status and power (Hartmann 1987) or simply directs them to new centers of exploitation (Baca Zinn 1987). More socio-cultural variables need to be identified, such as migration, land tenure (Collins 1988), and the organizational character of artisan production (Cook and Binford 1990, Littlefield 1978, Nash 1993a, Salomon 1981a, Waterbury 1989). The magnitude and quality of these variables' impact on wage labor and their subsequent

[16] An examination of the dynamics of labor recruitment in Guatemala (Smith C.1990) and Otavalo/Ecuador (Chavez 1985, Butler B. 1985, Meier 1981, Salomon 1981a) shows that when basic services such as electricity and running water are absent in rural areas, there is an increased proletarianization of young apprentices who flock to small town shops run by petty capitalist entrepreneurs.

[17] Outworkers in a putting-out system are considered wage labor (Littlefield 1978; Cook and Binford 1990). Even though CBC is officially a cooperative, the embroideresses think of their income as a wage. For each piece a prototype is done up to determine the labor-time involved in embroidering it. The 1994 hourly wage was S./ 450 (U$ -.20). Pay for each piece thus reflects x hours of work.

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influence on women's status/power need careful scrutiny. Data from CBC show some benefits in terms of social status and increased female political activities (not necessarily synonymous with power) especially for adult women not living with a male consort (single, widowed, divorced, migrant's wife). However female cash earnings are often used to defray a brother's expenses for higher education or migration. Older women subsidize the livelihood of grandchildren left behind by migrating offspring. Artisan women living with a male consort often keep a low profile within the organization in order not to anger the husband with increased domestic absence and public visibility. Some face resistance which may lead to their quitting artisan work. Traditionally, Andean couples keep track of separate possessions and duties, each gender having productive and reproductive resources and responsibilities (Harris O. 1987, Weismantel 1988). Money itself being a non-gendered entity, men, under the influence of western ideals about male "providerhood" monopoly, tend to assume control over female earnings, when the household as a whole enters the reproduction squeeze (Bourque and Warren 1981). Artisan production is carried out in a variety of settings, be it household based petty commodity production or wage work in capital intensive sweatshops (Novelo 1976 cited in Cook 1993). The national glorification of indigenous crafts can accelerate the cash nexus in household labor relations when goods formerly produced for local and intra-household consumption become catapulted into the national and international marketplace (Novelo 1976 cited in Stephen 1993).

Reductionist approaches to defining the social persona have reduced the individual by "a trait... such as 'small farmer,' 'illiterate peasant' or 'pregnant woman,' turning him or her into a 'case' or abnormality to be treated" (Escobar 1991:667). Whitten (1981) points out that the use of ethnicity by Northern development efforts turns "culture" into a channel for the flow of resources, labor and capital. Gender, as a development "monolith," can be used in the same way. The recent critique of the tendency in development efforts to recycle Western patterns of knowledge and productive

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relations (Escobar 1991), is a rediscovery of a critique that has been voiced for over two decades by feminist anthropologists who were involved in analyzing development practice (Boserup 1970, Deere and León de Leal 1982, Mies 1988 drawing on work done in the 1970s, Scudder and Colson 1972). Uncritical wholesale rejection of the development paradigm "which hasn't worked" (Escobar 1995) is of little use without a thorough analysis of how populations interact with development agencies, under what circumstances aid receivers can manipulate input, how agents let their own ideology and vision transpire into projects (Page-Reeves and Grünenfelder-Elliker n.d).

Anthropologists, critical of the conspicuous absence of women in official government documentation and social science representation of culture, have brought to light the radical infringements on women 's power and authority during colonialism,[18] industrialization, and transnational economic processes,[19] and through development programs[20] since the early 1970s. Seminal feminist research from the 1970s and early 1980s was made more easily accessible through the edition of conference papers (Nash and Safa 1980, 1985) and articles scattered in books and journals (Leacock and Safa 1986, Ward 1990), as well as the translation of scholarly work published outside North America (Jelin 1990). This body of work has stimulated a wealth of critical and often constructive examinations of problem and failure cases concerning development (Kay 1991) and its intersection with class and gender (Charlton et al and contributors 1989, Fernández-Kelly 1990, Kabeer 1992, Momsen, Kinnaird and contributors 1993, Morgen and contributors 1989, Nash 1990, Parpart 1993). Particular

[18]Bunster 1980, Etienne and Leacock and contributors 1980, Gailey 1987, Handwerker 1974, Leacock 1972, 1981, Ortner 1981, Pomeroy 1988, Weiner 1976, 1980, Weiner and Schneider and contributors 1989.

[19]Aguiar 1983, Bunster et al 1985, Elu de Leñero 1980, Fernández-Kelly 1983, Leacock 1986 [1981], Mullings 1986, Nash 1979, 1980, 1988c, Nash and Kelly 1983, Reynolds and contributors 1987, Smith and contributors 1988, Stevens 1987

[20]Benería and Sen 1986 [1981], Butler and Santos 1985, Cohn et al 1981, Deere 1982b, 1987, Garrett et al 1986, Marshall 1984, Mencher and D'Amico 1986, Nash 1980, Phillips 1987, Radcliffe 1990, Safilios-Rothschild 1985, Sen and Grown 1987

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attention has been paid to the developmental impact on women in rural areas of the South (Barrón and Zapata 1991, Kandiyoti 1990, Mackintosh 1989, Page-Reeves 1991), where attention to women's particular needs is often highlighted by male migration (Babb 1989, Radcliffe 1993)

A first step toward linking issues of gender, ethnicity and power, the revisioning of precolumbian gender and status systems points to sources of bias and distortions of reality at the hands of early European chroniclers. This continues in the present when analysts allow their own gender perceptions to interfere with our understanding of alternate models such as that of Andean complementarity. The reexamination of Andean historical representations from early Spanish chroniclers to modern analysts shows that Europeans profoundly misunderstand this notion of complementarity in the gendered division of labor and power, and that female sources of civil and economic authority has suffered massive erosion. Knowledge about the former gender model also helps recognize vestiges of such shared responsibilities and of complementary ascent to local political office.

The reader should not expect, then, to find people with timeless unchanged traditions in this book. Rather, we will join artisan-peasants on a long and painful road in search of economic autonomy, cultural definition, and political action. Neither should it be assumed that the very obvious North-South and and transatlantic links evinced by modern day development programs stand isolated in the presence of late capitalist global transactions. As Jane Schneider (1977) has succinctly pointed out, it is not the sheer bulk of goods which make for a world system, but the kinds of productive and reproductive relationships which are shuttled hither and thither through transoceanic connections. Sydney Mintz's (1985) location of "stimulus crops," grown en masse in the tropical settings of European colonies, as they were promoted in the political economy of European industrialization is another example of how much connected - for better or worse - the laboring masses all over the globe have been for the past centuries. The

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conclusion will dwell on such connections in the particular contexts of Switzerland - apparently the non-colonial country par excellence - and its relation to "pioneer" settings in the Americas.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Chapter two addresses the agrarian question of "persistence" versus "differentiation" of rural small producers which prompted scholars to focus on particular histories of persisting small peasants and "proletarians," rather than their mutual exclusivity and opposition (Rebel 1983; Roseberry 1989). It also reexamines the Inka division of state power in order to highlight how historical distortions of reality continue to permeate gendered social action packages in present national and international development efforts. The investigation into precolumbian sources of women's social roles, economic resources and political power reveals that the Andes were probably governed by both women and men who held gender differentiated but equally important, equally prestigious, and equally powerful positions in society, economy, and government. This is not to say that the Inka empire was a socially egalitarian society, but that given the same level of social status and position, women and men shared in responsibility, recognition and power.

Chapter three describes the history and present condition of the agro-artisan nexus in Azuay and examines new emerging labor priorities and migratory trends resulting - at the household level - from intensified craft production.

Chapter four looks at the success and problems of a development project directed at women whose particular community resources, family history, and household composition make them far from homogeneous. The chapter critically evaluates the gendered transfer of skills, particularly with regard to marketing and business management - issues most pressing for producers small and large who need to redistribute their product on a global market.

National and international development efforts imply evolutionary models of

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progressive developmental stages which culminate in the attainment of western patterns and relations of production and reproduction. Chapter five examines how change is experienced on three different levels of society: the household, the local embroidery group, the cooperative; and how change at one level influences processes at work in another. Access to labor within and among households may reflect particular cultural patterns but are critical for subsistence and artisan production. These relationships are often altered when cash crops and new wage labor opportunities are introduced by development agencies or the external private investment in capital intensive ventures.

Chapter six takes a critical look at the interplay between gender theory and development practice. It points out that a typological approach to women on part of policy makers shapes the content of "women's programs," since rural development projects in male oriented irrigation or reforestation may devote less than one percent of their budget to the "women's program" integrated into their effort (CORQUI 1992). With their very limited resources, "women's programs" also finance efforts related to child care, nutrition, health, and drug use. Development efforts grounded in eurocentric assumptions about the social division of labor disregard the collective orientations and shared responsibilities of the receiving population. Male-oriented transfers of technology and productive resources devote neither time nor money to the socio-reproductive aspects of life, and this leads to increased marginalization of social welfare concerns. Development programs have a tendency to treat gender as a "trait" (Escobar 1991) or a social deficiency that needs to be remedied.

Chapter seven examines the overall development critique, which is instrumental in pointing out how top-down administration of "aid" by foreign and national governments driven by their self-interest seldom meets the real needs of underprivileged people in the South (Escobar 1991, 1995, Painter and Little 1995). However, this critique has only in part deconstructed how development aid really works. It has also failed to put the analyzed parts back together again. It depicts the development

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agent as a powerless puppet dancing to the strings pulled by politicians near and far. There is a need to deconstruct this agent/agency puppet show. Rather than "new rules about discourse" (Escobar 1995:217) we must look at the power relationships which development programs foster or suppress (Painter and Little 1995, Wolf 1990). Rather than brandishing "anthropology as the science of stubborn traditions" (Escobar 1995:218), our task is to examine what earlier, in particular feminist critiques of development have accomplished so far, and how we might shorten the time-lag between path-breaking social science theory and its assimilation into development cooperation approaches.

Class, ethnicity, and gender as markers of indigenous identity and social position are of great interest in the context of cultural transfers by national and international development agencies. Chapter eight reexamines extension-agents' often limited text-book knowledge about any of these "markers." Explanations of cultural "practice" tend to substitute for a deeper investigation into the use of power, and into the political options open to small scale rural producers as well as their socio-economic dependency.[21] We need an anthropological assessment of the lived socio-economic and political realities of "women," "Indians," and "the poor," in order to understand the national class-structure in the context of international financial and productive operations. This may contribute to policies which will not simply emancipate the disinherited, but allow them to gain control over their lives and their political destine.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Ecuador

The Republic of Ecuador encompasses four radically different geographic areas: the rain forest of the Upper Amazon (called "Oriente"), the Andean highlands, the Pacific coastal plains, and the Galápagos islands. The population of over ten million

[21] Albó 1985, Clapp 1988, Mitchell 1991, Salomon 1986 show how existing socio-economic inequalities between individuals and groups are reproduced and exacerbated when imperial conquest or national modernization build upon reciprocity.

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(FLACSO/IICA 1994:9) inhabitants reflects the geographical contrast. Land poor Indian and Mestizo peasants of the highlands and coast are often forced to migrate to the Oriente.

The Amazonian rain forest comprises the bulk of the country's surface, which was double its actual size before a territorial conflict with Perú in the 1940s. Protestant missionaries preceded the venture of petroleum exploration into the Ecuadorian Amazon in the 1950s (Iten 1991, Salazar 1981:593). The so-called land reform started by the state in 1964 had as its main thrust not so much the redistribution of highland latifundia, but the colonization of virgin forests, mainly in the Oriente (Farrell and Da Ros 1983, Zevallos 1985). It has pitted the interests of land poor Indian peasants of the highlands against those of slash-and-burn indigenous agriculturalists in the Oriente. The state rewarded "colonizers" for converting vast rain forest territories into cattle ranges (Macdonald 1981), which, together with petroleum prospecting and exploitation has had a devastating impact on the semi-subsistence economy of the Shuar, Ashuar, Quichua and Huaorani people of the Amazon.

The Andean highlands are characterized by mostly fertile, but erosion prone volcanic soils in seemingly endless mountain ranges. Occasionally the peaceful green and brown of these mountains is interrupted by one of the nine majestic snow capped volcanoes which are one of Ecuador's most important tourist trademarks. Even to those of us who grew up in the vicinity of spectacular massifs, such as Perú's Cordillera Blanca, the Rocky Mountains, or the Alps, the view of Ecuador's Avenue of the Giants, some of them formed as perfect cones, is absolutely breathtaking. On clear days, Chimborazo, at 6.267 meters (20.890 feet) Ecuador's highest peak, can be spotted from as far away as Guayaquil on the Pacific coast. Outside of bigger cities we find large scale farms devoted to dairy and beef cattle, intensive fruit and flower production for export, and the cultivation of grain, legumes and vegetables, as well as a complex patchwork of smallholder fields. Quito, Ecuador's capital, has attracted poor rural migrants from the highland as well as concentrating ruling families of the former hacendado élite.

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Quiteños, and Serranos or highlanders in general, are quiet and discreet in taste and behavior. While popular culture in the Sierra allows for articulate public showing of emotions during certain very clearly defined occasions, such as soccer games, old-money élite Quiteños will never be caught uttering more than an approving "Olé" when their favorite matador displays incredible bravery in the bull-ring.

As the mountains drop dramatically to the coastal plains over only 70 km (43.5 miles) of curving precipitous roads, landscape, climate, and crop-variety change. In the coastal lowlands banana, African palm and sugar cane are cultivated. Broad, slow moving rivers are desperate to make their way to the Pacific over virtually flat topography. While those lands were initially cleared by aspiring small-holder peasants, much of it was swiftly bought up by agro-industrial firms during and after a land reform in the 1960s, converting those who had prepared the plantation grounds into landless rural labor (Farrell and Da Ros 1983). On the southern shores of the Pacific, big shrimp farms export their harvest to North America and Europe. Guayaquil is the economic and commercial hub of Ecuador. Costeños, or "monos," as they are called half-mockingly by the highlanders, are very lively and outgoing. They like to show off wealth and physical beauty. While a good number of élite Quiteños prefer to orient their taste toward Europe, Costeños seem to thrive on Americana. European expatriates call them "Miami boys" in a mixture of old world snobbery and wishful admiration.

A thousand kilometers offshore in the Pacific lie the Galápagos islands, Ecuador's most important tourist attraction. Initially uninhabited by humans, they became part of Ecuador in 1832, after independence, when they served mainly as a penitentiary (Rachowiecki 1989). Due to this lack of human presence, together with the substantial distance from mainland and from the other Pacific archipelagoes, species particular to the islands evolved over time, many of which are without natural predators. The unique variety of fauna inspired Darwin in the formulation of evolutionary theory, and thus gave rise to anthropological debates which have been going on since the late nineteenth

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century.

Azuay province

Azuay is landlocked, bordering Cañar in the North, the Amazonian provinces of Morona Santiago and Zamora in the East, Loja and El Oro in the South, and Guayas province in the West. Azuay is divided into ten political subdivisions called "cantons." Except for Cuenca canton, which is much bigger and more populated than the rest, the small towns which lend their names to the respective cantons are at the same time parish seats where weekly rural markets are held. The Cuenca, Gualaceo and Paute cantons, from where Centro de Bordados Cuenca recruits its artisan constituency make up over half of the province's extension. The town of Gualaceo, whose foundation in 1535 predates that of Cuenca in 1557 (Arrizaga y Arrizaga 1983) is the second largest urban site in the province.

Azuay and Loja provinces, contrary to the rest of the rural highland, are blessed with greater extensions where temperate climatic micro-zones provide respite from the generally cold and humid conditions of the high Andes (Gómez 1994). The Santa Barbara valley in Gualaceo canton, in particular the parish seat, as well as Uzhupud on the Paute enjoy a mild and rather dry climate rivaled only by the delightfully eternal spring of Vilcabamba in neighboring Loja province, where Inkaic rulers had a famous resort.

The soil in the southern Andes of Ecuador (Cañar, Azuay and Loja provinces) is of old volcanic origin, rich in mineral deposits, but not as fertile as the young volcanic formations of the northern highlands where active snow-capped volcanoes attest to that region's geologic youth. The Northern highlands produce the bulk of the country's cereals, fruits, vegetables, and tubers, but Azuay province's only national "forte" is dry-farming maize, reflected in the Azuayo predilection for hominy (mote). Artisan production in carpentry, shoe making, pottery, jewelry, straw-hat weaving, knitting, sewing and embroidery and some petty cash-cropping supplement partial subsistence

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agriculture, where access to irrigation is scarce and economically as well as socially stratified.

Among the ten highland provinces of Ecuador, Azuay ranks third in size after Pichincha and Loja. Like Imbabura and Tungurahua provinces to the North, Azuay with over 50 inhabitants per square kilometer is more densly populated than the rest of the highlands, even though less than 50 percent of its extension is arable. Azuay is also the only province where male-female ratios show less than 80 men for every 100 women (Gómez 1994), attesting to the importance of male out migration.

REFLECTIONS ON SELF AND METHODS

The anthropologist and her social fields

To go into the field with a spouse who has a secure job seems to be a winner. However, the international community, especially in South America, is dominated by male expatriate bread-winners. In Ecuador, the powerful presence of the oil industry means that foreign expatriate specialists working in the country are almost exclusively male. A woman is treated as her husband's appendage, and few people care to know what her professional qualifications and interests are. I cannot say that this reflects the attitude in Ecuadorian society. Women of prominent families in Quito are well educated, and many of them hold important government, business and NGO positions. For the struggling middle class a professional background for adults of both sexes assures that they can grasp a range of economic opportunities. They as well as the poor urban and rural populations cannot afford an "idle" wife at home. The Andean cultural tradition of gender segregated but complementary tasks also encourages a woman to see herself as a persona in her own right, rather than an appendage to a husband. In the Ecuadorian highlands this is as true of peasant, artisan and working class women as it is of the élite. The "wife-of" syndrome, then, is mostly propagated by multinational corporations and their male bias in hiring expatriate specialists.

On certain social occasions my sole identity was being the wife of a foreign civil

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servant. On others, I was seen primarily as a mother involved in the education of her children. At times I was associated with university life. What needed much explanation, however, was my professional interest in rural Andean life. This role was ambiguous and hard to explain, since I was neither a missionary, nor a social worker. Most expatriate wives become engaged in non-remunerated charitable works. Therefore, I had to combat the "you must be doing a lot of good out there" image and explain that my anthropological fieldwork was first and foremost an apprenticeship for myself.

Methods: levels of entry in a hierarchical setting

For an anthropologist it may not be the most obvious thing to walk into a development agency and ask to be allowed to do fieldwork there. Explaining that one is interested in selecting an appropriate research site, however, is likely to be well understood by a national coordinator, and s/he may even be of great help for some crucial contacts. Development agencies are hierarchically structured institutions, therefore finding the appropriate entry level is important. Hanging out in front of a busy NGO's regional headquarters and trying to contact leaders from the local grassroots organizations is one approach, knocking on the door of a national coordinator another, and writing to the international headquarters a third. Wherever one enters, people situated at different levels of the hierarchy may at the beginning perceive the investigator as a "spy," a time consuming "idiot" imposed from "above," or simply a general nuisance. The question of entry is personal: whose negative image of a researcher being merely a nosy intruder will I be best able to correct ? Luckily, I had no clout to start right at the top in Berne. Therefore, I didn't have to battle the "intruder" image at the intermediate level in COTESU's Quito headquarters. With the COTESU coordinator's support in Quito, through whom I had met a delegate from SDC's headquarters in Switzerland, the research permit for Berne was obtained without trouble.

After a little time I overcame the spy image at Centro de Bordados Cuenca, and it

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took about a year of preliminary presence for me to begin to understand problems, rewards, and conflicts of artisan life. The fact that my husband was supporting my travel between Quito and Azuay and providing funds for my children's' day-care in Quito, besides "allowing" me to be absent from the home, reflected positively on him. My husband came to the field on a few ritual occasions. This gave my principal informants and the CBC community in general a chance to meet and assess him personally, but he was definitely not part of the research team. The presence of my then three year old son was very beneficial. The small child legitimated my role as a mother-wife and dispelled potential suspicions about my sexual morals. The fact that my older daughter was left behind in Quito to attend school made for a situation similar to that of women who have to leave children in the village during the work-week at the Cuenca finishing plant.

Determination of internal variables and selection of research sites

My preliminary research in the COTESU archives in Quito and CBC offices in Cuenca, as well as visits to all participating communities yielded the following information: the CBC project includes geopolitical and ecological variables. I selected two sites in order to control these variables: Chiquintad (Canton Cuenca) and Llintig (Canton Gualaceo). The former has a peasant health clinic (Seguro Campesino); male migration to the U.S. is extremely common; most women are full time embroideresses with additional access to male remittances or wages. In Llintig male migration is mostly toward the coast where men work in urban small businesses or as seasonal labor on plantations. Embroidery competes with women's subsistence agriculture. The population involved in the embroidery project is uniform only in gender. It is otherwise heterogeneous in terms of age, marital status, number of dependents, access to various resources and services, embroidery output, agricultural production, and ethnic identity. Households selected for residence and interviewing reflect this wide range of differences (Burgess 1982).

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Quantitative methods

In 1989, all of the roughly 250 embroideresses initially recruited for the project had answered an extensive questionnaire administered by Mestizo male Ecuadorian agents of FEPP. The questionnaire had sought vital information from the embroideresses and their nuclear families. Data were collected on: land tenure and animal husbandry; on revenues from and time invested in artisan production; and on the kind of pre-embroidery artisan intermediaries ("cottage putting out" or "cottage craftsmanship"). This survey had been conducted with no participant observation or investigator residence in the communities. A formal control group for data verification was not used. However, the FEPP agents involved had extensive experience in conducting rural surveys, since most of them had lived in Azuay province for years. Gross distortions in the answers would not have escaped their attention.[22]

In 1994, at the end of nine months of intermittent fieldwork in Chiquintad and at the outset of seven months in Llintig, I conducted a follow-up survey which includes complex variables such as participation in grass-roots organizations, household composition, sharing of resources, and the social and economic impact of migration. The Ecuadorian project coordinator and an embroideress of long standing with good literacy skills shared some survey work with me. The comparison of quantified data from the two surveys, together with project and coop records on individual output and income will illustrate how the embroidery project affects the division of labor within a household, agricultural production, and (continuing) education of all age/gender groups. Household decision making and labor allocation were observed during residency in selected households in both communities in order to qualify the material changes.

Participant observation and life-histories

Open-ended questions regarding cooperative expectations and membership in

[22] Even though directed exclusively at women, the questions reflect the male/ethnic bias of the interviewer: data on small animals, kitchen gardens and "female" household appliances (sewing machines, irons, blenders) are absent, the focus being on cattle, sizable fields, and western luxury appliances (TV, video, stereo).

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other organizations as well as my participation in the embroidery coop and other associations, in community meetings and activities, revealed that some changes had occurred in community politics, work-organization, and resource allocation since 1989, when the project had started. I selected six artisan life histories from three communities. They cover the socio-economic variations mentioned before. Gendered differences in work, action, and education were examined through two additional life histories elicited from male residents; one in Chiquintad parish, the other in Gualaceo parish. These life histories help illustrate shifting ethnic/class struggles, as well as changes in networks defining minimal units of production and consumption, and levels of gendered education. These data provide me with temporal depth in communal history and show the impact of state and development agency actions on intra-village power structure and on a community's relations with the national political order and with shifting global economics (Nash 1992). The life histories indicate differences in female/male participation in cooperative/community leadership.

The analysis of quantified data on changes in land tenure, labor distribution, resource management, emanating from the two surveys, allude to change in socio-economic conditions. Explanation of theses changes are extracted from qualitative data on cooperative organization, household and community decision making, and ethnic identity gathered during long-term residence in the two communities. This information not only delineates regional fields of action, but also explains why and how changes occur (Bernard 1988).

The comparability of data obtained from multi-site ethnographic research

To mitigate the limitations of working as a single researcher in a variety of geopolitically distinct sites and with actors from different ethno-social backgrounds, the establishment of a common denominator in methodology and approach is crucial.[23]

[23] Carmen Ferradas's "institutional" approach to fieldwork, where global connections are not only recognized but explored, shows that anthropology's demographic small scale allows researchers to cover a variety of sites and social settings with enough depth to inform subsequent theoretical discussions (Ferradas 1990:16-17)

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Participant observation and structured interviews were carried out among embroideresses, NGO and Swiss government officials. The premise underlying participant observation is that an unprejudiced approach to "culture" will stimulate an open and friendly working relationship between anthropologist and informant. While doing agency fieldwork in Quito, Cuenca, and Berne the same standards of privacy, informant protection, and preserving information within its context were applied as when working with artisans in the Chiquintad and Gualaceo parishes.

My focus is on the relationship between development policy and agency practice as evinced through programming and project implementation, and on the effect all of this has on the "aid receiving" population. Therefore the research data obtained from the different settings and informant groups needed to be comparable - otherwise they would have resulted in three separate parts of a book, rather than a coherent analysis. Obviously the theoretical challenge lay in connecting data on development agents to that gathered from among their rural partners. The cultural, economic and historic differences between the two populations are mostly obvious, but the questions are: what do they have in common, how is that commonalty measured, and what does it mean ? Last but not least, where and how does the researcher fit into this cross section ?

The administration of the same sets of questions to both development project artisans and their foreign agency counterparts sheds light on the circumstances under which development agents tend to be better prepared to deal with crucial programming questions. This procedure brings aid-receiving and aid-administrating groups into a comparative perspective. It is predicated on the assumption that the grassroots partners are homogeneous. The homogeneity of the CBC artisans, whose differences between each other are highlighted in some parts of the monograph, is theoretical and temporary. The examination of the differences which exist between western development agents and southern grassroots participants allows me to assess how well rural Andean life is understood by foreign and Ecuadorian agents at various levels of hierarchy and grass-

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roots interaction. The comparison of agent answers to this set of questions helps identify variation within the agent population.

I drew up three different sets of structured interviews: one for the socio-economic diagnostic of the embroideresses of the cooperative, another for Swiss and other development agents resident in Ecuador. The same questions about family history and economy were asked, and the rural diagnostic was given as a test - of sorts - to assess the level of knowledge the individual agent possesses about rural life. This was done to test my hypothesis that gender, geographic and socio-professional distance to aid receiving population, and ethnicity are variables influencing an agent's relationship with the "partner" population (see appendix 6).

A shorter version of the "agent-profile" was administered to people working at the SDC headquarters in Berne (appendix 7). Left out were questions about reproductive choices and on siblings, since such questions are considered very private by the Swiss. My rapport with people whom I was just meeting in person for the first time was not "profound" enough to warrant such a questions, much less from a researcher who is considered a cultural insider and thus expected to behave according to the known norms.[24] The agent-profile interview administered to SDC staff in Berne covered the gender-development views in much more depth. Those questions made sense to the interviewees, since they had a direct and obvious bearing on my research problem; much more so than information about their contraceptive choices and their siblings' work careers.

Ethnography of a development agency

Tracing chains of command in a development agency, probing for agent decision making power and ideological autonomy confirm that - within the Swiss context - agents are not mindless marionettes whose strings are pulled by a big brother.[25] While this is

[24] This is one of the drawbacks of the "insider" position.

[25] Although some politicians would like it to be that way.

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probably not the case in those other agencies of western nations where specific - rather than broad - economic or political goals are intimately linked to development policy and practice, it may be equally true for some multilateral agencies and for secular NGOs. SDC agents' gender views - on the other hand - are strongly conditioned by western dual opposites. While agents with overseas working experiences have a good grasp of variety in gender roles, uncritical cultural relativism, and a lack of knowledge about gender theory and current debates in the social sciences make it difficult for them to argue for and implement new approaches to development which do not prove an additional burden to underprivileged women's workdays.

Ethnography in a multi-cultural setting: timing, sampling, insider-outsider positions

My position vis-à-vis the different informant groups varied. The COTESU staff in Quito clearly saw me as a colleague, as someone with similar interests and skills. They opened their archives and offices without any restrictions other than those an investigator imposes on herself by common sense and courtesy. I was introduced to the project headquarters in Cuenca by the then Coordinator of COTESU in Quito. So at first, my visits were somewhat "imposed." It was not clear to the two Swiss and the Ecuadorian development workers at CBC in Cuenca, if my future role in the embroidery project was that of a "spy" sent by headquarters, especially because my husband's position at the Swiss Embassy was mentioned right away by the Coordinator. A little taken aback at first by this somewhat sexist introduction, I soon realized that I needed to expose my links to everyone at the outset, precisely, because such a liaison can be suspect. When it became obvious that I was indeed willing to learn rather than "teach," to observe rather than "judge," the contact became warmer and with time a comradeship was built. I came to be seen as a resource mainly for certain commercial contacts and as a "talking chief" of sorts when opinions and circumstances needed to be probed among the coop board, project offices and COTESU in Quito. This broker role was not very crucial; but it was a nice way of letting me participate in the workings of the project.

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For historic reasons, Andean peasants are suspicious of foreigners poking their noses into village affairs. Devilish figures from colonial tax collectors to proselytizing missionaries and baby robbers have roamed the districts. To start fieldwork by doing a census, as field manuals sometimes suggest, is starting at the wrong end of the work plan (see Lentz 1988, Stark 1985). People are wary of hidden interests and powers, therefore, my multifaceted identity - Swiss by nationality but affiliated with a North American University - and the lack of funding during my preliminary research helped people understand that I was not after some hidden political agenda. When I finally tackled the socio-economic survey after two and a half years of preliminary fieldwork, people were ready to cooperate. For a full year of preliminary fieldwork, I never brought a camera with me, until people became quite impatient, asking that I bring one to take snapshots of them. However my initial "abstinence" had shown that I was not going to take "cheap" pictures and then use them for commercial profit.

The embroideresses, before giving their consent to my conducting fieldwork, wanted to know exactly what professional and economic changes this would entail for my future. We agreed that I would write up the project-cooperative history, and that I would provide photographs for its illustration as well as slides for their organization's educational and publicity use. COTESU's financial support has been enlisted for the printing of the project history.

Finally, the short "stint" with the development agents/policy makers at SDC headquarters in Berne produced an interview schedule based on snow-balling selection

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(it was indeed snowing outside too).[26] SDC's Latin America section had arranged for some initial contacts throughout the agency with people interested in talking to a "gender specialist." My techniques were limited to structured interviews, control-questions, and informal talk. Given research time constraints, I had no opportunity to practice participant observation other than during meals in the Cafeteria which is shared by the entire Foreign Office and in turn with the Department of Education of the Canton of Berne.

The regional study and its global context

This thesis links a regional study - that of 11 scattered communities in Ecuador's southern highlands - to the global production system in which the 200 artisans are embedded. Like Ferradas's (1990) study of a dam development, my analysis includes people at different levels of hierarchically structured decision making and in separate geographic locales, but this one being an impact study, it differs from Ferradas's important contribution to understanding how an international development project - private/public co-financing of a huge dam - works in itself (ibid). In terms of methodology, the canons of my discipline recognize the value of small scale, in depth analysis yielding qualitative insight into the dynamics of social life. This meant that in order to investigate the impact that western gender notions inherent in development projects have on Andean women's social, economic, and political positions, I had to interact as much and as closely as possible with culturally and socially diverse and geographically dispersed groups of people. It is not a study that can be carried out during

[26] When the demographic sample is big and internal variety already known, random or stratified random sampling is conducted, where interviewees are drawn from the pool at random in order to counter subjective researcher bias (Bernard 1988). Given the relative small number in the target population, the cultural and social heterogeneity of the Swiss population, the way in which quotas to represent such heterogeneity are applied in the selection process for federal employees, and the fact that interviews need to fit into employees' tight work and travel schedules, random sampling would have defeated my short stay's purpose to interview a maximum of people representing what internal variation I had established. To "snowball" means that the researcher use the good offices of initial contacts to find a more diversified or a more stratified "pool" of interviewees (ibid).

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the "traditional" twelve to eighteen months of funded field research characteristic of graduate work. My home base in Ecuador, where two of the three "target populations" are located extended over three and a half years. While the permanency of my Ecuadorian home also entailed a lot of time spent on logistics and social life not directly connected with field work, the extent of my stay allowed for the establishment and maintenance of a variety of contacts too elusive to come about in a few months.

A cultural response to the challenge of multi-site ethnography

Anthropology concerns itself with material and non-material manifestations of culture. Getting at "what is inside people's heads" requires qualification of informant statements through observation of their actions. When socio-culturally different groups are the focus of the investigation, group interaction is a main concern for the scientist. In such a context, work is facilitated by shared cultural and social traits between research population and investigator. Communication goes beyond mere language skills, but the dominance of all languages involved - be they linguistically or socially stratified, or both - is crucial. Therefore, I selected rural rather than urban Ecuador as my research site. I chose a Swiss development project, rather than that of any other western country. This selection allowed me to use my cultural and practical knowledge about agriculture and to take advantage of certain auxiliary educational and linguistic skills which are necessary when working in these three different fieldwork settings.

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II Global economy and local socio-politics: Agrarian change in the Andes

> "Anthropologists...have long recognized the incompatibility of analyses that stress the opposition of peasants and proletarians, developed and underdeveloped, core and periphery, or First and Third Worlds."
> June Nash (1994)

RURAL CHANGE AND GENDER IN THE ANDES

This chapter briefly touches on the "agrarian question" and its bearing on the analysis of social change in the Andes. The Inka expansion into the Northern Andes and the subsequent Spanish Conquest are examined with regard to changes in agrarian production and rural social organization. Printed editions of documents from the Audiencia de Quito, and primary material from the colonial records of Gualaceo parish will illustrate how royal edicts, colonial administration, and indigenous actions reverberated through the countryside of the Southern Ecuadorian Highlands between 1535 and 1800. Attention will be paid to the difference in colonial rule between the laissez-faire attitude of Habsburg Spain where American born Spanish élites (criollos) enjoyed a maximum of unbridled power, and the tight control sought by the Crown through the Bourbon reforms. The latter ultimately provoked a widespread successful campaign for national independence throughout Spanish America, giving rise to a new relationship between indigenous people and their dwindling land base. Later than anywhere else in the Andes, Ecuador ushered in a well orchestrated non-confrontational Agrarian Reform in the 1960s. Its short lived, appeasing effect is rapidly wearing out as the twentieth century comes to a close, making craft income ever more necessary for the maintenance of precarious subsistence agriculture.

The current cash-subsistence squeeze of people who have had to sell their labor power since the beginning of colonialism, has been exacerbated by the contradictory effects of agrarian tax and production reforms throughout colonial and independence periods. Western development efforts which build on exclusive gender hierarchies

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ignore the gender complementarity deeply rooted in Andean culture and society,[1] where communal ayllus and new groupings retain some pre-conquest social forms. When gendered development efforts extend labor intensive, low income craft and cash crop ventures to women in the South they provide them with poor structural links to the world market, perpetuating rather than lifting their simple reproduction squeeze.

A look at the bargain entered into by Andean embroideresses in their quest to secure a livelihood through the production of export preciosities shows how the world market is an influence beyond their control. The historical changes which have affected the rural population in Azuay over the past five centuries are relevant to this analysis, because they show how interaction spheres evolve and how they are manipulated on the side of the global exponent (conquistador, colonial administrator, national bureaucrat, international aid personnel) as well as by the resident peasant-artisans, indigenous or "cholqized."

INTERACTION SPHERES: GLOBAL AND REGIONAL PROCESSES

European overseas connections starting with the maritime explorations in the fifteenth century have become a central theme for twentieth century social science. Wallerstein's (1974) analysis of the modern world system centering around capital intensive agriculture in Europe and its repercussions throughout overseas colonies provided the social sciences with the conceptual framework to talk about transcontinental economic interaction. Wallerstein's focus on regional differentiation reveals that there is a dynamic between "core" and "peripheral" areas with regard to acquisition and consolidation of political clout and economic power (Schneider 1977:20).

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[1] I emphasize this gender complementarity throughout the thesis, but is not necessarily tantamount to "equality." Colonial and postcolonial influences have changed vestiges of what may have been considerable gender "equity" among men, women, and maybe additional gender categories as long as they belonged to the same social status group in the precolumbian Andes. My understanding of current patterns of gender complementarity in the Andes refers to joint household or community ventures, where men and women's contributions are not differentially valued by the people directly involved.

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Attention paid to the emergence and competitive behavior of certain "semi-peripheries" shows how "particular populations come to play particular roles" in order to change "their economic, political, and cultural institutions" (ibid). However, those who undertake a comparative examination on how "semi-peripheries" interact with a respective "world system," need to bear in mind that the issue is charged with culturally specific mechanisms (Nash 1981). The regional focus with in-depth detail - relating the data to a greater socio-political order - is particularly salient with regard to the restructuring of indigenous society in post conquest Latin America (Stern 1986 [1982]:15). The colonial confrontation created new societies precisely at the regional and local level (ibid), uprooting the inter-ethnic order so recently established as a consequence of Inka expansion (Landázuri 1990, Powers 1994, Rebolledo 1992), and imposing territorial continuity onto political entities (Repúblicas de Indios) where ethno-political allegiance had been extra- and supra-territorial before (Salomon 1990). These issues salient to rural artisans in Azuay today, a people robbed not only of their earlier history, but of an important part of their political culture:

> "We were conceived not of love, but through the forced labor in the mines and its constant sexual abuse. Originally, we descend from the Cañari, but that is so long ago that we can no longer reconstruct our roots" (Cumandá, cooperative leader).[2]

However, the research focus has been on what Europe did and didn't do - rather than on those "world systems" which existed both before the advent of European extra-continental expansion and before capital reinvestment in production became the dominant mode. With the focus on a "system" and the mechanism operating toward its maintenance, eurocentric analysis sees "global" when trade and expansion is done by Europeans, and "regional" when done by others - robbing these "others" of their history (Wolf 1982). A narrow and static focus on a few racial markers, rather than on cultural diversity and change inhibited social scientists from recognizing that Mongols,

[2] "Somos producto no del amor, sino del trabajo forzado de las minas y del constante acoso sexual. Originalmente descendemos de los Cañari, pero esto es tan remoto que no se pueden reconstruir las raices."

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Chinese or Arabs achieved the integration of their respective worlds into well organized systems of intellectual cooperation, labor organization, and the exchange of goods and people. If we want to explain unequal development for a specific population, we need to redefine, rather than reify what is "global" and "regional." Who is to judge that China's expansion during past centuries can be called "internal," i.e. regional (Wallerstein 1974 cited in Schneider 1977:21) when it encompassed a land mass comparable to that of the Americas below the 49th parallel, and people as diverse as are Tsimshians and Swedes ? What constitutes a "world" is historically particular and geopolitically salient, as Eckholm and Friedman (1982) as well as Whitecotton and Pailes (1986) have pointed out. If the expansion of the Inka empire did not span across an ocean, it did integrate, up and down the Andean Cordilleras, as many and as diverse societies as those under Spanish, British, or French colonial expansion. Given that Andean people were quite capable, under different historical circumstances, of managing a widely integrated empire, the question for development agents is how to provide artisan women from the present periphery with a structurally advantageous entry into the global market.

Since Wallerstein's approach is systemic, it lacks a differentiated incorporation of local history and process (Stern 1988); and its focus on unequal exchange as a promoter of unequal development (Schneider 1977:20) ignores the movement of people as part of a global redistribution of labor (Nash 1981). With precolonial antecedents in the Andes, this issue was salient for mining, obraje, and hacienda ventures in colonial times as well as for the later plantation economy. It continues to affect artisan production in the late twentieth century where talented communal leaders and skilled artisans opt with their feet for a journey North, because low income cottage putting out cannot alleviate the subsistence insecurity in the countryside.

A second question concerns a certain quantity bias in the North American value system which at times intrudes into social science: mileage, mass, numbers, and bulk are important, and hence need explanation; when less quantities of distance, goods, and

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people are involved we look at "tangential," " incidental," "secondary," "regional or local" phenomena. We have been alerted to the fact that history as process is an inherent part of humanity (Wolf 1982), that regional culture change is not only shaped by global events but in turn shapes them (Smith C. 1984, Cole and Wolf 1974, Nash 1997a), and that insignificant quantities of "preciosities" do have a qualitative effect on political process (Schneider 1977), even when magic inverts the actors in extortion and precious gift giving, reducing fiber bulk to pure gold (Schneider 1989).

These theoretical insights need to bear on the analysis of development, since the case at hand is precisely that of the production and merchandising of a low-bulk labor intensive modern preciosity. We need to look at the interchange of goods in terms of what "essentials" or "luxuries" do for their powerful acquisitors and redistributors in terms of maintaining political control and furthering economic power, and not whether they are vital for bodily survival or a mere "caprice" (Schneider 1977). The problem with craft marketing is that magic does not automatically convert high quality embroidery from the South into a highly priced, well selling consumer item in urban centers around the globe. Access to fast changing fashion designs is predicated upon levels of capital inversion and personal education which continue to elude rural artisans, male or female, because development programs contemplate "small business" credit lines, not global networks, home economics and low key administrative skills, not financial expertise and marketing know-how.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the early seventeenth century, colonial expansion and industrialization have brought sweeping changes to socio-cultural and geophysical landscapes the world over. In Europe pressure on land became particularly acute when regional warfare and its employ of multiple mercenary armies declined with the consolidation of nation states. From every corner of western Europe, be it geopolitically part of a colonizing nation or not, an increasing number of land hungry settlers started colonizing the Americas, South

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Africa, and later New Zealand, Australia and Sub-Saharan Africa.[3] However, these new, promised lands, although vast, were not "empty" as most early chroniclers and emigration agents would have it. Neither were these lands poorly managed or underused, as it was argued in the case of the North American and Argentine plains. These were inhabited by semi-sedentary confederations which combined extensive woodland farming with seasonal big game hunting and fishing ventures. The non-tribute paying, extremely mobile and tactically skilled tribal confederations of North America faced virtual extinction through genocidal warfare at the hands of armies using repetitive rifles, combined with the often deliberate introduction of contagious old world diseases and the willful massacre of women and children.[4]

In the highlands of Mesoamerica and the Andes, Spanish conquerors were faced with a radically different situation. There, extensive empires and magnificent cities, some of them with populations over a hundred times more numerous than that of any European capital of the time, presented the Spaniards with the opportunity to introduce themselves at the very apex of complex socio-political systems. A few military novelties, such as armored cavalry and gunpowder served to bedazzle emperors and common folk alike, but more basically, the Spaniards, whose own royal houses were experts in matchmaking diplomacy, usurped New World positions of power through alliance with élite Mesoamerican and Andean women. In addition, regional power struggles influenced the decisions of indigenous social units whether to ally with or fight against the Spanish during the first decades of Conquest (Espinoza 1988, Oberem 1985, Stern 1986 [1982], Wachtel 1973, 1988). Spanish alienation of indigenous lands,

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[3] Skilled craftsmen also migrated to metropolitan and emerging peripheral centers within Europe. The impressive mansions built on steep village slopes by return migrant pastry confectioners in the Swiss Grisons are as striking a site as are the villas constructed with migrant remittances in remote Andean hamlets today.

[4] Blankets infested with the small pox virus were handed to woodland Indians by the U.S. army. Custer's attack on Black Kettle's Southern Cheyenne at Sand Creek singled out women and children in a deliberate attempt to destroy the base of biological and social reproduction of Plains Indians.

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their expeditions into the Amazon with thousands of native guides and soldiers, and the excessive physical abuse resulting from these and the mita services, very soon led to a massive decline in population (Larrain 1984, Carrion Aguirre 1991). An issue long neglected is the fact that Andeans probably also saw the arrival of the Spanish as an opportunity to incorporate novel ideological and technocratic ideas into their own world view and economic system. [5]

With a highly organized tribute system already in place, the Spaniards exerted a different kind of pressure on native lands than western European settlers did in North America, South Africa or Oceania. Precolumbian ayllus had been accustomed to ample and well stocked storing facilities, where tribute in kind from good harvests was kept against "disaster." With colonial deterioration of storage facilities on the one hand, increased tribute and decreased productivity due to mitayo labor absences from the ayllu on the other, Indians increasingly needed money or got into debt to cover basic necessities in years of poor harvest. This resulted in a devaluation of Andean productive and socio-cultural achievements and marked the beginning of a "development of under-development" (Stern 1986 [1982]:243).

A purely systemic approach to rural under-development and urban poverty (Frank 1966, Onimode 1988, Wallerstein 1976,) sheds light on global links and the influences of western and northern capital, but it fails to identify the role played by national élites and internal differentiation in the Southern hemisphere. Rural exodus as well as return migration are phenomena that go hand-in-hand with intensification of agriculture and a simple reproductive squeeze for subsistence agriculturalists. There is a dialectical relationship between "rural proletarians and peasants [who are] forming conjunctive [but also competing] sectors of the same society" (Mintz 1974:300). In the

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[5] Wachtel's (1973) perspective on Guaman Poma de Ayala's effort to "transform the society in which he lives, restoring its inherent justice," sheds light on how indigenous intellectuals may have focused attention on the justness of a king of Spain, whom they saw as a successor to the Inka, but within the model of an Andean four-quartered Tahuantinsuyu with its incumbent prerogatives and responsibilities (ibid:228).

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context of rural education and employment deficits, artisan production supplements declining smallholder food production in the face of soil erosion, lack of irrigation, and single-tier consolidated holdings devoid of ecological and climatic diversity (Fernández-Kelly 1990, Nash 1993b). The embroidery project in Azuay is an effort to reconcile an insufficient subsistence base with added female income in order to halt male out migration. However, the added artisan workload competes with gendered Andean subsistence tasks, allowing for an acceleration of rural exodus. The technical abilities gained by women in the project makes them better migratory candidates, allowing them to join their husbands in the United States.[6]

The cooperative embroidery project is premised on the expectation that gender specific craft income will contribute to campesino persistence on the land (CORQUI 1988: t.311.29.1), and that the cooperative management of craft production and redistribution will prevent incipient economic differentiation among member households (Meier 1981: 37). The household is taken for granted as a unit of production, consumption and reproduction, and differentiation which may occur within it (Cole and Wolf 1974, Lofgren 1984, Rebel 1983) is ignored. It is assumed that households with dependent children will intensify artisan production, because they need added income to tide them over until the dependents become fitting laborers themselves (Chayanov [1925]1986, Shanin 1987). Precarious smallholders in the Andes whose plots often cannot provide a family with sufficient food for the entire year certainly need additional income sources. The problem, in the practical case at hand, as well as with the agrarian debate on rural differentiation versus persistence, is an endemic insensitivity to gendered work patterns and work loads in the countryside (Nash 1993b). Male labor in Azuay and elsewhere in the rural Andes is underemployed and earns wages below the subsistence level. Women, on the other hand, are in charge not only of time consuming

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[6] I know of three embroideresses from Gualaceo communities who have joined their husbands in the Greater New York area since the end of 1995. The real number of artisan exodus from Centro de Bordados may well exceed a dozen since 1995.

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house work, but of daily care for cattle and other animals, in addition to horticulture, and the planting, weeding and harvesting of maize and leguminose. The little leisure time which remains has always been filled with craft production.

Bernstein (1978) calls attention to the differentiating effects of a subsistence crisis combined with accelerated craft production: richer production units (households, other conglomerates, or individuals) use cash advances to intensify production and even hire labor, while poorer participants may need to use cash advances on food and other subsistence needs. The increase in cash needs leads to more time invested in craft production and a neglect of subsistence agriculture (also Lennihan 1991, Shenton and Lennihan 1981). This is precisely what happens among migrant-artisan households in Azuay. The loan taken out to pay for the migrant's perilous passage to the United States requires prompt cash payment of monthly interests which cannot be met through subsistence agriculture. For months, women's craft income ties the family over until the migrant starts sending remittances. During this time agriculture suffers a double neglect: that of the absentee man and that of the woman whose increased artisan activity leads to the abandoning of remote fields and valuable animal pastures in the cold and humid páramo, where crops will survive in case of drought. With subsequent migrant remittances, the incentive to reactivate neglected plots is lowered, while the spouse's prolonged absence makes artisan comradeship a valuable emotional support and the quality control skills a good attribute for eventual female migration.

A social phenomenon, such as artisan's heightened class consciousness, is not just shaped by "meaning" or "subjective experience." Rural women in Azuay identify themselves as campesinas, a clear reference to their main role as semi-subsistence producers. However, as leadership roles within embroidery groups become more accentuated for some, they add "artisan" or "embroideress" to their personal and groups' identification labels. A small number of young girls indicated "aspiring international

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migrant" ("migrante") as their only possible marker of identity.[7] As Roseberry puts it, "proletarianization studies" focus on historical processes which transform peasants. Anthropology's involvement in the agrarian debate is critical in its focus on cultural transformations. Strategies of social organization reflect how material forces are challenged by human behavior manifest in group action and individual agency. The process of global change needs to be examined in terms of its articulation with particular histories (Nash 1992, Roseberry 1983:186-89, 193-95). One of the major goals the present work attempts to achieve is to highlight the importance of cultural brokers in this articulation, a role which warrants ethnographic work rather than macro-economic analysis; a focus on production and human agency, rather than a systemic description of trade (Nash 1981:405-06).

Ecuador is a particularly fertile ground for an appraisal of rural change, because its relatively tolerant political climate in this century has produced a number of excellent works on rural class formation (Barsky 1984, Barsky and Diaz Bonilla 1986, Bustamante and Prieto 1986, Murmis 1986). The recognition by these authors, that the agrarian reform of the 1960s had failed to endow the Ecuadorian peasantry with enough land for its socio-physical reproduction, confirmed FEPP's practical need to look for international financial partners to bring added cash income to the countryside (Arévalo 1994). Indigenous land struggles have a long history in Ecuador (Casagrande 1981, Guerrero 1991, Moscoso 1991). Their documentation puts the extremely precarious smallholds of Azuay into the perspective of centuries of struggle over the tenure of land and the need to supplement meager subsistence harvests with craft work everywhere in the Ecuadorian highlands. The fact that these disputes are still ongoing in the North-Central Sierra (Crain 1987, Rubio Orbe 1987) explains the massive rural exodus and international migration in Azuay (Carpio Benalcázar 1992, Carrasco H.

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[7] An open ended question of personal identity concluded the artisan questionnaire I used in a 1994 survey. This summary reflects the results as well as extensive discussions about "ethnic" and "class" identity I had with many artisans.

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1997, Kyle 1993), where ethnically based grassroots organizations are weak. Studies on indigenous resistance and cultural survival in the Andes show the importance of ethnicity as a rallying force (Stern 1986 [1982], Stern and contributors 1987b, Isbell 1978, Harris O. 1987, 1985, Izko 1993 , Spalding 1984, Salomon 1981b, 1985, Belote 1981, Powers 1994) and where class and ethnicity intersect in these struggles (Albó, 1984, Harris and Albó 1974, Platt 1987, Golte 1980a, 1980b). Nash's (1979, 1988b) work with Bolivian tin miners reveals the harsh consequences which struggles at the crossroads of ethnicity, gender and class entail for those who oppose both gross inequalities within their country and the manipulation of national labor conditions by international conglomerates and monetary organisms. Together, these studies provide a pan-Andean background for the local processes emerging from archival data about tribute and land tenure from the Audiencia de Quito (Anonymous 1992, 1994, Burgos 1995a, Bonnett 1992a, 1992b, Rebolledo 1992, AVG 1743-44).

The debate on peasant identity and on the direction of rural change, dated as it may be in the social sciences, is still important, since integrationist policies continue to be embraced by Latin American states and foreign development agencies. The reason for re-addressing it here is to show how certain concepts survive and influence current development policies which in turn create contradictions for the supposed "beneficiaries" in the countryside. Early attention to Latin American rural society emphasized its isolation from urban and global processes (Redfield 1930, Foster 1953). Seeing the rural world as a part-society and closed system, these early writers focused on moral and cultural issues related to rural poverty. Oscar Lewis's (1951) critique of the "morality" approach offers insight into the socially stratified use of scarce resources. It is a transition to issues raised by the campesinista- descampesinista debate, but does not analyze social class and inter-class conflict. The creation of peasants by modern capitalism was recognized by exponents of the campesinista camp, who, drawing on Chayanov (1986 [1925]), were convinced of rural smallholders'

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persistence along with it (Warman 1981, Wolf 1966, 1969). The descampesinistas, embracing a progressive and modernist view, considered peasant and indigenous integration into the nation state as fully emancipated citizens as the only road to salvation for these oppressed groups, all while recognizing that most would not be transformed into wealthy entrepreneurs, but proletarians. Class based actions of this group were hoped to bring about indigenous emancipation to modern citizenship (Bartra .... , de Janvry and Deere 1979).

Modernization theory, lived out through the Green Revolution in the 1960s, was supposed to connect rural subsistence producers to the wider market. It did so, however, by introducing capital intensive technology and input which furthered rural differentiation (Van Crowder 1991). Later exponents of the earlier "moralist" school continue to argue that small producers act according to a separate logic in order to optimize limited resources (Scott 1976, 1985), and this view is reflected in current development paradigms which advocate for the introduction of "adequate" technologies. This "adequacy" at times refers to the low levels of rural literacy, as well as to "women's specific needs." If culturally specific needs were not addressed neither by campesinistas, nor by descampesinistas, cultural idiosyncrasy was used as a master explanation by those focusing on moral forces in society.

The focus on correcting a separate logic is indeed an integral part of the Bordados venture, where punctuality and efficiency are emphasized as "new" and "unusual" for rural artisans. My own experience with a variety of informants has been that given a common "language" of understanding, people hardly ever showed up late for interviews or failed a promise of whatever character. This was true as much of CBC embroideresses as of people outside the Centro de Bordados network. It is not to say that I didn't witness countless "no-shows" or "non-compliance" incidents during fieldwork, but there was usually a failure of properly "reading" initial "degrees of willingness" on part of the outsiders. Notions of rural-urban continuum, urban evil, and "peasant logic" condition

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how development workers view their counterparts. While familiarity with general human variation and specific cultural differences is a useful base line for anyone acting in an international context, development agency personnel should be made thoroughly familiar with local social and economic rationale. A comprehensive knowledge of ongoing debates in the social sciences would facilitate the identification of historically grounded and locally particular survival and subsistence strategies instead of premising the interaction on sweeping notions of "peasant logic."

Development projects in Ecuador advocate the full integration of indigenous and cholo peasants into civic rights and obligations of the state and its national agrarian system. This had been proposed by Stavenhagen (1974), who saw the shedding of ethnic distinctiveness as inevitable, if progress and modern production techniques were to mark rural society's entry into the twentieth century. On the other hand the agrarian debate has been reopened by some campesino organizations, as they look back to the promise of land reform. The neo-Zapatistas reaffirm their desire for a collective land base as a means of ethnic survival (Collier 1994, Nash 1997b). Development workers at Bordados do encourage the ritual preservation of distinct cultural markers, such as wearing a pollera for public appearances, representing the rural craftsmanship and poverty of the artisans,[8] but they are not involved in corrective action revolving around dire needs for land and irrigation. Swiss development personnel reinforce both, the conservationist aspect of ritual cultural exhibition, and the shedding of "traditional" everyday practices, since rural dress and subsistence practices have all but disappeared

[8] Modern Latin American states also appropriate indigenous markers of identity for their own symbolic representation and reproduction, often dressing up Mestizo and White protagonists in Indian garb for certain crucial national and international events (Friedlander 1981, Novelo 1976). Anyone attending a holiday or commemoration of national importance in Andean or Middle American states can witness this appropriation of indigenous symbols (imagery, dress, music, dance) during parades, school events, and shows at national theaters.

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from Swiss daily routine since the end of World War II.[9] The analysis of rural society with the premise that it is a locus of class formation and socio-economic differentiation showed how state tribute claims and private peonage and wage labor demands act as channels of surplus extraction. Rather than placing the rural isolate in a polar opposition to the "urban evil" (Redfield 1930, Bates 1981, Loxley 1984) this approach explains the persistence or shedding of cultural traditions in terms of changing rural production processes (Wolf 1955, 1957, 1959, 1966, 1969, Wolf and Mintz 1957).

The look at internal transformation and differentiation (Roseberry 1976) explains rural poverty not in terms of unequal exchange - an argument currently put forward to explain failing artisan sales at Centro de Bordados - but with regard to exploitation taking place in the sphere of production (Deere and de Janvry 1979, de Janvry 1981, de Janvry et al 1989). Lagos's (1994) case of Bolivian subsistence producers and emerging trucker "big-men" shows how unequal production relations reinforce rural poverty in the face of capital intensive modernization, even when the household owns a few parcels but needs cash and material advances to be able to start the agricultural cycle. Lagos shows that macro-social explanations deny the rural producer's capacity as actor. Interestingly, Centro de Bordados administrators, while encouraging women artisans to become engaged cooperative members, explain marketing difficulties in terms of corporate helplessness in the face of the imponderable global markets. Case studies of Bolivian women knitters (Page-Reeves 1996) and of Mexican weavers (Stephen 1993) show artisan women as actors in the development process and explain that "petty" craft producers are not always helpless pawns in the hands of macro-economic forces.

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[9] During the 1940s, wearing the traditional work outfit as an everyday dress was still common in Switzerland. Our farm household used to produce and process all vegetable, fruit and meat requirements for the family until the 1970s. The demonstration of subsistence food preserving techniques by people dressing up in traditional costumes is common during Swiss country fairs, and the preparation of old local specialties by women and men in their festive traditional garb has been revived as a nineties tourist attraction in the Swiss Alps.

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The feminist critique which gave rise to gendered examinations of rural subsistence and craft production began in the 1970s,[10] yet it was largely ignored by the mostly male protagonists of the agrarian debate who did not even consider research which focused on gender specific labor divisions, access to resources, and positions of power in agrarian societies.[11] Anthropology on women's work has centered on a variety of foci, and even if not all of it is strictly devoted to subsistence production, there is no reason why it can't be brought to bear on the central question of why and how some small producers persist as such while others are forced to completely abandon it for wage labor, petty commerce or artisan production. The studies on "Women in Development" I mention above, with their critical analysis of the Green Revolution's effects, drove the point home that agrarian change cannot simply focus on any one issue, such as class, ethnicity, or "women's work." The focus on gender in agrarian and urban studies reveals that culture change is forged at the crossroads of these three salient markers of postmodern identity. As a result, actor oriented studies no longer view people as relatively powerless puppets tossed about by local and transnational counter currents.[12]

HISTORY AND GENDER: A REVISION OF ANDEAN POLITICS

Uncritical and unexamined gender stereotypes easily creep into the formulation

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[10] Sex and Class in Latin America (Nash and Safa, 1980) was the first regional analysis emphasizing the gender divide in a variety of social and economic contexts which made a culturological explanation of gender inequities being solely based on patriarchy impossible. Together with cross cultural comparisons of women's status in precolonial societies (Leacock 1981, Etienne, Leacock and contributors,1980, Gailey 1987, Weiner 1980, 1986) it became equally clear that a universal subordination of women had not existed in the past.

[11] Gender oriented researach in agrarian societies includes work by Deere (1977), Deere and Leal (1982, 1987), Guyer (1980, 1981), Mackintosh (1987, 1989), Mencher 1966, Nash 1975)

[12] Frank (1966), and Wallerstein (1974), in an effort to reveal the importance of global economic links, overlooked class and gender based internal differences in Third World countries, while Bernstein's (1978, 1986) and de Janvry's (1981) analyses on agrarian changes on the macro-economic level neglect the influence peasant actors have on national distribution and politics (Smith C. 1984).

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and implementation of western development efforts, leading to contradictory and at times counter productive results. The following examination of gender roles in the precolumbian Andes shows that contrary to the male centered representations of early Spanish chroniclers, women from local, regional, and the Inka empirial élites were master "statesmen" and politicians.

Inka succession law, as interpreted by scholars to date, apparently stipulated that a son of the Inka succeed him in office. At times it is hinted that this successor must be the son of the Inka and his sister-consort, the Coya. I should like to propose a different succession theory: Andean ruling dynasties may have initially practised parallel descent as was common in the region (Silverblatt 1987, Bastien 1978). Silverblatt explains that increased militarization destroyed certain avenues to rank, power, and authority for women in the Inka empire, but I propose that the gender complementarity inherent in Andean culture may have circumvented such outright disempowerment of élite Inka women, particularly since the expanding Inkas needed to legitimize themselves viv-à-vis their allies who most likely included powerful female leaders. The biography of the great Huayna Capac offers such an instance of Inka female power and prestige. He was reportedly born in Tomebamba (Tumibamba), as the old Cañari capital (Haupóndeleg) had been renamed after considerable remodeling by the Inka. Inevitably then, his mother the Coya had accompanied her consort, Tupac Yupanqui, to the northern realm of the expanding empire in a gesture legitimizing the war chief's claim of tributary and political supremacy over regional rulers male and female.

Silverblatt (1987) points out that the Inka regime, as it expanded, became increasingly militarized, and a stunningly similar process has been documented for the Aztec empire (Nash 1978). Recognizing the utterly particular way in which Inka rulership, succession (Burgos 1995a), and gendered access to positions of power (Silverblatt 1991) may have operated, I doubt this automatically entailed severe loss of power and authority for élite women. The Inka turned into a military leader, a "war-

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chief" first and foremost. His life was spent on campaigns and prolonged residence with parallel consorts in allied territory. I propose that the Coya in Cuzco, together with resident councillors of both sexes, was a "peace-chief"[13] of sorts, ultimately responsible with her staff for administrative matters, issues of jurisprudence, and imperial constitution.[14]

Within the gendered division of political office in Cuzco's royal house there may have been a shift from egalitarian parallel descent to male primogeniture in a matrilineal line (Cieza de Leon [1547] 1983:58) for the Inka. The Inka dynasty's alliance diplomacy, played par excellence, provided a practical reason for this shift. Expanding Inka rulers entered into unions with élite women of allied groups to cement military and political treaties and terms of material exchange. To prevent bloody multifaceted succession conflicts in the face of multiple pretender sons of the Inka - a doom scenario according to Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1988) - a new rule of succession was introduced, one with cultural precedents: it is not the son of the Inka, who ascends to the throne but the son of the Coya[15] and her Inka consort. Primo- or ultimogeniture, combined with assessment of aptitude were able to narrow down the choice in cases when the Coya-Inka pair had more than one son. Likewise, Atahualpa succeeded his mother, the Shiri leader Paccha, to military rulership over the Quito-Shiri, not so much because he was a male, but for his illustrious Cuzco descent which

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[13] I refer to a division of power similar to that of "peace" chiefs responsible for pan-tribal coalition and foreign policy, and the "defense ministry" role of the "war chief" among Plains aborigines of North America. Portfolios were probably distributed a little differently, since the Inka war chief also seems to have been a Foreign Minister.

[14] There is mention of the "ambitious" Rava-Ocllo, mother of Huascar by Velasco, cited in Gonzalez Suarez ([1878] 1983:98); unexamined to date are the rules governing Coya succession.

[15] Women may also have competed among each other for ascent to office in connection with consortship, and for priority in their offsprings' succession (Burgos 1995a).

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made him an excellent choice.[16] He in turn entered into a marital union with an woman from Cuzco's ruling house (Burgos 1995a, Oberem 1976). Without the consortship of one or several prominent and competent women, Atahualpa's rule over the powerful Shiri would probably have lacked legitimacy according to the canons of gender complementarity so vigorously embedded in Andean society. The fact that so far nobody has investigated the succession law operating for the Coya attests to a disturbing persistence of male-centeredness in contemporary social and historical analyses of precolumbian Andean society.

Since Huayna Capac, whose name must have been known to the Spanish, died between Pizarro's initial landing in 1527 and the beginning of the Conquest in 1532, the Europeans certainly looked for a successor. They may not have understood matrilineal or parallel descent and simply looked for a male heir to Huayna Capac, rather than a legitimate son of the Coya. Much less yet were they looking for the female "peace-chief" herself. The fact that Spain at that time was also ruled by a female-male royal couple did not help the conquistadors understand and accept an institutionalized power role of élite women in the New World, since female rulers in Europe arose "faute de mieux" in the absence of a male heir. These Spanish men were not schooled in government and diplomacy, but war. What they wanted was a war chief to fight against and parley with. Also, subsequent Spanish chroniclers may have tried to diminish the evidence of female

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[16] Burgos (1995a:173) is again instructive in pointing out that Inka succession did not obey western notions of "legitimacy" of birth or "bastardy" but followed canon's of "dialectical socio-political opposition between Collasuyu and Chinchasuyu." Pablos ([1582]1983:85) talks about "Guascar Inga" and "Atabalipa," as two equally important rulers who reign over separate realms and, as Burgos (1995a) points out, we cannot fully understand how Inka government and rules of succession operated as long as western bias in philosophy and social structure interfere with the analysis of ethnohistoric data. Yet the most pressing bias to overcome now is that of two-sex dual opposition in western notions of gender which does not correspond to complementary and maybe more varied gender relations in the Andes. Silverblatt (1991:159) examined the political role, social status, and economic power wielded by Andean women. She points out that these women had access to resources to engage in politically rewarding reciprocity. Reexamining Burgos' material in this light may bring clarity about the position of Atahualpa and eventual female power figures at the time of conquest.

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power on both sides of the Atlantic.[17] The Spaniards' relationship with élite Indian women was radically different from Inka alliance diplomacy. In Old World patriarch fashion, the Spanish warriors were cohabitors. Women served sexual functions in terms of providing pleasure and reproductive services rather than being equal and complementary partners in affairs of state.

RURAL CHANGE IN THE AUDIENCIA DE QUITO FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

Whatever gender balance had prevailed under Inka rule (Silverblatt 1987, 1991) in terms of political power and control over resources, it seems to have rapidly eroded under the new colonial administration. The European powers made men responsible for taxes, leading to a massive male flight. If we find male forasteros in prominent situations (Powers 1991) it is due to a European male bias in dealing with indigenous leaders, disregarding ayllu matrons. Indigenous women continue to claim land and political rights in documents edited by Bonnett (1992b) and Rebolledo (1992:53ff). However, Spaniards only allowed firstborn males from cacique families to continue with noble privileges (Bonnett 1992a:96, 126) which rapidly eroded indigenous female status and power in all segments of the aboriginal Andean population. Indian leadership was only possible with the support and mediation of Spanish authority, be that Church or Protector of Indians (ibid: 133-34). The Spanish imposition of male

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[17] Comments by Cavello Balboa, cited by Gonzalez Suarez ([1878] 1983:104) indicate such female authority. Uhle, also with reference to Cavello Balboa (1983 [1923]:180-181) mentions that one of Tomebamba's great palaces contained the golden statue of Rava (Mama) Ocllo. Nobody has attributed that palace to the Coya, but if it had contained a male ruler's golden statue, I think the palace would automatically have been attributed to him by archaeologists. I think that one crucial misunderstanding between the Spanish and the Inka was the significance of unions between female Inka élite and Spanish warriors: in a context of matrilineal descent, wife-givers tend to be of lower status than wife-takers. This presumption of mine stems from a comparison between the mayu-dama complex in Highland Burma and matrilineal Northwest Pacific cultures who treat "husband-givers" in a similar privileged way as the patrilineal Burmese the mayu wife-givers (Grünenfelder-Elliker 1989). If Inka imperial descent was matrilineal, the Spanish male consorts would have been treated with a certain amount of institutionalized respect, which explains why they easily put themselves at the reign's apex.

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primogeniture grossly limited the continued emergence of sufficient indigenous leader figures and distorted indigenous dynamics and possibilities to assume active and powerful roles in local government.[18]

Our understanding of social change in the Andes has been greatly enhanced by the publication and analysis of early colonial documents. The existence of powerful pre-Inka polities (Spalding 1984); the interplay between the Inka empire and Northern Andean chiefdoms and trade organizations (Salomon 1978, 1986, 1994); and the dynamics between local productive relations and Inka imperial tribute extraction (Murra 1978, 1987, 1989) set the stage for massive indigenous flight during the early days of the colony and for the insertion of new Indian leaders among freshly "reduced" tribute payers (Powers 1991, 1994).

The Spanish crown was ultimately successful in manipulating both indigenous ayllus and expatriate conquerors, administrators and clergymen by "divide and rule." Viceroy Toledo's effort to concentrate Indian tribute payers in reducciones rationalized census practices and tribute collection.[19] However, it also facilitated illegal labor usurpation by Spanish landowners. Thus the Crown began to recognize ayllus' claims to lands held "since time immemorial."[20] Habsburg Spain installed a culturally segregated, but economically articulated colony where separate "republics" of Indians and Spaniards were represented by indigenous kurakas and royal corregidores or tax collectors. Thus

[18] European imposition of male primogeniture (German, French, English) also destroyed institutionalized female power in Oceania (Gailey 1987, Peterson 1982) and North America (Leacock 1981:150ff on Iroquois) as well as in Asia and Africa (Gough 1959, 1971).

[19] Toledo, during his field visit to highland Perú and Bolivia 1570-75, called the reducciones "pueblos reales," or royal villages (Stern, 1986 [1982]), and in the literature they are often referred to as "pueblos toledanos" or Toledan villages.

[20] Heavy taxes put on reducciones in turn propelled many natives to abandon their ayllus of origin and hide away as forasteros (literally foreigners). These forasteros were exempt from the mita and they often escaped demographic enumeration, becoming virtually tax exempt. Since forasteros had no right to ayllu lands in their hide-away places of abode, they easily became a cheap labor force for Spanish hacendados whose legal access to indigenous workers was restricted by strict Crown regulations.

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colonial institutions both weakened and consolidated local chiefdoms, depending on the ability of indigenous leaders to participate in colonial market exchanges and administrative offices (Powers 1991). Later the registered forasteros, formerly hidden by kurakas and hacendados, often proved to be a big tax burden for local ayllus and eventually served to dismantle indigenous chiefdoms under Bourbon colonial administration in the eighteenth century (ibid).[21]

The Spanish monarchs were acutely aware that unlimited access to an officially registered (censused, enumerated), disciplined, well organized, indigenous labor force would very soon make the new colonies more powerful economic and political entities than the European motherland. Therefore, and in accord with the Vatican, bulls and edicts were passed restricting and controlling the use of Indian workers by Spanish conquistadors and later by Iberian and criollo settlers and administrators.[22]

It is at this juncture that colonial documents and chronics from the Audiencia de Quito and Gualaceo parish become a looking glass of Spanish control over indigenous land, labor and other uses of time and resources. Mörner and Trelles's work on patterns of indigenous resistance in Peru shows that geopolitical marginality draws collective action together (1987[1986]:108-109). I regard the absence of such action in Gualaceo is a sign of the doctrina's importance as a colonial "villa," competing with straddling Cuenca for control over mineral resources, land, and Indian labor. A Cañari bastion, rather than an Inka vassal and culturally oppressed colony, Azuay's own identity was uprooted during the Colony with massive movements of people in and out of the

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[21] Colonial permissiveness in terms of runaways who then provide cheap hacienda labor is much reminiscent of current immigration policies, where undocumented workers in the North are allowed to exist as a cheap labor substitute, pushing marginalized local populations into the category of surplus labor pool and driving wages to rock bottom.

[22] Most influential was the papal bull of 1542 which declared the Indians of the Americas to be endowed with souls. This converted savages into human aspirants for Christian salvation, and hence their enslavement became ethically wrong and officially illegal, giving the Spanish Crown both a moral and a legal right to control the use of Indian labor in the Americas (Wolf 1982:143)

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Cañari heartland.[23] A nominal identification with the Inka past - "faute de mieux" - rather than historically anchored (Fock 1981), did not provide the strong social glue necessary to bind people together in open rebellion (Mörner and Trelles 1987 [1986]:111 record an analog event for Perú), even if the conditions of physical abuse and economic duress warranted it.

Gualaceo's proximity to the Santa Barbara mines brought a Spanish presence among natives of ayllu Toctesi (Dotaxi) as early as 1535 (Arízaga y Arízaga 1983). Karen Powers (1994) has pointed out the disruptive effect of Conquest on the vertical economies of the Andes.[24] The massive removal of people to mining centers left their communities of origin devoid of potential settlers and traders to interact in the rich ecological environment the Andean (Salomon 1986). We should not assume any "instinctive" feelings of "Indian brotherhood" to have existed between the inhabitants of

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[23] The removal of élite Cañari regiments to Cuzco during Inkan times (Spalding 1984:102-103) is a qualitative precursor to Cañari uprooting. As one modern Ecuadorian scholar puts it very unromantically, the Inkas conquered Cañar, and mitimaes were taken from its domain to Cuzco much against the deportees' will. The inter-ethnic hostilities culminated in the Atahualpa-Huascar war over who would control [or count among his allies] the fierce Cañari (Castro Muyancela 1995).

[24] Pedro de Valverde and Juan Rodríguez ([1576] 1992:238) rendered the following account on Gualaceo to the king of Spain in 1576: "Twelve leagues from [what used to be] the village [!] of Cuenca is the river they call Santa Barbara, where all citizens of this city [Cuenca] used to have their Indian work gangs to mine gold for several years. In 1544, mining with eighteen to twenty work gangs of fifty to eighty Indians each, the yield amounted to some 300.000 pesos. During that time, this village of Cuenca had not been settled yet [this was before the official foundation of Cuenca in 1557] on the spot where the city now stands. Food for these miners was brought from their villages [of origin] as much as 30 to 40 leagues a distance." In a 1570 Relación de Quito an anonymous source attests that " [I]n old times we mined ... a lot of gold, particularly from the Santa Barbara river. At present there is no more mining due to the prohibition to use Indians [for this kind of work]." ["Antiguamente se sacó...mucha cantidad de oro, especial en el río de Santa Bárbara. De presente no se saca por la prohibición que no se saque con indios"] (Anonymous in Ponce Leiva 1992:190)

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ayllu Toctesi and the miners.[25] The massive introduction of miners by early Spanish colonists has left effects still felt today: Gualaceo canton is very densely populated; overuse of land has led to erosion; water rights were usurped early on by a few haciendas; and a massive exodus of migrants fills the ranks of undocumented Ecuadorian workers in New York City.

The colonial movement of people, be it actively induced by Spaniards or taken as an option to "vote with one's feet" by the indigenous population wary of tribute, mita, and loss of productive lands, had devastating economic and cultural effects (Powers 1994). It was different in kind, not only in magnitude, from the orderly - if also forced - Inka policy of moving entire "ethnic groups" from Bolivia and Perú to Ecuador and vice-versa. Concerted Inka migration came with land grants and certain "expatriate" privileges (access to lowland cotton, coca and ají plantations). The mitmaq colonies maintained important social and cultural ties to the aboriginal residents in the Northern Andes. The region's multilingual character (López de Solis [1594]1995:473-74) was not wiped out by Quichua as a trade and rituo-political lingua franca.[26] But when people were moved in a gender segregated (male miners, female wet nurses and domestic servants) and disorderly as well as economically detrimental fashion, medium scale social units such as ayllus and co-resident communities became physically uprooted, culturally destroyed and deprived of a secure and internally regulated access to vital resources (Rebolledo 1992:121.) The Gualaceo region is a perfect example of such cultural and economic destruction. A Babylonian profusion of indigenous tongues resulted

[25] The Gualaceo parish records support Karen Powers' assertion that forasteros could attain indigenous positions of leadership in their new places of abode: The surname Guaraca (kuraka) occurs in the forastero community at Gualaceo (AVG 1678-1811: Libro 1772 "Indios Forasteros de Gualaceo"). There is also evidence that an ayllu domain continued to exist in the Gualaceo area, with a cacique (kuraka) named Supliguicha, a local last name still carried today. (Palomeque 1991).

[26] Spanish presence increased the role of Quichua as a lingua franca and put those Indians who spoke it into the forefront dealing with the Spaniards. The exclusive use of Quichua by the Spaniards led to the eventual disappearance of aboriginal languages in the Northern Andes (Salomon and Grosboll 1990:50, Weismantel 1997.)

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from the early mining venture. An additional pressure on resources came from Basque emigrants who started farming ridge lands known today as Cristo Rey, south east of Gualaceo, between Toctesi (Dotaxi) and San Juan in early colonial times (Arízaga y Arízaga 1983). The Basque presence was a flagrant disregard of strict Crown rules against rural white settlements outside Spanish cities and towns. Very few people in the Gualaceo region speak Quichua today (mostly in San Juan and Cahuazhun). As a matter of fact, this is true for most of southern Ecuador, the only part of the country with mineral resources. The "typical" dress of Azuay is the pollera, a ruffled, beautifully embroidered skirt of Spanish style, typical of chola culture in the Andes.[27] This contrasts with indigenous culture of the Central and Northern Sierra, where Quichua survives as a mother tongue, along with an unbraided hairdo, and the classic aboriginal non-tailored couture of women's skirts found throughout Mesoamerica and the Andes.[28]

The Spanish colonizers had been able to build on a tightly organized tributary state whose geopolitical divisions were based on local social units (sayas) and their regional superstructures (Burgos 1995b:313ff). Galo Ramón (1991) stipulates that Spanish use of indentured Indian labor may have had precedents in the labor service under precolumbian ethnic lords (kurakas) whose more extensive parcels were worked by commoners (gañanes, yanakonas) in return for access to fertile lands under the kuraka's control. However, the number of kuraka serfs was low, at less than two percent of the resident population in pre-hispanic Cayambe. Ramón points out the stark contrast with colonial labor appropriation, which amounted to ten percent of the Valle de los

[27]This is complemented with a pair of braids which used to be typical of single European peasant women (Zimmermann 1989). Spanish rule imposed very strict dress codes on American Indians, especially women, and it seems to me that the pair of braids marks indigenous women as perennially nubile and unemancipated; devoid of rights and available for sexual abuse.

[28] In Mexico and Guatemala as well as in the Andes, there is a widespread use of straight rows of fabric in the width of the backstrap loom, sown together as needed (in Mesoamerica), or wrapped around the body in alternate layers (Ecuador), but without cutting and tailoring the cloth, which would be considered an act of barbarism by the weavers.

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Chillos population during the 1550s (ibid: 429). By the eighteenth century, the official toll of mitayos was twenty percent of the rural population (Stark 1985:9), and constant complaints of excessive mita duties reached the public defender of Indians (Bonnett 1992a:103-05). This continuous loss of the indigenous land base went hand in hand with increased Indian serfdom. Extensive grazing of sheep (wool for obrajes), as well as cereal and sugar cane cultivation in the most fertile and productive inter-Andean valley floors led to overuse of marginally productive high altitude plots by ayllu and hacienda Indians (Merisalde y Santisteban [1765] 1994: 385, 411ff).[29]

In spite of institutions such as Indian Republics, and Public Defender and Protector of Indians, the Spanish colonial administration allowed an increased usurpation of land by criollos through their manipulation of legal specialists and their domination of the written language (Bonnett 1992a:80ff). We can trace this process locally: Gualaceo parish records include documents on changes in land tenure during the first half of the eighteenth century (see partial transcripts in appendix 1). At issue are the particularly fertile and valuable river flats running North along the Santa Barbara, up to its confluence with the Cuenca (Finca Bullcay, Finca Guazhalan). Guazhalan, an hacienda in ecclesiastic hands which was passed on to FEPP in the 1980s, used to be part of Toctesi (Dotaxi) communal lands (AVG 1744: doc. 5).[30] These communal lands were first leased from Indians by Spaniards and ultimately sold among Whites. One rental agreement explicitly states that Estéban Saenz Viteri, the white renter, may plant it with sugar cane for which the Crown forbade the use of Indian labor (see Bonnett

[29] The Relaciones for Cuenca complain about haciendas without royal consent and the illegal use of Indian labor in the fields and as servants in cities (Merisalde y Santisteban [1765] 1994:411 ff.). The "reporters" deplore hacienda invasion and occupation of Indian community lands and subsequent shortage of arable plots for the indigenous population. Gualaceo and Quingeo are particularly mentioned (ibid:383). This contrasts with Zigsig (Sigsig) where Indians own "all of the land... without any hacendado. and they have a lot of cattle."[Los Indios poseen "todo el país... sin hacendado alguno... y mucho ganado mayor"] (ibid: 385).

[30] Cacicazgo leadership and ayllu lands are documented to have persisted in Gualaceo (Palomeque 1991).

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1992a:108).[31] The Indian "owners"[32] usually needed the money to pay for taxes or funeral costs. In two contracts there is an obvious confluence of interest between indigenous leadership and the Church: The ayllu leaders recuperated land which had been leased by individual comuneros to Whites. The church ultimately got the money from the lands leased out by the cofradía, since the latter needed cash to pay Church tithe. The "bouquet final" came in 1744 when Saenz Viteri sold all his Guazhalan leases to Capt. José Maldonado of Cuenca for 1.500 pesos.[33] That this is an outright sale becomes obvious when we look at the money transactions involved: Saenz Viteri had paid the Indians (individuals and cofradía) the sum of 58 pesos for a cumulated total of nine yearly leases of roughly 6.5 hectares (1 cuadra per year = 1 peso). Since the yearly rental value of these 6.5 ha is roughly 6.4 pesos (6 pesos + 3 reales), a sum of 1.500 pesos is equivalent to 234 years of rent, in other words, permanent ownership which the records qualify as "venta" or sale.[34]

These land alienations in Gualaceo indicate that indeed, the lack of a homogeneous population weakens local leadership position with regard to concerted action. Individual Indians tried to gain access to cash by relinquishing usufruct of communal lands to Whites. Corporate structures, such as the cofradía could escape the colonial form given to them, namely to serve as vehicles for extraction of wealth by the Church. [35] The increased encroachment on indigenous lands under Bourbon rule all over Spanish

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31 Probably in order to maintain a monopoly on the transatlantic sugar and rum trade (see Schneider 1977).

32 These are Toctesi ayllu lands held in usufruct by comuneros, rather than outright private property of the individuals who lease them to Spaniards.

33 The Spanish "peso" or pound of the time was broken down into 8 "reales."

34 These documents (AVG 1743: doc.1-4, 1744: doc. 5) are scattered as loose sheets among the church archives. They are not part of any particular volume in the registry.

35 See Pedro Carrasco (1961 and n.d.) for the difference in form, function and structure of civil religious hierarchies in Mesoamerica over time. See Grünenfelder-Elliker (1990) for a discussion of these changes with regard to extra regional and global events.

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America should not be seen, however, as a uniquely colonial, nor as a particularly "Bourbon" phenomenon . Rather, it is symptomatic of a world wide process of intensified monetary turnover and increased need for large scale investments by merchant and incipient industrial capital's surplus: in the heart of western Europe, where peasant confederations, artisan guilds and urban patricians shared in a mercenary-mercantile democracy, free (unbonded) Alpine peasants were expropriated of their land on the grounds of religious heresy. Puritan Anabaptists of the Bernese Emmental in the Swiss Alps were dispossessed by patrician mercenary commissioners of Berne-city through a high-church Protestant inquisition of sorts (Dürrenmatt 1976 Vol I:284ff, Zimmermann 1989). The expropriated families were forced to seek exile in Holland, where they joined similar refugees from Germany and Austria. From their Dutch exile some followed Katharina the Great's call to "settle" the Volga plains. Others journeyed with their leader Ammann into Pennsylvania. Today the latter are known as "Amish" or "Pennsylvania Dutch."

The concept of a "world system" (Wallerstein 1974) allows us to see these systemic connections, especially if we look beyond the dichotomy of core and periphery (Schneider 1977). Usurpation of land from primary producers associated in corporations of various shapes and contents, by outside tax lords dominating the written word, and the provision - through trade and services - of certain cultural essentials,[36] afflicted New and Old World communities alike. The universal aspects of Christian religion, together with the notion of pan human "equality" formulated by scholars of the enlightenment, were taken as license by literate European bourgeois and nobles to seek trade and tributary fortunes all over the globe. The influx of upstart Spanish crown administrators into the Andes and Mesoamerica is symptomatic of a general trend,

[36] Schneider (1977:23) criticizes Wallerstein's dichotomizing of "essentials" vs. "luxuries," which disregards the fact that "humans do not subsist on bread alone." Since every human group needs more than a caloric minimum for adequate physical, emotional, and social survival (Malinowski 1939, Bernstein 1978, Barth 1969), the notion of "cultural essentials" encompasses goods and services without which life is no longer considered "human" in a given cultural context.

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emanating from Europe, toward an increasingly unequal distribution of productive resources.

INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE AND CRIOLLO REVOLT

In the face of dwindling access to subsistence resources, Andean and Mesoamerican Indians made use of their right to appeal to Spanish authorities throughout colonial rule. Indian communities sought the monarch's arbitration to defend their property and status within the system of "Indian Republics." I do not think this extraordinary use of the Spanish legal system is due to white colonial influence on aboriginal Americans, but to their experience with precolumbian "constitutional states."[37] After the colonies' war of independence from Spain the access to Spanish arbitration was removed for corporate Indian communities, and a new wave of Indian revolts swept the Central and Southern Andes (Albó 1984, Stern 1986 [1982], Flores Galindo 1976). In Ecuador, on the other hand, there was no sweeping indigenous rebellion during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Ecuador in general indicates that the lack of a strong Inkaic - say "imperial" - identity with regard to the precolonial past hinders successful rebellious collectivities (Mörner and Trelles 1987 [1986]).[38] Nevertheless, Bourbon tribute reforms touched the raw nerve of rural subsistence, making Indian resistance in the northern Andes much more endemic. According to Louisa Stark (1985:19) during "the colonial period in Ecuador, subsistence security was so precarious that even the rumor of a census, or the restructuring of the collection of tribute or taxes, immediately led to the belief that more land and/or men would be removed from the community, therefore threatening its

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[37] By "constitutional state" I refer to the notion of "*Rechtsstaat/estado de derecho*" (the German/Spanish language equivalent of "constitutional state"), a juro-political condition where citizens, rather than mere "subjects," appeal to a higher level instance against criminal, unjust or arbitrary actions meted out by other citizens or authorities.

[38] Oberem has details on Spanish-Cañari alliances during the conquest (1974) and on ethnic division in Northern Ecuador during Inka Manko Yupanquis uprising in 1536 (1985), including indications of only post-fact idealization of the Inkaic past as a response to Spanish oppression.

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economic existence. The result was almost always an uprising...," of which she names five for the Sierra between 1771 and 1780. Indigenous women in highland Ecuador were instrumental in carrying out peasant rebellions, since they would feel the increased subsistence squeeze most acutely if more male mitayos were taken from the community. Women's status within the colonial indigenous community continued to be important, since they were (and are) in charge of food production and processing, as well as intra- and inter-household food distribution. An increased tax burden was an immediate threat to a female socio-economic domain (Stark 1985:19).

Stark points out that women were instrumental in Ecuador's indigenous resistance, yet we find little evidence of this from the well documented cases of rebellion in the Central and Southern Andes. Quite possibly, colonial chroniclers paid less attention to uprisings organized and protagonized by women than to those where men were the main actors. When rebel women such as Micaela Bastidas and Tomasa Tito Condemayta are named as protagonists in documents referring to the Tupac Amaru rebellion in Perú, Mörner and Trelles (1987 [1986]:101-102) become unusually ambiguous about a given community's allegiance with the rebels. This ambiguity may be partly justified by the mentioned neglect at the hands of male chroniclers. However, as Mörner and Trelles so poignantly put it in another context: "It is not the same to say 'there aren't any' [forasteros] as to say 'I don't know whether there are any'" (ibid:99). We may well need a critical rereading of documents to extract women's presence in history. The Gualaceo church archives that deal with land alienation show indigenous women as actors on the scene, even if it is in the doubly disadvantaged position of "Indian" and "woman." The fact that these women seal transactions means they had access to land and were seen by their communities as fully fledged members (see appendix 1).

The republican states which superseded Spanish colonial rule in the Andes had no place for real indigenous emancipation. The main point of criollo independence from Spain was unrestricted access to the natural and human resources of the New World and

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their independent administration. Indigenous populations were part of these natural resources; their education, emancipation, and political equality would have defeated - in the eyes of Ibero-American Whites - the whole purpose of breaking loose from the crown's control.

NEW GROUP RELATIONSHIPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR (1820 - 1940)

The tug of war between merchant and landed capital in Ecuador illustrates how the indigenous labor force was perceived as a natural resource and not as part of modern citizenship: In a June, 1851 reform of the Indian head tax, only the indigenous populations of the coastal plains and the Amazon were exempt (Convención Nacional del Ecuador 1993 [1851]:49ff). The highland peasants continued to be viewed as a means of production - "Indians of the state" - which needed bondage to the land through huasipungo serfdom. The coastal Indians, on the other hand, were not integrated into the merchant capital of the port, and collecting taxes from them would have been more costly than profitable for the treasury . The Oriente tribes were quintessential "wild headhunters" and inherently untaxable. The landed gentry of the Sierra and the Catholic church had common interests as big landowners, which explains their joint opposition to the "new," "dirty," and "immoral" liberal capital of the coastal merchant/plantation society who wanted to curb landed capital's power in the Sierra whose labor force was bonded, unable to move to coastal plantations and processing factories.[39]

Gradually the republican state, with the pretext of abolishing the "oppressive and racist" Indian republics of colonial times, turned the closed corporate indigenous social units into "indigenous parishes." Hacienda labor relations both with the resident debt-peons and with seasonal laborers from indigenous communities were ideologically grounded in a grossly distorted version of Andean "reciprocity." The concept of reciprocity embedded in Andean chiefly relations and built upon by the Inka state, had

[39] However, the discourse is legalistic and pragmatic, rather than moralistic as in the antebellum United States, where war escalated over the bonded African labor force in the South, which the industrial North wanted to see free; free from bond and free to be contracted by industrial employers.

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entered Spanish-indigenous relations through the Crown's tribute against land grant policy. While the ideological and military presence of the expanding Inka empire built on reciprocity to exert its extra-economic coercion on native Ecuadorians, the labor and material transactions between tributary Indians and Spanish administrators and entrepreneurs lacked any notion of "balance." Ayllus, with their wide ranging precolonial production, exchange, and socio-cultural relationships across ecological tiers and cultural frontiers, had lost their moiety-based political structure, which had allowed for extra and supra-territorial operations. The Closed Corporate Peasant Communities constituted under colonial rule (Wolf 1955, 1957) emerged with reduced territory and kinship networks, limited to act out their vertical economic policies in a territorially and culturally restricted environment.[40] These Indian "corporations" served more as a channel to extract wealth (Harris M. 1964) and to redistribute scarce resources (Wolf 1955, 1986), than as a vehicle for indigenous self government. With expanding Spanish latifundia, the idiom of reciprocity took on a new, highly unequal and socially fragmented meaning. Corporate Indian peasant communities could only gain access to wood, game, water, and pasture through labor services on the hacienda. This was one means for Spanish landowners to directly tap into the surplus production of otherwise closed social structures. While Habsburg Spain had seen the closed Indian community as a social entity with corporate rights and duties, the Bourbons practiced a Roman legal approach which focuses on the individual as a tax unit. This led to the illegal purchase of Indian communal lands by Criollos documented in the Gualaceo parish records. With a much reduced land base, and often devoid of the most productive riverine flatlands, corporate Indian communities had no other recourse but bow to the demands the haciendas made on their labor in exchange for access to certain vital resources.

In the early days of the republic, the state reassigned lands to these Indian communities. The Indian cabildo pequeño was put in charge of determining size and

[40] See Chance and Taylor 1985, Carrasco (1961, n.d.) for parallel processes in Mesoamerica.

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location of family plots, and thus the use of land became an affair of state, mediated by local authorities. This facilitated extraction of labor and services from comuneros by the state and gave the political authorities the land "trump" in case of Indian resistance. Those Indians working for hacendados were exempt form the Indian head tax. However, that entailed eventual loss of access to communal land (Moscoso 1991:385).

Resident hacienda laborers (huasipungueros) were forced to devote an increasing amount of time to work on cash crops of the demesne, and their inability to produce sufficient food and clothing turned them into hereditary debt-peons. Indigenous comuneros faced with diminishing arable land turned to intensified craft production. Household appliances and clothing thus produced were distributed by hacendados to their bonded labor force during annual "redistribution" events to which the non resident Indian comuneros were also invited and treated to some of the hacienda's surplus produce (Guerrero 1991). The concertaje of Indians as hacienda labor also resulted in further usurpation of reassigned communal lands by hacendados, because a new concierto had to put up land as a guarantee for future cash debts with the hacienda for advances on tribute, clothing, and ceremonial duties (Moscoso 1991:386-87). Unequal reciprocal relations were forged on an individual basis in the form of debt peonage and god-parenthood (Guerrero 1991, Mitchell 1991).

This interference of capital and state in intra-communal affairs resulted in a change in the Indian communities' internal distribution of land: While ayllus had rotated plots among families according to demographic changes and soil quality, hereditary claims to certain plots became the new custom. In certain cases, plots assigned to priostes were claimed by heirs, alongside with the social privilege and financial burden of hosting fiestas (Moscoso 1991: 386-87). This differentiation is still visible in Llintig today, where certain families always assume the responsibility of fiesta priostazgo and others never do. Their land holdings are bigger than those of non cargo

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holders.[41]

The modern Andean states have selectively appropriated the language and concept of reciprocity (Clapp 1988). Mingas (collective work gangs) are assembled for the construction of country roads, the installation of electrical power lines, the building of public schools, etc. Thus, rural communities provide the state with a tribute in labor for public works (Moscoso 1991: 375), many of which probably provide only deficient benefits to them.[42] This is not just true in the Central and Northern Sierra where some corporate indigenous communities persist. Not a week of fieldwork went by without my happening upon 20 to 30 women and men with shovels and pickaxes on a public project. There is no basketball court in rural Ecuador which hasn't been built cooperatively by villagers donating their free time and some money. We need to bear in mind that urban sports stadiums and other monuments to national "grandeur" are built at taxpayers' expense. Subsistence farming artisans do contribute a heavy portion of their budget to the national treasury every time they pay value added tax in a formal purchase of goods and services. This is particularly true for the artisan cooperative whose formalized purchases and sales all cater to the treasury. However, rural citizens hardly get to use the monumental national facilities and infrastructure, and yet, on a local level, they are asked to contribute again, lest they be without many of the vital and recreational services of modern citizenship.

The Inka state had used asymmetric reciprocity to impose its tributary goals: in return for corvée peasant labor weaving textiles, a few kurakas received lavish wardrobes as "papers of citizenship." The Spanish crown extorted high tribute from

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[41] I have no statistical evidence of this, but Centro de Bordados is aimed at the borderline landless population, and cargo holders in Llintig were not part of the embroidery group.

[42] As mentioned, teacher attendance in rural schools is as low as 30 percent of total school days. To repair the fragile electric transmission posts and lines takes time, intensive community lobbying, and generous gifts to local bureaucrats in addition to corvée labor. The same is true when problems hit the often clogged connection pipes of the few public water faucets.

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ayllus in return for a weak protection against criollo usurpation of land. The imbalance of state-peasant "reciprocity" started tilting most heavily toward the state side of the scale in the twentieth century, when the individualization of rights and obligations and capitalization of rural production tore ayllus apart.[43] Indigenous revolts and protests started rocking the Andes again in the 1920s. Well known is the Chayanta Rebellion of 1927 in Bolivia, where officially dissolved corporate peasant communities (based on ayllu structure) physically castigated and devoured a hacendado who appropriated their lands (Langer 1990). In rural Azuay the actions taken were less exotic but equally out of the ordinary for the local peasants whose first resort is always dialogue: During Holy Week of 1923, rebellious Indians from San Juan, Jadán (both in the jurisdiction of Gualaceo) and Quingeo stormed and destroyed the houses of the teniente político and the judge in the nearby Santa Ana parish seat. When the irate Indians also destroyed installations at the carbon processing plant of Dn. Luís Cueva, a particularly abusive employer of indigenous labor, the army was hauled in to prevent further violence (Maldonado 1993:92-94). In August of 1922 between 200 and 300 Indians from around Gualaceo destroyed the local liquor agency (Arízaga y Arízaga 1983) in an attack on the expanding sugar cane industry which usurped Indian lands. They then burned the municipal archives and those of the local judge, including documents from Gualaceo's founding days 400 years earlier. They shattered Simón Bolívar's bust (ibid) in open protest against their precarious situation as politically discriminated citizens, culturally marginalized Indians, and economically exploited peasants and artisans. Left intact were the land register and mortgage records (ibid), indicating that corporate as well as individual Indian owners wanted to protect and reaffirm their legal title to land.

THE AGRARIAN REFORM IN THE ECUADORIAN ANDES (1950 - 1997)

The need for change in rural productive relationships of highland Ecuador can

[43] "When it comes to legal concepts [Ecuador's indigenous] communities are by definition neither indigenous, nor do they exercise collective control over land. Therefore, administrative entities of diverse social types and organizational form have sprung up all over the countryside..." (Barsky 1984:31).

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best be understood through the work of novelist Jorge Icaza on huasipungo life (1994 [1934]). In this novel, hungry and overworked women and men and their sickly malnourished children risk physical punishment to dig up the decomposing carcass of a bull. The patrón, Don Alfonso, forbids this not because of the obvious health risk posed by the consumption of a putrid animal, but because Indians should never be permitted to taste meat.[44] One of the Azuay embroideresses recounts a story which parallels Icaza's description of rural poverty and oppression in Chimborazo:

> "Chiquintad had poor soil quality, we call it cangagua [compact rock-hard dirt]. Maize wouldn't grow; maize we didn't have. Only on haciendas did they grow maize. But since one had to work all day on the hacienda, people could not sow a lot, and they didn't have fertilizer either. Nobody in Chiquintad had land. It all belonged to one owner, the Asturias and the Aragons [pseudonyms] who are blond and have green eyes and who only marry among themselves, among first and second cousins. My grandfather was a huasipunguero. Back then they were called "Indians," and mitayos. He [the grandfather] organized the first peasant strike and from then on they [the big landowners] began selling a little of their holdings. But before that, nobody had any land. This is how my father was able to inherit quite some land. But only with time the land became productive, by spreading manure and organic fertilizer year after year, so that we could eventually sow maize. We used to eat barley, máchica (toasted and finely ground barley). This we put into soups and we drank it instead of coffee. But the barley harvest never lasted the entire year. Those who could spare 20 sucres went to Cañar with horses to bring back potatoes, haba beans, maize, and red beans. These four things, because in Cuenca there was nothing, no market. In order to earn money, the men would go to Guayaquil. But back then there was no bridge over the big river there [Daule], and one wouldn't know when and if the men returned. They had to walk for three days and they used to cross the river hanging onto a rope. They would come back after two years only. It was for them as it is now for those who go to the United States. We do not know, when they'll come back. My father went [to Guayaquil], but he had no luck. We were poor. My mother had twelve children, but only five are alive. Two more were stillborn, probably premature, hence she had fourteen pregnancies in all. Hope is the firstborn of all, she knew them all. I only remember one who died. After me comes my brother, then one of the dead ones, and then comes Ñaña. The other six babies died between Hope and my older sister Ñusta. Two died from one day to the next. My mother thinks that she may have suffocated them during her

[44] "Indians should never be allowed to try even a minute bit of meat. Dammit! Wherever you let them try it they get used to the meat and we [the land owning class] are cooked. They would have a head [of cattle] roll every day... Beef for bloody Indians... How absurd!...They are like beasts [the Indians], they get used to it. And who will be able to stand up to them then? We would have to kill them in order to save our cattle" (Icaza 1994 [1934]:200).

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> sleep.[45] There were children's burials every week. But people would dance and sing on their way to the cemetery, with the radio on loud, because these little ones had turned into angels. They were the lucky ones who had died. There was no money for a doctor right away. Mami says that one only went to see a doctor in order to die. People would walk to Cuenca to see a doctor and upon coming back they would die.[46] Usually the children died from infant cholera and excessive vomiting. To the powerful this didn't matter. We were only Indians. Up to today they don't intermarry with us. An Asturias girl wanted to marry a Cusiqanche [pseudonym]. He is my cousin, but they wouldn't let him. In earlier times not even that [courtship]! They would have killed him [a man with Indian features and surname]" (Field journal Vol I 1993:43-45).

While hacienda agriculture retained a low level of mechanization, its seasonal labor needs were compensated with Indian peasants from corporate communities. Expanding feudos had usurped many Indian resources, and Indios quintos had to exchange labor in order to be allowed to collect firewood, pasture animals, and use water on hacienda grounds (Rubio Orbe 1987:153). Modernization on highland haciendas freed labor to migrate to coastal lowlands and only a small core of huasipungueros was retained. The migrants in turn were able to pay handsome prices for fracturing low quality hacienda lands.[47] The transformation of huasipungo to agro-enterprise brought a change from mixed, labor intensive intercropping and diversified animal husbandry to a capital intensive dairy operation requiring very little labor (Crain 1987:186 on Imbabura case). While the land reform gave huasipungueros title to their subsistence plots on ex haciendas, it did not confer upon them the use rights to pasture, water, wood,

[45] At this point the narrative became very painful, and I interrupted my friend, suggesting that maybe the babies had died of sudden infant death syndrome, of which my informant hadn't heard yet. I described what I know of the syndrome and urged my friend to tell her mother about this phenomenon the next time the aged woman would bring up the subject.

[46] Hearing this, I suddenly understood why Hope had taken her 10 year old son to the rural health clinic immediately, when he complained of a headache and started vomiting. People have seen too many children die because of tardy medical attention.

[47] In Llintig young temporal migrants to the coast now use their savings not to buy land, which is practically unavailable, but to finance the stiff price of illegal migration to the United States (between US $ 2.000 and 7.000, depending on the "luxury" and "safety" of travel and coyote services). This migration is the continuity of earlier strategies in the face of insufficient land and artisan income which have plagued Andean peasants since the Bourbon reforms in the 18th century.

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and innovation of technology which they had before. Migration away from the haciendas took off in the late 1800s, when the cacao boom (1880 and 1920) attracted increasing numbers of male highland peasants as wage labor on the plantations of liberal coastal entrepreneurs (Lentz 1988:42-47). The Gualaceo parish records, whose focus on ethnic separation shifts in Republican times to the examination of marriage impediments, increasingly mention coastal towns as the place of abode of grooms (AVG: Informaciones Matrimoniales 1902-1905).

A prelude to the reform was the presence of the Andean Mission (Misión Andina), an agency working with mainly U.S. funds channeled through the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB/BID). The "Mission" was invited to work in Ecuador under the campesinista efforts of President Velasco Ibarra during his 1952 to 1956 term (Barsky 1984:33). Based on macro-economic calculations, the "Mission" was destined to work only "in extremely isolated communities with the highest levels of poverty." These broad definitions implied that most communities were located above 3000 m (ibid:35-36). The altitude bias meant that of all highland provinces the "Mission" had a negligible impact in Azuay, where no direct programs were implemented. The technology transfer offered to Ecuador by the Andean Mission ended up modernizing consolidated haciendas (ibid 98-99). As a result, cultivation of wheat, potatoes, maize and oats diminished . Cultivated land decreased to one third at the benefit of increasing pastures for meat and dairy cattle (ibid:99), while North American imports now substitute consumption needs for polished cereals. The national consumption of barley and oats has sharply decreased as urban workers increasingly consume white bread and rice.[48]

The agrarian reform of 1964, far from being a popular movement [as in Bolivia], was the initiative of a few progressive landowners trying to prevent social unrest in an "Alliance for Progress" where 'plus cela change, plus c'est la même

[48] One eminent citizen of Imbabura province saw the Agrarian Reform as a concerted effort by aspiring agribusiness and Northern export interests to destroy Ecuador's self-sufficiency in grain production (J. Tobar T., personal comm. to Daniel Grünenfelder March 1993).

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chose'[49] seems to have been the motto (Crain 1987:105). Galo Plaza, ex president of Ecuador and the reform's most vocal and prominent exponent, made sure modern agro enterprises with a high degree of mechanization were to be protected from expropriation (Barsky 1984:93). This explains why he thought that "...the available land in the Sierra will never suffice for the rural population who lives there."[50] Therefore, according to Galo Plaza, the colonization of "fertile" tropical forests was to be an integral part of this land reform (ibid:90). This pitted land hungry Sierra peasants against subsistence farmers in the pacific foothills first, and later both these segments started to encroach on the lands of horticultural Amazonian Indians. Indigenous Amazonian swidden agriculture was ridiculed as unproductive and vilified as a waste of land, even though it only eliminated small brush and left the majestic century old jungle giants in place to guarantee shade and humidity for crops. The Ecuadorian Institute for Agrarian Reform and Colonization [Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización: IERAC] mandated complete clearing of jungle plots if the new claimants were to obtain title. New uses of land with capital intensive practices destroyed what local and indigenous power bases there had been in the Amazon (Salomon 1985).

In the Sierra, the Catholic Church, in a well meant effort to combat alcoholism and poverty, indirectly helped weaken local authority with its crusade against lavish fiestas. While it has been recognized that the civil-religious hierarchy not only served to redistribute wealth within closed Indian communities (Wolf 1957, 1959) but also to link them to outside consumer goods and debts (Harris M 1964, Chance and Taylor 1985, Cook 1984 , Wolf 1986), the fiesta or priostazgo institution was a vestige of formerly more extensive local power. Liberation theology's crusade against elaborate indigenous celebrations occurred simultaneously with the agrarian reform. The newly constituted Christian Assemblies lack the political decision making capacities held by

[49] "The more things change, the more they remain the same" (French proverb).
[50] "...las tierras disponibles en la Sierra en ningun caso podrían alcanzar para la población agrícola allí existente."

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village elders whose prestige was validated through fiesta sponsorship. These Catholic assemblies often exist in communities which are fragmented by sectarian Protestant missions, allowed to operate in Ecuador in the wake of agrarian reform and oil prospecting in order to help create an "abstinent" orderly labor force and "civilize" "wild" Amazonians (Kanagy 1990, Muratorio 1980, Iten 1991).[51]

The law governing the agrarian reform, in an effort to protect smallholders from debt peonage and land seizure, delegitimized rural labor exchanges among smallholders as well as their animal and crop sharing practices by proscribing "precarious" rental agreements. It is therefore small wonder that these laws are not observed at all [not even by the agro-enterprises for whom they were intended], and often unheard of (Hirschkind 1984). The provision that holdings with absentee landlords were to be expropriated (Crain 1987), in spite of possible good intentions by law-makers, is prejudicial against absentee illegal emigrants. If they default on a monthly payment servicing the "coyote" debt, such land quickly enters the real estate market where co-heirs or neighbors have insufficient funds to compete against town money lenders (chullqueros) or big landlords. A similar prejudice against smallholders arises from the "inadequate yields" clause permitting expropriation: Intensification without the consolidation of small plots is difficult. One of my informants is planting a fruit orchard in the cold forest plot his parents own in the high Amazon.[52] Without the

[51] After the second Vatican council in Trento (1964-66), liberation theology began to act as a counter-reformation force of sorts in the face of aggressive Protestant missions of innumerable denominations which literally overran the Latin American countryside and installed offices in most major cities. In 1993 a Catholic hacienda owner, member of a prominent highland family, approached the Lutheran Church in Quito, asking the minister to organize a conversion campaign among his hacienda's indigenous labor force, in order to combat alcoholism and instill a "Protestant" work ethic [the church declined to become involved].

[52] This ecological tier is called montaña, a concept that stands for forested hillsides, in this case in the cool yet tropical vegetation of the Amazon head waters. The Amazonian watershed makes a wide loop into the western Andes in Azuay province. The waters of Cuenca, separated from the Pacific Ocean by less than a hundred kilometers, as the crow flies, all feed into the Amazon which joins the Atlantic more than 3500 kms further down river.

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intergenerational cooperation of aging but still active parents, their agronomist son, along with a daughter-in-law and single daughter - both of whom bring in needed cash through embroidery - the modern venture of introducing a formal fruit orchard into an area without continued human presence would be impossible. The agronomist's elderly parents commute between their river flatland holdings near Gualaceo and the montaña plot which is a 90 minute bus ride and subsequent one hour uphill hike away. The old couple's third smallhold in one of the mountain villages is maintained by the son, daughter-in-law and a daughter who all take care of the maize-bean-squash cultivation over weekends and during days off. As Pomeroy mentions (1986:21), the tropical forest plantations of highland smallholders increase the family's cash income, while the highland village plots are more subsistence oriented. However, the productive jungle lacks the necessary cultural services (schooling, health care, corporate organization, religion). It is the highland base which assures a cultural and social support network (ibid).[53]

Leaders like Galo Plaza realized that the abolition or consolidation of small dispersed holdings "would be resisted with blood and fire." Therefore, a clause was introduced into the land reform law prohibiting the entry of mini parcels into the official land register, so as to achieve gradually their disappearance (Barsky 1984:93 FN **). This has greatly reduced the ecological versatility of small semi-subsistence holdings, a pan Andean agricultural and social adaptation which ensured the population against climatic havoc for centuries (Harris O. 1982:74). Laws which make sweeping assumptions about the general nature of human legal needs are becoming more common everywhere. While in Latin America such laws are often pragmatically ignored[54], they

[53] Olivia Harris (1982:80) points out that this sort of "double cultivation" where a single family needs to work two [or more] ecological tiers rather than having indirect access to its produce through links with actual and ritual kin, is difficult to maintain. It is also different in kind from the precolumbian use of varied ecological tiers in the Andes through the ayllu social organization described by Murra (1978).

[54] "Hecha la ley, hecha la trampa" ["Where there is a law, there is also a way around it"] (Latin American proverb).

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bring protesting farmers with their tractors and dung tanks onto European highways.

When the Ecuadorian land reform was formally instituted in 1964 during a left-leaning military regime, it took on the aura of a revolutionary act, distancing these essentially liberal reform efforts from the liberal and conservative parties in the defunct parliament. Of all lands adjudicated to precarious smallholders, 71.6 percent was through the process of colonizing of tropical forests in the Amazon and the coastal foothills. The Amazonian colonization act was favored by big Serrano landowners. The armed forces in power when the land reform was implemented selected settlers from among their own ranks. This ensured the army's continued presence in the Amazon and prevented more needy Serrano smallholders from gaining access to tropical lands. Only 28.4 percent of lands assigned to peasants had been previously cultivated by big land owners. (Farrell and Da Ros 1983). Farrell and Da Ros see the colonization aspect of the land reform as a "safety valve" which made a reform with equal distribution of fertile lands in the Sierra superfluous.

The selection of IERAC personnel and the redistribution of plots was done with no participation from indigenous and or campesino organizations. There continued to be a patronizing relationship between IERAC personnel and peasants, albeit with the removal of some of the abuses as well as services which had been instituted under the hacienda system (Hirschkind 1984). The patron client relationships between hacienda owners and administrators and a permanent and occasional rural labor force have prevented Andean peasants from abandoning an hierarchy-based ideology (Crain 1987:134). Even when development or reform programs reject past hierarchies, they operate in a power vacuum; project managers are replacing a hierarchical level formerly held by landowners and Church officials.

The agrarian reform increased the number of "independent" petty producers through access to hacienda lands (Barsky and Cosse 1981:91). The average size of these holdings is very small, ranging between 1.5 and 2 hectares (3.75 to 5 acres). The land

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is mostly hilly, eroded and frequently without irrigation (Crain 1987:110).[55] The few remaining ayllu type corporate peasant communities were transformed into production cooperatives regulated by the national law on cooperatives. The final transformation of ayllu corporate agriculture, with its emphasis on ecological verticality and diversification, into consolidated cooperatives, became a means of settling land and other disputes in a non-local framework (Barsky 1984:32), dependent on the vagaries of a cumbersome national bureaucracy and its unpredictable officials.

Where land was distributed through the reform, Indian peasants were not the only beneficiaries. In Cañar, town Mestizos obtained good quality holdings of 8 hectares from the IERAC (Castro Muyancela 1995:316-17, citing CONAIE). The distribution of land in the Sierra had two contradictory effects: Those who found themselves with insufficient resources to subsist without access to hacienda wood, water, and pasture rights left to find wage jobs in the growing cities. But at the same time a small town proletariat with family connections among huasipungueros managed to buy or claim land, "reconverting proletarians into peasants" (Bustamante and Prieto 1986:160, Barsky and Diaz Bonilla 1986:196).

Land reforms in Latin America have focused on male household members as beneficiaries (Nash 1997b). In the Andes the reforms modified previous inheritance

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[55] The agrarian history of Sicily, a Bourbon domain until the Napoleonic wars at the turn of the 18th century, bears important resemblance to that of Latin America: big land owners consolidated holdings and introduced capital intensive, labor extensive new technology, including mixed grain farming and cattle ranging (Franchetti and Sonnino 1925, Petrusewicz 1989). Sicily's peripheral status on the margins of cultural and continental Europe (Centorrino and Sgroi 1979) is similar to that of Latin America , as well as Ireland, warranting comparative research about "decolonization" and agrarian reform processes between the European periphery and former overseas colonies. The half-hearted agrarian reform in Sicily (1950) left rural laborers with scattered poor plots devoid of access to irrigation (Milazzo 1951), making massive land flight endemic. Capital intensive agribusiness appropriates subsidies to which small producers have no access in the European Community (Saltini 1982), reminiscent of Galo Plaza and the Mision Andina. Students of the violent struggles for land in Central and parts of South America find parallel quests which surround the antecedents and transformation of armed groups giving rise to the modern Mafia (see D'Alessandro 1959, Romano 1963, Hess 1973).

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laws more advantageous for women (Deere 1987).[56] Rural production cooperatives do not consider reproductive tasks as part of social labor. Therefore, women are burdened with a double daily workload, tripled when artisan production must complement subsistence agriculture. Women earn less pay, since their household duties prevent them from devoting the same amount of labor to productive tasks, and they risk being excluded from a cooperative venture if they fail to meet production quotas because of "domestic" problems. Women can often not participate equally in after work education programs because of household chores (ibid). It is in this context, where a focus on women in development makes sense as a starting point (Moser 1989).

Witnesses to the agrarian reform denounce the fact that only the least productive tracts of latifundia lands were granted to huasipungueros, other precarious smallholders, and the landless (Castro Muyancela 1995:316-17; Crain 1987:110). My informant's account and my own visits to the plots her father had inherited high on a remote mountain slope confirm this. Stones had to be cleared off the land over years, and transhumance residence on these neglected meager páramo pastures eventually helped accumulate a thicker layer of humus due to animal droppings and kitchen compost carefully distributed during a decade.

Ecuador's agrarian policy is in constant revision (Barsky and Cosse 1981:88), just as colonial tribute extraction policies had been. This constant legal and bureaucratic change hinders indigenous groups, as well as individual peasants, from getting a firm grip on agrarian law and seeking vindication of their rights. In 1994 President Sixto Duran Ballen's conservative party propelled a "New Agrarian Law" through Congress. The new legal provisions were to allow the free selling and buying of communal resources, including, most critical of all, water rights. It pitched organized peasantry and indigenous associations against "part time farmer citizens with an urban economic

[56] Parallel inheritance where daughters succeed mothers in use and ownership rights of land, and sons inherit from fathers insured a diversified multi-tier Andean agriculture and helped maintain women in positions of importance and authority within the local community (Bastien 1978, Silverblatt 1991:150)

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base" (Cántaro "separata" 1994). On June 13, 1994 a two week protest broke out, organized by Ecuador's Confederation of Indigenous Nations [CONAIE] and supported by non-indigenous peasants as well as the United Workers' Front [FUT]. Roadblocks in the highlands led to shortages of fuel and basic foods in major cities, especially Cuenca and Quito. The Cántaro publication (ibid:5-7) points out that if democracy serves a demographic majority, a "New Agrarian Law" needs to take into account the necessities of five million precarious rural smallholders, indigenous and other, rather than serving the interests of a few economically powerful agro businesses concentrated in the Chambers of Agriculture. This outspoken attack on capital interest groups struck a raw nerve: the president of Cuenca's Chamber of Commerce denounced the "chaos and anarchy" provoked by the campesino-indigenous strike. He lauded the new law as "a document which allows the Indian and peasant to improve his living conditions and to acquire a piece of land in property." As to the commercialization of communal property and resources, he remarked, now speaking for his own kind: "As entrepreneurs we produce and therefore we need an increase in investment opportunities. The buyers need a more varied and cheap market. We do care about people's skills and efficiency, since that is an important component of the country's development." (El Mercurio June 25, 1994). In clear words, the capital investors have a keen interest in gaining access to scarce water rights and highland territory, since rapid capital turnover requires new investment sources - productive and recreational - and a skilled and efficient labor force, preferably divorced from access to basic production resources in the countryside. The sky seems to be the limit for these ever increasing needs of capital investment, when it comes to encroaching on rural resources, and this has been the case since the end of the seventeenth century. This is true as much in Europe and North America as it is in the Southern and Eastern hemispheres.

In response to widespread popular unrest, the Court of Constitutional Guarantees [TGC] suspended the implementation of the new "Rural Development Law " (ibid). The

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conformation of a special commission with participation from indigenous confederations and campesino organizations, forced the President to publicly sit down with "Indians" at the same table. Indigenous opposition to the Agrarian Development Law had been well prepared. The public protests and road blocks opened the door to a conference room where CONAIE was able to present a project for an "Integrated Agrarian Law," ready since May 1994, but which the executive government had refused to consider (CAN 1994). Artisans and subsistence producers, in a proposal ready since June of 1993, not only want to conserve local resources but also to gain access to export opportunities firmly in the hands of agribusiness operations and large scale artisan export firms. They also intend to capture tourist revenues monopolized by expensive hotels and national tour operators (Cántaro "separata:" 1994:9-10).

It seems, though, that the government was only paying lip-service to indigenous and campesino requests, since agro-entrepreneurs continue to publicly herald the productive (read profit oriented) benefits of the new law which extends tax-exemptions to agro-industrial entrepreneurs for several years to come (El Comercio, Sept. 10, 1994). The clause that precarious small holds can be expropriated if "abandoned" is reinforced (ibid), and since big landowners in Ecuador have been successful in having "abandonment" interpreted in their favor, that may prove a serious threat, especially to small plots owned by international migrants. The Catholic Church and affiliated NGO's (CARITAS, a German group called Miserere, etc) as well as multilateral institutions (UNESCO, UNDP) and European development agencies (Dutch and COSUDE among others) are trying to mitigate against impending smallholder land loss by extending support for credit institutions,[57] fomenting eco-tourism and general "self-help" groups attending to health and rural infrastructure (El Comercio, March 9, 1997). Yet popular protest in rural areas is on the rise even after the massive urban demonstrations which brought

[57] Centro de Bordados has successfully expanded a very small rotative credit fund into a fully fledged savings and loans operation for its members. The cooperative leaders managed to get small individual donations after which COTESU and other donors could be convinced to lend additional support.

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the "neo-populist"[58] Bucaram government to fall in February of 1997. Since late 1997, the ruling Christian Democrats (Partido Social-Cristiano) are promoting a constitutional reform in parliament which would terminate the mandatory affiliation of every worker with the state's social security institute (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Seguridad Social - IESS), allowing employees and employers to put funds into private health and pension plans. The funds for the peasant health and pension plan (Seguro Campesino) would dry up, leaving full-time subsistence farmers, semi-subsistence artisans and rural laborers without access to national health care and old age insurance. Two grassroots protesters who confronted armed forces in Dayuma, a petroleum town in the Oriente, are dead, and indigenous as well as campesino associations in the Sierra are carrying out road blocks as they had in 1994 to stall the implementation of the New Agrarian Law (Siglo XXI, March 15, April 17, 1998; El Periódico, April 16, 1998).

Artisans, especially from Chiquintad, will be directly affected if the Seguro Campesino is abolished. Protests had arisen in 1993 when there was talk of discontinuing the institution where women in rural Azuay had grasped their first secular leadership opportunities. The issue of water and riverine flatlands is critical in the agro-artisan communities around Gualaceo. A small stream runs through Mayuntur, but it can't be tapped for irrigation or piped into the houses, because a hacendado who owns much of the river flats down valley registered the source as his property decades ago without the villagers being aware of it. Even though the stream's source is on Mayuntur grazing lands, the community hasn't been able to regain the water rights. Mayuntureños' piped water comes from a small tank they are allowed to fill, and it is barely enough for daily household use. The weekly laundry has to be done at the Santa Barbara river, for which the Mayuntur women contract a pick-up truck. If they had the full use of the stream, they could limit themselves to a river trip every few weeks when

[58] I use this term for lack of a better one, because Bucaram's populist electoral promises of shoes for everyone were in reality replaced by severe structural adjustments which increased the cost of basic necessities, including cooking gas where subsidies had successfully curbed deforestation even in remote rural areas.

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heavy woolen blankets need to be washed. The water scarcity also prevents residents in Gualaceo canton to raise garden cash crops needy of irrigation and to maintain more land under cultivation.

The increased privatization of communal property after the gradual demise of ayllu communities since the early republic multiplied individual strife over very limited resources. The conflicts between individuals and groups have become ever more numerous after the completion of the agrarian reform (Barsky and Diaz Bonilla 1986:197). This process is magnified by the gendered long term emigration to the United States. Women who stay behind need increasing amounts of cash to contract help for seasonal labor peaks. In the long run, Azuay migrant couples are faced with the difficult choice of increased estrangement from each other for the sake of one parent (usually the wife) staying with the children to manage their education. In the cases where both spouses emigrate to the North, children, aging parents and the mountain smallhold are left behind, entailing emotional stress for humans and physical detriment to or even seizure of cultivation plots. Even though low, the wages earned by the industrious hard-working illegal Ecuadorians in the United States, would allow the migrant a yearly return home, were it not for the double standard of immigration policies which makes reentry into the promised land impossible.[59]

Seen in this light, increased artisan production and the cash income women derive from it is a counter to the long term alienation of land and to the generalized attack on subsistence production. Combined with a growing integration of rural producers into a cash economy - intensified during the past fifty years, but acutely felt even since very early on after the Spanish conquest - this loss of productive agrarian resources cannot be compensated for by the low level income derived from time consuming craft production. While this in no way belittles the admirable effort of both

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[59] Most migrants spend over a thousand dollars each year on phone bills to Ecuador, while a round trip ticket from New York City to Cuenca can cost as little as US. $ 450.-.

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grassroots organizations and development agents, it highlights the fact that development cooperation based on a status quo will be hard pressed to eradicate the roots of poverty in the South.

The subsistence insecurity in Azuay is due to a persistent alienation of indigenous lands which went on over centuries. It is difficult to reverse, but cooperative action directed at adding income which can be directly managed by rural producers may help initiate a slow and steady reversal. Development agencies should not build "women's projects" on gender stereotypes prevalent in their own culture and in the dominant sector of their partner country. An examination of current and past gender dynamics in the culture of the aid receiving population reveals people as actors and leads to a focus on what women and men do know, helping to prevent a communications break-down between development agents and their southern partners. Understanding prehistoric gender paradigms helps explain who lost power and why; it also allows development agencies to recognize vestiges of female authority in their role as rural managers. Building on this sort of gendered local knowledge and authority prepares the ground to slowly redress profound and persistent social inequalities, rather than delivering band-aid in the form of new and often fragile sources of cash income.

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III The interface of agriculture and artisan production: how crop and craft diversification relate to migration

> "We, the women, have to take care of paying debts and of our homes: That means bringing up our children, producing crafts for added income, taking care of domestic animals, working the small plots. All these tasks fall on us women when men migrate."
>
> Aida Maita Supliguicha

REGIONAL ARTISAN PRODUCTION AND GLOBAL CONSTRAINTS

This chapter attempts an historical study of the artisan-agriculture interface within a global system in which out-migration is one strategy of survival, along with intensified artisan production. I examine crop and craft diversification in Azuay in order to demonstrate how subsistence insecurity forces the rural population to intensify their artisan production and other cash earning activities in the face of insufficient returns from small arable plots. When modern demands of social reproduction cannot be met, men frequently opt to migrate in search of wage work. While such migration from Azuay had been directed toward the plantation belt in the coastal lowlands along the Pacific, increased mechanization of agro-enterprises and rising costs of living have led to a steady stream of emigrants who seek their fortune in the big cities of North America, mainly New York and Chicago. Since 1993, an increasing number of qualified embroideresses, some of them leader figures from Centro de Bordados, have started to join their migrant husbands in the United States.

One of the reasons why this particular women's craft project has not deterred male nor female out-migration is the extremely competitive textile market. The designing and marketing problems faced by Centro de Bordados Cuenca are in part due to a global monopoly on fashion designs. Prohibitive import restrictions imposed by the

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United States make access to that market rather difficult.[1] However, the market for high quality table linen has suffered an additional decline due to cuts in salaries and social services within countries of the "core," where the lower end of the middle class is proletarianizing fast, cutting the corners of "luxury" purchases. The fact that in spite of these constraints, subsistence agriculturalists in the "periphery" intensify craft production is largely due to an extremely unequal distribution of productive resources, including access to capital and credit, within developing and newly industrializing countries. In these countries small minorities control the bulk of land and capital goods. Modern democracy, predicated on high levels of literacy, leaves politically disenfranchised large numbers of citizens - often the demographic majority - who are totally or functionally illiterate. In a system where badly paid public office bears little prestige, those who find better carriers in the private sector eschew serving society. Left in place is a system where political bribery permeates state and private administration and enterprises, making everything from registering the birth of a child to the building of a country road, or the maintenance of a deficient social security system a time intensive labor, running a course of obstacles that few can afford to complete. Initiated by metropolitan centers, development programs are usually "band aid" rather than "accident prevention." Therefore the social scientists may want to apply their knowledge and techniques toward a new approach. This would entail the facilitation of information about global economic processes to petty commodity producers, and to direct aid programs to address the paramount need of equalized education opportunities. This

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[1] An international color board composed of members from important fashion conglomerates plan their color strategies more or less four years in advance, based on research which investigates changing psycho-social connections of color to season, social status and workplace, age, gender, etc. (New York City fashion designer, personal communication Nov. 1995). United States import policies facilitate the reentry of processed U.S. cotton or synthetic wear, elaborated off-shore by textile "maquiladoras" who operate out of tax-free zones in Mexico, Central America, and Asia. The entry of non-US cotton entails complicated and time-consuming bureaucratic processes which most importers try to eschew (various New England retailers, and U.S. importers, personal communications Nov. 1995).

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requires that local public institutions offer a curriculum as prestigious as the high prized élite schools catering to the few who can afford them. This is indeed a global problem of class based opportunity with differentials endemic not only in the South but found in the richest of countries as well.

My interest is in the interplay of artisan work and agriculture; therefore this very short overview will distinguish artisan work carried out by full-time specialists from occupations which are combined with agriculture, animal husbandry, housework, or a wage job.

THE ARTISAN-AGRICULTURE INTERFACE IN AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

One fundamental characteristic of human life is the capacity to organize work in terms of a social division of labor that may take into account class, gender, age, and social status. The pattern in the division of labor is modified by time invested in apprenticeship, geographic location or a combination of these and other historically construed factors. In rural Azuay, ethnic identity, class and gender are the most important denominators in the organization of work. Other factors are age and geography. Embroideresses and other artisan women and men come from the campesino sector. In the Gualaceo region women's sweater knitting, men'scarpentry, and joint-venture shoemaking by husband-and-wife teams are the predominant crafts. Chordeleg has silver-workers and gold-smiths, while in Cuenca canton women weave straw hats and men not engaged in formal wage labor produce pottery together with the women of their household.

In precolumbian times, work in the Andes seems to have been organized mainly according to gender and socio-geography. The advent of regional states and later of the rather centralized Inka empire brought forth specializations in the technical and ritual realms of craft production, astrology, divination and priesthood (Urton 1981, 1990, Murra 1978, Silverblatt 1987). However, even Inka and Coya each tended corn fields dedicated to the Sun and Moon deities of the empire, engaging in the same physical

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exercise as peasant vassals whose surplus production kept the noble castes alive and well.

The fact that work is divided along gender lines itself need not result in general discrimination as long as each occupation is properly valued in social and economic terms. If, however, access to productive and reproductive resources is monopolized by members of a socially defined entity (ethnicity, race, class, gender) into which the human being is irrevocably and immutably placed at birth or in which the individual is trapped by political and economic constraints, differentiation and discrimination result (Leacock 1972 citing Engels, Sacks 1989, Sanday 1981). The Andean socio-economic landscape was profoundly transformed over time by the colonial appropriation of land and human labor, in particular the change from Inkaic communally owed labor tribute to individual debts of labor time, produce, and monetary taxes (Murra 1988, 1987). In modern Ecuador, the indigenous population, campesinos, and urban workers along with middle class technicians and professionals have no access to quality higher education, nor do they have the means to engage in the politically rewarding consumption and entertainment behavior of the small national élite. The production of exquisite embroideries fills élite urban Ecuadorians with pride of "the artistic talent of our people," but cracking the lucrative tourist and export market is difficult for rural artisans and for the mestizo professionals with whom they work at the helm of their cooperative.

Textiles are indeed powerful symbols of social status and carry political clout, mediated in our century through exclusive fashion design empires. The production of cloth for human consumption is based on cultural as well as material needs. Notions of appropriateness of attire, of status and symbols associated with cloth, more often than the vagaries of weather and temperature mandate what humans will wear under what circumstances (Schneider 1977 referring to European wool exports to the tropics, 1978). The intrusion of prudish, monotheistic seafaring explorers, merchants and

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missionaries from around the Mediterranean into Africa, Asia, and the New World, from the twelfth century onward, radically changed wardrobes around the globe. Western influence, especially that of missionaries, imposed new quantities of clothes. In tropical forest environments every inch of superfluous wet cloth on the body is a health hazard, provoking rheumatism and and respiratory diseases, yet aboriginal populations in the Amazon, Asia, and Oceania were forced to cover upper bodies. This quantitative change in style was soon followed by new qualities of cloth, culminating, today, in the global spread of mass manufactured clothing made of unhealthy artificial fibers.[2]

The Andean region has a rich and diversified textile tradition, originally involving a low cost technology.[3] In the precolumbian Andes, textile production was part of peasant labor tribute. The massive textile needs of the Inka empire resulted in a professional perfection and caste-like separation of specialists (yanakonas) by the state. Conquered kurakas were given lavish gifts of Inka textiles representing "...Inka citizenship papers; a coercive and yet symbolic reiteration of the peasant's obligations to the state, of his or her conquered status" (Murra 1989:293). The Spanish colonies in the Vice-royalty of Perú installed permanent textile workshops (obrajes). Indigenous textile workers now had to serve for years, not just as temporary corvée labor as under the Inka (Salomon 1981a:437).[4] The expansion of colonial agriculture went hand in hand with an increased textile output. Sheep were imported into the Americas and wool began to replace cotton as the main fiber. Sheep pastures encroached on indigenous

[2] Adding insult to injury, the color combinations of these synthetic fibers, together with the tailoring style of finished clothes, mark their users' absence of local ethnic identity and their low social status within greater society.

[3] The backstrap loom is deceivingly simple, yet ikat technique allows for an almost unlimited expansion of the weaver's creativity with regard to complex and mentally very demanding color combinations of weft and warp (Angela Français, personal communication).

[4] Diana Bonnett's (1992b) compilation of indigenous complaints to the Protector of Indians show 23 grievances related to work in the obrajes between 1630 and 1800. In 1780 a man complained about having been forced to work in a textile obraje of Saquisilí for over six years. Many complaints are about lack of proper pay.

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cultivation land as haciendas depended on landless indentured Indian labor to cultivate staple foods and pasture sheep and cattle. Full time hacienda laborers were given grants of clothes once a year (Guerrero 1991, Crain 1987:99) in an overt, cultural continuity with Inka practices. Big haciendas and obrajes multiplied on the fertile valleys and slopes of the Northern and Central Ecuadorian Sierra. These unequal, productive and reproductive relations persist into the present where capital intensive ranching and its extensive use of fertile lands contrasts with labor intensive indigenous textile production and marketing.

Galo Plaza Lazo, by descent member of two of the most landed and powerful families in Ecuador, virtual "father of Ecuadorian modernity," operated modern agro enterprises with a high degree of mechanization. As president of the country (1952-56), he used money made available by the Interamerican Development Bank to buy pedigree sheep and stepped up wool production in the Ecuadorian highlands (Barsky 1984: 33,100-101). It is indeed in Imbabura province, where the Zuleta and Cusín[5] haciendas, properties of the Plaza and Lasso families, are located, that most textiles are produced today. Otavalo, site of important colonial obrajes in Imbabura, is home to modern sweat shops and stores where a class of indigenous entrepreneurs is marketing textiles produced through cottage putting out (Verlag). The separate, but intensive concentration of indigenous workers on haciendas and in obrajes in colonial times gave rise, in Otavalo canton, to a group of full time indigenous overseers and textile specialists.[6] The deficient indigenous land base, usurped by extensive latifundia agriculture in colonial times, has persisted in spite of the nominal agrarian reform of the 1960s. Since marginally productive high altitude lands were given to ex-

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[5] In order to avoid repercussion by Otavalan Indians on one of their prize properties, the Imbabura branch of the Lazo/Lasso family sold the big house of hacienda Cusin to a foreigner who turned it into a hotel.

[6] Otavaleño entrepreneurship has attracted a lot of social science attention since Elsie Clews Parson (1945) first published her monograph (Gladhart 1981, Meier 1981, Salomon 1981a, Butler 1985, Chávez 1985).

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huasipungueros, the need to supplement subsistence agriculture with artisan work continues. Rapidly changing color and fashion codes make labor intensive, non-mechanized textile production more profitable than capital intensive highly mechanized factories. For this reason the indigenous group of "Verlag" entrepreneurs in Otavalo has not received much competition from white business operators.[7]

In Southern Ecuador artisan production is similarly intertwined with subsistence agriculture as it is in the Northern and Central Sierra. The Panama straw hat exports from Cañar and Azuay amounted to 22.8 percent of all national exports in 1945 (Barsky and Diaz Bonilla 1986: 195). By 1954 the European and American market for high fashion straw hats had totally collapsed, reducing the dollar monetary value of these export to one quarter of its 1945 level. Straw hat sales made for 1.6 percent of Ecuador's total exports in 1954, increasing the pressure on land in Cañar and Azuay. The absence of indigenous artisan entrepreneurship in the Southern Sierra is often explained in terms of indigenous character and temperament. Not only social scientists, but foremost Azuay and Cañar craft producers ponder this question, at times with a lot of resignation and self criticism. However, the reason for indigenous marketing skills in Otavalo needs to be looked for in that region's historical trajectory: Otavalo was not demographically uprooted in Inka times (Salomon 1981a:435), and the co-resident mitmaqs in Northern Ecuador seem to have intermarried and interacted with native northern populations (Rebolledo 1992). The presence, in Northern Ecuador, of mindalá traders (Salomon and Grosboll 1990:53, also Salomon 1978) signals pre-hispanic specialization in exchange, expanded by the Inka, but certainly with native precedents. The forced, even though honorable exile of 15.000 Cañaris in Cuzco (Spalding 1984) and a standing Cañari "force de frappe" in Cañar (Murra 1989:288), indicate major cultural and economic upheaval in Southern Ecuador in spite of Cañar's

[7]"Taita Galo Plaza" even instructed KLM ground personnel in Quito to be lenient with the application of extra-bag tariffs for Otavalan traders taking their textile bulks to Curaçao and Amsterdam ("legend" known among current and former employees).

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preferred allied status with Inka Huayna Capac.

The Spanish infatuation with gold brought outside miners in a massive and culturally disorganized way to work on the mineral riches of Southern Ecuador. There seem to have been no obrajes in the corregimiento of Cuenca, since the relatively mild climate is not optimal for sheep, yet too cold for cotton.[8] The rapid demise of Azuay's mining ventures left at least part of the imported laborers landless, especially around Gualaceo. The forastero population in Gualaceo parish occupies practically five times as much space in baptismal records of the eighteenth century as the white and native Indian population combined (AVG 1678-1811). Merisalde y Santistéban ([1765] 1994:383ff) enumerates 3000 (adult forastero) Indians and 1000 Whites in Gualaceo village and 800 Indians (comuneros and forasteros) in the San Juan and Jadán anejos (annexes). These numbers explain the long history of subsistence insecurity in Azuay even though the province lacks the great haciendas of Central and Northern Eucador.

The absence of large tracts of fertile lands explains the relative unimportance of hacienda economy in general terms, although individual haciendas usurped what little fertile land there was. With arable land scarce and of poor quality, artisan production as a subsistence complement is as important as in the Northern Sierra. Carpets, cloth, furniture and textiles from the corregimiento of Cuenca were famous all over the Vice-kingdom of Perú (Alsedo y Herrera 1994 [1766]:445). Ecuador indeed produced the bulk of textiles used to clothe Indian miners throughout the Andes. The Bourbon Reform allowed the intrusion of French and English cloth into Spanish America and destroyed much of the colonial textile industry in Ecuador. Indian labor thus freed became available to work as huasipungueros on haciendas which brought Ecuadorian agriculture increasingly under the domain of large landowners (Lentz 1988:38-39).

In Colonial Cuenca, the absence of obrajes put Mestizo producers and traders into the forefront of the textile trade. This and the loss of exchange specialists who might

[8] No obraje complaint reached the Protector of Indians from the corregimiento of Cuenca in over two hundred years (Bonnett 1992b).

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have resided in Cañar country before or during the Inka expansion prevents the emergence, in the early 20th century, of an indigenous class of textile entrepreneurs in the style of Otavalo. Therefore, the dominance of Mestizo entrepreneurship in the artisan trade of Southern Ecuador is not due to some aboriginal cultural impediment among the subsistence agro-craftspeople who descend from native and forastero Indian populations in Azuay and Cañar. If the Otavaleños have been able to become expert traders, it is because auspicious as well as terrifying historical conditions have allowed and forced them to specialize in this direction. What both populations share is a need to supplement their subsistence on an insufficient land base with small scale artisan production. The embroideresses of Centro de Bordados Cuenca have decided to take the affairs of marketing and trade into their own hands by cooperating with local and foreign development agencies which offered to work toward the constitution of a self sufficient cooperative. If the desired autonomy in financial management, administrative programming, and marketing has not been achieved after six years of development work, it is partly due to the simple fact that the transferal of modern accounting, managing and marketing skills takes at least twelve years, the time needed to reform basic education opportunities for the aid receiving population.[9]

Another reason for slow progress in cooperative autonomy in developing countries lies with the increasingly integrated and easily monopolized character of global economic links. Local populations and even the most skilled and honestly intentioned aid workers have no control whatsoever over fashion trends, currency fluctuations, and trade policy. It is difficult enough to keep abreast of sudden sweeping changes, let alone aspire to somehow concoct a timely and adequate productive and commercial reaction.

The agrarian debate has shown that it is fruitless to define people by what they

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[9] SDC has educational programs in Asia. In Ecuador the British government's aid agency is involved in curricular reforms, but the issue behind these efforts seems to be furthering English as the dominant second language rather than socio-educational equity.

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are not (Mintz 1973). I believe it is equally useless to keep deconstructing the development effort without putting the pieces back together again. Therefore the analysis of project shortcomings (or failures) needs to be followed by a historical reconstruction of the undesired effects and complemented by what - if anything - a specific development effort did achieve, directly or indirectly, intentionally or as a result of fortuitous conditions. In the case of Centro de Bordados Cuenca, the artisans were able to jointly unify and standardize their quality to the level of excellence first achieved only by the most proficient and gifted of original participants. New recruits are automatically socialized into keeping rigorous punctuality and an impeccable quality standard, or their membership in the cooperative is not ratified. Joining women from very different geographic and micro-cultural regions has allowed embroideresses to take on community affairs in their own villages with increased vigor, energy, and determination. Since production management is firmly handled by skilled embroideresses with a personal flair for financial and management questions, the cooperative might well be able to diversify into productive activities catering to a local rather than the export market, even if it means giving up embroidery altogether. The Swiss development workers involved in the project's genesis and implementation were convinced that they should be transmitting a craft which not only was familiar to the aid receiving population but also to themselves. However, they do not see European style table linen production as an end in itself, but as a means to achieve the main goal of improving local living conditions to enhance the power and status of women in subsistence agro-craft production. They have sometimes been right for the wrong reasons and failed to succeed where they most wanted to, but I doubt that women artisans in Gualaceo canton and the Checa hinterland would be better off today without the experience of the cooperative venture. Organized behavior in a capitalized political economy is a means to an end, and therefore an organization is

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often by definition a transitory phenomenon (Bustamante and Prieto 1986:260).[10]

While the social benefits of the organization are evident, in material terms the artisan venture has not been able to supplement subsistence agriculture to the point of making migration superfluous. Artisan income enables women to put down a symbolic fraction of the 10 percent monthly interest on the debt incurred by their migrating husbands. Due to the length and risks involved in the journey from Ecuador to the United States, and the difficulty of finding work upon arrival, the families left behind often have to wait for months before remittances start to arrive. Paying a nominal interest during this period prevents the seizure of mortgaged property. During this time, craft income delivers the store bought staples which are the basis for frugal daily meals.

Latest estimates put Azuay migrant remittances at approximately 200 million US. dollars per year (Tello Espinosa 1996).[11] Why is an economic stimulus of this magnitude unable to maintain comfortably the families who remain? The bulk of a migrant's remittances go toward servicing and eventual repayment of debts incurred in paying the several thousand dollars for coyote assisted passage. Monthly remittances to the family are often used to pay for private and parochial schools which guarantee a better elementary and secondary education than the poorly endowed public institutions. Under these conditions, a married man with a number of young and adolescent children

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[10] This can make a development program problematic when agents and local leaders perceive it as a monument either to the agency or for local prestige, rather than a means to the broader end of cultural, social, and economic adaptation.

[11] Considering that approximately. 200.000 Ecuadorian migrants live in New York City alone - a vast majority of them Azuayos - the sum nets a yearly per capita remittance of US $ 1.000. This average sum is very realistic, given that in the beginning a migrant's remittances amount to several thousand dollars a year, while long term expatriates send a mere few hundred dollars yearly, if most of their dependents have joined them in the U.S. There are tens of thousands Ecuadorians living in the metropolitan agglomerations of Chicago and Los Angeles also, and there are a good number of non Azuayos too, although Azuayos and Cañarejos do make the bulk of illegal emigrants. So prevalent are they, that campesino, working, and middle class Azuayos who apply for a U.S. tourist or business visa are routinely denied the request, even when international agencies finance the participation in educational events or trade fairs for grass roots leaders.

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may need several years to pay off the debt. Where possible, net savings are accumulated to acquire capital goods which permit entry into a trade or commerce upon the migrant's return. In the face of diminishing agricultural returns and increasing cash subsistence needs, women keep their families afloat through labor intensive artisan work.

Rosa Luxemburg has pointed out that capital renewal needs a non-proletarian subsistence work force (Nash 1994:9). The "peasant debate" pondered over rural small producers' eternal persistence or inevitable disappearance. Analyses made of the "agrarian question" point out that proletarianization and subsistence cultivation coexist providing the basis for increased social differentiation among rural smallholders. Attention to gender in the context of rural differentiation enlightens these debates: In Azuay, the male peasant has "disappeared" into the mass of national or expatriate proletarians, but embroideresses "persist" on the land through "self exploitative" triple days as subsistence farmers, textile artisans, and social reproducers at the household and community level.

THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE: CROP AND ANIMAL VARIETY; GENDER SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES

Marx's notion that labor time invested in the productive process adds value to the end product beyond the fixed and variable costs incurred in its manufacture is a practical aspect of socio-productive relations in the Andes, where the time invested in production is a key factor determining the exchange relationship of "things" (Harris O. 1987). To this day, among rural smallholders cambiamanos, or the exchange of "hands" is preferred over monetary compensation for labor time. Apart from recognizing labor's inherent transformative capacity to add value, the practice of cambiamanos also indicates that the time and skills of able bodied adults are not discriminated according to social categories. Certain tasks are performed by both men and women in Andean manual agriculture, and reciprocal cambiamanos do not necessarily involve same-sex exchanges. One of my young informants pointed out to me that age and gender were not as important in selecting a cambiamano "delegate" to return a favor owed to another

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household as is the insurance that a more or less equal quantity and quality of work would be delivered. The absence of household members through migration upsets the reciprocal balance, since there is an increased need for outside help which cannot be reciprocated directly. Mounting needs for cash to compensate for failed labor reciprocity makes subsistence agriculture too costly and increases the consumption of industrially processed store bought foods.

The three major seasonal tasks in the maize-bean-gourd production all require numerous participants who can only be recruited through the cambiamanos work exchanges among neighbors, relatives, and ritual kin. Planting, which starts the work cycle in agrarian societies, takes place between August and December in Azuay, according to patterns of rainfall and the availability of irrigation. This is followed by a first weeding in four to six weeks after sowing. People with enough humanpower to call on, and for whom subsistence agriculture is a vital part of the household economy, will conduct a second round of weeding a month after the first one. Plots closer to the homestead site are more likely to enjoy a second round of weeding than remote fields in the more humid mountain zone. Maize needs nine months to yield a dry mature grain.[12] The legumes planted at the same time yield a "tender" bean around Easter, after about four months. Left on the stalks to dry, the remainder of the beans can be stored until the next "tender" crop comes in. The third companion in the "American crop Trinity," squash or gourd, can be harvested after four months.[13] However, apart from these ecological constraints, other factors influence the amount and kind of work performed for each step in the crop growing cycle. I shall illustrate these variables by describing work applied to fields in Azuay province.

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[12] This period of maturation, akin to human gestation, has symbolic value which makes maize a cultural construct with inherent "human" connotations.

[13] In modern Azuay this "Trinity" is more important than elsewhere in the high Andes, because the rather dry and mild climate restricts tuber planting to remote fields of the high páramo.

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Sowing Ñusta's chagra in Tixan, Chiquintad parish, canton Cuenca

Ñusta's[14] field is located next to her house at an altitude of approximately 2.600 meters above sea level (m.a.s.l), where annual precipitation oscillates between 800 and 1.300 millimeters (Gómez 1992:6, 1994:43). Daytime temperatures vary between 14 and 25 °C; at night the temperature may drop to about 5 °C. An irrigation canal runs at a few hundred meters distance. Ñusta and her husband, Huascar, maintain access to irrigation water through the payment of a small yearly fee of approximately three dollars, [15] and six days of minga maintenance work on the canal.

When, after breakfast, I arrived at Ñusta's house on October 4, 1993 at 7.20 a.m., she and her mother-in-law had already been busy for two hours, sorting seeds in an upstairs room with a veranda. Maize (Indian Corn), haba (fava beans), poroto (red kidney beans) and qazhil (cereal, in this case oats) seeds had been carefully screened for quality during harvest. They now underwent a last scrutiny which eliminated vermin infested or moldy specimens. Decades of experience and fingers trained to detect imperfections allowed Ñusta's mother-in-law, aged about 70 years, a much bigger turnover, in spite of poor eyesight, than the untrained anthropologist over 30 years her junior. By 8 a.m. we were done. I had a ridiculously small pile of maize seeds in front of me. My point, that anthropologists are apprentices to the cultural norms and economic

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[14] Ñusta means "female ruler" or "princess." The pseudonym fits my friend whose expertise in preparing seeds was regally complemented by her posture when I photographed her in a brilliant work-day pollera as she posed surrounded by a golden variety of maize seeds and pearling ruby colored beans. I have chosen some archetypical pseudonyms to guarantee a level of anonymity for my informants. This is true as much of artisans as of development workers, with a correspondent change in culturally and historically colored names. For most artisans I have chosen precolumbian names - which have been all but eradicated during a five hundred year long imposition of "Christian" names. The pseudonyms I have given Ecuadorian development agents should allow the individual to recognize her/himself easily, since the change is either a variation on the real name or a small modification of it. For the two Swiss agents I have chosen the names of a famous sister-brother pair of our folklore. I hope to please and amuse my informant friends with these aliases.

[15] Equal to 13 hours of embroidery wage.

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ventures of a society, was now readily and with much amusement accepted by Ñusta's in-laws. The field in front of Ñusta's house had been irrigated in August to break up the earth and then ploughed under by her father-in-law.[16] Once we had carried down the baskets filled with the variety of seeds, the aged couple brought out the two bulls who were to pull the plough. Ñusta's field measures approximately 2000 m^2.[17] The mother-in-law held the animals by their halters while her husband put on the yoke and attached the plough's thill to it. Directing a yunta into the field requires patience and the gentle but determined participation of the plough driver. Someone up front usually pulls the animals by the halter. The driver's voice is crucial in hurrying the animals along the rows, and if they get distracted an assistant is needed up front. While ploughing seems an exclusively male task - I never saw a woman do it in three years - the job of talking to and otherwise coercing the animals into line is usually done by a woman. The work bulls in Ecuador are not particularly fierce; I presume this is due to a diet richer in natural vitamins, minerals and fiber, rather than those fed on concentrated carbohydrates and synthetic vitamin/fiber complexes. However, their horns and bodily swiftness could catch a clumsy "director" and inflict serious injuries. I had had ample contact with nasty cows and fierce bulls on my parents' farm as a girl; therefore the rather complacent temper of the Andean bulls allowed me to fill in as the "director," much to my hosts' surprise and amusement.

Sowing is done by women. A man will only sow under extreme constraints. He should have sufficient social relations to recruit a suitable female partner for sowing.

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[16] Where no irrigation is available, people need to wait for the first rains in October, to start this process. This explains why in the Gualaceo area, where only a few subsistence farmers have access to irrigation, the entire cycle starts two months later (Field journal Vol 1, 1993:47).

[17] Measuring fields was done with archaeological survey method: 100 meters are measured and then walked at the surveyor's regular pace, counting the steps in order to determine the length of the individual's regular step. Once the step-length is known, length and width, or the entire perimeter in case of an irregular field, can be paced. It is advisable to simply jot down the number of steps and to convert them to surface measures later.

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Ñusta sowed her field in the following manner: A row of maize and poroto-beans, alternating with a row of fava beans with a 28 inch distance between rows. In the bean/maize row two to three bean seeds were dropped alternating with three to four maize seeds at 20 to 28 inches distance. Ñusta also strewed bean seeds all over the inclined upper half of her field in "free lance." She explained that this made the odds of crop survival better: "If the row-sown beans fail, the "free lance" might bring fruit." The bean plants use the corn stalks to climb on, making the use of auxiliary sticks superfluous. Fava beans were dropped two at a time within 28 inches from each cluster. Beans and maize complement each other not only in morphology, but the bean family also deposits nitrogen clumps around its roots, replenishing the soil with an element extracted by maize. While most people reasoned that maize-bean intercropping facilitates the bean harvest, leading embroideresses are aware of the exchange in soil chemistry taking place at the roots. About every five to six rows, Ñusta sowed a row of qazhil, in her case, oats.[18] Ñusta says she plants oats to help feed her father-in-law's draught animals during the next year. This explains why her mother-in-law urged her to sow oats in more frequent intervals than Ñusta was intending to do. Squash seeds are also thrown into the field in a random "free lance" manner. It was explained to me that the squash vines cover the soil and prevent it from being scorched by the relentless midday sun. Intercropping of complementary crops together with moderate amounts of animal dung and plant decomposition allow for a long-term use of the same field without crop-rotation or fallow periods.

Weeding fields in Playa de Chanchán

My hostess, Ocllo,[19] had been asked by her oldest sister, Hope, to participate in a kin

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[18] Qazhil is a generic term for any kind of useful grain or legume - except those of the bean family - which lends itself to be intercropped with maize.

[19] Mama or Rava Ocllo was a female Inka head of state probably still in power when the Spaniards arrived. Coya consort of Tupac Yupanqui conqueror, she was Inka Huayna Capac's mother.

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based work party (minga) to weed their remote fields near the nascent Machángara river. We met another sister, Ñusta with husband Huascar, at 7.20 a.m. on the morning of November 1,. 1993. Huascar was driving his Toyota pick-up truck which Ñusta had acquired with the remittances he had sent from New York City. We arrived at Hope and Rumiñahui's[20] house at 7.40 a.m. and picked up six of their compadres (two women and four men) as well as Runiñahui's and Hope's fathers. Rumiñahui and Huascar are brothers. Ocllo, Ñusta, and Hope are sisters, and the youngest girl in their family, Ñaña, also came along, as well as Hope's two teenage daughters, and Runiñahui's nephew. In addition we took three children aged seven to twelve along. We were twenty-two people packed into the back and cabin of the small truck with worn out tires.

Our work party left the parish at 8.10 a.m. and passed the power plant to reach the drop off point by 8.30 a.m.. The power plant premises have a checkpoint, but the local guard opened up upon recognizing Rumiñahui, his wife and father-in-law as owners of plots on Playa de Chanchán. A twenty minute hike took us up past "la Campana" to Playa de Chanchán, next to the nascent Machángara. The high Andean landscape is beautiful: The mountains touch a blue sky generously dotted with huge cumuli clouds. We started out on Taita Cruz' field, measuring 312 m^2. It is planted with maize only. We then proceeded back to Hope and Rumiñahui's field which measures 1865 m^2. Weeding these two fields took 17 people (teenagers, old men and unwitting anthropologist included) three-and-a-half hours. The large field is planted mainly with the local "Trinity" of maize, beans and fava, with a few potato and melloco, another root crop (Ullucus tuberosus), as well as chicama (Polymnia edulis), a sweet and soft beet which is peeled and eaten raw. We all congregated for a lunch of soup, mote pelado (peeled,

[20] Rumiñahui was the name of Atahualpa's general who halted Spanish conquest in the northern Andes even after the Shiri leader had been trapped, betrayed and executed by the Europeans at Cajamarca. Legend has it the Shiri general jumped to his death from a volcano bearing his name when his troops could no longer resist the onslaught of the Spaniards and their army of indigenous foot soldiers.

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cooked hominy), rice and meat (seco), potatoes and egg as well as a fiery ají. The meal was washed down with lots of chicha (maize beer with about 3 percent alcohol) and canelazo (sugar cane alcohol with hot water and lemon). Hope, with some help from her sisters and daughters, had carried this most substantial meal for over 20 people up the hill on her back.

At 1.50 p.m., after lunch we started further down, working on a steep field and hoeing our way uphill. This is a lot easier than working on a level field, just as it is easier working upward on a sloped vineyard. This field, also the joint property of Hope and Rumiñahui's, measures 6555 m^2. It is again planted with maize, beans, fava as well as the occasional potatoes. The family (without Ñusta and Huascar, who had stayed behind to fish) competed against the compadre minga-hands and lost. Everyone started to feel tired. Ocllo and Ñaña were exhausted (and so was I, of course). Ñaña works in CBC's finishing department, and a full day of agricultural labor now gets to her. Ocllo can't stand the sun. I was well protected by the wide-rimmed straw-hat Ocllo's mother-in-law had made for me.

The minga left me with great respect for people's stamina. The technique of sowing only a few seeds in precisely distanced clusters obviates time consuming thinning which is mandatory for most machine sown crops. Weeding the seedlings with a hoe when they are between seven and ten inches high prevents the young plant from being trampled. The unwanted weeds do refertilize the ground, and since they are uprooted while still immature, there are no seeds to perpetuate the plague throughout the growing cycle. We encountered many rocks among the young plants. The owners explained that they have no time to collect the stones, even though it would make ploughing a lot easier and increase arable surface.[21] Rumiñahui has a full time wage earning job with the city of Cuenca's sanitation department, and subsistence agriculture is done by his wife, with

[21] I may have a "machinery bias," since stones chip mouldboard ploughs and other implements but do not harm a wooden stick-plough, nor animals or the plough driver who can step over them.

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weekend help from him and from minga work gangs. We were finally done with this field at 3.30 P.M. and moved on to another small plot belonging to Taita Cruz. It measures 480 m^2 and is planted with maize, beans and fava. At 4 p.m. we were done hoeing away at bad weeds and dotting each maize plant with earth to provide additional moisture to the roots.

The minga work party left the Playa de Chanchán to reach Huascar's car by 4.30 p.m.. He was still fishing and we left in his truck at 5.20 p.m.. One of the comadres had collected a big load of grass during lunch. Both comadres are in traditional pollera dress, and in general they defer to my host family. Ocllo told me that the compadres and comadres get a small monetary compensation in addition to food. Indeed, later that evening money was given to the compadres/comadres who had worked in the minga (about S./ 2.000 - 3.000 per person). I do not know whether men and women are paid equally, and I didn't want to ask, since the overt behavior signaled that this work is a favor done by the compadres for my host family.[22] We were fed royally at Hope's that evening. Soup with beef, seco with potatoes, and mote with beans and lard. There was lots of trago, as well as soft drinks and a home-made babaco fruit nectar (Carica pentagona). The comadres/compadres each had two seco plates at lunch and dinner, an indication that generous helpings of festive food is an important part of minga compensation.

General observations:

Hope helps me to put the present subsistence situation revealed by the minga into a historical perspective:

> When Rumiñahui and I were married a year we managed to buy the first piece of land in playa del Chanchán and we would go there for two weeks at a time to plough the field, to sow, to weed and finally to harvest. Those were always happy times. We would bring food, maize, potatoes, beans, and all of our animals: sheep,

[22] In this particular context, the ritual aspect of the economic venture inhibited my professional curiosity. I had the impression that my hosts did not want to acknowledge the transfer of money either. Since salaries are a great taboo in my own culture, I found myself unable to overcome both, the observed cultural taboo and my own.

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> chickens, pigs, guinea pigs. The small animals we carried, the others hiked up with us. We had a choza where we used to live. Back then Rumiñahui didn't have a year-round job as he does now, and we had enough time to work the land. We bought the field in San Andres a few years later, when the three older children were still young. Once they started all in school, the older ones in high-school, it was no longer possible for us to save money and to continue to buy land. Rumiñahui needs a full-time job so that we can manage. The land gives enough to feed us throughout the year, and at times we can sell a little extra, but very rarely, but we cannot pay for clothing, books or appliances from what the land produces. Neither could my parents when we were children: My mother had to sell bread to be able to feed us. She had to leave us in the one-room house and she would turn the key so that none of the little ones could escape. I had to watch my brothers and sisters, because I am the eldest. She would leave me in charge of the little ones with a big ceramic pot with hot water over the open fire so that I could warm baby bottles. She would return late from Checa or Cuenca, carrying fifty pound sacks of flour on her back, because there was no bus service back then. She also had to carry my father's lunch up the electric plant on the way to Chanchán where he used to work."

Mamita Miche, Hope's mother, tells me they have a lot more land further up the mountain which they used to work until Taita Cruz became afflicted with rheumatic pains: "Now all of it is abandoned."[23] Also, on Taita Cruz' first field we found a stone boundary marker which Rumiñahui tried to remove but couldn't. Ocllo hoed a big scar into the usurped but still fallow plot. The land had been purchased years ago, and a neighbor now seems to be clearing the steep hill part which Taita Cruz hasn't planted. Increased male wage labor and migration together with seasonal production peaks puts pressure on female craft work which leads to agricultural neglect of more remote parcels acquired a generation ago in the hope of overcoming the centuries long subsistence insecurity. These small pieces of land are now being usurped by expanding cattle rangers for pasture and water rights.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The number and variety of animals held by a family depends on the following factors: available grazing land, occupation and age composition of its members, as well as local climate, especially rainfall. In the Azuay countryside, guinea pigs, chickens, and

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23 "Ahora está todo botado."

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pigs are considered indispensable utility animals. Cats and dogs are kept to guard against rodents and humans. Sheep are a common property in the colder and humid climate around Checa, Jadán and Cahuazhun, where homespun wool is given to professional weavers who craft coarse heavy blankets which are an absolute necessity for the perennially cold nights. Cattle serves a variety of functions, and the production of milk and meat is far less important than in the Northern hemisphere. Cows and bulls are used as draught animals. Contrary to pre-industrialized agricultural practices in Europe, bulls are not castrated when their sole use is for draught. A diet rich in fresh and dry fiber with a high mineral but not exaggerated carbohydrate content makes for a calm cattle temper. North American and European oxen were fed on grains rich in concentrated carbohydrates which allows for the expenditure of a lot of energy, essential to pull a mouldboard plough deep through heavy earth in order to bury seeds of winter wheat beneath the frost limit. However, the light volcanic Andean soils need only surface break-up to receive maize and bean seeds which the perennially clement day temperatures allow to sprout immediately. Andean cattle survive on cornstalks and some fresh grass, a diet which renders low milk yields and allows no build up of extra meat and fat.

Cattle husbandry in highland Latin America has so far been explained as a "banking strategy." People buy cattle to invest extra cash and surplus feed products, because they do not have access to the formal banking system. When an emergency arises, cattle are quickly and easily converted into cash (Foster 1965). I doubt this was entirely true in the past, and it certainly doesn't seem to be the prime motivator in Azuay today. Hope, with whom I boarded over several months, had bought a two-and-half year old, supposedly impregnated heifer at S./ 380.000 (US $ 185) in December of 1993. She sold her in March of 1994 at S./ 450.000 (US. 210), because the animal turned out not to be pregnant. Her gross gain was S./ 70.000 In terms of capital investment, her gross gain yields a 6.1 percent monthly interest, which is just above

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the informal lending rate of 5 percent per month. However, cattle may be a more risky investment than lending to neighbors and family members. If we calculate the cost of maintaining the animal, which, unlike money, "does eat grass," the profit rate disappears: The cost of grass per day is S./ 3.000 if bought cut and bundled on the market. The grass eaten during three months would have yielded S./ 270.000. Hope spent as much time taking the animal to pasture as she would have by simply cutting and bundling the grass for sale. However, she would not have had a market for it, since abundant winter rainfalls replenish local needs, but Hope could just as profitably invest the grass in raising guinea pigs for sale, for which there is a lively local market. She doesn't, even though she has the infrastructure to do so. She said she "likes to have cattle around; she always has, and they are very useful." Her heifer didn't turn out well, but she didn't lose money on it either by selling it in March, when prices are still high. Prices drop during the dry summer months, when no-one has grass left to feed the animals. While living with Hope, I couldn't really figure out the cattle business. She usually keeps a yunta (two heads) and takes very good care of them. Her father, Taita Cruz, keeps three to five animals, "because he likes to pasture them," and her father-in-law also keeps at least a yunta. I saw these animals pull the lightweight wooden ploughs to break up fields for irrigation and to plough during the planting season, but that didn't seem like a good capital amortization, since each yunta was busy for maybe twenty days, counting all the fields of relatives and neighbors that required work. Milk yield, if any, was extremely unimpressive, anywhere between one and five kilograms[24] per day (1/4 gallon to barely 1 1/2 gallons), and the little meat obtained after butchering is very tough. This was at the beginning of fieldwork.

In order to "crack the cattle code," I started monitoring prices at the nationally famed Saquisilí cattle market where a cow and her six week old calf cost US $ 700, or about five times the monthly wage of an unskilled male laborer. That is four to five times

[24] Milk is measured by kilograms in the dairy industry, not liters.

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the purchasing power[25] my compatriots invest in a mediocre Swiss cow, yet rural Azuayos kept insisting that cows were a "good investment." Ecuadorian smallholders do recognize that cattle comes in handy when they are in need of rapid cash, but they don't think it is money wise: "You never get what the animal is worth if you need to sell in a hurry, especially during the dry season (June). The same is true at the beginning of the school year (October), when we all need money for books, utensils, uniforms and fees." When I moved on to live in the Gualaceo area, where animal fodder is scarcer yet, due to the dryer climate and no smallholder irrigation, the economic significance of the yunta was clearly articulated by informants: A yearling bull could be bought for US $ 580 in June of 1995. It was expected to sell at US. $ 640 a year later. In about 50 days it would consume fresh cut grass for the price difference. The 10 percent of gross annual capital interest is a third of what the bank pays for investments in inflation prone sucres.

This is definitely not a good business. While it is still true that people find it difficult to open and maintain bank accounts, there are cooperative credit institutions springing up. Cattle mortality is as risky a factor as currency and bank stability. However, Taita Moisé, a Gualaceo campesino and owner of draught animals, would have to pay twelve dollars per day to hire a yunta, and he would thus spend US $ 360 each year "a fond perdu" to get the thirty days of breaking up and ploughing done he does on his land and that of his children. When younger, he used to work with his animals for hire, earning additional money. These cost-benefits of owning draught animals were patiently explained to me by Taita Moisé's son, and I finally understood why people buy and sell animals frequently. It is not because this is how they bank money. Yuntas are

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[25] "Purchasing power" is a concept different from "cost." It refers to the effort or amount of time people in different economic settings need to invest in a purchase. If a kilogram of potatoes cost a Swiss worker who is paid minimum wage six percent of her hourly rate, while in Ecuador the same amount and quality of potatoes cost the equivalent of two hours' pay in embroidery wage, the Swiss worker's purchasing power with regard to this particular "basic consumer good" is approximately thirty-three times greater. It doesn't matter that the nominal price of Ecuadorian potatoes is half of what it is in Switzerland. It also follows that potatoes are a luxury food for poor Ecuadorians.

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bought relatively cheaply in June at the outset of the dry season, when cattle prices drop. Breaking up and ploughing involves some work in July, when peas are sown after the corn harvest and lasts though December, when the last fields are sown in maize in the Gualaceo area. After that, animals are often sold again, with the mentioned small price increment which reflects some of the cost incurred in feeding the cattle during the dry season. Tractors and heavy ploughs are not replacing yuntas in the Gualaceo area, and they have made very few inroads in Canton Cuenca for the following reason: the heavy machinery cannot reach inaccessible mountain plots, nor is it easy to coordinate mechanic ploughing among a great number of neighbors with interspersed small plots without direct track access. In addition, the huge and heavy tractor wheels carry most of the fertile humus right onto a neighbor's field or onto the road every time the tractor needs to reverse direction. Relatively small four-hoofed animals and a light wooden plough are an ecologically and economically sound solution. Animal manure is icing on the cake.

The domestic animal par excellence in the Ecuadorian Andes is the guinea pig (cuy), raised for meat. It takes sixty days to fatten up a "cuy." Two bundles of grass at S./ 4.000 each () per day feed sixty cuyes.[26] The cost of fattening a cuy, then, is roughly S./ 8.000. Its life market price is S./ 7.000 on the Gualaceo plaza. Again, people do not buy grass to raise their animals; this would be too costly. However, the woman who taught me all these details lives in Cochapamba, a village high up on a ridge above Gualaceo, where irregular and expensive truck service is the only way to get to the market, other than doing it on foot over a six kilometer dirt road. If she wanted to sell her grass, for which there is no daily market in Gualaceo, she would have to invest at least S./ 2.000 to transport two bundles to the parish center. Thus her net gain before labor would be S./ 6.000 for two bundles. By raising cuyes, her labor investment is less, since it takes about ten minutes a day to grass feed the 60 animals (not counting

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[26] 1 US $ = S./ 2.200; 08/15/94

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time for cutting the grass which is a given for both options). The two bundles and some second quality corn, which fatten one cuy over sixty days, bring S./ 7.000 in return. Since there is no daily grass market, it would be virtually impossible to sell surplus grass otherwise.

To slaughter it, a guinea pig's neck is broken. It is then soaked in hot water which allows the fluffy fur to be peeled off. Guinea pig is extremely tasty when fried over charcoal, spiced with salt, ají (Capsicum sp), achote (Bixa orellana)and green garlic. Its blood is collected, fried and (in curdled form) served with potatoes. Intestines are washed with salt and lime juice and added to soup or fried as well. Guinea pig is a festive food, served on weddings, baptisms, first communions, confirmations, during village holidays honoring a Saint, and to pay tribute to special visitors such as priests, powerful compadres, professionals and other itinerant specialists many of them development project personnel. Eating guinea pig is the test of fire for many foreigners associated with work in the Ecuadorian Andes. From what I was told, most do not like it, and watching such a person try to dispose of the animal on her or his plate, be it by eating hastily a small part or having the unfortunate roast fall prey to a lurking dog, is always an amusing sight for local observers. Foreigners fortunate enough to develop a gusto for this delicacy are doubly rewarded: for one, they can add an absolute delight to their culinary palette, and, what is more important, eating guinea pig - since it is ritual food - also forms "kinship." Sharing local food makes the outsider human. It is not only the fact that one "shares substance," but that one shares "taste."

Pigs are kept for home consumption as well as for petty cash. When intended for home slaughtering, the pig is usually fed with kitchen scraps. Their meat is very tasty, tender and not too fatty. In Gualaceo the preferred preparation is roasting the entire pig in a wood burning brick oven. The roast is called hornado. When intended for sale, the animals are usually fattened with store bought fish-meal concentrate. It takes about four months to fatten a pig to hornado-size. Fodder per month for two pigs is S./ 80.000,

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bringing the cash needs to raise the animals to 320.000. At four months, a pig will sell at S./ 200.000. Gross gain from the sale of two pigs is 80.000. Calculating labor at one hour per day at the embroidery wage of s./ 450 per hour, it amounts to S./ 54.000 in 120 days. The capital gain before amortization of infrastructure is S./ 26.000 over a four months period, yielding a yearly interest of 24.3 percent. This is lower than the rates paid by banks (30 - 36 percent). However, if we do not discount the labor invested, which is a given that could not be gainfully used otherwise, we end up with 75 percent return on capital invested which is an extremely good rate. Pigs are delicate and prone to quick death by illness, thus the risk involved is rather commensurate with the high capital yield. This strategy plays well in Chiquintad with easy and cheap bus access for fodder transportation. In the remote villages around Gualaceo people would have to carry heavy sacks of concentrate over considerable distances to reach their houses which are often far removed from the dirt track. There, pigs intended for household consumption are sold during times of economic duress.

Chickens are kept both for eggs, and because chicken soup is another indispensable component of a feast, as well as being part of postpartum diet. Corn for the birds is husked and coarsely ground daily; their meat is very tasty and rather lean. In return for other raw materials or favors, people give surplus chickens and guinea pigs to relatives and neighbors who want to replenish breeding stock. The few who raise guinea pigs for sale the way it is described above find a ready market for it in Gualaceo where every night women from the town sell roasted guinea pigs. Gualaceo's plaza is famous for its excellent hornados and for the best guinea pigs in the province. Before the Josefina landslide,[27] the Cuencano middle class would flock to Gualaceo by the bus loads during evenings and weekends to relish on affordable and delicious market foods.

Llamas serve as pack animals for loads up to about twenty kilograms in the Central Andes of Ecuador as well as in parts of Perú and Bolivia, but they are not kept in

[27] See description in chapter four

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Azuay. The reason why cameloids are nowadays absent here may be that the cold humid páramo pastures are no longer visited daily to assure the perennial supply of fresh moist grasses essential for the survival of these delicate animals who do not drink water. Horses are expensive to keep, and to this day people carry a good percentage of goods on their back, either because public transportation is too costly, erratic, or because it doesn't reach the more remote dwellings and fields.

A WOMAN'S WORKDAY OBSERVED

On May 11, 1994 I took notes on one of Hope's typical work days. As for any woman in Azuay, a lot of time is taken up by housework, animal care, and agricultural chores. However, women invariably use spare time by the half-hours to weave straw hats, embroider, knit sweaters, sew piecework of modern apparel for intermediaries, or fashion part of the traditional pollera dress on their manual Singer sewing machines. Hope gets up at 6.15 a.m. to prepare a breakfast of pulpy fruit juice or herbal tea, rice, and a vegetable soup. Her husband heats extra water so that the children (12, 14, 17, 19, 22 years old) can wash up before going to school or work. After breakfast, at 7 a.m., she takes about half an hour to husk corn and shell beans for the midday meal and additional maize for her chickens. She then proceeds to grind (chancar) the maize and feeds it to the fowl. The breakfast dishes are usually taken care of by her eldest daughter, an embroideress with a high school diploma whose attempts to register for a university career in accounting were frustrated by stiff fees and bureaucratic complications. At 9 a.m. Hope cooks rice and starts a vegetable bean soup and occasionally boiled meat or chicken. Rice and soup are ready by 10 a.m., when the three children come home for a recess meal from the nearby grade and high schools. Soup and meat simmer on until noon.

At 11 a.m. Hope unties the two yearling heifers from the shed behind the house and leads them haltered to a field in nearby San Andrés. In San Andrés, Hope and her husband have a two-room house at the edge of their field. It is equipped only with some

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kitchen utensils and a pair of hoes, since it was broken into several times. The house is used as a storage place, and meals are cooked there on minga days during ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvest. On her back she carries a bundle of chicken and guinea pig dung as well as sweepings from the house to fertilize the field. It is a brisk 20 minute walk on the paved road leading to Cuenca. Traffic is scarce, and the animals are not frightened by the occasional vehicle passing them. At times, stone walls define smallholder property, but no wire fencing or wooden corrals are used to keep the animals in. This is done only on big commercial farms. Animals are tethered, a cost and time efficient way of controlling access to grass when the number of heads is very small.

Hope proceeds to harvest poroto (Phaseolus vulgaris) the preferred local bean variety, turnips , a gourd variety called zambo (Cucumbrita ficifolia), to cut grass for the guinea pigs and to check on the granadilla bush for fruit (Passiflora ligularis or maliformis). I helped her cutting grass with a rather dull sickle. My prior stay with Hope's sister had served as an apprenticeship in this task. The trick is to grasp a good fistful of grass with one's non-dominant hand (the left one in my case) about four inches. above ground and to slash the blade underneath, as close to the ground as possible. My technique was satisfactory, but very slow. We take a break after an hour and half of work and then continue cutting and bundling grass for another 40 min. Hope elegantly swings a huge bundle of grass, bound in a shoulder cloth (chalina), onto her back. She explains to me that walking without a burden makes her feel too light footed. Since early childhood she has been accustomed to always carry loads from one place to another.

On our way home Hope starts telling a devil-story about a crucifix which stands just outside Chiquintad:

> "The "bad one" (el maligno) - this is what we call the devil - used to hang out around here. He would appear as a black cat or dog. You know it was very solitary here [between San Andrés and Chiquintad] before the new road was built. Nobody lived in this area. If the animal is the first one seeing a person, something can happen; the person can die. If, on the other hand, the human being spots the animal first, nothing happens. This is why those who are now our elders erected a

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> crucifix right here. We are Christians, you know; we believe that God helps us. Ever since the new road has been completed, this area has become very populated, but before there was nobody living here, and at times people would see the "bad one" sitting on some rocks here to our right. Everything was very savage, even the bridge was down below, closer to the river. Therefore, people would sometimes see the devil with his tail, horns and everything. Once, as newlyweds, we came from below, from Tixan, from Papa Calisto's house. We prayed and talked the whole time on our way, and Rumiñahui smoked, because that scares the devil away. This is how we walked home" (Field journal Vol I, 1994:98).

The notion of wild versus safe is somewhat different from what we consider such in Switzerland. Here in Azuay, anything under the direct influence of humans is considered "tame" and safe. Thus, animals who live with humans are not only tame, but they are also considered clean. Plates with chicken feed on it - the same homegrown maize prized by people - are washed and used again on the table. The chickens pick up the grains in a hurry, and the empty plate doesn't linger and become soiled with their excrements, since someone quickly picks it up when empty. The apparent "hotchpotch" of tomato, gourd, granadilla and other plants in a garden or field is civilized because of human impact. Each plant in Hope's garden has a medicinal property. This primary aspect of the plant's utility is combined with aesthetics to produce a pleasantly decorative medicinal garden. Humans seem to be able to completely transform nature (while leaving it pretty much intact in this case.) Also, anything swept up by the broom is considered fertilizer and gets carried to the field. Compost is not elaborated in a pile at home. In an efficient work/time effort, it gets carried to the field daily and decomposes there.

At 2.00 p.m. we reached home again. The animals were left behind tethered; children will fetch them before nightfall. We eat our lunch alone, since the kids have already eaten and are busy playing and laboring over homework.[28] Older children help

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[28] Diego, Hope's oldest son works the 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. shift at the local tire factory. Thus, he gets up late and hangs around the house all morning. To the unwitting observer he may appear to be the typical "lazy Latin macho." It is dangerous to jump to such conclusions as a day-time observer before knowing exactly, what the person does over 24 hours, or over a weekly or monthly cycle.

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younger siblings or cousins. Hope has elementary literacy skills and keeps on top of the kind and amount of homework. She is able to exert a limited quantity control even over the home-work of her high-school daughter. She then washes her sons', husband's and her own clothes. Her daughters worry about their personal wardrobe and also help out with the family laundry. The boys occasionally pitch in with the washing. Some more maize is de-grained and soaked in ash water to transfer niacin from the shell to the kernel (McElroy and Townsend 1985). The maize cooks in a ceramic pot over a wooden fire for hours. Hope then takes up an unfinished straw hat, at which her fingers work with speed and elegance. She also sews blouses for the traditional pollera outfit and sews laces (reatas) onto the embroidered polleras.

At 5.30 p.m. she puts rice and bean-vegetable soup onto the stove again. This involves washing the rice, cleaning it of dirt and bad grains, cutting onion, garlic, and frying it all in pig-fat colored with red achote and spiced with garlic. Meat, bone, or chicken are the base for a soup enriched with fava and other beans, turnips and squash. Fresh coriander and parsley are added to the soup. Red chili and peeled tomate de arbol (Cyphomandra betacea) are blended to produce a fiery ají eaten with soup, mote, and rice. Rumiñahui gets home by about 6.30 p.m., often after having had a small round of drinks with people from work. At times he is mildly inebriated, but not violent. The family takes supper together, and by 8.00 p.m. Hope and her children are done with the dishes. They congregate in Diego's room to watch television. Hope and Rumiñahui usually retire by 9.00 p.m..

ARTISAN VARIETY IN AZUAY

Azuay province is famous for its wide range of artisan work. It is argued that the proliferation of crafts in Cañar and Azuay has its roots in colonial tax policies: In the domain of colonial Cuenca we find the most important Ecuadorian mining operations (Carrión Aguirre 1992) which attracted forastero Indians seeking to evade the heavy tributary burden in their communities of origin. This led to non-hacienda based

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smallholds where artisan work was necessary to complement subsistence agriculture [after the demise of local mining which was less productive than the centers of Alto Peru] (Balarezo 1984).[29]

Full-time specialist artisanry

Ceramics have been an artisan enterprise since people can remember. Today, some big commercial producers (VEGA etc) have entered the national home-decoration and the tourist market, offering a great variety of mass-produced dishes and other household utensils, but the lead content in many Azuay ceramics is a health hazard. Some big factories use cheap but brilliant imported colors of North American provenance which in their country of origin are destined to a strictly non-food environment. However, these ceramic colors are used by the Cuenca factories for dishes and household tiles.[30] Artisans producing household ceramics nowadays use lead from old batteries to achieve shiny ceramic colors. Both practices are not only hazardous to consumer health, they contaminate the artisan-workers' blood to an alarming extent.[31] Men and boys are full-time ceramic artisans.

Carpentry is also done by men and usually on a full-time basis. Owners of small shops employ two to twenty workers and produce simple, mostly unvarnished basic furniture. Again, this trade has been turned into fully commercial enterprises by upstart entrepreneurs. Colineal, a leading Cuenca furniture store selling on a national scale, employs modern machinery, tropical wood, and about one hundred employees to produce highly decorative office, hotel-restaurant and home furniture in a reinvented "Louis XV" style.

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[29] Artisan production in the pre-hispanic Cañar domain may have been less diversified, because people had access - through links of kinship and ayllu/saya politics - to produce and finished products from a variety of ecological tiers and economic specialists from other areas.

[30] A European ceramic artist had samples tested for lead.

[31] Ecuadorian development agents are now working with ceramic artisans to develop coloring methods without resorting to lead for brilliance.

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Shoe making is a cottage industry employing men at home. Mostly, it is a full time occupation done for an intermediary. Women and children at times help with the finishing process. The fumes emanating from the glue produce headaches in many artisans and their helpers.

Male guitar makers are relatively few in Azuay, but famed. They are cottage craftsmen[32] who acquire their trade in apprenticeship and taking semi-formal courses, all of which is fee-based. These men devote about half their time to crafting the instruments and the other half to marketing the finished products, mainly in cities of the coastal lowlands. They usually depart on a two-week sales trip with three to four finished guitars.

Finally, jewelry is a very important source of cottage putting out as well as formal wage labor income in Chordeleg, a small parish center a thirty minute walk uphill from Gualaceo. However, the art of making gold and silver jewelry seems well protected through a guild-like cohesion of master crafts people. To my knowledge, no development project was involved in organizing the jewelers or helping them with marketing until the Josefina landslide[33] cut them and all the others off from a steady stream of day tourists. The Archbishopric of Cuenca apparently lends some help to the jewelers now. However, the capital intensive works in precious metals seem to have given rise to a very differentiated conglomerate of work-shop owners, wage workers, store owners and regional traders. Cuenca jewelry store owners also operate ateliers in Chordeleg.

Part time artisan production

The weaving of straw ("Panama") hats took off in Azuay in the 1870s, following

[32] Cottage craftsmen procure the necessary raw materials themselves, and they control the cottage production process in which family and hired labor may be involved (Kauf system). This contrasts with the Verlag system or cottage putting out, where an intermediary who pays a piece rate mandates design and productive process and supplies dependent artisans with raw materials or credit to buy such (Goody 1982)

[33] The landslide destroyed Gualaceo's major access road to Cuenca in March of 1993. A detailed description of the event and its consequences follows in chapter four.

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the opening of the Panama Canal, Ecuador's fastest and least perilous maritime route to Eastern North America and Europe. The maritime connection also fostered the geographic mislabeling of this highly valued Ecuadorian export product. Men and women used to weave the hats. However, the price per hat declined from US $ 1.10 to US $ -.60 between 1945 and 1955 (Balarezo 1984), which may have led to the toquillera home-industry's demise as a full time occupation for men. Nowadays women dedicate "extra" time to this craft, that is, whenever agriculture, animals, "the house," and the needs of their dependents (children and men) have been taken care of. To weave a simple unrimmed hat of medium quality takes ten to twelve work hours and pays around S./ 2.000.- (ca. US. 1.-). At this rate the paja, fine round stalks of bleached, dried and bundled palmetto straw (Carludovica palmata) is furnished by the putter-outer. The craft is practiced in Canton Cuenca as well as in neighboring Cañar but not much in Gualaceo. Relative geographic proximity allowed the former locations to establish solid trade relations with paja providers from the coastal lowlands. Intermediaries operate at many levels of the productive process: Palmetto straw grows in the tropical hill country of lowland Coastal and Amazon environments. The fresh green leaves are boiled and dried, once the veins and edges have been removed (Cuvi 1994: 84). Lowland small scale harvesters sell the processed palmetto straw to inter-regional wholesalers who redistribute the product to highland small retailers. These are women who peddle the paja to village middlemen and individual weavers on local Sunday markets throughout Azuay. At the Checa market they arrive at four o'clock in the morning, and their supplies are almost invariably exhausted by 8 a.m., when the first mass is read. The weaver or small trader sells the raw woven unrimmed hat to an intermediary who then has the finishing steps done through a series of putter-outer connections. Some intermediaries own hat stores in Cuenca, others act as wholesalers, some traveling around the Chiquintad and Checa parishes on bus to collect and redistribute hats in various stages of the finishing process.. A few cooperative weaving enterprises have sprung up, one in

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Sigsig, east of Gualaceo. However, they do not produce the finest, most valued hats, but a coarser cheaper variety unfit for export. The hat export is practically the sole domain of one big Cuencana firm with its own finishing plant where rimmed hats are pressed, dyed and adorned with ribbons.

In the Andes, specialization in craft production and finishing is well developed. This may have been cultivated through the keen sense of intellectual property characteristic of many aboriginal societies in North and South America (the Pacific Northwest Coast, Pueblo culture, Mesoamerica). What formerly permitted "everybody" a piece of the craft production cake now keeps craft incomes low due to the inordinate importance of commercial brokers in an increasingly metropolitan and international market structure. Straw hat weaving is particularly afflicted by this adverse economic trend at its productive base. Not surprisingly, the embroidery project found many women interested in learning a new trade where all productive stages would be performed within the cooperative, and where marketing would be handled by the project and later by the cooperative. Girls and younger women, especially, not yet as skilled and time-efficient in hat weaving as their middle aged mothers, made up the bulk of CBC "recruits" in Canton Cuenca.

Other straw products include decorative items such as Christmas tree decorations, nativity scenes, and baskets, however these are produced in a few villages where this specialization is locally managed. Since other agencies were already involved in bringing this variety of palmetto straw handicrafts into contact with supra-regional markets, CBC was not interested in recruiting women in these specialist villages away from a craft which may hold promise for the future.

Women specialize in various steps and techniques to sow the traditional pollera skirt and blouse. Both items involve polychromatic embroidery which is nowadays done by machine. The reason for this mechanization is that campesina and Indian identity cannot come with an exorbitant price-tag. Embroideresses who stitch intricate designs

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on export products for a clientele who wants to "consume" the ethnic "soul" embedded in handicrafts cannot afford that "soul" in their own garments. These need to be finished rapidly and efficiently to keep costs as low as possible. My hostess and friend Hope sews the latches and a blind seam onto polleras. Others cut and sow them, while some specialize in the task of embroidering flower designs onto the otherwise finished skirt or semi-finished blouse. Some women still take the time to embroider the plain blouses they buy on the market. All these seamstresses work part time, mostly during late afternoon and early evening hours.

In the Gualaceo area, knitting coarse lamb's wool sweaters is a favorite on long walks to the parish center and while minding animals on high pasture. Knitters learn a pattern by memory and many are able to take their eyes off their work. The dark colors are not susceptible to dust and dirt. Net income per sweater runs at ca. S./ 8.000.- (US $ 3.60) after expenses for wool and dyes. Someone knitting full time, that is 8 hours per day for 6 days a week, can put out 4 sweaters, i.e. gain net S./ 32.000 per week (as of June 1994). At the moment this information was given, the hour of embroidery was worth S./ 500.-, meaning that an embroideress would have to work for 64 hours to earn the same amount of money, while knitting rendered it in 48 hours. However, knitting for intermediaries, be they Gualaceo merchants or itinerant indigenous traders from Otavalo, offers less stability, because there is a lot of seasonal variation in demand. As long as Centro de Bordados offered steady, dependable work loads, knitting in Llintig occupied women only on walks and in meetings, when they couldn't embroider anyway for lack of light, bodily steadiness or concentration. However, in 1995, CBC started producing only upon demand, making export embroidery as haphazard and unreliable an income as crafts produced for professional merchants.

In and around Gualaceo some women have started to fashion predesigned ribbons and bows to decorate dress shoes. Artificial black beads and the like are delivered by the putter outer. This line of work has a definite advantage over export embroidery for

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young mothers: Children can play with the beads, and while some will be lost, dirt is not a problem, since it can be shaken or washed off easily. The workers' hands needn't be spotless. This is ideal for a woman who has to interrupt her craft work frequently to tend to children, animals, cooking and the like in a windy, dusty environment without the regular provision of running water. A local shoemaker told me a diligent worker who buys her own supplies could make a dozen ribbons a day for which Gualaceo intermediaries would pay S./ 15.000.-. My estimate is that materials cost probably S./ 500.- per unit (S./ 6.000.- per dozen), netting S./ 9.000 before transport to Gualaceo (S./ 1.000.- round trip), leaving S./ 8.000.- net gain for approximately 10 hours of work. This results in S./ 800.- per hour as opposed to the S./ 450.- paid by CBC until June 1994, when this information was collected. This craft, considering the processual advantages in production outlined above, could pose a serious threat to CBC labor. The instability of work was still a drawback for shoe-ribbons in 1994. By 1995, CBC's production for orders policy had made embroidery a much less reliable cash source, and it was reported that more women were taking in complementary shoe-ribboning.

Embroidery: part-time reality and full-time dilemma

The rewards and problems of the new and challenging craft project are expressed by two artisans who have been with the cooperative since its inception as a development project, and who continue to devote every minute they can spare to embroidery:

> "I love to embroider; I have done it since I was a girl, since I left elementary school. In every item, in every piece of work, small as it may be at times, I give away a part of my life" (Cumandá, longtime leader).

> "We women get up at five o'clock in the morning [while it is still dark] to prepare breakfast and to get the children ready for school. Then we take care of the home and of the animals. Once the chores with the animals are done, there may be work to do in the fields: to sow, to weed, or to harvest. Meals need to be prepared and when night has fallen, at times as late as nine o'clock in the evening, we can sit down and work on crafts" (Tella, married with five children, her co-resident spouse is a shoe-maker).

The hand embroidery project with its few technical innovations is well suited to the Andean textile tradition with roots in the complex precolumbian weavings done with

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a simple technology. The stitching frame, mounted on a pole inserted in a cross-base allows the artisan to work while seated on a chair. The ten-inch stick protruding from below the frame can be inserted into the hollow upper part of the pole, and the height of the structure can be comfortably adjusted to the artisan's body height. However, since most women take their embroidery outside where daylight makes the precision needle-work easier, the pole is hardly used. Women prefer to sit on a low stool or flat stone - a very comfortable position for long hours of seated work. The stitching frame and pole are more than a mere tool, however. Their presence in a household attests to the woman's cooperative association. The stitching frame needs to be returned when an artisan no longer meets a minimal quantity of output, and the project manager has made personal appearances at women's houses if they have been inactive over six months and haven't returned the implement to the paymaster. The frame is a "passport" or membership card of sorts, and most artisans treasure its presence much like European household's took pride in their beautifully crafted spinning wheels.[34] Some women even point out its possible use as a weapon in self defense has brought them more respect from drunk companions or local thieves who know that if push comes to shove a woman will not hesitate to fling the stitching pole and base at an unwelcome intruder.

The Swiss trading firm who provided the initial patterns only placed orders for white-on-white table linen. This line of embroidery is extremely taxing on artisan eye-sight, and many women complained about failing visual capacities throughout the four years of my stay. Changing market conditions and new approaches to design brought an end to only white materials with the introduction of color embroidery on T-shirts, greeting cards and table linen in 1993. Artisans in Gualaceo canton were enchanted with the greeting cards depicting rural work and holiday scenes when I showed them the first

[34] The project manager had an Azuayo cabinet maker craft the more than two hundred stitching frames after a Swiss model. The first time I indeed saw one was at a Quito store before I had gone to scout the countryside for a possible COTESU project. I remember immediately walking up the the artisan - Cumandá, the later president - telling her we use exactly the same tool in my country. Her smiling reply was: "You must be from Switzerland, then..."

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prototypes which I had acquired at Centro de Bordados headquarters. Whether I was meant to or not, my informal showing of the new product line whose prototypes had been produced at CBC headquarters and in Chiquintad near Cuenca, gave rise to a discussion among Guanal and Mayuntureño artisans on their role as creative human beings, rather than working "beasts of burden." While the polychrome pictures of people sowing, dancing, and displaying fireworks stimulated artisan self esteem - they indeed started to consider their own abilities to create new designs - the pay offered for the cards was low. The handling of different color threads was more time intensive, and loss of even a small piece of thread became a major headache, now that various colors were involved. Also, complaints soon arose, because the finishing plant had notorious problems calculating the right amount of each color, and women constantly found themselves short of one color or another. CBC responded by placing a small stock with each group's promotora, but even so that meant additional time to walk to that person's house and "ask for the favor of being given some thread."

Table linen and highly priced greeting cards are not items a campesino household needs or can afford to own. Hardly any woman owned a piece of her embroidery in 1993, since cloth and thread are carefully counted and measured at the finishing plant, and exact records are kept by the paymaster on all material handed over to every single artisan.[35] At times an artisan whose migrant husband had asked for a piece of her work as a keepsake would ask the project management to let her keep or even buy an item with flaws in the embroidery. The project manager, fearful of damaging the product's public image by sending quality "B" (quality "A" being flawless export products) to New York City migrants, occasionally allowed women to buy individual quantities of thread and fabric at cost so that they could embroider a top quality gift for the migrant. The problem was that management feared unrestricted access to resources would soon have

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[35] This is a Swiss project, and exact bookkeeping is very much part of everyday life in Switzerland, where middle class home-makers not only have a strict budget, but keep virtually all expense receipts to carry on formidable household accounting.

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women produce for private intermediaries, a justified concern, since many a local trader approached artisans and the paymaster during village pay days in order to acquire embroideries directly in the field. Many artisans took pride, however, in pointing out to these town merchants that they - the women - were the operators and owners of the cooperative, that it is a joint venture where all were entitled to the same benefits, and that orders need to be placed with the finishing center in Cuenca.

The creation of T-shirts with small embroidered logos in 1993 was finally able to satisfy artisan demand for their own work for two reasons. This product is functional, fashionable, and as apparel it appeals to everyone: men, children, women. Artisans who wear the traditional pollera, don a self-embroidered T-shirt with pride, because it combines "tradition" with their own creativity, reminding them of their mothers who had proudly displayed polleras they had themselves embroidered, a luxury none among the CBC artisans can any longer afford for sheer lack of time.

The fast pace needed to achieve a satisfactory income from hand embroidering white-on-white table linen and polychrome-on-white T-shirts and greeting cards makes CBC craft production very different from the leisure activity of western middle class home-makers, even if the degree of intricacy in design and color combinations are similar. The chickens clucking about the yard, occasionally chased by cats and dogs, the playful presence of young children, the big baby-eyes poking out of a shawl on the artisan's back, the smoke rising to the sky from the pot of simmering mote, and the ever present small field of intertwined maize and bean plants make for a heartwarming idyll. Yet all these "components" of the peaceful picture cause the artisan to interrupt almost constantly her concentrated work.[36] Intensified artisan production in the face of insufficient returns from the land is problematic. Those women whose rural subsistence

[36] My presence doing interviews only added to lowering productivity, and my friend Tella in Llintig, who had agreed to work with me on her life-history, suggested I come by during her daily laundry-hour, rather than when she was embroidering. Many other artisans were relieved when told during the pre-interview meetings that I would gladly interview them during chores of their preference, rather than when they were embroidering.

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base allows for a survival with part time craft income never develop the speed, precision, and skill to have the needle simply fly across the fabric. Girls whose labor is only tangential to household subsistence agriculture do develop the necessary speed and skill, and at times their income allows for the accumulation of trousseau items, such as a stove, bed, radio or television set. However, many younger women said they spend the money on helping out with weekly household purchases and on new clothes and entertainment. Women who need to increase their cash flow at the beginning of a male co-residents' migratory journey to the North are inevitably forced to diminish the time they invest in subsistence agriculture.

The main project goal of halting rural migration by definition addresses a majority of women whose consorts, fathers or brothers are already international migrants (see statistics on CBC migrant relatives and artisan desertion in chapter four, charts 2 - 4). The fact that members of a household migrate indicates that the subsistence base does not allow for proper material and cultural reproduction, even with the supplementary craft income of its residents. What these households need, then, is not a priori increased and intensified craft production, but more land. The craft intensification and rationalization project would probably have a more sustained long term effect in halting the rural exodus in Azuay if directed at households with enough land to make at least international migration superfluous, provided its male and female residents can escape temporal and seasonal underemployment. For those households whose insufficient land base has already forced some members into international migration, low income craft production will not redress the subsistence squeeze.

ARTISAN PRODUCTION AND THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

"Traditionally" male and female tasks have occupied the minds of social science since early European travellers set out to conquer, dominate, convert or curiously observe exotic overseas populations (Leacock 1981 commenting on Jesuit Relations about the Montagnais Naskapi, Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942). Esther Boserup (1970)

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used the sexual division of labor in African agriculture to establish a typology of "female" versus "male" systems of agrarian production. Later critics (Deere and Leon de Leal 1982, Guyer 1984, Mackintosh 1989) have carried Boserup's innovative contribution to new historically contextualized horizons. They analyze the changes in male and female workloads and occupations and link them to colonial and modern political and economic influences on local population's productive choices and adaptations. The Ecuadorian straw hat industry had catered to Northern middle and upper class clients who purchased expensive foreign fashion items in specialized stores for "colonial" imports.[37] During this time the luxury items paid a wage which made it worthwhile for men in Azuayan subsistence agriculture to do it on a complementary "full-time" basis. After World War II, cheaper versions of luxury items were being produced "en masse" for department stores catering to working and middle classes.[38] In the case of straw hats, the industry in Florence had meanwhile mechanized and was able to offer this line with much cheaper production and transportation costs for European consumers. Mexican hats of a lower quality fed popular demand at home and in North America.[39] High fashion moved to other styles, and fine Ecuadorian "Panama" hats encountered a very reduced demand, upon which increasing numbers of male Azuay and Cañar peasants started migrating to the agro-industrial plantations of the Coast, to the big cities as unskilled labor, and, eventually, to the United States. Weaving straw hats became a part-time female domain.

Embroidery is construed as a female domain by the development project, even though a few isolated male candidates were interviewed in 1989, among the CBC

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[37] When my mother was "confirmed" (a protestant rite of passage) in 1938, Panama hats were hot fashion.

[38] Stores like Woolworth in the United States, Standa in Italy, ABM, EPA in Switzerland, Galéries Printemps and Samaritaine in France carry such mass products.

[39] There is a current "reconquest" of the popular demand in Mexico for broad rimmed sun hats by low quality Ecuadorian Panama style hats. Rural laborers and tourists are the main purchasers, especially in Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Mexico City.

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recruits. Since project personnel seems to take men's migratory absence as a "given," the organizational and productive development effort is conceived and carried out as a "women's project." Indirectly, the "choice" aspect of men's migratory movements is stressed over the "need" to do so if men are to be able to contribute to household survival. Women, on the other hand, are perceived of having a "duty" to stay home, their migratory choices are actively deplored and words such as "abandoning" are used to describe their initiative.

SEASONALITY OF WORK AND MIGRATION PATTERNS

Migratory birds follow a call of nature or instinct; human migration's prime mover is socio-economic. In Azuay the agricultural cycle starts in August if the micro-climate provides early rainfall or if landowners have access to irrigation. The very few who own enough land to make a living exclusively from agriculture by selling enough surplus produce to fill the cash needs[40] spend over thirty days ploughing and sowing their fields. They also work fields in a variety of ecological and micro- and macro climatic conditions. In the Gualaceo area this involves fields in the dry warm flatlands near the river, the only place where smallholders of the canton have access to irrigation water. Other fields are located about fifty to one hundred meters higher in altitude where they they depend only on rainfall. This is scarce during most of the year or else falls in torrential floods. Some fields are located high up in the perennially cold moist páramo, where grass for pasture and potatoes grow best. In the Gualaceo region, full time agriculturalists also slash and burn in the perennially humid and cool rain forest of the upper Amazon. It provides pasture for milk and draught cattle during the long dry season. Tubers, vegetables, and berries grow well there, due to the perennial light moisture. People usually have a one- or two-room adobe house in the "Eyebrow" of the

[40] US $1.000 minimum per adult couple per year plus US $ 250 per year per child in a private parochial school, plus US $. 100 per child per year for utensils, uniforms and shoes.

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Amazon,[41] because their presence is needed for ten to fourteen days each month to assure the welfare of the animals. I got to know only two families where the old parents of adult embroideresses still maintain this variety of fields. However, a visit to the slash and burn sites in the Culebrilla valley showed that over one hundred families from Gualaceo Canton maintain this pattern.

For those with a "kitchen-garden" relationship to their corn-bean fields, the agricultural year is quite different. Resident women, their teenage children, and the few older full time male campesinos combine their efforts through cambiamanos and day-hire to comply with the needs of the agrarian cycle.

Those men who are migrant workers in plantation or urban settings of the Coast return for ploughing/sowing, weeding, and harvesting of tender and dry grains and legumes. These tasks also coincide with the major holidays of: Señor de Andacocha (September 14), All Saints/Souls/Cuenca days (November 1 - 3), Christmas/New Years, Carnival (February or March), Holy Week (March or April), Corpus Christi/Gualaceo days (June 24-25), and "Patron Santiago" (July 25). International migrants usually send special remittances to village brotherhoods or to their families to pay for mass, musicians, dancers, fireworks, thus keeping up indirectly with agricultural production and reproduction. The fruit of their labors is poured into rituals closely connected with the agricultural cycle. However, there are important local differences: In Chiquintad migrants tend to pay for mass and the money comes through local relatives. In Checa and Gualaceo, migrants are very active in sponsoring elaborate local fiestas. Chiquinteño migrants do not aspire to return to a land based life; they buy capital goods other than land, while those of Checa and Gualaceo are still intent on acquiring more land which they aspire to work in a profitable part-time fashion upon return.

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[41] The high Amazon, where glacial head waters form the enormous river's first tributaries, is at times called "ceja amazonica" or eyebrow of the Amazon in Spanish.

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RURAL COTTAGE PUTTING OUT AND THE BRAIN AND SKILL DRAIN: FROM INDIVIDUAL "VERLAG" TO AID PROJECT "KAUF" TO NEW YORK CITY SWEAT SHOPS: "DÉJA VU" OR NEW WORLD ORDER?

Poor people from around the globe are increasingly voting with their feet against deficient social and physical infrastructure in their local communities, and against the lack of economic opportunities within their nation state, where they would have relative freedom of movement. Rural Azuay is Ecuador's most prolific "sending" area. While migration is a pan-human phenomenon, we need to look at how it has changed since the time when European explorers paved the way for the massive transcontinental movement of people. Between the seventeenth and early twentieth century, the economic and social cost of moving one's economic base across continents was high. As a result there were organized group exodi of a mostly indentured or state sponsored non landed work force from Europe to the Americas, from India to the Caribbean, and from Africa - as commoditized slaves - to the New World. Expelling European states and overseas colonial regimes organized and monopolized relatively scarce and expensive means of transcontinental transportation to move slave labor to plantations and indentured servants to "virgin" lands in the North American East and South, later to Brazil, Argentina and Chile. The advent of steam power allowed for much cheaper transportation costs per person. From the 1890s until the mid 1930s throngs of European wage laborers, "craftsmen," and subsistence peasants sold their meager belongings to buy individual passages that brought them to mountains of gold and prairie lands freshly wrought from indigenous groups in North and South America. After World War II thousands of seasonal Mexican farm laborers started work cycles in the United States, and rural surplus labor from Southern Europe was recruited to work on assembly lines, building crews, and on big farms of Germany, France, and Switzerland.

Organized labor pressure, starting after WW I and peaking in the 1930s, obtained fringe medical and at times housing benefits and a "family wage," for a legally settled and formally taxed work force in the North. By the mid 1960s, corporate

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industrial capital found it more profitable to move production to the South, into unregulated or permissive enclaves offered by newly developing countries South of the Rio Grande and on the Pacific Rim (Nash 1985). Often such enclaves openly circumvent progressive labor legislation drafted by Latin American governments during the 1950s and 1960s (Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador). For agriculture and tourist enterprises in North America (primary and tertiary sectors of the national economy) the entry of cheap Southern labor continues to be vital. However, the bureaucratic barriers put up at Northern nations' official entry points make it difficult for this work force to enter legally. The "illegal," or "undocumented" foreign workers have no claims to the benefits established by law.

Alternative travel guides specialize in smuggling people across "green" or lightly patrolled stretches of international boundaries. The tactics to enter illegally into the United States and Canada have become increasingly complex in the face of hermetic closure of the U.S. Mexican border. In Western Europe the police have the power to arrest any illegal resident, making for very strict internal controls.[42] The purchase of forged documents and visas and the bribery of pertinent officials has sent the costs of mobilization to unprecedented heights. A safe passage from Azuay to New York City with the full time escort of an expert coyote costs U.S. 7.000, translating into 20 years of work as a full time embroideress.[43] This is the most expensive variant of illegal passage, including a warranty that the passenger will pay only a few hundred dollars for a new plane ticket to Central America, should s/he be captured en route and deported. The coyote usually asks for US. $. 5.000 in advance, while the remaining $. 2.000 are paid by a relative or friend upon save arrival of the passenger in New York City. Cheaper passage can be obtained by overland travel and the successive hiring of local coyotes. This costs about US. $ 2.000, but the trip takes three to four months, with the

[42] These are currently breaking down in the face of the mass exodus from the Balkans.
[43] S./ 450.- per hour at the exchange rate of S./ 2.500 per on US dollar, assuming a 40 hour work week, 50 week work year (état 1993/94).

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concomitant loss of earning power, and there is a greater risk of capture and deportation between Guatemala and New York City or Chicago - preferred Azuay destination points. There is also a high risk of being robbed, especially in Guatemala and Mexico. For women the cheaper trip bears the danger of rape by coyotes and common criminals. In the "de luxe" version the coyote is responsible for the inviolability of a women's physical integrity. Up until 1993 a legitimate U.S. tourist visa could be obtained in Guayaquil at the cost of U.S. 5.000, which enabled emigrants to reach the United States in one day aboard a commercial flight. Most prospective Gualaceo migrants take the relatively "cheap" overland route up to Guatemala and travel three to four months before they reach New York City. Carlos, whose wife dropped out of Bordados, knows that of the 200 Ecuadorians caught en route in Guatemala in May 1994, and returned to Ecuador, three were from Llintig. Emigrants from Cuenca canton tend to go for the de-luxe version, especially women, and young men who have relatives long established en "La Yony" (the "Johnny[land]"). Partly this is so, because the residents of Canton Cuenca have access to cheaper credit from family members, be they U.S. based or return migrants, while in the Gualaceo area many emigrants are still "pioneers," that is they have to take out high interest debts with local chulIqueros (money lenders).

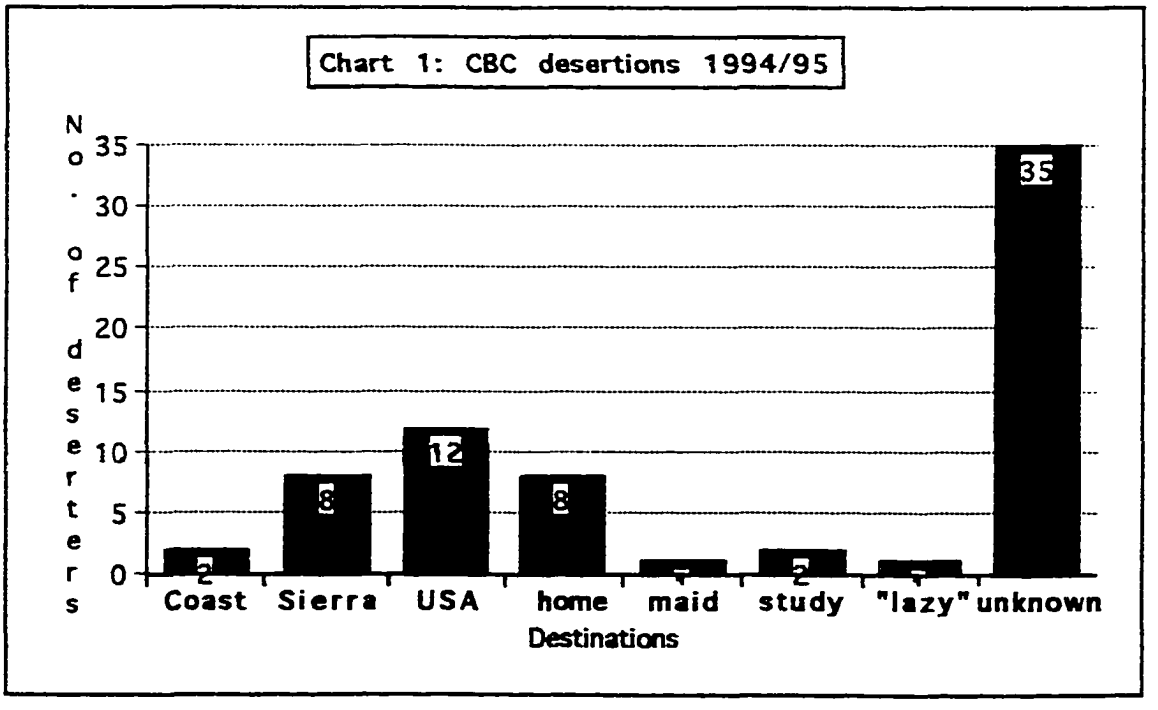
These are the mechanisms and costs involved in seeking undocumented work in the United States. Sixty percent of embroideresses interviewed in 1994 had a close relative living in the United States or Venezuela (2).[44] Chart 2 in Chapter 4 (migrant-relatives/community) reveals that the project appealed to women in subsistence farming irrespective of international migrant remittances. According to the parish priest in Gualaceo, migration has increased five-fold since the collapse of tourism after the Josefina landslide. While it was almost exclusively a male phenomenon until 1993, the loss of artisan as well as wage work is seen by the local priest as the main reason for

[44] Raw data: 97 out of 162 data providers on migration. If - in addition to spouses, parents, children, siblings and their spouses, - I were to include cousins, nephews, aunts and uncles as "close relatives", the percentage of embroideresses with a migrant family member would exceed 90 percent of the sample.

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a slow but increasing trickle of women migrants to the United States. My survey indicates that multiple factors are responsible for undocumented female international migration in Azuay: a majority of women are married and join a husband who has been in the U.S. for at least three, mostly five to six years. It is very unusual for a young unmarried woman to join even a father or brother there, and the joining of a migrant sweetheart is unheard of. Women from Uzhupud and Guanal, where migration has been going on for several years, had joined their husbands in the United States before the Josefina disaster, and the trend is currently increasing in Canton Cuenca which has not been directly affected by the landslide. Of 69 "desertions" from embroidery between Jan. 1994 and Oct. 1995, at least 12 are known to have gone to the United States; three more had done so before 1994, and of the 35 "deserters" whose future economic activity is not known to me, up to 20 more had probably journeyed north.

Chart 1 shows the detail of reasons given for artisan desertion of the cooperative. These are "reputed" reasons collected not from the actual "deserters," but from relatives, neighbors or CBC co-artisans.



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It becomes imperative, then, to look at the cause-effect relationship between international development aid - including the U.S. Peace Corps presence - and the massive willingness of rural Andeans to seek their fortune up North: Uzhupud, where massive migration to the U.S. started in the in the late 1980s, as well as Llintig and other Gualaceo communities have had the presence of the Peace Corps. In Llintig and Uzhupud the volunteers lived in community households for several months during latrine building projects. These volunteers were a valuable source of first-hand information about the promised land. Their willingness to share rural life conditions with villagers, their effort to speak Spanish, and their cooperation in culture change may have helped to shape a more appealing and "human" face of the forbidding United States society, stimulating Azuay campesinos to emulate the town folk pioneer emigrants of Checa and Chiquintad as well as Gualaceo.

CBC's technical skills and social interaction program has had an influence of its own on emigration - in this case with female migrants: Competence and confidence gained through promotora training have led to a continued CBC loss of some of its most engaged leader figures who join long absent husbands in New York City and Chicago. A place to look for emigration dynamics is Gualaceo Canton, particularly LLintig, where the phenomenon is in its "male scouting phase," where younger men pioneer the venture which will eventually lead to an increased exodus of women. How powerful a pull the promised land of the North exerts on people from Gualaceo's depressed economic situation can be gleaned from my observation during a mid-September weekly pay visit by CBC personnel in Llintig:

During the entrega de trabajo on September 14, about 15 of 35 embroideresses showed up, the rest had gone to honor the image of Señor de Andacocha who is commemorated each year on this date with a mass in a remote modern Basilica which can only be reached on foot. This massive pilgrimage to the shrine of the modern-day patron of illegal emigrants indicates the close relationship between organized artisan women

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and the quest for more rapid and individualized accumulation of small capital. Doing preliminary fieldwork, I was oblivious to the "Great Coyote's"[45] power to act as guardian angel and pilot to hundreds of potential emigrants . The shy embroideresses, over half in polleras, who talk behind hands shielding their mouth, and whose village plaza of trampled dirt was yet to be cemented, did not seem to be drawn into the international migration circuit on the sunny September day I attended their weekly gathering. Blue Jeans and T-shirts with "Chicago Bulls" and "New York Yankees" and "Giants" were still absent. The survey on social and economic conditions I conducted a year later revealed that only two of the over thirty artisans have a close relative who has been absent for six years or more. Yet the immediate kin of five more had left between November 1993 and February of 1994, shortly after the mass pilgrimage to Andacocha that kept more than half of Llintig's group away from handing in work on September 14, 1993.

A year later I lived in Llintig to conduct the survey among embroideresses which gave me the opportunity to meet residents who are not participating in the project. Beatriz, whose husband left for Queens, N.Y. after the March 1993 Josefina disaster, when craft prizes slumped for lack of day tourists from Cuenca, knows of 30 who had left between June 1993 and June 1994. The six recent migrants from bordadora households represent 17 percent of this "mass exodus." This means that CBC households in Llintig participate actively in the migratory trend, albeit at a slightly lower rate than households with no CBC members.

There is yet another, historically more deeply rooted, factor which seems to propel international male migration. My survey on land tenure shows that Uzhupud and Chiquintad were involved in huasipungo relationships with local haciendas.[46] The land

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[45] To my knowledge, this gloriously poignant term was coined by FEPP-CBC coordinator Rolando.

[46] Hacienda Uzhupud has been turned into a luxury resort - albeit badly damaged during the Josefina release flood in early May of 1994.

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grants extended to huasipungueros during the Agrarian Reform of the 1970s are insufficient to maintain the next generation in the subsistence agriculture/artisan interface. The localities "descending" from closed corporate peasant communities (Wolf 1955, 1957), such as Cochapamba, Llintig and Mayuntur (partly settled by people pushed out of Dotaxi) have maintained more ecological diversification, including the opening of new lands in the "Eyebrow" of the Amazon toward Limón. There, the pre-hispanic focus on diversification across varied ecological tiers has been culturally transmitted and has remained economically viable, precisely because haciendas usurped the most productive valley floors.

The added artisan income is needed by women with or without international migrant remittances in their household budgets. A migrant's initial debt makes craft income more of a necessity, especially in Gualaceo, where intra-household and family network loans are uncommon and high interest rates are paid to chullqueros. Uzhupud had an active migration pattern when Bordados first started, and their's was indeed the most productive embroidery group until about 1992. It ceased to be a showcase community in 1993, and its enrollment has constantly declined. Knowing that the level of migration to the United States is as high as in Mayuntur and Chiquintad, the low percentage of migrant relatives among Uzhupud embroideresses indicates that desertion is highest among those artisans whose migrant relatives have paid off their debts. It is then foreseeable that Chiquintad, Guanal and Mayuntur will be the next groups with declining productivity and increasing desertion. New recruits for Bordados should not be limited to the communities currently involved. New locales in the Gualaceo and Checa region with incipient migration should be searched for a renewal of the artisan pool. This does not necessarily mean that new groups have to be formed, since artisans can be expected to join an existing group in a neighboring village, a fact already established between Cristo Rey and Cochapamba; San Francisco and Zhiquil. Sondeleg became defunct as a formal group in 1995; its members fused with Guanal which is geographically

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close, but economically distinct, especially in terms of migration vs. subsistence agriculture.

My research on artisan turnover in October 1995 shows that migration to the United States is the most common among the known categories for CBC desertion. For half the desertions I lack data on the motive, because these artisans had already left the project before I started my survey. Judging from informally gathered information my conservative estimate is that 10 to 15 of them did so in order to migrate to the United States. In addition I know of three more artisan migrants to New York City prior to 1994; they were from Chiquintad and Uzhupud, joining husbands who had been gone for several years. Most CBC artisans try to obtain work in the apparel industry, where their high standards in quality control get them supervisory positions almost right away. While I cannot speak for the educational level and amount of informal and apprenticeship training of male migrants who left before my arrival, CBC migrant desertions clearly show that the most skilled women venture to the United States. Of the 15 known cases, five or one-third were formal CBC promotoras, and their departure was a sensible loss to the organization. The other ten emigrants were excellent embroideresses with quality A output. This contradicts the western myth that blue collar migrants are "unskilled."[47] At least three of the promotoras held a high school diploma. By 1994 this skill drain had left just one high school graduate among the 163 home based artisans I interviewed (see table 1).[48]

As mentioned, these highly qualified embroideresses quickly move into supervisory positions in New York City garment sweat shops. Their training in CBC

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[47] The same was said about the poor European immigrants that stampeded the United States from the 1890s to the 1930s, when many of them were skilled crafts people and technicians with apprenticeship/journeymen experiences still unavailable in North America today.

[48] At CBC there are three more: The production manager, one member of the supervisory board (board of trustees), and one member of the education committee who is slated to become marketing manager.

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quality control enables them to detect faulty fabric and inconsistencies in cutting and sewing at a glance. One migrant embroideress was appalled, though, at the negligent quality requirements in a Korean clothing outfit that employed her. Most of the imperfections she detected were not addressed, and she felt ashamed of the final product that was put on the market. While participation in the Centro de Bordados cooperative gives embroideresses added authority within their own communities, the Azuay women artisans who migrate to New York City find themselves completely dependent on male kin for any move outside the home or work place. They spend ten hours a day, six days a week in garment sweat shops at four to seven US dollars per hour. If children are borne to them while in the United States, they need to pay approximately one dollar per hour of day care per child. If ex-embroideresses try to organize co-workers in order to gain better working conditions, encouraging them at the same time to produce high quality garments, they are quickly sacked by the small entrepreneurs who run these outfits. Some couples who have been able to reunite in New York City incurring several thousand dollars of debt are now proceeding to divorce in order for the husband to marry a U.S. citizen, obtain legal status, divorce again, remarry his Azuay spouse and then obtain residency papers for both. These lego-marital manoeuvres cause enormous stress, since most Azuay migrants are devout Catholics. The divorced women live in uncertainty whether the "legal" new wife will not extort additional money to grant a divorce, and whether the husband will really remarry them at the end.[49]

Cooperative organization and international migration dialectically interact with each other. Male migration makes cottage artisan production and cooperative organization attractive sources of income and social support during the initial years of debt repayment. Women's technical and organizational skills eventually enable them to

[49] If these stories sound like soap operas, they illustrate how subsistence insecurity and industrial work conditions force culture change onto people. European fairy tales dating from early industrialization are full of "fantastic" courtship stories, involving countless feats of bravery and ingenuity which the characters can only perform with the aid of magic. For the social history of such tales and their connection to political economy see Rebel (1988) and Schneider (1989)

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find slightly better paid jobs in the United States. On the other hand, the most fundamental issues dear to Centro de Bordados, excellence in quality and cooperative action, are devalued in the garment sweat shops where the embroideresses are put into overseeing positions.

TO SEW OR TO SOW: WHO AND WHAT DICTATE PRIORITIES

Subsistence agriculture and artisan work are of long standing in Azuay, with socio-cultural precedents in the precolumbian era. Today the historical division of labor according to gender in the Andes is exacerbated by a global division of work. This division is propagated indirectly by a western socio-generic concept of what men and women should do, and one of the results is increased male migration to the North. All this combines to deliver a fatal blow to landholding by poor rural families.

These processes recall earlier migrations of Europeans. At the turn of the century, cottage textile industry was unable to maintain Alpine peasants on their precarious slopes, leading thousands of them to seek fortunes in the Americas. The unilinear evolutionary model inherent in development programs is responsible for a rather uncritical repetition of craft intensification in the face of an insufficient subsistence base. European development agents tend to consider the simple reproduction squeeze leading to massive migration as an inevitable part of evolution toward a higher degree of development (Escobar 1991, 1995, Grünenfelder-Elliker 1996), rather than a politically motivated historical process. Mediterranean male peasants migrated alone to Germany, Switzerland and France after World War I, leaving their families behind with small plots insufficient to cover all the socio-physical needs of reproduction. Similarly, the women of Azuay are considered to have only one option: to stay behind and preserve a pristine rural life as intensifying craft producers through the "articulation" with the dominant mode of production by the means of unequal exchange - a metropolitan evil which then is called upon to explain deficient sales.

When asked why artisan production was stimulated rather than an irrigation

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project, for which the Gualaceo region screams at the top of its lungs, the response by CBC and COTESU staff was rather uniform: "We had to work with women heads of household who need to stay on the land while their husbands are away. What else could we do ?" While most agricultural work is done by women, the one task considered critical by Europeans - ploughing - is "traditionally" male. To pull off a project involving soil improvement and other programs of agricultural infrastructure was thus perceived as impossible given the migratory absence of men. The notion that a given division of tasks is somewhat inherent underlies development strategies even if the cultural roots of diversified human behavior are otherwise recognized. This is what makes modern development approaches so similar in methodology to colonial extraction practices (Gailey 1987, Guyer 1984, Mackintosh 1989, Nash 1981, 1985b, 1988c, Sacks 1989). Boserup's work has made its way into development agency training courses, however her critics as well as the vast array of feminist scholarship are largely ignored (SDC 1993,1995). The notion that there are "male" and "female" "systems" of agriculture has thus had an important impact on the way development projects are conceived and carried out, and it has led to contradictory results.

An embroideress, in order to acquire maximum proficiency, needs to spend long hours at her stitching frame. Thus, the proficient embroideress who manages to get the best hourly wage by working fast, at the same time has to forgo many of her agricultural tasks. This results in the abandoning of ecological and climatic diversity. Those fields easily reached are favored, while distant plots in the humid páramo or Amazon "Eyebrow" are abandoned. Some embroideresses attribute the decreasing returns of the land to a lack of proper care, not overuse. The production needs for an international clientele introduce cycles of bust and boom which coincide negatively with the agricultural work load in Azuay.

Thus, there is a contradiction built into this particular development effort: Its overt goals are to improve the socio-economic living conditions of the rural population,

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women and children in particular, and to halt the alarming land-flight. However: Those embroideresses who totally devote themselves to craft production and to cooperative organization fare best in terms of economic returns and social standing within the group at the expense of subsistence agriculture. Those who combine agriculture with crafts do it at great personal expense of time. Since they are less proficient, they have to work long hours at night which damages their eyesight. The time they invest in meetings is at the expense of some other household member's time. This often provokes the anger of a co-resident or even absent male (father, husband, brother). Given the almost total absence of communal landownership in the embroidery villages, there is no chance of integrating agriculture and craft production in a manner which prevents an individual's accumulation or loss of land.

The development agents see socio-cultural change necessary when it comes to punctuality, embroidery quality, nutrition and reproductive health. On the other hand, the social division of labor, especially with regard to manual agricultural tasks, is conceived as immutable. It is assumed that women would be physically unable to plough.

If one looks at the gendered division of labor in the increasingly mechanizing agriculture of Switzerland, where men assign women tedious repetitive tasks in barn and field, we find the paradigmatic basis for the gender stereotypes embedded in Swiss development programming.[50] Corresponding to a very general trend, where women's involvement with breeding decisions of live-stock or management of machinery was seen as unbecoming, I experienced the following division of labor on my parents' dairy farm (1960s to 1980s): While all of us three daughters learned how to milk cows with modern equipment, to drive tractors and haying machinery, only our brother was allowed to repair machines and to drive the - then extremely novel - hay baler and the pressure dung pump. During the labor intensive summer months, girls were doing the

[50] Individual SDC agents have of course differentiated gender images, but - as elaborated in chapter six - the agency's internal gender hierarchy is not conducive to letting theoretically well versed women (and the occasional male agent) take the helm of their transsectorial gender strategy planning.

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evening milking of 50 to 70 cows - with then state-of-the-arts technology - which still involved a lot of bending, kneeling, and lugging dozens of buckets with 50 lbs. of milk down the alley while the men were in the hay fields, driving machinery. Together with our mother, we had to pull the manual hay rakes gathering what the baler left on the field. Lifting hay and straw bales onto wagons was done by men, and that task was the first one of all storage work to become mechanized through the acquisition of a front forklift for the tractor. Building a proper load on the wagons, loading the bales onto the conveyor belt, and building several story high bale stacks in the barn was done mostly by us girls, with the occasional help from the hired male employee [my mother's shoulders had already been wrecked by excessive manual work as an adolescent during World War II, when male frontier patrolling left farms grossly understaffed].

This arduous work - which I enjoyed - was done while the men operated haying machinery sitting on tractors. The excuse for this was that we girls were unable to perform emergency repairs on the chronically deficient knotting system endemic in the first balers of the "International Harvesting Company." The fact is that nobody wanted to teach us, and while my brother is - among many other talents - a gifted self-taught mechanic, one of my sisters had as much inclination for mechanical matters. My father's extensive use of otherwise tabooed vocabulary during his mostly unsuccessful attempts to attend to field malfunctionings of machinery lets me suspect his talents as a mechanic lag behind his skills as a horse trainer and agro-entrepreneur. If rain threatened to ruin a ready crop of hay, men were detached to tractor driven row making and baling while women, pitchfork in hand, were sent to pile up semi-dry fields of hay to minimize the effects of impending disaster - a task from which I always got blisters. This is not to say that men didn't perform many arduous physical tasks on the farm throughout the year. Yet when labor demands were high, stress levels on the rise due to imminent meteorological misfortune, women - at the command of men or adolescent boys- had to perform repetitive tiring manual tasks, while the predestined mechanics - regardless of

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innate ability - operated novel machinery. The occasional high-stress manual tasks such as hay-piling before rain - delegated to women for no better reason than that men disliked doing it as much as we did - were never mechanized, even though such a machine could have been adapted from existing technology.[51]

Given this particular farm division of labor in Switzerland - in a country that extended political emancipation to women in 1971 - it is not surprising to find a widespread belief that women are inherently different from men, unable to perform certain male dominated tasks. The Bordados project never explored the possibility of organizing women around the acquisition or integration of male work services and improved rural technology. This has led to an increase in land flight and agrarian neglect. On the one hand craft income, together with migrant remittances, allows young families to survive without the natural resources produced on the land. On the other, the skills acquired in quality craft production, social organization, and negotiation with foreigners are helping a growing number of embroideresses to migrate themselves, because they can earn worth-while wages as undocumented workers in North American textile sweat shops.

Gender stereotypes rooted in the development agents' own cultures, combined with local patterns of female subservience, have obscured the women's agrarian management qualities. The time intensive subsistence activities carried out by Azuay women are seen as technological anachronisms from which the out-migrating men are liberating themselves. The development project addresses the subsistence crisis by absorbing female labor time into intensified craft production. As a consequence, agriculture declines, in particular with regard to the maintenance of more remote and climatologically diversified plots which used to ensure the household against a

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[51] The point raised by Mencher and D'Amico (1986) that the Green Revolution mechanized male rather than female tasks is true also for agricultural development in the First World, and it may be reasonable to imply that the gendered mechanization priorities are a result of western male hegemony imposed on other agrarian societies through the transculturation effects of modern development efforts (Nash 1988c).

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generalized crop failure.

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IV Swiss development aid and and the cooperative's limitations for autonomy

MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

The focus on a female craft which yields additional household income through the work of rural women with only a few years of poor elementary education meant that the first six years of project implementation centered around the perfection of technical embroidery skills and the organization of localized craft groups. Management and business training opportunities were not extended to embroideresses, not even those with high school diplomas, but to professionals hired from outside. With one exception all of them had university credentials in relevant disciplines, but, symptomatic of Ecuador's low quality public education, none was sufficiently trained for and experienced in the tasks inherent in their respective job descriptions.[1] The perceived need to look for properly "credentialed" urban professionals bespeaks a view of "peasants as part-societies" (Foster 1953), rather than integral part of a society; albeit one which extends differential access to productive and reproductive resources to its members according divisions of ethnicity, class and gender. The development agents themselves might indeed be considered part societies of an expanding world system in which their talents are richly rewarded in order to be retained.

This dichotomized view of society led to structured opportunities in education and training. While on-the-job training weeks began for CBC board members in 1995, expensive seminars and international travel opportunities were reserved for the outside hires and for the local development agents. The six years, during which valuable grassroots organization did take place, the development project could have been used in parallel fashion to train the half a dozen, well prepared and gifted leaders for tasks in management and marketing. This would have provided the young cooperative with qualified grassroots leadership and given the fledgling cooperative a better chance to

[1] This does not concern the three development agents, who were, however, in varying degrees responsible for the hiring of outside specialists.

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become an autonomous venture.[2] Clearly these differentiated opportunity structures reveal that development projects need to fit into an existing systemic structure, rather than being viewed as vehicles for processual change. This chapter will describe the Centro de Bordados project as well as the differential impact of this particular development encounter.

Swiss development workers are familiar with the core-periphery polarity (Wallerstein 1976) and with dependency theory (Frank 1968). Notions of "urban evil," and of rural urban discontinuity (Redfield 1930, 1950, Lewis 1951) continue to be prevalent in Swiss intellectual thinking (for example Hostettler 1996). The Swiss Development Cooperation [SDC] sees itself as a bridge between peripheral production and core market, between hinterland producers and metropolitan consumers; a boulder shielding impoverished and struggling rural subsistence agriculture from being abandoned by those who seek to better their condition and that of their children through migration. In Swiss thought, land flight (Landflucht) is perceived as a curse that has to be kept in check. Therefore, Centro de Bordados Cuenca is a development project meant to address the following needs identified by the two agencies involved[3]

- to stop land flight and abandoning of subsistence agriculture in the face of massive male migration to national and international urban centers
- to improve general living conditions and women's status within family and community
- to "counteract the abuse and exploitation by cottage putter outers through education and a clear organization of property relations" (CORQUI t.311.29.1:03/14 /88).

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[2] This strategy bears the risk of loosing some leaders to better paid business ventures outside the cooperative. However, the strong social commitment exhibited by current CBC board members allows the assumption, that this risk would have been small; indeed some of the women who have emigrated may have stayed behind given the option of continuous and novel business and financial training. They might even have been able to encourage the return of a migrant husband or fiancé.

[3] Swiss Development Cooperation [SDC] and Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio [FEPP]

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The Swiss agency reasoned that female cottage "craftsmanship"[4] promotes the integrity of the family and the survival of mountain agriculture. The set goals were to recruit and train 1000 embroideresses within the first three years of the project; to pay high wages and offer fringe benefits (social security, health care) to processing and administrative staff and artisans working out of their homes (CORQUI ibid).

On Nov. 24, 1988 the first bilateral agreement to the above effect was signed by the then Foreign Minister of Ecuador, Diego Cordovez; the Chargé d'affaires of the Swiss Confederation in Quito, Francis Cousin, acting on behalf of the Swiss Government's Development Agency [SDC]; and José [Giuseppe] Tonello, the executive director of a local Catholic NGO, Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio [FEPP]. The agreement stipulated FEPP as the executive entity and nominal co-sponsor who was going to provide approximately two percent of the initial three-year budget. The bulk of project funds were to come from COTESU, the international financing agency providing resident and visiting experts in business administration and textile designs. During this first phase from the summer of 1988 to the summer of 1991, FEPP's main task was identified as "the training of women, emphasizing not only social organization but focusing on business administration " (CORQUI ibid:11/24/88).

AIM AND SCOPE OF CENTRO DE BORDADOS CUENCA

While FEPP and COTESU had jointly set the global goals of improved living conditions and female status, FEPP was to find an implementation strategy which was socio-politically acceptable for the Ecuadorian state and culturally compatible with life in rural Azuay. There is no doubt that both COTESU and FEPP would have welcomed women as cooperative managers, but there was no model to follow, since the theoretical orientation of the foreign donor was toward systemic maintenance, and the progressive

[4] Esther Goody's (1982) distinction between the Kauf and Verlag system allows for a differentiated treatment of the individual CBC artisan and the cooperative: As a corporate group - managed by outside hires - Centro de Bordados corresponds to the Kauf system, but the individual embroideress falls into the category of Verlag, since control over the productive process is held by the managers at CBC headquarters.

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action of FEPP had and still has to bring forth female emancipation with regard to career hierarchy and project management - even driving a car - among its own ranks.

COTESU and FEPP had been partners in development before. A veteran COTESU dairy specialist had worked with FEPP to install a successful cheese making cooperative in Bolívar province in the 1980s. Women were engaged as specialized workers at the processing plant in Salinas, but the marketing and sales personnel operating the small retail store in Quito were all male, indicating that a gendered access to project sponsored capacity building in finance and management were uncritically reproduced both by FEPP and by SDC's expert.

Since 1982, COTESU had been financing a FEPP project in the production and marketing of handicrafts. FEPP had noticed several problems with the embroidery line of their craft marketing venture. For one, the embroideries were "archaic," and unable to keep up the pace with changing styles of fashion. There were no appropriate business channels for it, meaning no access to the export market. Therefore, FEPP envisioned the introduction of a new and exclusive export design with the concomitant technology and skills transferal. At the end of the development project, Centro de Bordados Cuenca should be a self-governed and administrated operation (CORQUI t.311 29.1 July 1988, Anexo FEPP). However, in the minds of FEPP and COTESU personnel, the women involved in this novel and exclusive production and marketing venture were going to be cottage industry out-workers. In the following paragraphs I shall outline how the broad goals set by SDC for the first phase of the project, as well as the more minute details fleshed out by FEPP foreshadow the marginal integration of women artisans into active roles of product design, sales management, and financial planning:

SDC's planning for the first phase aimed at the following (CORQUI t.311 29.4.2 Planificación: 12/14/87): The Embroidery Center (meaning the CBC processing plant and marketing organism) should "be operated and managed autonomously after three years [in June of 1991]. This self managements needs timely preparation." The planner

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- who had been exposed to artisan organization in Ecuador before (Meier 1981) - recognized that this is a difficult and time intensive process, yet there are no specific provisions as to how the preparation of autonomous cooperative management were to be achieved during the project planing phase. Conspicuously absent are reflections on how women with little formal schooling will be trained to become cooperative entrepreneurs, and what criteria would be applied to help the grassroots participants select promising candidates for extensive business training.[5] My feeling is that consulting with a social worker experienced in grassroots organization could have provided a realistic time frame for this issue during the first planning phase, sparing the development agency, its planners and subsequent executing agents the frustration over delays in achieving cooperative autonomy.

The "quantity" bias which plagues development planners at international head offices, even though for budgetary reasons "small is beautiful" has become the battle cry of gender programs, also affected CBC. Among the underachieved goals were the recruitment and training of one thousand embroideresses, set to obtain a balanced cost-benefit situation for the project. However, in human organization, monetary cost-benefit is difficult to come by. Long term intergenerational benefits would need to be factored in. This would have entailed that not only the "practical" needs of added income be immediately addressed but "strategic" ones such as deficiencies in formal education be factored into long term planning from the very beginning. Then an operation initially involving "only" two hundred people would all of a sudden look much better, obliterating

[5] While it was FEPP's responsibility to work out the details and mechanics of implementing the social strategies, a guiding principle from the major donor - SDC - which was intent on doing a "women's project," would have been absolutely necessary, especially since both COTESU and FEPP were treading novel ground in Ecuador. The lack of applied gender theory with regard to the Bordados project foreshadows the "token" character of SDC's transsectorial gender strategy elaborated since the late 1980s. As the century draws to a close, SDC agents at the Berne headquarters - almost exclusively women - are still struggling to reverse this tendency by linking SDC's external and "public" "women's empowerment" policy to an internal career equity for women and men within the "private" walls of the institution. Chapter six offers more detail about SDC's internal "gender contradiction."

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the need to project one thousand participants as a short term project goal.

FEPP identified the following priorities for the project (t.311.29.1 Anexo FEPP July 1988). The implementing strategies and results which I describe below show that the lack of a clear SDC gender-theory has a direct bearing on the future lack of autonomy which plagues the grassroots artisans and their cooperative:

> The formation of grassroots personnel responsible for management and daily operations.
> This was partially achieved in 1993, but not with grassroots personnel and as an all male management: COTESU project manager, FEPP consultant, production manager and accountant, marketing manager.[6] The female Swiss social worker was handling a variety of daily operations in the administrative realm, but she was not given the status of a "consultant." She covered loopholes, acted as a general troubleshooter and as the assistant of the project manager. In terms of female "role model" for the women artisans, the project did not give her the opportunities to transcend the male bias in management. Even though she was the best educated administrator at CBC[7], she deferred decision making to her male colleagues, since her non-managerial position as "the social worker" didn't warrant a decisive role in business related questions. While she would have been well qualified to conduct managerial training for embroideresses, her agenda was mostly restricted to skills and technology transferal in the domestic realm, covering health, sanitation, child care, nutrition, and modern housekeeping.
>
> The acquisition, preparation, and redistribution of materials.
> This was achieved within the first few months, a remarkable feat given the constraints of local infrastructure and the difficulties in obtaining good quality raw materials on a timely and regular basis. Acquisition remained in hands of a male production manager until 1995, when an embroideress took that job. Time consuming and tedious work of manually cutting up cloth and fitting it with temporary seams for the stitching frame, alcohol imprinting of designs, cutting and sorting of thread are done by embroideresses from the very beginning. A male driver was hired for the delivery rounds to all eleven villages. This man also holds the job of paymaster. Here one would have wished for a woman, rather than a man, to act as a role model, but it may have been impossible to find a working or middle class woman with a driver's licence in Azuay. In fact, not even the female Ecuadorian FEPP agents in Cuenca have been allowed to acquire the necessary skills to drive a vehicle. One of them sarcastically remarked that the men at FEPP argued women would crash the pickup trucks at the first curve, yet - she pointed out - almost every male FEPP agent she knew had been involved in

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[6] See appendix 2: CBC table of organization

[7] Her degree from Höhere Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsschule (HWV) is almost the equivalent of an M.B.A.

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at least a minor crash while driving an official vehicle.[8]

Take charge of design, quality control, export, efficient administration and accounting

Quality control was put into the hands of artisans from the beginning. All other realms continue to be the domain of outside specialists in 1995. Female students of local fine arts schools were hired, but their role remained strictly technical and entailed no role-modelling decision making. Since a few embroideresses held high school diplomas when they entered - some have since emigrated - with hindsight it would have been much more productive to finance fine arts training for two or three of the most apt among the grassroots participants. The workplace at Centro de Bordados would have provided these student-artisans with an added apprenticeship opportunity during the first years when designs were mandated by a Swiss partner firm with exclusive marketing rights.

Partial self financing after July 1990

This started to occur in 1991 - the delay was insignificant given the six year length of the project manager's tenure. The COTESU project manager is a very good financial planner and business manager as well as gifted skills transferal specialist. With no clear gender policy from SDC - whose transsectorial gender planning was only nascent in the late eighties, early nineties - he devoted his time and energy to work with the outside hires, particularly the accountant/ business manager and the marketing specialist- both men.

Raise artisan's hourly rates to exceed those obtained outside the project

This was being achieved in the beginning. By March of 1993 CBC piece rates translated into an hourly wage 37 % below official artisan salaries, and dissatisfaction with pay has persisted among embroideresses. Sweater knitting and shoe lacing are increasingly occupying CBC artisans in the Gualaceo area, because CBC has gone to a no stock policy where production is geared exclusively to orders placed. In the fast changing fashion market this is understandable. However, a detailed knowledge of market seasonality, and the elaboration of classic and fashionable - not trendy - items could link production with agricultural seasonality in a way that the two become optimally intertwined.

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[8] The Gualaceo Drivers' Union ("Sindicado de Choferes de Gualaceo") has so far refused to accept women trainees, but there are non union private driving schools in Cuenca. The Swiss project manager had been wanting to train personally two embroideresses in 1993/94 before his contract ended. However, he felt that his choice of trainees would have to be ratified by the fledgling cooperative. The women artisans he had prequalified were willing to be trained but felt this privilege would arouse jealousy among their peers. COTESU Quito was willing to finance artisan driving skills. Once these conditions became known to COTESU personnel in Quito, a mandate that CBC train artisan drivers, rather than passive consent by COTESU, would have given the task the necessary legitimacy. In the future, a project manager encountering similar circumstances may want to propose a number of qualified grassroots candidates for such highly controversial yet coveted training and let the organization's leadership or plenum decide who is to benefit from it.

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Monitor project effects on family and community

Statistical and sociological monitoring is in place: CBC is elaborating statistics on artisan work hours, weekly income, desertion and its motivations. There is a close contact between the coop leaders, the external contract managers running CBC, and the remaining FEPP consultant with the artisan base. My fieldwork and survey are also part of this monitoring. The present work will be available to SDC in Berne, COTESU Quito and CBC in Cuenca.[9]

Periodic progress evaluation

A thorough external evaluation by an Ecuadorian specialist in marketing textiles was conducted in 1994. The evaluator visited some of the embroidery villages and spent two weeks conducting archival research at CBC. He interviewed coop board members and personally attended to one community's immediate need for repairs on the collapsing one-room school house. Faced with the fact of increased male and incipient female emigration to the United States, the evaluator, an Ecuadorian textile trader, pondered the contradiction between artisan production and international migration. One of his suggestions, made verbally to CBC managers, development agents and the anthropologist was that if people want to leave so badly, maybe there should be a program (not out of CBC or COTESU) helping them to do so efficiently and if possible legally. Unfortunately, he did not explicitly include the emigration-craft intensification conflict in his report, probably because it is a highly political issue which he felt a foreign aid agency could not easily become involved in. I also got the impression, he felt it "natural" that women should want to join their absentee husbands, rather than finding a way to offer male earning opportunities in Azuay in order to halt further migration and stimulate the return of those already gone. Embedded is the notion that the male head of household makes crucial decisions about residence and work place, while women merely follow suit.

Recruit and train one thousand embroideresses

CBC recruitment is at 20 to 25 percent of this goal, but I do not think that this is really a drawback. The recruitment goal was set high, because the capital goods, machines, car, building, as well as the expert staff could be better "amortized." There was sufficient material and human infrastructure to train a thousand embroideresses, but once the Swiss firm who was buying up all embroideries defaulted on its commitment it soon became clear that the market capacity for hand embroideries is small and the contacts elusive. SDC headquarters might not have approved of a project for only 200 artisans. FEPP surveys indicate that there are over a thousand underemployed female artisans in Gualaceo and Cuenca cantons. However, the quality requirements and time demands made on CBC embroideresses make it difficult for the majority of part time craft producers to comply with project guidelines. This locates the Swiss development effort at the critical and gendered work load intersection typical of efforts aimed at alleviating rural subsistence insecurity: Women, while gaining extremely useful knowledge about technological innovation, invigorated social organization, and new economic dimensions, become overly burdened with triple work days as

[9] The cooperative has received an extensive photo documentation (slides) and translated excerpts of the present work will be handed over as well.

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agriculturalists, home-makers, and artisans.

Local groups train their own members and organize distribution of raw materials and return of semi-finished product:
Until 1993-94 this was done by embroideresses trained at and appointed by the center. However, since 1995 quality control work is increasingly being done by qualified promotoras from *within* each group. Since the beginning of the project in 1989, the CBC vehicle has been paying a weekly visit to every group, contributing greatly to group cohesion. The respective village chapel, usual meeting point, is within walking distance for the women. These weekly visits to every embroidery community have fortified a sense of belonging among embroideresses which would have been difficult to achieve otherwise. The often joyful anticipation of the arrival of the CBC truck, the visiting between women who hardly see each other during the work-week, the exchange of news and information among embroideresses, and the arrival of news from CBC's Cuenca headquarters all take place in a communally contextualized form. The same information from CBC's management and the coop board have different meanings for different communities: News about the selection of two or three "rapid response" communities will be received with joy and anticipation in the communities selected, yet may provoke anguish over diminishing out-put for the groups who will not participate in the elaboration of "urgent orders." Management and board are remarkably transparent with regard to such crucial changes. The fact that each village group is individually informed by board and management representatives during meetings where grassroots participants are given voice, allows for the prevention of inter-community conflicts. Without these weekly visits, the channeling of crucial information will be difficult. Plans exist to change the individual craft collection/pay visits to a weekly meeting for all Gualaceo embroidery groups on Sundays during the Gualaceo fair. This would save on gasoline, car depreciation and personnel costs. However, during the Sunday market, which draws almost everybody to town, women need to attend to a lot of other business such as: weekly shopping, meeting school and church authorities, use health clinic/doctors, meet friends and family for upkeep of networks and exchange of information, participation in church groups, etc.

Fortify UCCG[10] subgroup "La Inmaculada" to run CBC
Cooperative life took a different turn. The individual embroidery groups coalesced independently of "La Inmaculada," but maybe at the expense of "La Inmaculada's" leadership who became key figures in CBC' cooperative. Another problem would have been to incorporate embroideresses from canton Cuenca into the leadership of Gualaceo based "La Inmaculada." One also needs to closely examine how useful it is to organize a regional "women's project/program" at the expense of existing local grassroots groups. Through the full identification of former "La Inmaculada" leaders with CBC the

[10] UCCG (Union de Comunidades Campesinas de Gualaceo) is a campesino umbrella organization in Gualaceo canton. The grassroots knitting group "La Inmaculada" and a basic food store and distribution center are its most visible base action groups.

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knitting cooperative has become eclipsed by the embroidery project. [11] The fact, however, that embroideries encounter a difficult market, and that FEPP is now using CBC's human resources and social infrastructure to farm out export knittings raises additional questions about the introduction of a new line of manufacture and a new organizational structure into the local context, rather than trying to build on existing grassroots achievements.

Establish export contacts

In Berne, SDC headquarter agents who had previously found Swiss markets for crafts produced by their projects in Asia found a renowned family business which had been producing and later trading in embroideries for over a century. This company, Trachsel [JHT], offered to buy up all CBC production and it was given a European trade monopoly. Trachsel supplied patterns and a handicraft instructor who taught new stitches and techniques. In 1990 the venerable firm was bought up by a trading company, BERNIMPEX who did not honor the agreement between Trachsel and CBC. CBC proceeded to cut wholesale prices under its cost level to keep BERNIMPEX as a client. By April 1993, with very few exceptions, Trachsel designs as well as CBC originals created in 1992 were being sold at 12 to 33 percent loss. The project manager, together with the FEPP consultant and CBC hired management decided to kiss the Swiss monopoly good-bye. CBC hired Renato, a young Azuayo man, to open up the Latin American and North American markets. Renato had gone to Canada as an illegal migrant, but managed to become a "landed immigrant" (legal resident) and to take courses in marketing and business administration at a Canadian University. However, his written English was very basic, and his business skills were insufficient to keep up with the rapid pace of North American buyers.[12] While with CBC, Renato traveled extensively, considering local circumstances, but he won only a few retail customers. He was unable to bring in a single contract with a wholesaler or department store chain. CBC administration as well as rank and file grew dissatisfied with the imbalance between Renato's extensive travel costs and low client return. His contract was terminated in late 1994. Octavio, the accountant cum business manager, took up the job at no extra salary cost and with much more modest travel expenses. However, success continues to elude CBC marketing ventures. Here the gender and education bias of development agents again prevented the timely training of two or three artisans with a flair for

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[11] While I had read about the knitting association in COTESU archives, I never heard of "La Inmaculada" until August of 1994 when the coop president invited me to accompany her to one of the meetings held once month.

[12] In 1994 he waited for over six months to follow up on an inquiry by a New York museum, and when he did, he sent a lengthy project description in rudimentary English, rather than examples of current crafts tailored to the Museum's specific assortment. I had noticed these procedures during archival work and had talked about them with Urs who was then already in the "weaning" stage of his contract, when a foreign specialist moves from day-to-day management chores into a consulting position, in order to make for a smooth transition. To my surprise it didn't take CBC rank and file artisans long to notice marketing deficiencies simply by evaluating verbal reports delivered during general assemblies.

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commercial questions, a task which could have been started at the very beginning in 1989. By 1994 such a trainee would probably have been more successful than the inadequate male outside hire.

Plan a building with UCCG in Gualaceo

According to SDC's initial proposal (CORQUI t.311.29.42: 12/14/87) the finishing plant/headquarters of Centro de Bordados Cuenca were to be located in Gualaceo. An interesting point in this proposal is that the SDC planner envisions handing the property housing the embroidery processing plant over to the umbrella organization UCCG, where men are involved in administration, management, and the board.[13] Subsequent events modified this plan: A 1991 document proposed to acquire 1134 m^2 of land in Cuenca's new Industrial Park [PIC]. The umbrella organization UCCG no longer served as the buying entity, but Centro de Bordados in its cooperative form, represented, however, by José Tonello, FEPP's executive director in Quito. The price at that time (Aug. 23, 1991) was S./ 19.731.600 (CORQUI t.311 29.1: 08/23/91). This plan took on definite character after the 1993 Josefina landslide had cut Gualaceo off from a rapid access road to Cuenca and generally lead to the town's economic and tourist decline. New telephone lines were hardly introduced anymore, and marketing technology has remained at the photocopier and fax level, machines which frequently break down. To get repair technicians to come out continues to take days, due to the difficult road conditions. The building at Parque Industrial was built between August 1995 and February 1996 when CBC moved from near the stadium to the spacious finishing plant at the northern outskirts of Cuenca.

The building issue allowed me to examine more closely certain constraints and contradiction in North-South cooperation: The FEPP consultant and the coop president jointly requested COTESU funds for the new finishing plant on September 14, 1993 with the cautious support of the Swiss project manager. COTESU in Quito and SDC were reluctant, since craft profits had proven unable to elevate artisan piece rates above minimum craft wages, much less to maintain and amortize a building. However, the grassroots leaders' unrealistic expectations are in part due to the deficient management training offered to them. When funds were secured from CARE - with a small contribution from COTESU - I found myself explaining capital service and amortization

[13] A rather dysfunctional building had been handed over by SDC to women knitters in Arani Bolivia (Page-Reeves 1996) in the early 1990s. The controversy surrounding that project may have instilled a generic reluctance of sorts, within the Latin America section at SDC, to hand over a processing plant to a group of women in the Andes, even though, in export embroidery, machines are necessary for the preparation and finishing of raw materials and semi-finished craft products.

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to the perceptive coop president, who, together with her board members, had been desperate to gain insight into financial management. [14] While a few years earlier a veteran COTESU development agent (the late Sepp Dubach), had been able to transmit this critical issue in the Salinas cheese-making project[15], at CBC efforts to plunge artisan women into the full complexities of modern business administration and finance management were slow to take off. The local CBC manager and the accountant imparting courses on the subject were themselves not fully educated on it. These courses were given to two dozen leaders at a time, of whom half a dozen were prepared to learn financial control and bookkeeping rapidly, while the majority had had no prior exposure to the matter. Those women who would have been able to learn more through questions and intensive training did not want to stand out - except Ñaña - and were not given sufficient and sufficiently clear explanations. The FEPP consultant, as well as the Swiss project manager and the social worker had the necessary knowledge to teach basic accounting and more complex financial matters to the grassroots leadership, but they didn't on two accounts: For one, they felt that if the CBC hired professionals didn't have a better grasp on these matters, much less could the embroideresses be burdened with knowledge far removed from their educational and social background. However, I found women artisans, in particular Lisa, Ñaña, Cumandá, Adela, and Lena, to be receptive to

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[14] My explanation went as follows: "Never mind whence the capital for investment - be it personal savings or corporate earnings, gift as in their case or, I joked, even if it were stolen - once invested, the capital needs to be serviced, that is the capital goods need maintenance and repair. The capital invested has to yield a yearly net interest of 6 - 10 percent in its hard-currency terms. Capital goods (buildings, machinery) need to be amortized in less time than their use-life, so that items can be replaced once they become obsolete. Such obsoletion need not be material, but is often technological, meaning that capital needs a very rapid turnover/amortization."

[15] It seems that putting men in charge of financial operations comes easier to male Swiss and Ecuadorian agents than doing the same with women. However, Sepp Dubach - who had a real interest in gender as a theoretical instrument of development - had on several occasions invited the Bordados artisan leadership to examine cooperative management at Salinas. His untimely tragic death in 1995 cut this emerging process of grassroots learning exchange short.

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these concepts. A second argument for letting the outside hires rather than the project agents promote the transferal of business skills is the world systems view which predominates Swiss development practice: Aspiring non campesino professionals excluded from access to their country's élite circles are also supposed to benefit from grassroots projects in a well meant effort to make "development" an integral part of social process in countries of the South. Resources which could enable grassroots leaders to acquire skills alternatively, are spent on individualized remedial efforts to correct the deficient higher education of local non élite professionals. This is in and of itself a worthwhile effort, but it should not be funded at the expense of a "women's project" mandated to alleviate the immediate and strategic needs of the "poorest segments" of society in a SDC focus country.

PROJECT AIMS AND GOALS IN RETROSPECT

The previous presentation and processual contextualization of CBC goals as enunciated by COTESU and FEPP reveal that a clear gender strategy elaborated at the headquarters of SDC in Berne would have greatly facilitated COTESU's strategic planning of and FEPP's practical work toward the creation of an autonomous cooperative through the Centro de Bordados development project. The lack of female role models, such as a woman project manager, perpetuated the male hegemony introduced into the Andes after the Spanish conquest, and the current patriarchal structure which dominates social relations of production and reproduction in the Latin America was locally reinforced (see Nash 1988c). Since the "women's project" was not rooted in a sound examination of social science theories, and of scholarship on gender in particular, COTESU could not give clear instructions to CBC project leadership when it came to counter the flagrant local discrimination of women with regard to such mundane achievements as to obtain a driver's licence, nor to start addressing more complex issues such as the gender and ethnic gap in Ecuadorian public education. Implementing strategists had no practical tools at hand to recognize gender as a process of social and economic differentiation.

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Therefore, valuable resources were spent on training middle class and mostly male professionals hired to manage craft production and distribution, rather than empowering women artisan leaders with the necessary knowledge to run their own and autnonomous cooperative within the six year time frame of project implementation. In addition, the relatively "expensive" outside hires[16] - who did not raise business performance to increase artisan income - in part contribute to the low piece rate due to the excessive administrative overhead.

The stereotypical role of men as primary breadwinners whose individual decisions to migrate abroad cannot be pondered and altered, and the "irrevocable" nature of women as pillars of home, hearth, and precarious smallhold has involuntarily but profoundly subverted SDC's good intentions to alleviate subsistence insecurity by providing rural women with additional income. These income benefits could not be extended to the reasonably projected maximum of underemployed local women, because the concomitant gendered increase in household workloads - exacerbated by male migration - made it impossible for many to participate in the high precision export venture.

The previous paragraphs help to identify the most important problems with regard to establishing an autonomous artisan cooperative, but it is equally important to highlight the project's most crucial achievement: to fortify, consolidate, and further women's social organization; to stimulate its growth in those communities where no women's group had existed before. New self-managed communal stores emerged, and embroideresses' reputation as expert artisans, efficient and community oriented organizers, and conciliatory leader figures has indeed increased the respect they enjoy within household and community. This achievement was complicated by the male

[16] I must clarify, however, that these hired professionals, with few exceptions, were and are hardworking, dedicated administrators who entertain friendly relations with the artisan base. I also think that the development agents hired the best qualified and most appropriate people available on the local job market. My argument is that women artisans should have been trained from the beginning to become managers and administrators.

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dominance in the local umbrella organization [UCCG]. To establish the eleven self-governed yet interconnected women's groups was no small feat, considering the absence of a clearly formulated gendered strategy and attests to the skill and dedication of development agents male and female as well as to the immense effort of grassroots leaders and artisan rank and file. The remainder of this chapter provides ethnographic descriptions of Centro de Bordados, its eleven constituent embroidery communities, and of the important marketing and educational challenges which remain to be resolved before the cooperative can become and autonomous grassroots organization.

ACTORS AT CENTRO DE BORDADOS CUENCA

In February 1992 I had gone to Cuenca at the suggestion of the then COTESU coordinator. His theoretical take on the development critique was that failure analysis had been exhaustively done, and that I should try to examine critically what he called "his preferred, and probably one of the best COTESU projects in Ecuador."[17] The COTESU coordinator invited me to come along on a field visit where he introduced me to the aid workers of Centro de Bordados. Rolando, an Ecuadorian economist with a particular interest in sociology and 20 years of field experience, is the FEPP consultant "loaned" to the Bordados project. Urs, a Swiss metallurgist with expatriate experience in the private industry, was then the executive project manager. Flurina, a Swiss business

[17]At first I was skeptical, thinking that the coordinator's main agenda was to prevent research which could reflect negatively on his office. As I came to know him better through participatory fieldwork and friendship, it became quite obvious that he was interested in the utility of economic and political anthropology. The fact that I read "hard stuff," like THE ECONOMIST led him to hope that "something useful" might come out of my work, and that this fieldwork would be more than an interesting pastime for an idle expatriate wife. After having visited a variety of COTESU projects in the highlands, I was convinced that much more historical and processual knowledge can be gained from a long term and relatively successful project, than from the study of problematic approaches on the road down to defeat. I have never regretted this decision. The problems and defeats of Centro de Bordados are instructive precisely because it is a "successful" project, one with potential for improved repetition for those who work in aid agencies. The study of a failure limits the scientist to identify what should not be done. Useful, as this is, it has been done to death. The study of a "success" enables the social scientist to point out sectors which need change and improvement as well as highlight what was done right and why.

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administrator, had been with FEPP as a social worker since before 1989. FEPP responded to the COTESU need for a social worker on the Bordados project by proposing Flurina, since she was able to act as a cultural broker between Rolando and Urs on the one hand, and between rural artisan women and foreign technicians on the other.

Rolando grew up on a smallhold in Chordeleg near Gualaceo. He joined FEPP after graduating from the Salesian' Mission's agrarian high school in Cuenca. After a few years he combined his FEPP job with university education. By the time he entered university he was married and the father of a child. Both, Rolando and his wife identify with their campesino origin in a quest for increased economic and social welfare and political participation of Ecuador's dispossessed rural population.

Both Swiss development workers, Urs and Flurina, have Ecuadorian spouses. Urs, fascinated by his wife's country, had always wanted to work in Ecuador. He does not subscribe to a "helper ideology" (Schmidbauer 1977) common to many aid workers. The job with Bordados appealed to him precisely because it bore the mandate to establish an economically self sufficient artisan cooperative in a relatively short period (his initial two year contract was extended to four and finally six years)[18]. Flurina's infatuation with Ecuador originated in childhood during home visits of her uncle (father's brother) who has been a missionary priest in an Azuay parish for over twenty years. She came to Ecuador in order to become involved in grassroots aid work which is where she met her husband.

Flurina, Rolando and Urs gave me an enormous amount of background information on Azuay's more recent economic and social past, on cooperative formation, on particulars about the various embroidery groups and their villages. They put geographic and cultural differences into perspective. The three development agents prevented a few potential faux-pas I could have easily committed without their guidance. The only vested interest they may have had in doing so was to exercise some "damage control" over the

[18] It is normal for a development agency to offer two-year contracts to experts which are then extended as the project develops.

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doings of an initiating anthropological busy-body. While generously supportive of my research, the development agents and the contract manager made no attempt to direct my approach or influence its outcome.

In terms of project hierarchy, I had to make my way "down" from the top. Since international techno-social cooperation usually involves people of several ethnic, class, gender, and linguistic identities, it is useful if the investigator shares several markers with each subgroup involved. In my case the nationality, language, family background and educational experience correspond with those of the two Swiss development workers at Centro de Bordados. A social science background and my alma mater's deference to productive processes forge a professional bond with Rolando, the FEPP consultant, as well as with Octavio the contracted accountant (later the business manager). With the embroideresses I share a rural family background and some agricultural knowledge[19], as well as my condition as a working/traveling mother and wife.

Among the over twenty artisan leaders, some are part of CBC staff in Cuenca; others maintain the life of subsistence agriculture and craft production in the mostly remote village where CBC operates. I wish to introduce the reader to five of these outstanding women who form part of the cooperative's backbone: Cumandá, Adela, Ñaña, Lisa and Lena. Cumandá and Adela are in their early thirties. They were already in leadership positions at the campesino federation [20] in Gualaceo when FEPP approached the women there with the Bordados project proposal. Adela, then single but since married, was president in the organization's "pre-coop" stage, when bylaws were worked out and the general form and content given to the cooperative structure in the making. Cumandá succeeded her and is now in the second three year term as president. She has remained single out of personal and professional reasons, since a married woman's tenure at a grassroots organization's apex is physically, emotionally, as well as

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[19] The same is true for Rolando and Urs.

[20] UCCG: Unión de Comunidades Campesinas de Gualaceo.

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socially taxing and economically disastrous. Cumandá and Adela have a strong sense of identity. For one their association with liberation theology has encouraged them to recognize publicly the class based social divisions they had acutely perceived since childhood. Their interest in history allows them to connect the campesino identity to the turbulent ethnic roots particular of Gualaceo's mining past. While they do not often label this identity as "indigenous," they acknowledge their local roots in a way Whites and Mestizos usually don't: "Soy mujer, mujer campesina y mujer Azuaya."[21] While élite women like Rosalía Arteaga, the nation's current vice president (1996 -present) could claim this Azuayo status for herself, she and her social peers rarely do, but confer "Azuayoness" to "our people," (nuestra gente), to "Azuay's women" (la mujer Azuaya). This geographically shrouded idiomatic euphemism confers identity to people for whom the somewhat static anthropological terminology in the Andes has the label chola, with reference to the wide Spanish style skirt worn by the women. Women like Cumandá and Adela, however, have little use for such a reductionist term which puts them into a no-[wo]man's-land between "real Indians" and Mestizos. They know of their Cañari past, yet unromantically - if with understandable nostalgia - acknowledge that it is so much part of a remote and irreversible past that claiming it as an identity would only provoke misunderstanding and even ridicule among the upper middle class Mestizo and the élite White sector.[22]

Ñaña's precise and thoughtful questions asked during meetings and training sessions attest to her natural managerial talent and her great sense of finance. She is in her mid twenties, has a high school diploma and would be able to achieve a University degree in business administration with no trouble. She married in early 1994 and has a small daughter. She has moved from coop treasurer, a task she still performs on the side - and with bravado - to production manager of CBC. I first became aware of her above

[21] I am a woman, a campesina woman, a woman from Azuay.

[22] See Cumandá's statement in chapter two where she reflects on how post-conquest events have affected Azuay and its people.

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average sense of finance management during an accounting workshop given to CBC leaders in early 1994. A former accountant myself, I couldn't help but admire her precise questions regarding the classification of transitory actives and passives during book closures when a business year comes to term. The CBC contract accountant, while familiar with the concept, had not received the necessary methodological training to make these complex accounting concepts understandable to the twenty women coop leaders in her public. Ñaña, however, was able to assimilate the accountant's explanations which to me made sense, because I am familiar with the subject. On a training trip to the United States Ñaña had to take over an accounting workshop from the U.S. lecturer, since nobody on staff at the contracted NGO had sufficient proficiency in Spanish to translate. After the attending anthropologists had given Ñaña the gross outline of the lecture, she delivered a veritable 40 minute lesson to her artisan peers from Central and South America, trimmed with practical examples from coop financial ventures and problems.

Lisa is not a member of a CBC community, but comes from the Checa hinterland. After her high school diploma she trained to become an adult literacy instructor and worked for a provincial program until 1989 when CBC contracted her to work in technology transfer. Lisa is married to an artisan-jeweler and has a small daughter. Her husband, like Ñaña's, supports his wife in her professional life and leadership role. The couple is also active in their neighborhood's association which has promoted basic services (electricity, piped water) along the arduous path of legal procedures. Since Lisa' has no stake in a particular CBC group, she is an ideal mediator. I expect her role to become more salient with the definite move of CBC into Cuenca's Industrial Park, which puts the Gualaceo region at a geographical disadvantage. Lisa taught me most of what I know about the struggle of rural migrants in urban Ecuador. The senseless medical complications she and her baby suffered during childbirth are emblematic of the lip service paid by governments to inadequate public health services.

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Lena is from a community midway between Cuenca and Gualaceo by way of San Bartolomé, but her town is not part of CBC. She has a high school diploma and attended University for a year before being hired by CBC to work in adult education. She is a very good sales person and excellent diplomat. Since she has no "constituency," her tenure at CBC is purely merit based. Her dedication working on the alcohol imprint press - a health hazard - and her unwavering joviality, have earned her the respect and affection of peer leaders, artisans in the field, and CBC staff. Given appropriate training, she has all the potential to become a marketing manager. Her educational background, just like Lisa's and Ñaña's, allows for a great deal of formal training, a fact not fully appreciated by those who make decisions about the transferal of management skills. She and Ñaña also have a great interest in learning a potentially useful foreign language. Ñaña demonstrated her quick language wit on a training trip to North America.

On my first visit to Azuay province the Ecuadorian and Swiss development agents at CBC quite readily answered my preliminary questions. Since the embroidery group in nearby Chiquintad had a meeting scheduled for the next day, Urs, the Swiss project manager, invited me to come along, so that I could get to know artisans in the field. Urs later confessed that he had been quite wary of my future presence at first. We were both amused at his having warned the CBC staff that my questions were not as innocent as they appear, but rather "dangerous:" "Beware," he had told his colleagues, "she asks the same question in three different ways to seven different people, and if we get all meddled up in contradictions, she is going to have a field day at our expense later on. Watch it what you tell her!"[23] However, an invitation was extended to come back for the yearly general assembly where I could "learn a lot about the project, the different participating villages and variation between them."

My attendance at the 1992 General Assembly facilitated subsequent visits to all

[23] I, for one, was innocently happy about my "achievements," taking it for granted that people would first have to figure me out. I expected to be burdened with the proverbial "spy image" by some at the outset, since my visits were endorsed by the Quito head office.

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embroidery groups during preliminary field work. In March of 1993 I returned to this yearly recurring event with my husband and children. The artisans had grown used to my visits and several had asked to meet my family. Daniel was unanimously voted "guapo" (handsome) which then resulted in a lot of joking and teasing during fieldwork: "How can you leave your 'guapo' alone; watch it, someone is going to steal him!" It brought me closer to women whose husbands' migratory absence gives rise to such concerns. The fact that a husband shows interest for his wife's work is looked upon positively by the women artisans. Since my beloved better half does not share his wife's enthusiasm for some of the local food, my guinea pig ration at the 1993 General Assembly doubled from the already generous helping of the previous year.

So far I mostly have identified CBC's non artisan players, and given a general description of the artisan population. The broad picture about artisan/subsistence agricultural life has been painted in previous chapters. Now the main actors in this analysis need proper introductions. The presentation of each embroidery group includes a brief geopolitical description of the community from whence it draws its membership, followed by a socio-cultural and economic profile of its artisan households.

PROFILE OF THE 11 EMBROIDERY GROUPS IN AZUAY'S CUENCA, GUALACEO, AND PAUTE CANTONS

Preliminary fieldwork (February 1992 to May 1993) took me to several entregas de trabajo in each of the eleven villages with resident embroidery groups. Each group meets weekly to hand in embroidery pieces which need finishing (washing, ironing, separating scrap cloth used to stretch fabric on the stitching frame, in some cases sowing or finishing seams). The piece rate is paid on the spot according to the quality controller's assessment of the work, and new cloth is handed out. The women artisans obtain their pay and weekly supplies of cloth and thread from the male driver. The number and kind of embroidery pieces an artisan obtains depend on her skill and on current demand. Skilled embroideresses are given table cloths and place mats which are

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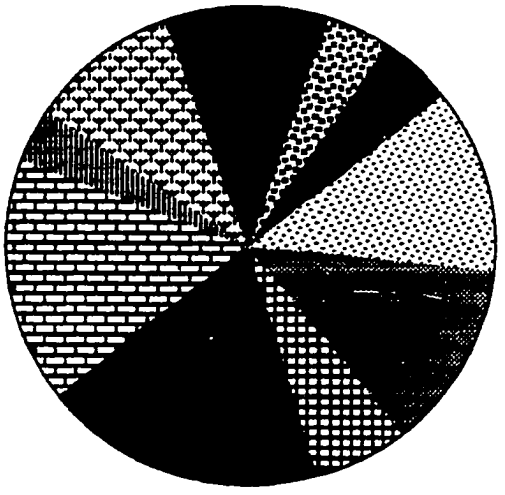
coveted, since the bigger pattern structure allows for more rapid work and consequent better pay. The smaller doilies (some only 4 ins. in diameter) are detested, because a lot of stitches are cramped onto them, yet the pay for such pieces is low. During my stay picturesque greeting cards in "naive" style were added, depicting rural work life and holiday traditions. During the 1993 "America Coup" soccer tournament held in Ecuador, CBC management produced T-shirts with the event's embroidered logo. The successful sale of these T-shirts gave rise to a new line of products showing Ecuadorian fauna, flora, and urban architecture. The T-shirt fabric is slightly elastic and this posed challenges to artisan speed, and it is considered tedious work. The fact that this new line sells well on the Ecuadorian market (where most of it is sold directly to final consumers, allowing for the price to stay low) stimulates artisans to tackle the fabric in spite of its practical disadvantages.

The following description of each embroidery group and its socio-economic context within the respective community focuses on the interplay between artisan production, subsistence agriculture, and international - mostly male - migration. Charts 2 to 4 help the reader visualize these connections. For each CBC community group they show: chart 2) the distribution of 1994 survey interviewees;[24] chart 3) the percentage of international migrants among relatives of CBC artisans; and chart 4) the distribution of total CBC desertion from 1993 to 1995.

[24] Knowing what percentage of all interviews correspond to a given CBC community-group, enables the reader to assess whether that community has a proportionate or disproportionate share of investigated phenomena, such as international male migration and CBC desertion.

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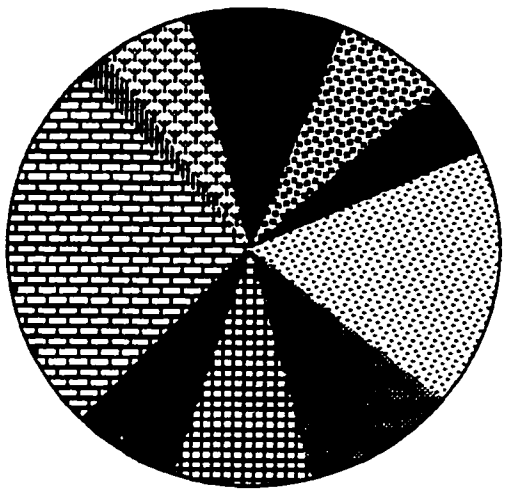
Chart 2: 1994 CBC interviews/community



Azhapud	4.9%
La Dolorosa	4.3%
Santa Rosa	4.9%
Chiquintad	12.3%
Cochapamba	13.0%
Guanal	6.2%
Llintig	18.5%
Mayuntur	16.7%
Sondeleg	3.7%
Uzhupud	9.9%
Zhiquil	5.6%

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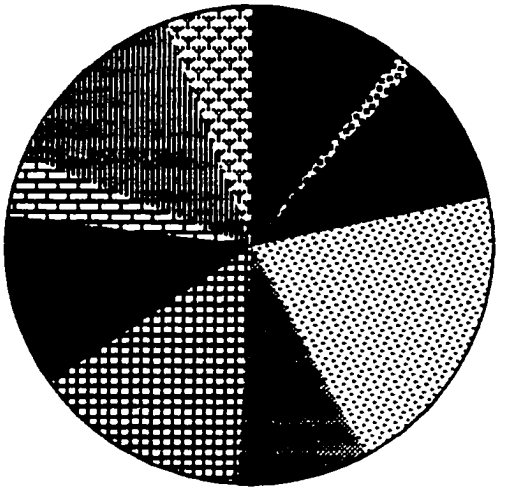
Chart 3: CBC migrant relatives/community



Azhapud	6.1%
La Dolorosa	7.1%
Santa Rosa	5.1%
Chiquintad	17.3%
Cochapamba	10.2%
Guanal	9.2%
Llintig	7.1%
Mayuntur	25.5%
Sondeleg	2.0%
Uzhupud	6.1%
Zhiquil	4.1%

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Chart 4: CBC deserters/community 1993-95



Azhapud	10.1%
La Dolorosa	1.4%
Santa Rosa	10.1%
Chiquintad	20.3%
Guanal	8.7%
Llintig	14.5%
Mayuntur	11.6%
Sondeleg	4.3%
Uzhupud	13.0%
Zhiquil	5.8%

Chiquintad in Canton Cuenca:

Chiquintad is a parish seat with regular bus service to Cuenca. Buses take about

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20 minutes to reach the provincial capital's center over a paved road. There are several stores offering basic foodstuff and domestic supplies, a high school, and an international courier office linking the town with major U.S. cities. There is one public telephone, operated by a private concessionaire, where people wait for incoming calls from their migrant relatives in the United States. [25] Chiquintad, like Cuenca lies at 2.595 m above sea level. The higher páramo pastures and fields are located at 3.000 to 3.200 m.a.s.l (Probona 1995: "Machángara Tomebamba" Map). The climate is humid, with a lot of dawn mist. In the 1970s, irrigation canals were solidified and expanded by the government with some international financing. Most women combine subsistence agriculture with craft work, of which hat weaving is the most prominent. Resident men tend to be full time wage workers; many have migrated to the United States. Women's international migration is incipient but increasing.

The embroidery group's size has oscillated over time. During my fieldwork in 1994/95 it had twenty-three active members, but CBC records show a much larger number (39) in 1992-93. But then the records show thirty-eight active members for June 1994, when my survey indicates twenty-three active members on the payroll. With 10 to 12 percent of the total labor force, Chiquintad produces roughly 10.5 percent of CBC output. Its 13 percent share of quality B[26] is slightly over what it

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[25] By 1995 several private homes, including CBC members', had put in private telephone lines.

[26] CBC differentiates the quality A export merchandise which is virtually flawless, from quality B which has minor stitching errors or else the technically perfect work presents a dirty spot. Quality B is sold at a rebate on the Ecuadorian market. Urs was always against anything but quality A leaving CBC under any condition, not even as gifts, since he wanted to cooperative's quality record to be flawless.

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should be in terms of demographics and amount of embroideries produced.[27] Chiquintad has more than its demographically proportioned share of international migrant relatives and of CBC deserting artisans (compare pie charts with data on interviewees, migrant relatives, and CBC deserters.) Its proximity to Cuenca makes it a favorite for rapid responses to urgent deliveries. Together with Mayuntur, the group shares a reputation for good work ethic and quality consciousness, making it one of the model embroidery groups. This reputation is not entirely consistent with the above record on product quality and desertion.

Among Chiquinteña embroideresses, 85 percent have close relatives working as undocumented migrants in the United States, mostly New York City, some in Chicago.[28] Only two embroidery households report full time agriculture as the occupation of the co-resident father or spouse. A majority of co-resident men are engaged in wage work as carpenters, construction or industrial workers, and municipal employees in the water treatment, road maintenance and waste management departments. One middle aged artisan's husband drives flatbed trucks for a local factory. Another couple usually travels to Quito twice a month to buy a used car which they improve with repairs and paint jobs before it is resold in Cuenca, where used cars, especially pick up trucks are in high demand by return migrants with US. 6.000 to 10.000 to invest in such transportation ventures.[29] This woman used to work the land before she took up

[27] CBC calibrated labor demographics, hours worked and quality levels produced for each community between July and December of 1991 (CORQUI t.311 29.4.3 2° inf. semestral 1991). I translated the raw numbers into percentage relations, and I have used this 1991 data to comment on each group's status in terms of production levels and quantity. While artisan numbers have diminished overall, most group's proportional contribution in terms of quantity and quality have remained the same with regard to their demographic "share" in CBC.

[28] Spouse, parents, children, and siblings and their spouses qualify as "close relatives."

[29] One return migrant uses his small Toyota truck to distribute gas cylinders. Others operate much like "tramp" merchant marine vessels who organize their itinerary according to the demand for transport in a given region. Some provide passenger schedules to isolated communities accessible only with four wheel drive. When idle, they are for hire at the edge of town markets.

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embroidery, but not any more.

The "Checa hinterland" of Canton Cuenca: Santa Rosa, La Dolorosa, Azhapud

The three communities are accessed by dirt roads from Checa. Irregular truck service runs to Santa Rosa which has a cemented town plaza, formal church, public telephone, and a medical dispensary where a doctor attends twice a week. Azhapud and La Dolorosa have no transportation links. Trucks have to be hired individually from Checa or with luck from Santa Rosa. From Azhapud the Panamerican highway can be reached by a several kilometer long walk over fields which are located in Cañar province. Both Azhapud and La Dolorosa have small modest chapels, no formal village plaza, and Azhapud's one-room elementary school is in a miserable state of repairs. The Checa hinterland's liminal position at the border between Azuay and Cañar provinces is responsible for a geopolitical isolation unwarranted by the rather facile topography.

The women in the embroidery groups at Azhapud, La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa are shy, much like most of their artisan colleagues in the more remote Gualaceo communities, but nobody wears the traditional pollera dress anymore. In Santa Rosa and La Dolorosa, almost all artisans are young and single, some are single mothers. In Azhapud there are some middle aged married artisans. Azhapud has more migrant ties to the Coast than the other two groups. Their embroidery groups used to be fairly big: In 1991 Azhapud had 24 members, La Dolorosa 29 and Santa Rosa 16. CBC desertion occurred early on, probably due to stabilizing migrant remittances and an increased exodus of women toward the United States. The three groups produce less than could be expected based on their share in CBC's labor force, and their output of quality B is above average. This group pattern confirms my observations of individual output and neatness in work rendered: Quantity and quality of embroidery are in inverse relationship to the time devoted to subsistence agriculture, indicating that export quality embroidery requiring a lot of precision is not a perfect complement to women's work in the fields

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and around domestic utility animals.[30] Almost 80 percent of artisans in the Checa hinterland have migrant relatives in the United States

Men work mainly in agriculture, not urban wage jobs. Migration to the United States has been a well established practice for them. Migrants from the Checa hinterland find jobs in Chicago as well as New York City. Their network, being older and better established, is more diversified than that of migrants from the Gualaceo area. Contrary to other CBC communities, some men are already legal U.S. residents, since they qualified for an amnesty extended to the undocumented in the early 1990s. Some green card holders have returned to marry women from their villages. In such a case, the new wife awaits her legal immigration papers to embark on a hassle and stress free direct plane journey to the promised land; something the new migrants from Chiquintad and Gualaceo cannot even dream of.

Agriculture is practiced beyond mere household consumption to include the occasional sale of surplus maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and onions; the raising of sheep whose surplus wool is sold and of a few pigs which are sold two to four times a year. Indeed, 50 percent of Checa hinterland interviewees report the co-resident male in the household (father, husband) to be a full time agriculturalist. In the context of high male migration this indicates that CBC's dependable long term membership may indeed come from households with no access/need for migrant remittances.[31] Family and household members are heavily involved in smallhold agriculture during peak seasons, freeing the full time specialist to engage in cambiamanos with neighbors and relatives and to hire out to big farms. Sharecropping occurs, contrary to Chiquintad and the Gualaceo/Paute cantons. The rather flat terrain and the heavier, moist soil have facilitated the use of mould board ploughs which are rented for days at a time from big landowners. The hiring

[30] Consultation with an experienced handicraft teacher in the preliminary planning phase of an artisan project might help detect these kinds of functional incompatibilities and constraints.

[31] Data from Uzhupud - see further on in this chapter - corroborates this emerging tendency.

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of tractor and plough is done for a cash price which might include a simple lunch for the driver, but without the roasted guinea pig which is obligatory fare for the driver of a yunta. These sensible differences in agrarian practice may well be due to the absence of many migrant men as well as to the influx of cash remittances. The migrants' money allows for rental of equipment and increased production through share cropping. The passive parties in share crop arrangements may well be absentee smallholders who thus guarantee continuous productive use of their parcels. These are also protected from usurpation by outsiders facilitated by the "fallows" and "absentee owners" acts.[32]

Gualaceo canton, general information

The parish/canton of Gualaceo is situated on 2° 54' southern latitude, and 78°47' western longitude. The parish seat and cantonal administrative center bearing the same name is located, on 2.320 m.a.s.l (Fermin Cevallos 1983[1889]:103), in a broad interandine valley near the confluence of the Cuenca and Santa Barbara rivers. The town boast's one of Ecuador's mildest Andean climates. Gualaceo-town serves as a commercial and ritual center of some 80 smallholder/artisan communities located on hills above the eastern and western sides of the Santa Barbara River. Officially, 29.132 people live in Gualaceo Canton, however I estimate the real number to be somewhat higher. There is a small general hospital, a church and monastery, over a dozen private elementary and as many secondary schools and one hotel. Several dentists, general practitioners and lawyers entertain practices. The civil registry has an attendant clerk on Tuesdays and Sundays, Gualaceo's regional market days. Several courier agencies facilitate letter and parcel dispatches between rural Azuay residents and their U.S. migrant relatives. Pharmacies, specialty and craft shops as well as a smaller daily market provide

[32] After 15 years of working somebody else's land one can claim ownership. The law governing agrarian land use forbids land leases unless physical handicap prevents the owner from working the land. How this is reconciled with agro-enterprises and haciendas is unclear, but I presume the physical handicap clause is an easy one to invoke if the person has the economic means to pay for the corresponding legal fees. Share cropping is not exactly "leasing," since the owner is technically involved in production through her/his share in input and harvest.

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shopping opportunities for town residents and village dwellers. Buses link Gualaceo with Cuenca by the way of Jadán and San Juan. Sucúa and Macas in the Amazonian "Oriente" are linked via Chordeleg, Sigsig and Gualaquiza.

I had came to know the "Garden of Azuay" well, thanks to the ample geographic knowledge of Don Martín, CBC's driver/paymaster who generously showed me the many unmarked paths leading to the CBC and other communities in Gualaceo canton. All of a sudden, however, Gualaceo's position as Azuay's number one tourist destination (other than the colonial city of Cuenca) vanished, along with the income generated through tourism. A landslide destroyed the paved access road from Cuenca on March 29, 1993. Before giving a detailed description of each Gualaceo embroidery community, it is necessary to review this tragic event as well as its impact on Gualaceo's economy and social life.

The impact of the Josefina landslide

Gualaceo, Uzhupud and Chordeleg are three parish seats near the nascent Paute river, formed by the confluence of the Cuenca and Santa Barbara rivers. Their hostels and two formal hotels (Hostería Uzhupud and Parador Turístico Gualaceo) enjoyed a lively weekend business, and during crucial holiday periods visitors from all over Ecuador and abroad used to fill them to capacity. On weekends and on mild week-day evenings, day tourists from Cuenca would come by the bus loads to feast on guinea pig and hornado at the tidy stalls of Gualaceo's daily market. This is the Gualaceo I had came to know during my first year of preliminary fieldwork from February 1992 to March of 1993.

On March 27, 1993 I attended CBC's yearly General Assembly at Finca Guazhalan near Gualaceo for the second time. I had brought my husband and children, and Urs had once more been a generous guide who drove us to and from the event. The brilliant Azuay afternoon gave way to a heavy and rather unseasonal rain storm as we drove back to Cuenca over the paved road which is cut into rock and through earth along the Cuenca

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river. What should have been an easy twenty minute ride turned into an hour long obstacle course around falling rock and small mud slides which were most abundant about midway between Gualaceo and the Azogues-Cuenca junction. Upon reaching this point, Urs alerted us to the hollowing at the base of a mountain caused by - apparently unlicenced - gravel mining. "This whole damn mountain is going to come down one day, if they don't stop the uncontrolled gravel excavation immediately," he remarked, as he swiftly curved around a huge rock which had just settled on the road. Daniel and I nodded nervously, clutching the children as if that would save them from what seemed like impending disaster. Safely back in Cuenca, we started to wonder how risky it would be for me to travel that road during the rainy season.

The evening news on Tuesday, March 30, brought shocking pictures into our living room from the very spot which Urs had indicated. The night before, the mountain above, together with the small hamlet of La Josefina had slid down, completely burying the road, and - much worse - forming a huge dam in the middle of the Cuenca river valley. The death toll was never established with precision, but Flurina at Centro de Bordados enumerated over thirty casualties from among relatives and friends in the bordados-FEPP network. While no embroidery household was immediately bereaved, the impact of this man-made rather than "natural" disaster was tremendous.[33] Not only had the flourishing tourist trade become instantly defunct, but many adults from Gualaceo and Uzhupud who had held day jobs in Cuenca were faced with four two six hours of daily commuting over extremely bad dirt roads for which the fare had quadrupled. Those who continued with their Cuenca wage jobs had to rent rooms in the city at S./ 35.000 and more per month, a substantial increase from the S./ 20.000 they had spent on monthly bus fares before. For working women the problem of overnight child care became paramount, forcing many, among them embroideresses at CBC's finishing plant, to abandon either the job or bring infants and toddlers into crowded Cuenca day care

[33] The social history of the Josefina disaster is described by Alejandro Guillén García (1993) in an extensive article published by a Cuenca newspaper.

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facilities.

While international disaster relief offers poured into the central government in Quito, the foreign hydrographic engineers whose help was volunteered by Western governments and aid agencies were unable to convince authorities to quickly dig an escape tunnel through the "dam" in order to let the river continue its course. Bad tongues around Azuay have it that the central government's decision to wait for 33 days before blasting a passage into the dam was not so much based on sound geological advice but on greed: "The longer they waited, the more relief money was pouring in. A greater disaster down river after dynamiting the dam meant more money yet; not that we who suffered the damage saw any of it, with the exception of those funds turned over to Monseñor Luna Tobar in Cuenca."[34]

When the army blasted an opening into the huge dam on May 1st, 1993, the river Cuenca and its affluents had formed an approximately ten mile long lake - my judgment, based on numerous contemplations from the airplane and from hilltops around Jadán, is that the surface dimensions corresponded more or less to those of the Walensee, one of the bigger Swiss Alpine lakes. The furious flood which raged down river was transmitted live on Ecuadorian television, and before our incredulous eyes we had a disaster underway which was worse than the previous destruction of the road and the flooding of vacation homes of well-to-do Cuencanos in the Cuenca river valley. The "Garden of Azuay" was violently destroyed. Fertile smallholder plots as well as state farms and the gardens of "Hacienda Uzhupud" were flooded. When the water receded all reappeared under a huge cover of silt and big river stones. The bridge connecting the Amaluza branch of the road with Uzhupud on the opposite banks of the river Paute had been swept away along with parts of the road down to Méndez, and smallholder fields along the banks. The limited disaster control plan established by the government for the

[34] Many Ecuadorians gave generously to a federal relief fund, but they demanded that Cuenca Archbishop Msr. Luís Alberto Luna Tobar administrate the money and organize the respective efforts through the Archbishopric, and the government did turn these private donations over to him.

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scheduled flooding did prevent any further human casualties.

Whether the gravel mine widely held responsible for the dislocation of the mountain (Bauer 1995:4) was licenced or not, the disaster is testimony to how unbridled - in this case private - development, aided by bureaucratic lethargy, threatens subsistence agriculture and is often responsible for its destruction. If it hadn't been for the political clout of eminent Cuencanos, whose vacation homes along the Cuenca river had already been destroyed, and whose urban properties on the banks of the Machángara and Tomebamba became threatened by the expansion of the lake, it is uncertain how much longer the central government would have waited before taking action.

On most Gualaceo bound trips since the Josefina disaster, CBC's paymaster Don Martín leaves Cuenca by way of the airport and turns right at Chaullabamba. He crosses a small bridge a few miles south of where the paved Gualaceo-Uzhupud road used to fork off the Panamerican highway. Now that the two-lane highway to Gualaceo has been washed away, Don Martín needs to cross creeks and negotiate washed out gravel roads. The double cabin pickup truck slowly tackles the steady climb to Jadán, a village on a dirt road, served only twice a day by a Cuenca bus before the Josefina disaster. It was known to be a dead end, but now Jadán is on a major Azuay thoroughfare, albeit still unpaved and very bumpy. Don Martín tells me that the very day after the landslide he was to pick up embroideries and pay for the piece work in Guanal, Zhiquil and Cochapamba, his then usual Tuesday tour. News about the roaring descent of the mountain the evening before had not hit the airwaves when he set out before seven o'clock that morning. When faced with a massive rock barrier on the Gualaceo road, Don Martín turned back around and tried his luck over the obscure Jadán route. At the time a grassy path was all that led over to Cahuazhun, a hamlet with limited truck service over a dirt road to Gualaceo. It took Don Martín several hours of asking, trial and error, to finally make it into Gualaceo.

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On the beautiful morning of a follow up visit subsequent to the Josefina disaster, we swung through the widened, consolidated gravel-dirt road in only fifty minutes, thanks to Don Martín's driving skills and the all terrain features of the truck. From Cahuazhun we plunged down on an approximately 18 percent incline to Gualaceo. Don Martín sped through the main road where traffic lights had fallen into disrepair, because tourist buses and private cars from Cuenca no longer cause traffic jams in the narrow streets of the charming colonial town. We drove along the Santa Barbara river for about a mile and then turned off onto another dirt track at Nalig. After a third of a mile the left fork of a crossroads brings travelers onto the idyllic track to Llintig, along a willow and penko lined creek. Climbing higher and higher, the visitor finally sights a small white chapel.

Llintig

The small nucleated community center with the church, school, and eight houses around the square, is situated at about 2.600 m.a.s.l. (Probona 1995: Aguarongo map) The climate is appreciably colder than in Gualaceo town, especially during the night, and there is more of a morning mist and dew. It gets particularly cold and windy during the dry months of July and August. October rains allow for the first preparatory ploughing of fields for the November/early December sowing season which comes a full month later than in the Cuenca area. Most of the thousand people who call Llintig their home live in the lone adobe homesteads characteristic of the dispersed settlement pattern found in the rural Andes. Llintig is among the bigger Gualaceo communities, rivaled in size by Cristo Rey, the "white people's settlement" above Mayuntur. The white washed façade and formal store front architecture of the church give the small square an "urbanized" look. A pickup truck has six scheduled daily runs to Gualaceo, but many people walk the six kilometers to save the bus fare (S./ 450.- i.e. US $ -.20 in 1994) or in between scheduled runs. There are approximately two hundred children aged six to fourteen.[35] Of

[35] Children are often made to repeat a grade, and therefore some graduating elementary pupils are quite old.

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these children, one hundred and seventy flock to the six-room two-story schoolhouse situated next to the church on the now cemented plaza/basketball court which serves as public square, school yard and community fiesta ground. School starts at 8 AM and ends at 12.00 noon, and at least two hours each day are spent on roll call, recess, soccer practice and marching around the plaza in military style formation. Some thirty children attend private or parochial elementary schools in Gualaceo, because their parents are not satisfied with the irregular teacher attendance and poor educational services offered in isolated rural schools.

In addition to the ever present female artisan income, over 90 percent of households need to supplement their subsistence agriculture with male wage work. Only one among thirty interviewees reports the co-resident man to be a full time agricultural specialist, and even he hires out, because the precarious smallhold does not provide sufficient income with year round work. Spinning and knitting of lamb's wool as well as embroidery predominate among female cottage putting out crafts, while paja toquilla hat weaving is totally absent. Shoe making and carpentry occupy resident men. Shoemaking is done as cottage putting out, while most carpenters work as informal laborers for small Gualaceo outfits. Many other men work in sugar cane and banana plantations on the Coast, or as carriers in markets of Coastal towns, paying a week long visit to Llintig once every three to four months. Women visit their husbands on the Coast at least once a month. International migration is a very new phenomenon which took off in early 1994. Between January and June of that year, thirty young men from the community of Llintig had gone off with coyotes to the United States.

Currently, Llintig is CBC's biggest group, and it has been remarkably stable in size, oscillating between forty-two and thirty-four members from 1991 to 1994. Its production volume is above average, since it slightly exceeds the amount which would be

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in proportion with Llintig's percentage of CBC's labor force.[36] In spite of the balanced production record, Llintig has the reputation of being a rather difficult group, rivaled only by the extravagant rebelliousness of Uzhupud. I think the reason for this lies in cultural differences, rather than "material facts." Llintig's artisans are shy and withdrawn when it comes to dealing with strangers for the first time. At least 60 percent of the women wear a pollera, including young girls. It is among Llintigueños that my husband and I heard the occasional Quichua spoken during ritual events such as local fiestas or the annual CBC gathering. While this may also be observed among women of Cochapamba and Sondeleg, those groups are smaller and internally more coherent. In Llintig and Cochapamba between 38 and 46 percent of artisans have less than six years of elementary education. The fact is due both, to the precarious road infrastructure and the high proportion of mature women in these groups, which contrasts with the majority of teenage girls and young women which predominate in Chiquintad, Mayuntur and some of the smaller groups. The embroidery group in Llintig has at times internal differences to cope with that reflect the competition for resources, status, marketing and other infrastructure typical of petty commodity producer communities (Foster 1965, Scott 1985). Llintig is among the four communities where desertion from the coop is proportionately less than the group's demographic share in the CBC labor pool. In spite of people's basic reluctance to interact with strangers, my presence in Llintig was cordially welcomed, and I found the people to be warm, cooperative, refreshingly curious, and open minded.

One third of households report adult men migrating to the Coast for seasonal and year-round jobs. The rest live and work in Gualaceo canton: Half of them as cottage craftsmen or putting out artisans in shoemaking, carpentry and cabinet making; the other half as construction laborers and wage artisans in Gualaceo center. One man is a

[36] Since Llintig's 40 women strong group makes up 14 percent of the total labor force, its 19 percent of production is more than its demographic share. During the mentioned time (1991 statistics), Llintig contributed 19 percent to both, the total quality A and quality B output of CBC, meaning that in terms of quality, Llintig is the textbook average.

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municipal employee, another an itinerant guitar maker. Only one co-resident adult man is a full time agricultural specialist with enough land of his own to support the family together with his artisan wife. Only 23 percent of Llintig's embroideresses report close relatives who are undocumented workers in the United States. Llintig is the community where migration to North America has been last to take off. One man had migrated to Venezuela in 1988, after having been caught in California. The other six migrants had left Llintig in early 1994; the same is true for about two dozen additional undocumented migrants from household's not affiliated with CBC, who formed part of Llintig's first "mass exodus" between January and June of 1994.

Cochapamba[37]

Cochapamba, at approximately 2.800 m.a.s.l (Probona 1995: Aguarongo map), sits high on a ridge above Gualaceo, overlooking Llintig to the east, Mayuntur to the north, and facing Cristo Rey to the west. The climate is cold and humid. In August a chilling strong wind, together with the occasional rain and fog make the environment so cold, I had to write up interview forms wearing my Bolivian Llama gloves. Cochapamba is home to forty-six families, including 80 children. A steeply inclined narrow dirt track leads to the village plaza of trampled dirt with the small adobe chapel and one very basic store. The Cochapamba access road hugs a veritable abyss, and its approximate 14 percent incline forced me to put the pickup truck into reduction gear, so that the motor will act as a brake on descent. The last fatal brake failure on a contracted pickup truck had occurred in 1992, as I started preliminary fieldwork. The track becomes virtually impassible during heavy rains. Given the above, it is no surprise that Cochapamba lacks scheduled truck service during the week. Cochapambinos need to catch pickup trucks at the Cristo Rey fork about a mile away, or they can descend a small very steep path to Llintig. There is no school in the village, and of the fifty-seven elementary pupils thirty

[37] Northern Andean Quichua differs in the use and placement of labial sounds (in addition to an increased use of the vowel i over e) from the Quechua of the Central and Southern Andes. "Pamba," just as its southern variants "Bamba" and "Pampa" means "plain," in the sense of a level field.

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attend the rural school in Llintig, twenty that of nearby Cristo Rey[38] and seven are in private schools in Gualaceo. Except for single mothers (of whom there seems to be a greater proportion than elsewhere, or maybe women here more readily admit to this status), households have two to four heads of grown cattle. In about 15 percent of households, women's part time craft production is complemented with full time agriculture by the co-resident man/men. Coastal migration and day laboring in town occupy the majority of male co-residents. Men's international migration picked up earlier than in Llintig, probably due to extensive kin ties to Mayuntur, where it is omnipresent.

Cochapamba's embroidery group has had stable membership with twenty-three to twenty-four members since 1991, and it is the only one with no desertion between 1993 and 1995. I attribute this to the following factors: 1) The geographic isolation keeps out town craft intermediaries whose sedan cars can't negotiate the road; it also makes subsistence agriculture attractive since daily marketing and buying in Gualaceo would involve time consuming and costly transportation. It is therefore smarter to cultivate the household's food needs, sell the occasional surplus during the Sunday market and invest idle time in craft work, especially since 2) the project delivers raw materials and payment to the otherwise isolated community. 3) Migration is on the rise, making embroidery income desirable for women who need to invest the men's remittances into servicing and repayment of the debt caused by the expense of coyote-assisted emigration. The Cochapamba group's output (8 percent) is in balance with its demographic share of 8.3 percent in the CBC labor force (1991 level), but it has an elevated 11 percent share of quality B, while producing only 7 percent of the total quality A fabrics. In Cochapamba subsistence agriculture is more important than in most

[38] Cristo Rey's population exceeds one thousand, and most inhabitants claim pure Spanish (Basque) descent. Many of them are indeed of a strikingly "Basque" complexion (light) and physique (tall, slender, with narrow elongated facial features). People from Cristo Rey practice a higher degree of community endogamy, in particular first and second cousin marriage, than those from communities around them, with whom they rarely intermarry.

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other CBC community. The above average output of quality B embroidery reflects the contradictions of combining high precision time intensive craft work with subsistence cultivation. On the other hand the group's demographic stability shows that long term artisan commitment arises in communities where subsistence agriculture is kept alive.

Forty-eight percent of the artisans have a close migrant relative in the United States. The co-resident men combine shoe making, carpentry, and construction jobs with subsistence agriculture. Four divide their time on the household parcel with seasonal jobs on the Coast. One is a sanitary worker in a big Cuenca market, another works as an agricultural day laborer, and three are full time agricultural specialists working their own land and ploughing fields with their yuntas for hire and as cambiamanos.

Mayuntur

Mayuntur is situated at ca. 2.600 m.a.s.l (Probona 1995: Aguarongo Map). The four-wheel access track forks off above Nalig and continues to Cristo Rey, which lies 200 m higher and about two kilometers away from Mayuntur's small chapel and coop store. The Mayuntur chapel, unlike the whitewashed façades of those in nearby Llintig and Cristo Rey, has no architectural features defining it as an ecclesiastic structure, and it also serves as community reunion hall which is the case in most of the other Gualaceo embroidery communities. There is no nucleated center. Mayuntur has been settled for about fifty to seventy years, when Dotaxi comuneros in need of land moved into the steep hills across the ridge from their village.[39] The coop store, managed by the embroidery group, attends customers twice a week: on Thursday afternoon, when CBC work is collected and on Sundays. Mayuntur is composed of fifty families. Of the sixty children in elementary school, forty attend private/ecclesiastic institutions in Gualaceo, attesting to the importance given to educational quality by Mayuntur parents. Ten children attend the Nalig public school and the remaining ten the one in Cristo Rey.[40]

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[39] Segundo Maita Supliguicha, oral history (1995)

[40] Matilde Supliguicha, oral history (1995)

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Cochapamba and Mayuntur parents of Gualaceo elementary students jointly contract a pickup truck to fetch the pupils to and from school.[41] The climate in Mayuntur is rather dry, with crisp mornings and relentless midday heat. The slopes are covered with a thin layer of topsoil, and the steep incline of the treeless hills make it difficult to combat erosion. In 1994 there were at least thirty Mayuntureños working as undocumented migrants in the United States, among them three women, joined by several more men and women during my last year of fieldwork.[42] Those men who are full time agricultural specialists are over fifty years old and earn cash by ploughing fields of others with their yuntas or hiring out as day laborers. Most craftsmen (shoemakers and carpenters) have left for New York City. Migration to the Coast or Oriente is rare, but many households maintain a slash and burn smallhold on the Culebrillas river, 16 kms. east of Gualaceo, in the mountains on the road to Limón.[43]

Mayuntur exemplifies the economic need, the human richness, as well as social and political constraints which make for Centro de Bordados' "raison d'être." The embroidery group of twenty-one members was middle-sized until 1992. By 1994 it had grown to about thirty artisans, making up 15 percent of CBC's work force, and surpassed only by Llintig. Mayuntur produces about two times more than its demographic share in CBC output, with an extremely low percentage of quality B. In terms of CBC desertion Mayuntur ranks among the four groups with proportionately the

[41]The Cochapamba youngsters have to hike two kms each way to catch the bus at the Mayuntur chapel.

[42] One woman, the first female return migrant I know of, came back in 1997.

[43]These clearings are located in mountains which were completely forested. The tropical flora includes orchids as well as tree parasites from the pine-apple family. The gravel road to Limón is in bad repair, only slightly better than the worst parts of the infamous Baños-Puyo road, one of the main accesses from the Andes to the Ecuadorian Amazon. The hilly countryside has been heavily deforested, and dotted with cattle pastures. Typically, the small adobe houses which dot the countryside, sit amidst one hectare of cleared land, but they are not permanently lived in. Since Mayuntur campesinos lack access to high páramo pastures - their ancestors had left the comuna of Dotaxi - this region in the high Amazon serves as one of the Andean eco-agricultural tiers where potatoes and pasture thrive due to the constant drizzle in this cool climate.

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least loss of members, but more women are joining migrant husbands in the United States. Every fourth migrant relative among the CBC population comes from Mayuntur which has the biggest migrant relative share in absolute and comparative terms.[44]

Full time agriculture is practiced by five co-resident males in CBC households at Mayuntur, and by an additional spouse who farms a smallhold in the Oriente for lack of sufficient land nearby. This is a rather high proportion compared to other CBC communities. It may be that Mayuntur's acute erosion problem makes regular - rather than occasional - female craft work imperative even for those households with land enough to fully occupy the resident man. Indeed most Mayuntureño households have an embroideress. Poor soil quality probably makes the combination of male artisan work with agriculture insufficient within the household economy, since shoemakers and carpenters have left for the United States. Only two embroideresses report co-resident male construction workers, but not a single artisan. Ninety-three percent of the embroideresses have a close migrant relative in the United States. All of them are in New York City, where exiled Mayuntureños continue in close association with each other.

Mayuntur is a cohesive group, and the community itself too is very homogeneous in political organization and action: the embroideresses manage the store and most other collective actions. Their prominent role in the community became obvious as I began to attend communal meetings, be they of the Promejoras association which deals with issues of rural infrastructure, those of the embroidery group, the catechists' or a Novena (prayer meetings nine nights prior to major religious holidays). I was welcomed to attend communal meetings, precisely because the community and the CBC group are practically coterminous. The Mayuntur women are a quiet group, attentive to details in their housekeeping and personal appearance. Children are brought to all meetings, where

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[44] Mayuntur also stands out with regard to continuous education, because five of its adult embroideresses are getting their high school diploma through Loja's Free University correspondence program administered by Colegio Santo Domingo de Guzmán in Gualaceo.

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they either play as a group outside or quietly sit on parental laps during evening get-togethers. The present and past president of the cooperative are from Mayuntur. Joint action is very much a part of residents' lives. The women jointly hire a pick up truck once a week to haul laundry to and from the Santa Barbara river, and priostazgo has given way to an all-out communal organization of the major religious holidays. The massive absence of co-resident men means that women occupy prominent positions as Promejora president and board members. The situation also makes of Mayuntur a "community of sufferers," in that most women share the stress of spousal absence: the emotional loneliness and the occasional anguish over what future there is for a long-distance matrimonial relationship, over the children growing up without their father, albeit not without male role models. Two young Mayuntureño residents have university degrees: one is an agricultural engineer working as a professor at Catholic University in Cuenca, the other a civil engineer who works for the Gualaceo water board.

Guanal, Sondeleg, Zhiquil

The reason for presenting these three groups together is their small size. While Zhiquil and Sondeleg share precarious road access with the rest of the Gualaceo embroidery groups, Guanal used to be in a privileged position, about six kilometers north of Gualaceo on the paved road to Cuenca, and it is the only one among Gualaceo CBC communities with a telephone (private operation). With the Josefina landslide Guanal has come to suffer a degree of social isolation and economic recession unknown for over a decade. Guanal is situated at the same elevation as Gualaceo (2.320 m.a.s.l), while Zhiquil and Sondeleg lie on hills east of Gualaceo at approximately. 2.500 m.a.s.l (Probona 1995: Aguarongo map, combined with own estimates). There the climate is less dry and less exposed to cold winds than in the locations west of the Santa Barbara. Emigration to the United States has been going on for several years in Guanal. In Sondeleg and Zhiquil the predominant pattern is full time agriculture combined with female craft work, at times also with male artisan activity.

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All three groups started out much bigger: Guanal had twenty, Sondeleg nineteen and Zhiquil twenty-two members in June of 1991. Their membership decreased in the second semester of 1991 and by 1994 Guanal numbered twelve, most of them closely related. Sondeleg, with six members, is CBC's smallest group; and in Zhiquil fourteen artisans make up the group. Guanal's and Sondeleg's productivity records are slightly below their demographic shares, but both groups produce very little quality B. Zhiquil produces about 30 percent more than its labor force proportion would warrant, and with a slight tilt towards quality A. In the case of Zhiquil and Sondeleg the fact that these small groups are stable and reliable is mitigated by the proportionately high transportation costs involved in serving them. The bad, steep access roads cost as much in driver's labor, gas, and vehicle depreciation as the trips to Llintig, Mayuntur and Cochapamba (the latter two are serviced during the same run), where over thirty artisans are attended at a time. Sondeleg lost its vehicle privilege in 1995. The artisans now walk down to Guanal to hand in their work and receive the pay. This makes CBC less attractive in isolated locales. The depressed market has led to an almost total ban on recruitment between 1993 and 1995, making it impossible for these small groups to grow.

In Guanal 90 percent of artisans have a close relative in the United States. 20 percent of the co-resident men are full time agricultural specialists, another 20 percent work in carpentry, a craft Guanal specializes in. The others are in New York City, and so are a few women: Of the known 12 cases of embroideresses who migrated to North America after 1993, three are from Guanal (25 percent), yet Guanal's demographic share in the survey is only 6.2 percent. The "road bias" is definitely a factor in accelerated female migration: easy access to courier and telephone facilities permit frequent inter-spousal communication and help speed up the critical decision. In Zhiquil, where full time agriculture is also practiced by 20 percent of co-resident men, migration levels are higher - 40 percent - than in Sondeleg, where 50 percent of CBC

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households have a full time agricultural specialist. The only non co-resident male in Sondeleg is a full time agricultural specialist working land in the Oriente, and only 33 percent of interviewees have a close relative in the Untied States.

Uzhupud in canton Paute

Uzhupud lies at circa. 2.300 m.a.s.l (own estimate based on Gualaceo's location). The climate is hot and relatively dry. The surrounding hills are all deforested. The nearby river used to facilitate ad hoc irrigation on the now defunct river-bank fields. Uzhupud's center with the formal church, plaza, small shops, communal hall and medical dispensary (staffed twice a week) sits on a bank above the river Paute, an important Amazonian tributary. Hugging the river rapids is Hacienda Uzhupud, a first class hotel with a lively holiday business until the Josefina landslide "dam" was blown up by the army in May of 1993. Also swept down stream was a solid cement bridge and most of the Azogues - Paute paved road. Since Uzhupud sits on the "Gualaceo side" of the river but is located in Paute canton, it depended on that bridge to get to the Parish seat of "Paute" a few kilometers down river. For a full year the only way to cross the fast running river, over 100 feet wide and deep, was on a hanging pedestrian bridge. The army's "Bailey" bridge completed in June of 1994 is often in repair. Uzhupud, once a thriving tourist center is now on a dead end road, cut off from Cuenca and the Coast, and cut off from the close-by parish seat. The lush wooded river meadows along the young Paute and the Santa Bárbara gave the Gualaceo region its nickname "Garden of Azuay," but it will be decades before the deep slides of heavy stones and sand will give way to orchards and pasture once more.

Uzhupud is a special and very interesting case among the CBC groups. Migration to the United States has been almost proverbial since the mid-eighties. This condition stimulated CBC planners to work with "migrants' wives" in order to counteract the land flight. Yet today, Uzhupud ranks among those groups with the lowest percentage (38 percent) of migrant relatives among CBC communities, undercut only by LLintig and

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Sondeleg, where migration became incipient in 1994. Taken as an indicator of dynamics between embroidery and international migration, Uzhupud shows that the most stable artisan work force is found among those women with no access to migrant remittances, i.e. the women whose households maintain significant subsistence agriculture and/or co-resident craftsmen. While the statistics show that none of the embroideresses who migrated to the United States came from Uzhupud, this is because none went during my survey time, but I know of a mature embroideress's three adult daughters who went to the United States before 1994.

The group at Uzhupud had over fifty members in 1991, when it was CBC's showcase. While its production (16.8 percent) was slightly less than its 1991 demographic share of CBC labor force (18 percent), it produced 18 percent of CBC quality A output, quality B having a smaller share (14 percent of total B output). This has dramatically changed. By 1994 steady membership decrease had lowered the number of Uzhupud artisans to 21. While the overall quality B output of Centro de Bordados decreased to less than 10 percent of total production by 1994, Uzhupud has a disproportionate amount of it. The group acquired the reputation of being difficult to work with. Uzhupud embroideresses quarrel with quality control personnel. [45] There came a point in late 1993 when all quality controlling embroideresses refused to go to Uzhupud. One critique voiced at Uzhupud was very constructive, however: "How are we expected to turn in quality A on new designs if the promotora who teaches the new pattern has different priorities and criteria than the quality controller?" The coop leader to whom this was put is an expert diplomat. "You are right," she said, "you are probably ready to take on new designs from CBC samples, without a formal technical course. That way only one standard will apply, that of the sample given to your group."

Quarrels had disrupted Uzhupud's group before the Josefina disaster, some due to

[45] It was CBC policy until 1994 not to assign quality controllers from within a group to prevent loyalty conflicts. By late 1994 CBC considered the artisans were sufficiently "mature" to accept criticism from a group member as well as mete out neutral quality judgments.

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the absence of migrant husbands and consequent conflicts over extramarital affairs involving CBC artisans in the roles of female "offenders" and "victims." However, the landslide and subsequent flood may in no small part be responsible for a big and dramatic rift among Uzhupud embroideresses. Paute, Gualaceo and Chordeleg cantons are equally affected by the general economic decline suffered after the modern road network linking them to Cuenca was destroyed, but Uzhupud has suffered most, because it used to be in a privileged position. Tourists flocked to the town's renowned hotel on the rapid access road leading to Paute and the Amaluza hydroelectric plant down river. Several Uzhupud embroideresses had commuted daily to work at CBC's finishing plant in Cuenca. In addition, the "Hacienda Uzhupud" hotel had introduced female wage labor, making the commute to a Cuenca work site a less alienating experience. After the Josefina landslide CBC artisans, as all other commuters, were forced to rent rooms in Cuenca if they were to hold on to their formal wage jobs.[46] Since most have small children, the choice provoked a lot of family stress. As a consequence, CBC lost its most senior top notch embroideress, an Uzhupud member, and with her departure the group's internal differences became paramount. Of the twenty-one embroideresses less than half continuously participated in 1994/95. With the hotel business dead, road and bridge destroyed, and their prize riverbank plots gone, Uzhupud was catapulted from relative prosperity into economic distress, in particular those inhabitants unable to rely on substantial migrant remittances. I suspect many opted for international migration, rather than intensified craft work.

It was only possible to interview sixteen of Uzhupud's twenty-one embroideresses. However, considering that the interviewees are the group's most faithful members - being the ones actively involved in cooperative life - the results may be interpreted to forecast CBC's future: there is not a single international migrant

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[46] For artisans from the Gualaceo CBC communities (with the exception of Guanal) Cuenca day jobs never were an option, due to their villages' distance from and bad access roads to the parish center.

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man remitting resources into the households on which I collected data.[47] Four men work on coastal plantations or other wage jobs. All other household have co-resident men: three are full time agriculturalists, two work in construction, two are day laborers (agriculture, construction), one is a cook in Gualaceo's only formal hotel, another drives a truck and one guards a tile factory. Desertion from the cooperative continues at Uzhupud, including three embroideresses who simply decided "to stay home," probably because migrant remittances allow them to diversify into commerce, dedicate their time to agriculture, or maybe "relax."

Summary

Subsistence agriculture, artisan production and international migration interact in different ways in the eleven embroidery communities. Scarcity of land is not always a prime mover, and it interacts in a variety of ways with ecological and geopolitical factors. Emigration from Chiquintad, Uzhupud and Guanal, villages on paved roads to the regional center, took off early and continues. At a closer look, the historical fact that these villages are located within former hacienda domains explains that household land bases are indeed acutely precarious. However, relatively "plentiful" level upland pastures and fields yielding good crops on rainfall agriculture only, did not prevent early waves of international migration from the Checa hinterland, and the exodus there is still ongoing. The lack of transportation made marketing cash crops from this area difficult and costly, preventing people who are able to produce enough surplus, to optimize sales and gain the needed cash for proper socio-cultural reproduction.

The arid slopes of Mayuntur could offer better yields if there were an irrigation system in place. The time and labor intensive practice of multi-tiered holdings in different ecological zones cannot be maintained by nuclear households. This forces members to migrate even though - all land counted and properly irrigated - subsistence agriculture could provide more income. In the isolated Gualaceo communities of Zhiquil,

[47] One widow's four adult children are in New York City, sending money for their offspring left with the grandmother.

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Sondeleg and Cochapamba, where women's embroidery complements subsistence agriculture and male artisan and day laboring activities, some groups are small and output relatively low, rendering less attention from CBC which leads to lower group "self-esteem." The fact that membership in these communities has remained stable is not valued proportionately by CBC management, leading to the contradiction that embroidery is stimulated in areas with an increasing toll of international migration, rather than to reinforce small groups in communities where artisan production is a viable supplement to the income from the precarious rural smallhold.

Prognosis

The cooperative should expect an increasing desertion and turn-over rate in the demographically rather stable group at Llintig, as international male migration is picking up rapidly there. Based on the membership changes and current household characteristics found at the Uzhupud and Checa hinterland CBC groups, where male migration has been a long established practice, the cooperative may want to recruit new members from among women whose households combine agriculture with local wage labor, rather than international migration, if the goal is to have little personnel turnover. Another option is to recruit heavily among prospective and recent migrant's wives, but making the apprenticeship less costly to CBC. A step in this direction was taken in 1994, when it was proposed that new recruits pay a forfeit entry fee to compensate CBC for materials used ("wasted" on quality C and B) during the apprenticeship.

Given the contradictions arising from competing labor demands in households which feel the simple reproduction squeeze, the cooperative needs to immediately elaborate a definite and coherent recruitment strategy. Such a strategy needs to weigh the material costs of increased artisan turnover against the social cost of excluding migrant spouses, which could be extremely detrimental to village and group harmony

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and cohesion.[48]

Latest work changes

At the end of 1995 there was talk of suspending the individual pay-runs to the seven CBC communities in Gualaceo and Paute cantos and replacing them with a Sunday embroidery collection at the Gualaceo market. Service to Chiquintad and the Checa hinterland however would continue, which could promote strife. If Gualaceo gets a global once a week collection on its market day, the same should be instituted at the Checa Sunday market for the communities in Canton Cuenca.[49] The economic advantage is obvious, not only can the expense of extra gas be spared, but the vehicle for which the coop needs to take on maintenance and amortization responsibility will have a longer use life if it is spared the daily abuse on the dirt tracks. However, it will make CBC embroidering a lot less attractive activity, except maybe for the women of Guanal and Chiquintad . The groups would indeed lose much of their internal coherence, leaving the communities without social and visibly physical markers such as the weekly congregation of women proudly handing in their work and the welcome extra transportation opportunity.[50]

MARKETING CONSTRAINTS FOR GRASSROOTS CRAFT COOPERATIVES

The Swiss Development Cooperation sees the control over craft marketing by urban "middlemen" as an exploitative force from which the female artisans have to be delivered through direct access to the export market. That a wholesaler will again appropriate surplus at the retailing end, however, is taken for granted; a cultural and economic assumption of the First World which cannot be subject to change. Marketing in

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[48] In September of 1997 I was informed that the group at Uzhupud had been dissolved, but a new group of 20 members had been recruited from Cahicán in Paute canton. I ignore the social and agrarian conditions particular to this community.

[49] Collecting embroideries from 8.30 a.m to 11 a.m in Checa and from 12 noon on in Gualaceo would coincide with the differential market going habits in the two locales.

[50] If CBC has put this new modus operandi into practice, it may have delivered Uzhupud its final blow.

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the First World is a "profession," while small town "middlemen" in the Southern hemisphere are perceived as abusive dilettantes.

In order to make local production and distribution brokerage superfluous, a processing plant was installed from the very beginning. Means of production (needles, scissors, stitching frames, irons, sowing machines, an industrial washer and dryer) and distribution (office appliances and a pickup truck) were acquired. The bulk acquisition, preparation and distribution of raw materials (cloth, thread) began to involve a dozen younger embroideresses who commuted daily to Cuenca from Chiquintad, Guanal, and Uzhupud. The quality control was soon exercised competently by select embroideresses from Uzhupud, Guanal, Chiquintad (these are all villages with paved road access to Cuenca) and Zhiquil.

At SDC in Berne an artisan marketing specialist had looked into possibilities for marketing the embroideries in Switzerland in order to spare the future artisan coop the uncertainties of a changing world market. Trachsel Trading Company [JHT], a middle sized family trading firm with over a hundred years of existence showed interest in high quality white on white table linen. The first steps were taken with technology transfer. Within a few months, about two dozen embroidery instructors had been recruited from among the artisan population. These promotoras become acquainted with the designs and craft standards mandated by the Swiss Import firm which was going to have a monopoly buying privilege for all exports. Trachsel [JHT] had been founded in the 1880s, when the lace cottage industry was at its peak in Switzerland. Since 1988, Trachsel had been buying embroideries from Madeira, Hungary, Rumania and the People's Republic of China. The wholesaler Trachsel redistributed hand and machine embroidered table linen, doilies, etc, to retailers in Swiss tourist centers, where American and Japanese visitors make up the bulk of final consumers of what is presented as a "Swiss handicraft tradition."

All was well for almost two years. JHT bought up the entire export output at

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prices established in keeping with CBC profit margins. But all of a sudden, in 1990, the venerable Swiss family firm of a hundred years ceased to exist - a process which caught CBC and the SDC experts by surprise. JHT was acquired by a bigger trading firm, BERNIMPEX. With declining international tourism in Switzerland, due to an overrated Swiss frank and concomitant decreasing buying power of tourist dollars, BERNIMPEX found the doilies hard to sell. The new firm decreed a purchase stop on white-on-white hand embroideries from Ecuador, preferring to buy lesser quality from Asia at more affordable prices. The buy-up contract CBC had had with JHT was no longer honored by BERNIMPEX, a legal complication not foreseen by CBC or SDC personnel at the time when the cooperative effort was started between the government's development agency and the private trading firm. JHT made no effort to protect its Third World trading partner (CBC) when the terms of acquisition were hammered out with BERNIMPEX. SDC personnel was not informed of the acquisition and had no opportunity to salvage marketing privileges for CBC, showing that joint ventures between private enterprise and development agencies come with many unknown variables. Legal safety valves woven into wholesale monopoly contracts need to protect suppliers against merger and acquisition events, while two-year renewal terms would protect the buyer from being tied to an unwanted product for too long a period.

Increasingly complex and rapid capital turnover requires that development agents have above average business management and legal knowledge to keep abreast of sweeping changes affecting their partners in cooperation in the Southern hemisphere. In the case at hand, BERNIMPEX announced that it needed a 30 percent profit margin.[51] At the same time BERNIMPEX saw no possibility to increase the Swiss wholesale price beyond 5 to 8 percent, roughly the terms of late eighties Swiss inflation. As a consequence BERNIMPEX proposed CBC produce new designs requiring little thread and labor input, yet "imbued with artistic quality" (CORQUI t.311 29.4.2.: 03/28/91).

[51] According to New York City bulk textile buyers, this is not an exaggerated wholesale mark-up.

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What to me sounds like an inherent contradiction in terms was indeed impossible to accomplish at CBC's design desk. Since the Ecuadorian "sucre's" official exchange rate was also inflated (massive devaluation has been a recent - 1996/97 - development), worker subsistence costs were sensibly higher than on the Pacific Rim.

However, CBC took this adversity as a challenge to become an autonomous marketing entity. A first step toward self-managed marketing was the acquisition of a small store in Cuenca.[52] COTESU gave an interest free loan of S./ 6.000.0000, to be taken out on Nov 30, 1992 and to be paid back in 20 monthly installments of S./ 300.000 by June of 1994. Roughly 57 percent of the interest free debt was paid back by June of 1994 (Corqui t.311.29.1:8.10.92).[53] This shows that the financial projections made by project managers were not accurate, but in times of economic insecurity that is also true of financial barons in Zurich and on Wall Street, only that firms with a bigger cash flow and "quiet" reserves can take losses on their own risk. It also shows that financing through development agencies provides the sort of backing which newly capitalizing artisans and other small producers lack, because they have no "historical" capital accumulated through decades, even centuries of capital renewal. While this example of miscalculations can be construed as a "typical" failure in development planning, the above interpretation offers a variation on the theme, an instance of where development agents "are wrong for the right reason."

The second step consisted in hiring a marketing specialist. A young return migrant from Canada was taken under contract, because of his supposed proficiency in

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[52] Again, an outsider was hired as sales person. The young Mestiza woman is pleasant and skilled. The reasons given for this outside hire in 1993, when CBC artisans should already be self managing, according to the original proposal, was that the salesgirl had the indispensable language skills to sell to international tourists in Cuenca. She knew a dozen basic words in English, which put her at the same level as Cumandá. No-one suggested embroideresses at CBC take English courses until 1995, even though Ñaña and Lena had been with the project since the beginning, and despite the fact that Cumandá and Adela were enrolled in beginner's English in 1993 upon entering the adult degree high-school program in Gualaceo

[53] US 1.733 at an average of S./ 2000.- per US 1.- equals S./ 3.466.000

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English and familiarity with North American tastes. The candidate looked like a good complement to the Swiss project manager's familiarity with the European market. It turned out, however, that Renato was not able to get at potential markets, mainly for socio-cultural reasons. When it comes to expansion within Ecuador, tourist locations are a prime target, but for Renato the challenge was multifaceted. Tourist destinations like Galápagos and the Oriente are too expensive for him and he was unable get at the most important tour and boat operators for social reasons: he doesn't know who they are, and they are not particularly easy to approach by a traveling Mestizo salesman from Azuay. When it comes to the North American market, even though he had lived in Toronto, as a migrant with a limited social circle he hadn't been able to learn how to differentiate tastes in a metropolitan setting by rural-urban and provincial-metropolitan differences as well as by ethnic origin and class identity.[54] He has little idea of the quality or purpose of these export embroideries.

Octavio, the young business manager came up with a new idea after having taken a trip abroad to assist at a trade show. It was to enter the lucrative travel business through airline duty free and catalog sales, where expensive and exquisite greeting cards might meet economically affluent buyers. Since handmade articles lend themselves well to small edition individualized ventures, CBC also tried to sell place mats with airline logos intended for European airlines in their luxurious first and business class table settings.[55] The barriers for Renato were again massive. He hadn't had much flying experience and never with European airlines, nor was he acquainted with their exclusive

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[54] On the other hand, the two CBC artisans who came to the New York/New England cultural and educational tour, were extremely alert and able - within less than two weeks - to pick up on multiple class-gender-age-ethnic based style differences in apparel and home decoration fashion. These identity markers are also important variables of the rural market clientele in Ecuador.

[55] Octavio had tried the place mats with SAETA, an Ecuadorian airline flying to the United States, but they were not interested, upon which I suggested contacting the European carriers.

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on board duty free merchandise and differentiated passenger services.[56] The fact that such purchases are done through a central office at airline headquarters makes local marketing efforts all the more difficult.

By early 1994 it became obvious to those at CBC that Renato's English was far from business proficient. Lacking eloquence, and with difficulty in syntax and orthography, the promotional letters and general business correspondence didn't do justice to the excellent quality product at stake. It didn't take long before the artisans caught on to the fact that Renato was unable to deliver the marketing expertise their cooperative needed. Discontented voices were uttered during group meetings and general assemblies. Renato's far from modest travel expenses during fruitless trips to Colombia, Venezuela and the United States added to a general disenchantment. By the end of 1994 he and CBC had amicably terminated the employment relationship.

Facing these increasing difficulties on the international arena, a considerable effort was being made by CBC to cover all segments of the Ecuadorian market. Starting in 1993 an enterprising single embroideress took up traveling to popular fairs all over the Sierra, selling surplus stock with very little traveling overhead. Embroideresses demonstrated their art in department stores and in an up-scale souvenir boutique in Quito, where they attracted a lot of attention. The international price level for doilies, however, continues to attract only a select few buyers. The monied tourists visiting craft boutiques do not want to buy a European style item. With Renato gone, the CBC business manager tried to crack the corporate scene. However, in Latin American business culture, even most minute decisions are often taken at very high levels, and Octavio, just like Renato before him, finds it extremely difficult to obtain access to high class Ecuadorian managers and owner-operators. His Mestizo origin and indigenous phenotype make it difficult to cut through negative reactions powerfully displayed by gate keepers,

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[56] While most U.S. and other carriers linking South and North America do have what they enthusiastically call a "First Class," the difference in comfort and passenger service between this section and coach is minimal.

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secretaries and middle level management in Cuenca, Quito, and Guayaquil.

TO SEW AND TO SELL: GRASSROOTS MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Education in general

The poor educational background of CBC contract personnel did not allow them to surmount the considerable difficulties relating to international marketing and efficient financial planning. This situation, which is as acute in rural elementary schools as it is in the public universities from which these hired professionals graduated, is indicative of the ethnic and gender discrimination in Ecuador's national education system, mediated through the economic power and political clout of those who can afford to attend first rate private institutions of primary and higher learning in the country and abroad. This is not to say that efforts to improve the situation are absent, but due to several centuries of educational discrimination, the task is enormous.

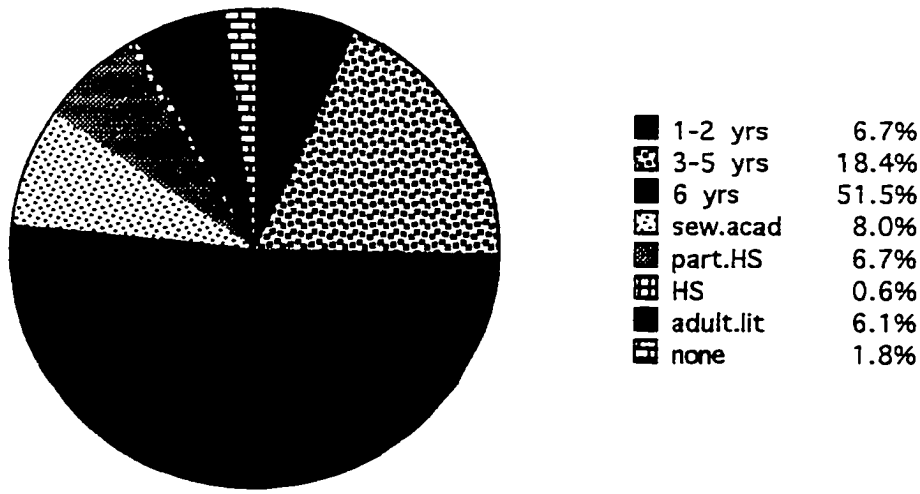
Ecuador has seen a steady decrease in adult illiteracy since the 1960s when it amounted to 30 percent. According to the 1990 census adult illiteracy amounts to 11.4 percent nationwide, 19 percent in rural areas; 23.1 percent for rural women among whom the highest illiteracy rates are endemic in Latin America (FLACSO 1992a:53). Ecuador's adult literacy situation is by no means the worst in Latin America. Census data from Guatemala (1989) indicate that 40.7 percent of all adults are illiterate; 52.3 percent in rural areas, and 60 percent among rural women (FLACSO 1992b:51). Compared with its associates in the Andean Pact, Ecuador's nationwide adult illiteracy percentage for 1990 is sensibly lower than Bolivia's 22.5 percent, slightly lower than Perú's 14.9 percent, and a bit higher than Colombia's 13.3 percent and Venezuela's 11.9 percent (FLACSO/IICA 1994:182)[57] The problem is nevertheless considered serious by Ecuadorians of all walks of life. Bordados, on the other hand, is in a privileged

[57] The FLACSO/IICA 1994 comparison of Andean countries indicates Ecuador's adult illiteracy (people 15 years of age and older) at 14.2 percent, based on data from CEPAL. FLACSO 1992 percentages, based on Ecuadorian raw data from INEC (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censo) indicate the mentioned 11.4 percent adult illiteracy for the same age bracket which would make Ecuador's rate the lowest throughout the Andes.

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situation when it comes to artisan literacy: a mere 1.8 percent (three out of one hundred and sixty-three artisans) have had no schooling at all. The same as nationwide (FLACSO 1992a), the non literate artisans are women forty years and older. The young average age of CBC embroideresses in part explains the very low illiteracy rate, but the exclusion of Quichua speakers - where adult female illiteracy is bound to be higher than the rural average - also partly accounts for the situation. In addition, the administration in rural Azuay, a few years prior to CBC's beginning, of an adult literacy program, reduced the rate which would otherwise have been at 8 percent among CBC artisans.[58] Chart 5 indicates the distribution of different educational levels among CBC artisans. The details regarding elementar secondary education levels within each embroidery group are presented in table number 1 (CBC artisan educational levels by community).

Chart 5: CBC Educational levels



[58]This is illustrated by the pie-chart 5 on CBC educational levels where the sum of 1.8 percent with no schooling at all, and 6.1 percent graduates of the adult literacy program, amount to 7.9 percent.

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Table no. 1: CBC artisan educational levels by community

Community	1-2yrs	3-5yrs	6yrs	sew-acad	partial HS	highschool	adult lit	none	total
Azhapud	0	0	3	2	1	0	1	1	8
La Dolorosa	0	0	5	1	0	0	1	0	7
Santa Rosa	0	2	5	0	1	0	0	0	8
Chiquintad	0	4	14	1	0	1	0	0	20
Cochapamba	3	4	9	1	1	0	2	1	21
Guanal	0	2	4	1	2	0	1	0	10
Llintig	5	8	12	3	0	0	1	1	30
Mayuntur	1	5	16	0	5	0	1	0	28
Sondeleg	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	6
Uzhupud	1	3	7	2	0	0	3	0	16
Zhiquil	1	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	9
Total	11	30	84	13	11	1	10	3	163

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Dynamics of formal education in CBC households

Birth order influences girls' educational levels in those households which can absorb extra labor, be it as auxiliaries to agriculture or to the craft producing mother. In 1995, two girls from Llintig who had graduated from sixth grade with very good marks were kept home by their parents in order to help with household chores and the care of their younger siblings; both are the eldest in their families.[59] Efforts by Cumandá and the anthropologist, to persuade the parents to let girls enter secondary school in Gualaceo, were in vain. Sisac, another eldest child (her mother is the oldest of siblings too) and Cumandá's niece, has not been able to go on to secondary school either. Sisac's father is an international migrant, and the father of one of the girls mentioned before is away working on the coast for most of the year. [60]

The proximity of a good quality public high school is also important: Chiquintad has a technical high school to which middle class Cuenca families send their children in such elevated numbers that it was necessary to impose quotas on students who do not live in Chiquintad. A few Chiquinteña embroideresses now in their twenties and thirties who were born as younger daughters, hold high school diplomas, but two of them have joined migrant husbands in New York.[61] This Chayanovian ideal of education's link to the

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[59] Since the girls are occupied in the gendered division of labor within the household, working under their mothers' guidance, there is a tendency to hold the mothers responsible for keeping capable girls out of further education. My field experience has been that fathers, even absent international migrants, are at least in equal terms involved in these decisions.

[60] Ann Miles (1997) finds that the burden of the oldest child increases beyond the already demanding - if also rewarding in terms of parental attention and praise - situation in rural Ecuador when the male head of household migrates.

[61] These female high school graduates usually defer marriage and practice birth control. This is unusual, given that among the 163 embroideresses I interviewed (among whom there is only one high school graduate), only three reported to resort to medicated or surgical contraception devices. A few more reported that they monitor their basal temperature or use other non-invasive methods to determine female fertility. Successful birth control is more elusive with these methods, since it is predicated upon a high degree of spousal consensus with regard to sexual abstinence during at least ten consecutive days of the monthly cycle.

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family's reproductive cycle breaks down, however, when adult wage work sustains the household economy, a situation now common in Chiquintad. Among wage earning parents the investment in children's education is greater, in part because the monthly wage income - in a situation of continued inflation - combines better with the recurring expenditure for school fees and materials than with the one-time acquisition of expensive and scarce additional farmland , predicated on accumulating savings over many years. However, neo-liberal negation of equitable education policies interferes with the plans for higher education in rural Azuay: In a family where the oldest daughter was about to enter Cuenca's public university in 1995, neo-liberal funding cuts imposed arbitrary (rather than academic) quotas on entering freshmen. The girl then went for vocational office training at Centro de Bordados, where her aunt is the production manager. Her older brother did not consider apprenticeship or university, but emigrated to North America. Table number 1 on CBC educational levels by community allows the reader to appreciate "road bias" constraints and social support system advantages with regard to girls' high school attendance in rural Azuay: Mayuntur, even though fairly isolated, has 18 percent of its artisan membership attending adult degree high school on Saturdays, thanks to resident leadership role models. The only high school graduate comes from Chiquintad, the only CBC community with a locally available high school.[62]

The present and past coop president, both role models of continued adult education, had been forced as girls to forego secondary school in order to help earn cash to put younger brothers all the way through university.Their effort to obtain a high school diploma as adults is backfiring in different ways. Cumandá, the current coop president - a quiet negotiator with a brilliant mind - indirectly proves that opportunities are still there even if you lack a higher degree in formal education. Her

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62 The other Chiquinteña high school graduate is CBC's production manager, not included in this statistic which is based on resident community artisans. Chiquintad's CBC group had two more high school graduates, but both have emigrated to North America.

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insistence, in meetings, that her situation is far from ideal, and how much more effort it takes to assimilate academic subjects when past thirty, is not fully understood by parents of teenagers. Adela, her friend and predecessor as "pre-coop" president, dropped out of the adult degree program leading to a high school diploma (Universidad Libre de Loja) upon marrying a local carpenter, for whom she now carries lunch to work every day. She has also neglected her duties with the cooperative. Even though she had fallen seriously ill, which accounts for her absences, others say that her husband does not want her to have a prominent public role. Adela's predicament is that of an avant-gardist: She married late after years of public service. Now her husband - and part of the public opinion - expect her to focus on her wifely obligations. On the other hand, a few of the older embroideresses who married rather young but who have a good working relationship with their husbands have been able to participate temporarily in coop leadership. In their case, the Andean principle of "cargo," that is of taking up the "burden" of leadership in alternation with peers is very strong. I often heard them say: "Yo ya pasé el cargo, ahora toca a otra.[63]" This notion of rotative rather than repetitive involvement in community and corporate affairs is very suitable to the woman in the artisan/subsistence agriculture combination, because it allows her to combine public office with her ascribed household duties during years when children are before or beyond toddler age. She can also assume public office when the spouse's personal and economic contribution to the household economy is "optimal." That means it is very difficult for the wife of a recent international migrant to assume a coop leadership position, because the burden to service the debt and care for dependents alone is overwhelming.[64]

Attitudes among younger men vary. In contrast to Adela's husband, Cumandá's university educated brother Inti actively supports his own young wife to continue with

[63] "I already served [literally, I carried the burden], now it is someone else's turn."

[64] Family and compadrazco relations are already called upon "excessively" during the time of initial absence (see Miles 1997).

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the adult degree program in high school. He is even postponing graduate work in Brazil for her to go with him diploma in hand, so that she can have a chance at higher education abroad. Adela's brother Yachac, a civil engineer is still single, but thinks in similar ways as his friend Inti. The positive examples given by older sisters active in community work and cooperative organization, and, in Yachac's case the influence of a mother who taught herself to read literature, has helped these young men to view women as their equals, rather than subordinates. It is also an indication that Andean notions of gender equity and complementarity are alive in Azuay. Whether higher education reinforced the described gender attitude of these young men is highly debatable.

Adult education and apprenticeship strategies at CBC

During the first four years most instruction delivered by CBC development agents centered around technical skills in embroidery and finishing and on themes of "home economics," health and family planning. This is the usual "fare" in Latin American women's programs. While technical courses serve a definite purpose in the development of a new export product, I find the other courses of little use. Modern housekeeping revolves around electric household appliances, and the shining of tile and varnished wooden surfaces. While many migrants aspire to construct new houses with precisely those attributes, a few weeks of watching the pertinent TV publicity for cleaning products will bring the lucky new owner of such a house perfectly up to date on modern housekeeping techniques. Since Bordados is supposed to stop land flight, this particular theme is indeed a counter productive anachronism.

Modern hygiene, health and child rearing concerns may have useful sanitary components in times of rapidly spreading infections such as cholera and typhoid fever. They reinforce state health programs and publicity to the point of redundancy, since several NGOs also tend to descend upon rural communities with duplicating programs. Parenting classes, while providing mutual support, don't seem to be of primordial necessity either: Andean couples are usually kind, patient yet firm in their educational

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tactics. I don't remember seeing or hearing a child being physically chastised. Indeed, when I delivered a hand slap on my four year old's venerable rear end upon finding out he had hit two guinea pigs with my walking stick "to make them stop from running," I was encouraged to "let up" by my Llintig friends: "Es solo un niño, con buenos consejos ya aprenderá;"[65] was their gentle advice. In addition, some child care programs discourage parents from swaddling infants and later from carrying the babies in shawls on their shoulders while doing chores. This leaves rural mothers with restless children demanding constant attention, getting themselves into trouble and danger while crawling and toddling all over the homestead.

Nutrition courses quickly degenerate into the diffusion of recipes on western cuisine. Young girls wanted me to teach them how to cook shrimp - an expensive urban delicacy - and how to bake elaborate cakes involving outlandishly expensive ingredients. For those who want to try their luck as contract bakers at weddings and other events, there are plenty of church sponsored "good housekeeping" academies - even in Gualaceo where the Salesian nuns successfully operate such an outfit. CBC's social worker actively worked against this, stressing the nutritional values of local cultigens like quinoa, maize, beans, etc. Yet this did not seem to interest the young girls very much, and to the older women this was nothing new. When I tried to stress the nutritional value of local foods during a "nutrition course" I was asked to deliver for CBC at Chiquintad, I quickly lost the older assistants who know more about their cuisine's contribution to good health than I.

By 1993 CBC switched educational gear. Courses on civil rights and cooperative law were delivered to promotoras and coop leaders. By 1994 these courses were carried into the individual groups. The promotoras and leaders were given a crash course in accounting, evaluation and planning in March of 1994. Despite the fact that board members have only rudimentary knowledge of accounting and finance management, the

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[65] "He is only a child, with good advice he will soon know better."

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CBC accountant had no methodology to "popularize" concepts of double entry accounting. The content of this course was lost on all but three coop leaders who had already had basic accounting experiences with UCCG and at CBC's production department. Adela, for example, has managed the local store and has helped with accounting at the UCCG store in Gualaceo. She would like girls to be trained in this matter. Ñaña is presently the treasurer of the coop, which does not involve any CBC business accounts, just the management of monthly dues and travel expenses for promotoras and board members. In 1995 no member of the cooperative's board of directors (consejo administrativo) or board of trustees (consejo de vigilancia) was capable of critically evaluating a balance sheet and to ask: "I don't understand, why do you have such an amount here ?"

The CBC contract business manager and accountant know their trade, but they have not been trained to explain clearly to the coop leaders, why and how things have to be accounted for. This is foremost a question of cultural transmission of knowledge. Latin American bookkeeping is unfocused and confusing, perfect for hiding funds and obscuring channels rather than to show the movement of goods and funds in a clear manner. Going through the CBC balance sheets during my archival work in CBC and COTESU offices, I found S./ 180. Million (nearly US $. 100.000 at the time) under "various debts" which amounted to roughly 75 percent of the balance sum total. By going back to earlier financial statements, I was able to disaggregate the sum and found out it was composed of COTESU, FEPP, and Bank loans (Field journal Vol I:154). Expense accounts, on the other hand, are often exceedingly disaggregated, making a big picture assessment according to expense category difficult for grassroots controllers unfamiliar with concepts in financial prognosis.

CBC's social worker, who holds a Swiss accounting degree in addition to her business management training, would have been methodologically equipped to deliver a course on basic financial management and simple double-entry accounting principles. However, CBC's policy to let local specialists run a maximum of activities - in

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accordance with more recent SDC guidelines - make the accountant responsible for training select artisans in her field. Here I think development guidelines operate on too broadly conceived notions of ethnic identity and with no practical interest in issues of social class. SDC wishes to produce as little dependency on foreign consultancy as possible, but the replacement of outside consultants and development workers needs to be carefully analyzed and planned. To replace a foreign development agent with an urban Mestizo professional does not guarantee subsequent artisan/campesino self management, to the contrary: the national middle class professional saws off the branch s/he is sitting on with every piece of knowledge s/he transfers to the grassroots base, unless there is an institutionalized job security built into her/his contract. I also found that the foreign agents exhibited a bit of excess in "cultural relativism" with regard to what I consider cumbersome and obscurantist accounting practices in Latin America, saying "this is how you do accounting, here; it's just a different system which can be learned." While that is true for those among us who have a solid grounding in bookkeeping, it is not for the uninitiated who fare a lot better with a clear-cut double entry American journal as a learning tool.

The initial approach taken by CBC's project manager may have been too business oriented, rather than geared toward grassroots training in the first phase. Every administrative specialty was contracted out, rather than extending trainee and apprenticeship opportunities to those embroideresses with sufficient formal education: A secretary and accountant were hired from among urban professionals. A production manager was added . She was promoted to accountant (she holds an accounting degree) when Octavio - the first accountant - was given the job of business manager. A return migrant who had spent several years in the New York garment industry was hired as the

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new production manager.[66] The job of designer - which is very critical - was given to graduates, later to part time students of a Cuenca fine arts college. These designers have shown a great deal of creativity, yet they are totally unfamiliar with variants in international "taste." In terms of designing "artisan user friendly" patterns they all rely heavily upon CBC staff embroideresses, some of whom show promise to become designer apprentices.[67] Yet it is a firm belief by development agents and staff management that only a university fine arts graduate can be a designer - albeit with designs difficult to market internationally.

After the start of project phase 3 (July 1994 to July 1997) CBC artisan staff (those working at the finishing center), promotoras and coop leaders entered short apprenticeship stints. They were assigned to spend a few days in every CBC department (business management, accounting, marketing, production, design). This is a useful approach, but I would advise future project managers to embark on this initial apprenticing very early on, as soon as the business venture has taken off. In CBC's case this would have been in early 1990. A project manager should not be afraid to expose artisan colleagues to mistakes or misjudgments made by outside contract professionals or development agents. Indeed, if artisan coop leaders are allowed to participate in critical business decisions early on, some mistakes - especially with regard to production timing and output capacities - may be avoided. Responsibility for certain management errors can be shared, an experience from which the apprentice and agents

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[66] This man in his thirties was certainly capable, but the choice was unfortunate on three accounts: His way with the women artisans, while kind and friendly, was very patronizing. A man was hired to replace a woman who may not have performed optimally as production manager. Most significant, the job was given to a return migrant, legitimating the very migrant "dream" CBC is supposed to counteract.

[67] One of them has since migrated to the United States. Giving women additional training and access to managerial work may be a good strategy to halt migration.

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can learn a great deal for their professional futures.[68]

Top management seminars and exposure to foreign markets

The appropriate manner to introduce rural Latin American artisans to state of the arts business training and the world market for which they produce has yet to be designed.[69] SDC's efforts in Ecuador were exclusively directed at non-grassroots professionals. At CBC the designer was offered a European business tour with the project manager in 1992 during the latter's regular contract home leave (meaning the project manager's trip meant little extra cost for COTESU's Ecuadorian budget). The designer resigned shortly thereafter, and the long term benefits from this educational tour were lost to CBC.

The FEPP consultant has benefited from several continuous education opportunities. In the spring of 1992 he attended a workshop on development aid in La Paz, Bolivia. He routed the trip through Lima and Santiago de Chile, in order to contact prospective clients. Apparently, there had been no previous arrangement of meetings. He went to network on a Saturday in Lima and found most stores closed. He could not talk to the buyers of Almacenes Hogar in Lima, because they don't work on Saturdays. He found out useful names while there, rather than having gotten that information and made arrangements prior to the trip by phone and fax. It so happened that he was in Santiago de Chile during Holy Week of 1992 (April 13-17). There he found out what the international measure standards are, and discovered that Ecuadorian fabrics are not broad enough for certain linen articles. This is something that should have been evident at CBC from the beginning and maybe it was, but Rolando didn't know about it. He talked

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[68] The reader should be aware of the author's cultural bias toward on the job training, the apprenticeship "tradition," and rural adult business training practiced in her native country.

[69] CUNY anthropologists (including the author), led by June Nash, with financial support from the Smithsonian Institution, the Interamerican Foundation, and SDC organized a two week tour of artisan exhibits and marketing/business administration workshops in 1995.

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to the acquisitions manager of a big department store; in another big store that person was busy (CORQUI t.311 19.4.3: Informe al Directorio CBC Sesión 05/17/92). This was a very useful "trial-and-error" experience, but it should have been made directly by designated grassroots artisans, maybe in the company an experienced marketing specialist contracted "sur place" in these cities.[70]

"High management seminars" in Costa Rica were attended by the FEPP consultant and the CBC contract business manager in 1994. Tertiary education and middle level business administrative knowledge were prerequisites which prevented artisans from attending. Here the problems for CBC are manifold: for one their decision not to send grassroots artisans to an event for which their academic credentials are insufficient is correct. This begs the question: should development aid funds be spent on furthering the education of contracted project specialists? The reasons for doing so in Latin America are that international travel and seminars are part of implicit expectations by national development agents and contracted middle management workers in projects. The COTESU coordinator who introduced me to Bordados in 1992 was staunchly opposed to such "premium" trips: "one doesn't 'earn' a trip abroad for average good behavior or extended tenure within a project." According to him, either the trip and workshops bear direct relevance to the job and project goals, otherwise money should not be spent in a "promotional" manner. A development project premised on the fact that grassroots producers will never be able to run their own enterprise may want to educate their contract management and keep their spirits up with such travel treats. This is not the premise of Bordados where one of the primordial goals is self management. Upon

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[70] SDC should tap into the network of commercial attachés at Swiss embassies as well as into Swiss Chambers of Commerce to achieve the "synergy" it is seeking; a "synergy" which would give CBC products the same marketing privileges extended to Swiss small businesses. The argument that Swiss development efforts are a "Swiss Export Product," would legitimize giving artisan cooperatives in the South, where governments usually don't do much for their small business' international marketing needs, access this professional and fairly cheap marketing service. The costs could even be absorbed by SDC as part of its various programs.

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Rolando's return from Costa Rica coop leaders started to worry that he will leave the project. They say the management course in Costa Rica has changed Rolando's attitude. He only talks mechanization, which is of course diametrically opposed to the goals set by him and his SDC counterpart years ago, i.e. to give a maximum number of campesina women work so that they can stay on the land, and a mechanically elaborated product from Ecuador would have even more difficulties competing with Asian products.

If coop leaders are not qualified to attend high management seminars, other educational opportunities need to be sought which are appropriate. If none exist, on the job training starting at the outset can offset the lack of formal education. In the case of Bordados, this should have been done at the beginning of phase three in 1994, and maybe even as early as 1990 during the first three-year phase. If indeed no management seminars exist for women artisans with little formal training, SDC may want to promote their creation.

CBC goals and achievements

In his planner's report for the project's second phase (July 1991 to July 1994) Urs critically evaluates CBC's main goals. He finds that artisans' non-technical education towards self sufficient management of their production outfit is more difficult and involves a larger time frame than initially foreseen. Artisan turnover has been far greater than planned due to the high quality requirements, but also due to the fact that the economic situation of the deserters drastically improved. Not stated, but implicitly referred to in Urs's report is the influence of migrant remittances into the household budget, once the coyote debt has been paid. The preparation of embroidery cloth and thread is far more time consuming than expected. What is meant by "fortifying social organization" has been unclear from the beginning, which has made clear-cut organizational goals difficult to state and carry out. Indeed, the FEPP proposal appended to the first bilateral agreement is very vague on the concrete needs for and the implementing instruments of the culture change toward which CBC should work (CORQUI

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1994 t.311.29.1: Project manager's report).

Product marketing and finances reveal a high cost for CBC's administration. Fifty percent of operation costs should ideally consist of wage payments to embroideresses working out of their rural homes (CORQUI 1991 t.311.29.1: Planning Second Phase), but this has never been achieved. Discontent among artisans over stagnating piece rates - devalued by national inflation - voiced in 1994, was sharply on the rise in 1995. It is difficult to build trust between cooperative leaders and CBC technocrats (ibid) . Indeed, among some CBC groups there is growing criticism of management performance, especially of the marketing sector. When the marketing manager was dismissed in 1994, artisans grew critical of the business manager who was then made responsible for expanding the market. Artisan expectations with regard to marketing may at times be unrealistic, but this is because they lack proper training in the subject matter.

CBC women artisans should become able to "develop specific functions relative to the embroidery production process."[71] (ibid). Some of this was achieved by 1995 when Ñaña became the production manager and Lena began achieving an increasingly active role in regional Ecuadorian marketing. At the same time, Cumandá and Lisa were taking over much of the local educational services. The projected December 1991 legalization of the coop was achieved by May of 1993. Since these sorts of formalities are long and complex in Latin America, this delay is not significant in terms of project performance. However, as stated before - and fully recognized in CBC reports to headquarters - the artisans' training levels did not allow them to autonomously run their cooperative by the time it became a legal reality under Ecuadorian law.

Increased recruitment remains a planning goal in 1993 even though in Llintig aspirants are told there are no openings, due to the fact that demand is slow. According to the July 1993-July 1994 POA ("Plan Operativo Anual" or yearly plan) preference in

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[71] "...desarrollar funciones específicas en el proceso de producción de los Bordados."

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recruitment of new embroideresses will be given to those groups "which have shown most interest in [project] participation" (CORQUI 1993 t.311 29.4.3: POA 1993/94:6). In order to achieve this differentiated recruitment goal, CBC would need to define criteria determining who is "most interested:" Mayuntur which showed most quality A output per capita? Llintig with the biggest group where per capita production ratio is better than Chiquintad's? Cochapamba with the most stable embroidery population and least turnover in artisans in four years?

Coop leaders do not participate in running CBC, and the local peasant organization (UCCG) has not been supportive of the women's cooperative (CORQUI 1991 t.311.29.1:Planning paper Proyecto de Bordados Second Phase). This particular problem of male dominated umbrella organizations being unsupportive of a "women's project" was encountered in the 1980s in the Central Sierra (Cotopaxi province) by a COTESU development agent whose 1989 report states: "The organization of women's groups has caused problems in some communities, because the activities are not clear for all members of the community. In the 'piso alto' [of Pilahuín] there is no division of labor into male and female tasks,"[72] making a "women's project" questionable and probably suspect (Meister 1989). The problem with corporate memory at SDC, and probably this is true for most development institutions, is the proliferation of paperwork. Many a report reaching headquarters in Berne is instantly filed without anyone reading it, especially if it has been drafted by someone on regular payroll.[73]

There is indeed, a well defined Andean notion of gendered complementarity in questions of work, household economy, and familial obligations. But it is precisely in the

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[72] While the agents' statement may be slightly exaggerated, Weismantel (1997) has also noted a relatively low degree of sexual division of labor among piso alto indigenous groups in Zumbagua, another Cotopaxi location.

[73] Reports filed by expensive consultants whose fees are paid out of current country or sectorial program budgets are read with interest and by a variety of readers, but paperwork submitted by people on payroll and on specific topics, rather than broad issues, tend not to enter "popular" institutional consciousness.

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realm of artisanry that Azuay men and women are most likely to combine efforts: both men and women used to spin wool and weave paja toquilla hats. Women assist their shoemaker and carpenter husbands in their trade, and there were even a few male aspirants during the 1989 preparatory phase for Bordados. In order to stop more effectively the generalized land flight in Azuay, SDC may have wanted to introduce a production oriented project involving both, men and women. A certain gender segregation in the social and political realm of project execution may be beneficial, however, since women tend not to assume public leadership roles when resident men have a chance at taking them up. The introduction of complementary productive ventures, where men and women occupy parallel positions of leadership is something to be tried by development agencies working in the Andes. For this to happen, Western agents first need to become theoretically grounded in issues of gender equality, inequality, and complementarity, so that they can fathom the existence of "separate but equal" values, functions, and rewards with regard to women and men in productive and management roles.

The quality conscious development agents and the gifted Azuay artisans who came together in this project did achieve the technical production goals way before the end of second phase deadline (June 1993): to produce 80 percent quality A and 20 percent quality B. This was exceeded to a 90 percent A output by 1992. Indeed, high quality output, efficient grassroots quality control, and punctuality ceased to be a CBC problem within the first two years of the project, showing a tremendous "acquisition" curve with regard to the artisans' ability to change behavior patterns, and successful advocacy, on the part of the development agents, to transmit vital new ideas. SDC should look into this success story and analyze it in detail with the coop leaders, as well as Rolando, Flurina and Urs, in order to pinpoint why it was so difficult to transmit management skills to the artisans within the same rapid time frame. Was it a question of "cultural resistance" on part of the artisans and their household companions? Did the agents - Ecuadorian and Swiss - all of whom have a great deal of formal training in their field, perceive the

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artisan's "deficit" in formal education as insurmountable? Or is the quality-quantity-punctuality Trinity so well transmitted because it is such a vital part of Swiss business and production culture - i.e. something the agents very strongly identify with ?

The gendered division of labor in Swiss agriculture - of which any local resident has at least an impressionistic idea - may have a considerable influence on development agents' attitudes towards training rural women in management. Together with the deficiencies in the public education system of Ecuador - a common phenomenon in most Latin American countries - this made for less than ideal circumstances to achieve managerial autonomy within the artisan cooperative. Given these constraints it has been difficult to combat the symptoms of managerial deficiencies in small scale enterprises. The maintenance of a national status quo through the development effort makes it virtually impossible to tackle the roots of the problem which lie in profoundly ingrained social inequalities between a massive population of rural subsistence producer-artisans, rural and urban semi- and underemployed workers on one side, and the small landed, mercantile, and financial élite on the other.

This chapter shows that culture change is not unilinear, but a complex combination of converging ideologies built on unequal socio-productive relations which in turn give rise to spheres of interaction where access to knowledge and resources is stratified according to gender, ethnicity, and social class. Swiss assumptions about peasant culture converge with local socialization patterns toward gender subordination, conducing to a persistent gender hierarchy in the project. The present cooperative structure has not been able to overcome marketing constraints, to effectively combat land flight, or to significantly redress subsistence insecurity.

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V Centro de Bordados Cuenca: Gender roles and culture change in a transnational context

"The fundamental difference between sex and gender is simple: sex is fun, gender is a problem."
T.R. Oil company engineer

GENDER COMPLEMENTARITY VERSUS INEQUALITY: RETHINKING PARAMETERS FOR ANDEAN DEVELOPMENT

This chapter deals with changing gender relations in a socio-physical space where a development project is an important factor in the emergence of new dimensions in social organization, distribution of working hours, use of resources and investment of surplus. The convergence of international long-term male migration in some communities has had a considerable impact on these changes. The research suggests that men's long-term absence gives women only temporary opportunities in leadership positions. These are quickly reversed when husbands return or when single women marry. In addition, local governance boards tend to lose women leaders to international migration, because the skills acquired through development agency interaction, and the experience gained on the local level make them better candidates to grasp metropolitan work opportunities in the North.

An historically informed look into how men and women used to ascend in partnership on a "career" hierarchy leading to local authority and limited power explains why current women's programs default on the issue of promoting local and regional leadership for women. The civil-religious cargo system practiced by corporate peasant communities throughout Mesoamerica and the Andes offered a "career" in local leadership for a husband-and-wife team, building, in the Andes, on the notion of complementary rather than contradictory gender-roles. Husband-wife teams of priostes - or sponsors - organized and paid for week long festivities honoring the local patron saint and other important ecclesiastic holidays. Mock duels on horseback (escaramuzas), towering fireworks, lavish feasting and drinking, musicians and dancers made, and at

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times still make, for a good fiesta. Individual sponsors went into debt way above what a household could earn during a year. Women were at times sponsors in their own right of feasts honoring the Virgin Mary or other female saints. Following priostazgo or cargo, husband and wife would serve, for a year, on the village civic council and become respected village elders whose advice on personal and corporate matters was often sought (Wolf 1957, Carrasco P. 1961, Chance and Taylor 1985).

Following agrarian reforms throughout Latin America, the secular state destroyed local power bases of peasants that had been tied to religious hierarchies of ascent. This is particularly true where Inka and colonial mass movement of people destroyed local networks and power structures early on, such as in the mining region of Gualaceo. Women's share in local positions of power were particularly affected (Bourque and Warren 1980, Nash 1988a). In some cases this occurred with help from prohibitionist evangelical missions (Muratorio 1980) who made an effort to discredit the mechanisms of ascent and partial self-management institutionalized through lavish feasting and drinking on part of the local peasantry. In Azuay the Catholic church, inspired by liberation theology, has been very active with programs in health, rural development and artisan production. However, in its concomitant attempt to halt the expansion of evangelical missions, liberation theology has also curbed the cargo system, proclaiming lavish feasts a primitive anachronism and fostering austerity.[1] The newly structured festivities (whether Catholic or Protestant) no longer offer local couples ascent to a civil-religious hierarchy within the community. Priests and catechists encourage the rural population to celebrate saint days and other religious holidays as a low-expenditure participatory event where residents contribute to the feast equally. In communities with a strong allegiance to liberation theology, there are no ritual

[1] Catholic Liberation Theologians in Latin America find it necessary to confront the aggressive proselytizing of mainly North American Protestant denominations with their own weapons of austerity, Christian brotherhood, and sober work ethic. In a similar tactic, among the seventeenth century counter-reformation's most celebrated acts we count the covering of Michael Angelo Buonarrotti's nudes in the Sistine Chapel with fig leaves and a church ritual devoid of former musical lavishness.

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drinking, lavish fireworks and expensive musicians, all of which had formerly legitimated the ascent of husband-wife teams of priostes to positions of authority within the community. In Azuay, the social attitudes promoted by liberation theology have had the beneficial effect of curbing massive consumption of extremely cheap, highly concentrated and damaging liquor.[2] The church is encouraging women to take public roles as catechists and lay prayer leaders, but during fiesta events I observed in Llintig, men took over lay worship services to Gualaceo's patron Saint Santiago, even though women had led the congregation in all preparatory meetings. In terms of political hierarchy, the discontinuity between the fiesta complex and ascent to public office has left women without an institutionalized access to local power. Their ascent to public office is now dependent on the absence of men, and it is predicated on good literacy skills.

When development programs respond to local conditions, the pace and direction of social transformation are altered. The quote at the beginning of this chapter reflects the machismo submerged in western societies. Gender is indeed a "problem," one with social, economic, and psychological ramifications. Gender has been presented as 1) a synonym with sex; 2) women's issues; 3) a cultural construct and; 4) an historical process. Sex, in this work stands for the biological and reproductive variation in humans, while gender refers to a complex of social attributes given to determined groups within a given culture. While current science recognizes two biological sexes for the animal class mammalia (mammals), the number of genders in a given human society is highly variable.[3]

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[2] Former festive drinking had involved briefly fermented maize beer (chicha) with a low alcohol content (3 to 6 percent, approximately), where big quantities will have the primary effect of fostering the digestion of heavy meals and leaving people inebriated, but without the massive attack on brain cells provoked by the habitual consumption of highly concentrated, distilled liquors.

[3] The "two-sex" paradigm in the biological sciences is also being challenged by scholars who point to the surgical modification of sexual organs in infants, when they present significant variation from [culturally constructed] "norms" (Lynn Stephen, personal communication, referring to research by Anne Fausto Sterling and Judith Butler, among others).

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The dialogue on the importance of gender as an analytical entity began in the social sciences in the mid-sixties. Female researchers working in world areas where the "Green Revolution" was under way were quick to recognize the differential and gender-specific treatment of and effects for humans (Guyer 1980, Mencher 1974). Researchers conducting ethnohistoric investigations on precolonial socio-generic relations rigorously questioned the western dichotomy of nature versus culture (Leacock 1981, Etienne and Leacock 1980, Dahlberg and contributors 1981). These polar opposites portray men working outside the home for wages as culture-bearers supporting their families, while women's domestic-reproductive tasks in the home are seen as their natural destiny. The association of women with nature and men with culture is based on the notion that culture is a static system of symbols and meaning, rather than a dynamic process of change. However, if we trace the social history of any particular symbol, it becomes evident that symbols change in meaning, importance and impact for the societies in which they are are relevant.[4] At the same time early studies by feminist scholars show that the private-public separation of female and male spheres is not universal and therefore anything but inherent in human nature. While women were mostly confined to the private or domestic affairs in industrializing Europe and North America as well as in the Muslim world, they did exercise public office, handle exchange of goods, hold title and rights to material and intellectual property in many precolonial and preindustrial settings. The separation of public and private spaces was itself a result of industrialization, as women's work was diverted to factories, and women's public roles, defined by age and status, became increasingly structured according to social class.

The theoretical problems posed by the nature-culture (Ortner 1981) and public-private (Rosaldo 1974) sexual dichotomies stimulated the search for new

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[4] Victor Turner's (1967, 1969) treatment of the Milk Tree; Gary Urton's 'History of a Myth' (1990).

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explanations of an apparently universal discrimination against women. Some have identified productive work as a variable in the quest for power and status, others an individual's access to property and productive resources (Boserup 1970, Hartmann 1987, Lim 1983). Engels, writing in the 19th century, pointed out that societies which discriminate against a given gender break the ground for economic and political exploitation based on the notion that the inherent biological and phenotypical differences between the sexes and "races" somehow justify unequal access to socio-political institutions and material resources (Leacock 1972).

The analysis of economic paradigms with regard to gender and political economy needs to consider the relevant cultural context, if we want to reveal social change, rather than the repetitive workings of a statically operating system (Nash 1988c:12). It is therefore necessary to distinguish between an ethnographically defined "patriarchy," "male hegemony," and "gender hierarchy" (ibid). Under patriarchy, as practiced in preindustrial Europe and the Muslim sphere of influence, moral and religious paradigms put male elders above women and young adults in reciprocal [albeit unequal] exchanges of labor, services, and access to the means and infrastructure of production and reproduction. With industrialization, patriarchal control mechanisms, especially over women, have been "coopted," to become unilaterally applied, devoid of the reciprocal benefits of male subsistence and protection services. In this context, women's lower pay for equal work and ascribed socio-reproductive and household service chores trap them in a strict and unrewarding gender hierarchy. When western capital makes inroads into societies with weak patriarchal structures (such as Muslim domains in Asia) patriarchal perceptions associated with western productive practices "overlay" matrifocal rights, stripping women - and with them the poorest households in society - of rights to land. These transformations are distinct from the "male hegemony" that strips women and members of ethnically and racially discriminated groups of access to vital resources and political power when transnational capital enterprises make

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inroads into societies that had no gender hierarchy, or where parallel avenues of access to resources and power were available for all gender categories (Nash 1988c:12 - 18).[5]

Given these facts about women's critical contribution to material and cultural reproduction, social order, and sheer survival, why was it so difficult to extract them from past and present records? The 1974 conference on Sex and Class in Latin America (Nash and Safa 1980), grew out of a search for the presence of women as social actors and economic agents in official government statistics and social science representations of culture, from which they had been conspicuously absent until the 1970s (Bunster 1980, Nash 1980). It was the first conference to question basic premises of gender systems in terms of major paradigms, such as the role of women as social and physical reproducers of humankind. It pointed out that the uneven "progress" made by men and women on economic and political levels was not addressed by modernization theory (Nash 1980:2). In the development models of the Green Revolution, women are seen as a service sector catering to the cheap social and biological reproduction of capital's labor force (ibid). This particular gender role is still reinforced in development programs of the 1990s through time consuming, archaic health and nutrition courses which seem an inevitable part of any "women's project" in the Third World.

The several centuries of European colonial presence in the Andes and the subsequent inroads of merchant and - in this century - production related capital, have altered gendered access to power and resources facilitated previously by institutionalized gender parallel hierarchies of ascent. Male hegemony was imposed early on by - almost exclusively male - conquerors, cemented by male dominant roles in colonial public administration and government. In modern Ecuador class and ethnicity interfere with poor women's access to quality education, a key to the capture and

[5] The power held by North American Plains "man-woman" figures (formerly mislabeled "berdache") as strategic planners for the war council, social mediators of marriage, and tribal priests is an example of multi-gendered socio-political equity (Fulton and Anderson 1992).

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domination of innovative technology, novel channels of communication, and financial resources. The gender hierarchy inherent in western government, management, and administration reinforces preexisting gender inequalities among aid receiving populations through the work of national and international development agencies.

The following chapter-sections will examine changes in material culture, social behavior and ritual expression gathered from three distinct levels of socio-cultural organization: the embroidery household, the village-based embroidery-group, and the cooperative as a provincial institution. This cross-section allows me to link changes observed at the ethnographic level to gendered theories of cultural transformation: The increased subsistence crisis has forced women who self-identify as campesinas - people whose livelyhood is agriculture - to publicly present their concerted social action as craft producers. Their organizational identity as members of an artisan cooperative has in turn allowed some of the women to redirect grassroots efforts toward community interests.[6]

THE UNIVERSE AND METHODOLOGY

Macro social conditions and survey demographics

Most CBC artisans embroider to complement a livelihood based on subsistence agriculture. As elsewhere in South America, relatively wealthy merchants from parish centers have acted as middlemen for the regional, national and now international marketing of these handicrafts. FEPP had made an effort to organize artisan women around a knitting cooperative under the male dominated umbrella of the UCCG. In Azuay campesino struggle is intimately linked with progressive church action. Monseñor Alberto Luna Tobar, archbishop of Cuenca and son of a prominent Ecuadorian family, has taken a very active position on social justice, following in the footsteps of FEPP's founding father, the late Riobamba archbishop, Leonidas Proaño. This formal Church "arbitrage" at the hands of clergy from old money families has helped channel political

[6] See the FEPP coordinators' assessment of the embroidery project's main achievements in chapter six.

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youth militancy into legal avenues for small scale but continued rural change.[7] At the same time the patriarchal structure of the Catholic church, and the "ennatured" characterization of gender roles by its dogma, make female emancipation efforts less effective.

With a mandate from SDC, FEPP identified the most needy villages in the Cuenca, Gualaceo, and Paute cantons of Azuay. In 1989 its personnel conducted a survey of social and economic conditions among 273 women in 14 communities where the export embroidery project was scheduled to take off.[8] In June of 1994, when I started a follow up survey, Cooperativa Centro de Bordados Cuenca, founded a year earlier, counted 194 members and non-member associates working out of their homes in eleven communities. I used the paymaster's list as a base and set out to interview all artisans, since my time frame and the small number of the "universe" permitted doing so. It is therefore no random sample. With regard to the population in rural Azuay, the sample is biased toward smallholder-artisan families with ties to migrants; it does not include members of the Quichua speaking minority; and it does not cover the western and southern parts of the province, where farming strategies and migration patterns may be slightly different. I ended up interviewing a total of 163 artisans or 84 percent of coop members and associates. Some women were absent during my sessions in their village, and others may simply not have wanted to participate. Among the 163 interviewees there are 76 "old-timers" (47 percent of the "sample") who had joined up in 1989 and answered the original questionnaire. Since the two questionnaires (see appendices 3 and 4) offer data comparison in areas of material culture and social behavior, information obtained from

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[7] The Church's approval and active support of grassroots organizations in Azuay has prevented evangelical Protestant missions to make their massive inroads into the countryside (FEPP 1987). This contrasts with the situation in other highland provinces as well as in the other Andean countries and in Central America, where the poor are fragmented along congregational front lines preaching individual salvation rather than concerted group action.

[8] In the end, only 252 of the 273 women approached through the initial survey entered the project, and embroidery groups were only established in 11 of the 14 communities.

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these 76 women who participated in both surveys will be used to analyze change occurred between 1989, when the project was started, and 1994. Therefore, when I speak on present conditions in "absolute," not comparative terms, the information collected in 1994 from the entire "sample" of 163 interviewees is used as data base. When I compare the 1989 data to the information collected in 1994, I use the information which the 76 women who answered both surveys, had provided on each occasion. This is done in order to determine more precisely, which of the two major social variables are responsible for change: the embroidery project, or (mostly male and incipient female) migration to North America.

Table 2 shows how many embroideresses were working in each community in 1994 (col. 2), how many of them were interviewed (col. 3). Column 4 indicates how many women were initially interviewed for potential participation in the development project in 1989. Column 5 shows how many embroideresses answered both surveys and thus offer data for comparison. Column 5 also offers insight into continuity of personnel, but it must be noted that 15 women who had answered the questionnaire in 1989 were still on payroll in 1994, but did not participate in the 1994 survey.

Table 2: Survey demographics 1989 and 1994

Community	État Embr. 1994	Part.Survey 94	Part.Survey 89	89/94 overlaps
Azhapud	14	9	20	5
La Dolorosa	10	7	3	1
Santa Rosa	8	8	23	1
Chiquintad	23	20	32	6
Cochapamba	23	21	20	15
Guanal	12	10	18	6
Llintig	34	30	31	15
Mayuntur	29	27	16	9
Sondeleg	6	6	18	3
Uzhupud	21	16	47	8
Zhiquil	14	9	24	7
TOTAL	194	163	252	76

The 163 embroideresses who answered the survey in 1994 represent 84 percent of all on payroll in 1994. Of the 273 women who were approached for the 1989

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survey, 252 ended up participating in the embroidery project, and they represent "personnel" at the outset. The "état" in 1994 reveals that personnel "desertion"[9] over five years averages 23 percent of those initially recruited. Of course, there are constant "adds" and "drops," so the turnover in personnel is more numerous than the numbers suggest. Seventy-six embroideresses, or 30 percent of the 252 women initially recruited in 1989, were still on payroll and were interviewed in 1994. If we add the 15 who continued as embroideresses but were not interviewed in 1994, we have 36 percent of those initially recruited, who are still with the project five years later (91 of 252).

Survey procedures and field methodology

Of the 163 women interviewed in 1994, the 76 women who had already participated in the 1989 survey represent 47 percent. The data they offer can be compared to results of the 1989 survey. Percentages, average and median values are based on these 76 women as a "sample" or 100 percent. We are thus looking at changes among individuals who represent their communities and the Centro de Bordados in their status as "permanent" and participatory members. While their presence in the community at the time of survey could not have been influenced by the investigator, the sampling technique was not random, since it aimed at interviewing all coop artisans. There was also help from CBC: the Cuenca staff encouraged embroideresses to participate, asking for their cooperation, their time, and their knowledge. A high or low toll of participation in each community has its own reasons: In Sta. Rosa and Sondeleg the small number of the embroidery group made 100 percent of coverage easy. The "big" groups at Cochapamba and Mayuntur, however, also show an impressive degree of participation in the 1994 survey: 91 and 93 percent respectively. Cochapamba is the group with the least turnover in personnel since 1989. The group is also known as quiet

[9] The artisans use the verb "salir," to leave, when they talk about those who give up embroidery. I decided to talk about "desertion," because coop board members, development agents, and contract managers deplore the losses, and they feel "abandoned" by those who leave the coop-project. Artisans also speak of "throwing away" an artisan career ("botaron el bordado"), in the sense of "throwing in the towel."

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and compliant. Mayuntur has provided the cooperative with its current president and with a good number of other leadership personalities. The embroideresses at Mayuntur organized my survey residence in such a manner that my time was put to optimal use, including guinea pig feasts at noon. Guanal, Chiquintad and Llintig also show a high rate of participation (83, 83, and 88 percent respectively). The group at Guanal is relatively small, and most women are closely related. The fact that I went on a pilgrimage with a prominent Guanal embroideress and her family the day before my interview session with the group may have closed the ranks around the survey. Chiquintad and Llintig, both big groups, were the two communities where I had taken up prolonged residence, allowing me to go look for people in their homes, rather than working from the village chapel or plazoleta, as I had done at the other nine locales.

This qualifies the high rates of survey cooperation in seven of the eleven CBC communities. Then there are four communities where participation was below 80 percent. In all of them, the survey was conducted rapidly with the help of one or two assistants in a matter of a few hours during "pay-day."[10] In terms of size, the CBC-groups with a lower participation rate cover the whole range: La Dolorosa is small (10 embroideresses); Azhapud and Zhiquil are medium sized, while Uzhupud has a big group. Uzhupud was the first group to be formed, it used to be CBC's showcase community, putting out the biggest per-head quantity of merchandise and of very high quality. Uzhupud, however, had gone through a change in leadership when its star-embroideress, who had been the most prolific instructor for technical courses over five years, quit the cooperative over some personal and techno-organizational differences with CBC staff and other leaders. Therefore, Uzhupud was considered a challenging community at the time I conducted my survey. People were not unwilling to talk to me in Uzhupud, but the group's leadership and CBC staff did not have as much impact on group behavior as they do in other sites. Also, all the other big groups had seen me in residence, giving people

[10] This is also true for Guanal, Sta. Rosa and Sondeleg whose high rate of participation has already been explained.

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more opportunities to come for an interview at a time convenient to them.

In terms of survey methodology my case suggests two important variables. If the surveyor takes up temporary residence in a village/borough, even if it is short term, levels of confidence, curiosity and participation rise. If only one person interviews members of a group, participation is also higher. For a big survey this would mean that the investigating team split the universe up according to socio-cultural or geographic criteria to enable each interviewer to establish a constant rapport with the people who are expected to cooperate.

My survey was premised on two separate goals which fed into each other: To gather data comparable to the 1989 material, and to address issues of gender in development. Comparability of data was easy to achieve, since the 1989 survey had covered the same socio-economic criteria that I was a priori interested in. My 1994 survey questions in more detail household reproduction tasks, the inventory of domestic appliances, crop variety and land use, small domestic animal demography, and human reproduction strategies. Yet in aggregate form my data is comparable to results of the 1989 survey. That survey offered a wealth of information on local variants in land tenure and domestic construction materials, questions which I incorporated into my final questionnaire version.

The initial 1989 project survey: artisan profile and correlation of salient features[11]

The 1989 survey among the artisan women newly recruited for the Centro de Bordados Cuenca project indicates that over half of them (55 percent) are young and childless. This does not confirm the Chayanovian "ideal" that families with more dependents will necessarily [be able to] intensify artisan production in the face of insufficient subsistence agriculture. The 1989 examination of women's workdays in Azuay revealed that roughly eight hours are spent each day on housework, agriculture

[11] The results are taken from Arévalo (1994) as well as from my analysis of the original 1989 data sources which Centro de Bordados Cuenca had generously loaned to me during the write-up.

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[including cattle husbandry] and travel/administrative issues. Not only is this a full work day according to the canons of western labor law, but the load is carried out seven days a week. In addition, women indicated that they work an average of five hours in craft production. Rather than exploring ways to alleviate male underemployment in a zone of high male outmigration, the project reinforced an already exaggerated work load for women. That is of course also typical for women in western societies, particularly if they hold formal jobs and have dependents. My own workday exceeds that of my partner by an hour, and on weekends by two to three hours.

The project did try to come in at the critical angle of rising artisan earnings by improving the piece/hourly rate through the output of a higher priced high quality product. Yet the marketing difficulties and the high administrative overhead described in the previous chapter ended up thwarting this goal, leaving Centro de Bordados pay rates on par with or below earnings which can be obtained by knitting sweaters and assembling shoe laces. The energetic focus on "good housekeeping" grew in part out of the idea that rural women spend too much time doing chores. Yet that idea is somewhat distorted, since cooking a family meal does take about one hour, any which way you turn it. If women spend an hour per day washing clothes and another hauling water, "good housekeeping" is not going to compensate for a lack in infrastructure, and the average daily hour of house-cleaning can hardly be beaten by western home-makers equipped with all the modern contraptions available.

Since intensification of craft production was most feasible for young girls without dependents, middle aged mothers lost their daughters' help with cattle husbandry and agriculture which in migrant households leads to a creeping neglect of subsistence agriculture. Women with dependents find it difficult to acquire the accelerated work speed and precision to make embroidery piece rates advantageous, due to time constraints and constant interruptions (see Nash 1993b for the same constraints faced by Mexican women potters in Amatenango).

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The 1989 survey enumerated a total of twelve high school graduates, seven of them from Chiquintad. By 1994, all but one of the seven Chiquinteña graduates had emigrated to the United States or otherwise left the project. That raises the serious question why no plan was put into place to formally train some of the artisan high school graduates in accounting, business administration, as well as international marketing and textile design, since they had the necessary credentials to enter a local university.

Research goals for my 1994 follow up survey.

I wanted to determine whether any change in social organization since Centro de Bordados' inception in 1989 was due to the stated project policy of "furthering women's social status and economic participation" or to the increase in international male migration.[12] To that end the 1994 survey administrated to artisans includes questions on social participation and concerted group action with attention to more qualitative as well as quantitative detail than that of 1989.[13] Equally important, I added a catalog of data sources on migration, covering expense, travel time, amount and fluctuation of remittances, proportion of debt and amount of interest payment to the 1994 survey. I also wanted to examine whether the project was successful in furthering subsistence agriculture and halting international migration. Therefore I collected data on land tenure and animal demography, and extensive questions on the social profile of emigrants, on their travel expenses, length and route of their journey, the jobs, if any, they secured in North America, their pay as well as the amount of and use given to their remittances. The questions on household appliances and community infrastructure make it possible to assess kind and degree of change in the rural standard of living. Inquiring into the financial sources for new household acquisitions and participatory fees for communal infrastructure enables me to indicate whether any increased living comfort is a direct

[12] Chapter four has a detailed description of the project aims and goals.

[13] I wanted to know what position a person occupies within one/various organizations, and how many hours per week are on average spent on these group activities. The aggregate form of my data allows me to establish what direction change took for artisan group action between 1989 and 1994.

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result of the artisan enterprise.

Finally, I intended to determine what influence European gender views have on social change in the Andes. I started with the hypothesis that gender theories propagating nature versus culture, public versus private, patriarchy versus access to productive resources as reasons for women's persisting (or even increasing) social and political inequalities, have permeated development agency thinking to various degrees. Questions on women's work and purpose in social life, on women's unequal access to political power and economic resources, were phrased to probe agent gender ideologies. Consistency and inconsistency with a particular gender theory were explored with the agent interviewee as to clarify her/his position.[14]

EMBROIDERY HOUSEHOLDS: CHANGES IN MATERIAL CULTURE BETWEEN 1989 AND 1994

Table 3 shows the direction of change in each community for animal husbandry, household appliances, infrastructure and services. For animal husbandry (cols. 2 - 4) tendencies are shown, since absolute numbers are very small. In 1994 (1989) average head of cattle per household range from 8 (8) in La Dolorosa to 0.17 (0.17) in Guanal. Thirty-three out of 76 interviewees reported no cattle in 1994, and 28 had none in 1989. The number of households who no longer own cattle increased from 37 percent in 1989 to 43 percent in 1994. Add to this the fact that in Uzhupud the 1994 survey was done in the month of October, when cattle "high season" starts, while the 1989 data is from June, when people have gotten rid of superfluous heads due to the lack of fodder during the dry season. For Uzhupud, with longstanding migration, then, the decrease in cattle is more numerous than apparent from the numbers. The contrary is true for Cochapamba, a community with only incipient migration in 1994 which reports atypical decrease of cattle: its 1994 data is from the "low cattle" month of August, while in 1989

[14] Chapter six offers a detailed analysis of these views, as they emerge from interviews and my participant observation, as well as offering socio-historic background for certain gender stereotypes, and an analysis of why gender theories are not paid a lot of attention within the development agency's headquarters

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Table 3 Material change 1989 - 1994: Domestic animals, appliances, and infrastructure

	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	TV % pop		Kitchen 89: %			Kitchen 94: %			Electr. %		Water %		Latrines%		Irrig. %		average no/rooms	
Com	89-94	89-94	89-94	89	94	wood	gas	g+w	wood	gas	g+w	89	94	89	94	89	94	89	94	89	94
AZ	-	+	+	60	80	20	0	80	0	60	40	100	100	80	80	60	80	0	0	6.4	3
LD	same	+	same	0	100	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	100	100	100	0	100	100	4	9
SR	same	+	+	0	100	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	100	100	100	0	100	0	0	6	5
CH	-	-	-	83	100	0	33	67	0	0	100	100	100	100	100	83	100	83	83	6.3	6
CO	-	-	-	13	33	40	0	60	7	0	93	67	93	60	60	27	53	7	7	2.9	3.7
GU	same	+	+	67	50	17	33	50	0	83	17	83	100	100	100	83	100	17	0	2.8	3.7
LL	+	-	-	20	40	47	0	53	13	13	74	40	93	40	67	20	93	0	0	2.7	3.5
MY	same	-	+	33	67	0	0	100	0	22	78	89	100	67	67	44	44	22	22	3.7	3.5
SO	same	+	-	0	33	0	33	67	0	67	33	67	67	67	67	33	67	67	33	4	4.3
UZ	-	+	-	12	50	0	0	100	0	12	88	100	88	75	88	0	63	63	63	2.4	2.9
ZH	+	+	+	43	57	29	0	71	14	14	72	72	100	86	71	86	71	57	57	3	5.5

AZ=Azhapud/LD=La Dolorosa/SR=Santa Rosa/CH=Chiquintad/CO=Cochapamba/GU=Guanal/LL=Llintig/
MY=Mayuntur/SO=Sondeleg/UZ=Uzhupud/ZH=Zhiquil

the data had been collected during "high season" in October. For all other communities, cattle data from the two surveys are comparable.

No family owned more than 14 cows, bulls, and heifers in 1994 and 1989.[15] While the sample's internal variety regarding the possession of dairy and draught cattle may seem great, it is insignificant on a national scale, where aggregate data include hundreds of prime dairy cows held by hacendados and agro-entrepreneurs. Therefore, differentiation in peasant holdings cannot be gleaned from macro-economic data. Sheep are more common in the Cuenca area, where the climate is perennially colder and more humid.[16] The number of pigs is also fairly homogeneous, ranging from 0 to 5 in 1994, a bit narrower than the 0 to 7 range reported for 1989. The changing tendencies with regard to animal husbandry, indicate this economic sector's significance in relation to organized cottage industry among embroidery households.

In Azhapud, Chiquintad, and Uzhupud, where migration goes back six years or longer, there is a decrease in animal husbandry. In Mayuntur, where migration took off in the early 1990s, the cattle population has remained stagnant. Since women's labor time allocation becomes increasingly critical with ongoing transculturation, the decrease in animal husbandry - a female work and income province - is significant. Migratory male absence cannot per se account for a decrease in household cattle, since women are their main caretakers. But women's acute need to earn a constant if small amount of additional cash during the first years of a husband's absence brings animal

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[15] The only family with 14 heads in 1994 had reported no cattle in 1989. This disproportionate increase is responsible for an overall increase of cattle in the sample from 154 in 1989 to 161 in 1994 in spite of a more general trend toward stagnation or decrease.

[16] Azhapud has families who held 10/9 sheep in 1994/89, and 80 percent of that sample report owning sheep. In the drier climate of Gualaceo canton only Cochapamba, a community high on a ridge with a cold and relatively humid microclimate, reports a comparable percentage of families with sheep.

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husbandry into a collision course with intensified artisan production.[17] In the case of white-on-white embroidery, clean fingers and a neat work environment, combined with intense concentration make for a rather incompatible combination of craft production and animal husbandry.[18] With decreasing animal husbandry, pasture lands - once coveted - become obsolete and abandoned, facilitating land alienation through usurpation, sale, or formal expropriation. In sum, long-term migration and the introduction of high quality craft production for export combine with generalized global trends to push the economic importance of domestic animals into an increasingly marginal position. Since women usually manage the acquisition and sale of cattle and smaller animals themselves, an important gender specific economic activity and marketing/managing technique is disappearing. The craft project does not allow for the same degree of generalized marketing competence to develop, and the skills necessary for the successful sale of export embroideries allow at best a few of the over two hundred women participating to ascend to managerial positions, while most artisans will increasingly depend on mostly male urban Mestizo intermediaries.[19]

Household appliances are represented by television and gas stoves (opposed to or

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[17] During the first years, remittances are used to service and eventually pay back the debt and if possible to pay for a better quality in the children's education.

[18] Weaving high quality straw hats requires a long training period, but experienced weavers are able to take their eyes off the work; dirt is easily brushed off a semi-finished hat, and lighter spots disappear during consecutive processing, allowing women to switch more easily between hat weaving and doing household chores. Sweater knitting can be done "blindly" while following animals to pasture as well as during bus rides and meetings, making it a mentally relaxing, technically uncomplicated, yet aesthetically rewarding occupation.

[19] Since 1995, some artisan leaders have taken a more active role in promoting their products abroad. Funds for promotional trips have been obtained through CBC's networking with NGOs, and in that the project as such - carried by the grassroots participants - has been a success. Given the degree of complexity and competition in the textile market, embroidery sales have not increased dramatically, but the artisans are currently (1998) experimenting with a totally novel product: to transmit their expertise to members of incipient cooperatives through paid for seminars and apprenticeships. With this new offer, they start using the facilities of the production center to enter the tertiary or service sector of the economy.

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in addition to a wood burning hearth), the only two for which the 1989 survey offers comparative data. In 1994, 35 of the 76 participating households reported having no television, 10 of whom live in Cochapamba. In 1989 there were 51 households without T.V. among the 76 in the sample. In 10 communities the percentage of television set owners increased between 1989 and 1994. In 5 communities the number of T.V. owners at least doubled. These include Mayuntur and Uzhupud with middle and long standing migration. Chiquintad had an already high rate in 1989 and it rose to 100 percent in 1989. While there is probably no household with a migrant in the U.S who lacks a television set, the desire for visual communication and entertainment is global. People sell pigs and cattle to acquire a television, others buy it on credit. Cochapamba, in many ways more "traditional," has a low rate of television owners even though its incipient migration in 1994 is at the same level as Llintig's. Chiquintad, with its proximity to Cuenca, is very much oriented toward urban values and "modernity." It is the only community where, by 1994, a few embroidery households own a car and others were in the process of acquiring private telephone lines (some phones have since been installed).

Kitchen appliances are an important indicator of cause and direction of social change. In every culture food has a tremendous impact on social and economic life (Lévi-Strauss 1964, Rosman and Rubel 1971, Vokral 1991a). In agrarian societies food reaped from the land, properly stored and carefully prepared at home, is a source of pride, and of physical and cultural satisfaction. This contrasts with the hectic pace of post-modern metropolitan areas where eating, especially in the morning and at lunch, is a source of stress, rather than enjoyment. Fast food eateries thrive and people's top priority is to eat something fast, albeit healthy. To eat in a metropolitan context is more of a time burden during work hours, and not an anticipated moment to relax and take one's mind off the daily travails. Variation in the use of wood burning hearths and gas stoves in rural Azuay households offers insight on how people cope with the conflation of chores in and outside the home. The data also show that change is not necessarily

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unidirectional, and that monocausal or "prime-mover" explanations of social change usually fall short of penetrating the complexity of human behavior. Table 4 illustrates the situations in 1989 and 1994 as well as the change which occurred in the use of kitchen technology over these years.

Both surveys asked people what kinds of cooking facilities exist in their homes. Table 4 shows that the sole dependence on a wood burning hearth decreased dramatically over the five year period, while the use of only a gas stove increased proportionately.

Table 4: Changing cooking facilities 1989 to 1994

Facility	% in 1989	% in 1994
wood only	25.0	6.6
gas only	6.6	22.4
gas and wood	68.4	71.1

The decrease in the use of firewood has social and economic, rather than mere ecological reasons, even though wood is not very plentiful in the Andes in spite of the fact that human dwellings are not usually located above the tree line. As in India, dried cattle manure still serves as a cooking fuel in the South-Central Peru (Vokral 1991a: 140ff). Icaza (1989 [1934]), in a novel depicting rural life on the dairy-grain haciendas of the Central Ecuadorian highlands in the thirties, mentions that dried cow dung was used as kitchen fuel by huasipungueros. One informant mentioned that dried cow manure had been only an occasional source of fuel in the minifundist agriculture of Azuay, where large cattle herds are uncommon. Firewood is now a cash crop throughout the Ecuadorian Andes where state sponsored and private reforestation efforts cater to the culinary need of rural households, to fuel needs of fireplaces in urban luxury homes, and - to a limited extent - to erosion control and rainfall accumulation. Mote and soups, slowly cooked in a ceramic pot over low burning dry wood, are delicacies which can't be duplicated on a gas stove. The unique flavor of roasted guinea pig and thick maize or potato tortillas fried over charcoal permeates the open air markets of Gualaceo and Cuenca every day, drawing middle class urbanites for lunch or supper. Rural households

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reserve these culinary highlights for high holidays. Most embroidery households have at least a two-burner counter top gas stove in daily use. Such a stove costs between U$ 40.- and U$ 120 according to the number of burners. A hearth, on the other hand, can be constructed from locally collected stones with no cash expenditure. Wood, however, is expensive, and collecting fallen branches or felling one's own firewood is very time consuming and tedious. Wood often needs to be carried on one's back over a considerable distance. Tanks of gas, on the other hand, can be cheaply and conveniently bought at gas-outlets in villages or from itinerant gas-trucks in hamlets located on four-wheel access tracks.[20] For my own household of four to six commensals in Quito, I used to spend U$ 1.70 per month on 1 1/3 tank of gas. In the countryside gas is more costly, due to higher transportation costs, but local culinary practices are more energy efficient, and thus the fuel costs for my informants' cooking were very similar to mine.[21] If a rural family would cook exclusively with wood, the market price for a monthly ration of firewood would be about US $27.- (US $ -.90 per day). Even if anyone has sufficient access to own or otherwise free firewood, it is a high priced and easily marketable cash crop, probably in part responsible for the dramatic increase in gas stoves. Firewood is used judiciously as a gastronomical component.[22] Some people afford the luxury of boiling their mote in the ceramic pot (olla) over the fire, which needs to be done about every two to three days in households where mote continues to accompany every meal. Those who don't grow firewood on their plots cook mote over the gas stove and reserve the olla cooked variant for festive meals. Cuyes are almost always roasted over charcoal, because

[20] Households that are a far uphill walk from a dirt road tend to use more wood in their daily cooking, since carrying the heavy gas tank uphill is far more tedious, albeit a bit less time-consuming than gathering firewood.

[21] Gas was subsidized by the state until January 1997. Abdala Bucaram's fall from grace was in no small part due to cutting these subsidies and increasing the price of cooking gas over several hundred percent, provoking uproar and widespread protest.

[22] Cheap cooking gas automatically helps protect forested areas. In Guatemala, where no such subsidies exist, deforestation reaches alarming levels, as the rural and urban poor need to cut every available piece of wood to cook their frugal meals.

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everybody agrees that pan or oven roasted guinea pig lacks the crisp skin and the special taste acquired over the open fire.

Against this cultural and ecological backdrop, I can now analyze the change in kitchen technology which occurred differentially in the eleven embroidery communities between 1989 and 1994. There is an increasing tendency to use modern household technology, contrasting with the recessive and stagnating animal husbandry and its total lack of technological innovation. Clearly, the craft project with its "fringe" bonus of courses on "good housekeeping," channels - inadvertently I suppose - migrant remittances into modern household appliances, or consumer goods, and not into rural subsistence intensification or the acquisition of new or additional means of production.[23] Women's role as as physical and social reproducers of society is seen as intimately and inevitably linked to a "domestic" sphere, and development agents facilitate the innovation of technology which makes these chores easier - at the cost of culinary excellence (voir cultural satisfaction), as I shall explain further on. Similar approaches taken during the Green Revolution, technological change improving rural women's culturally particular economic provinces - such as rice paddying in Asia or animal husbandry in the Andes - is foregone in favor of an intensification of their role as domestic "beasts of burden", rather than economic managers of household patrimony. Stephen points out that the focus on public-private gender dichotomies has led development efforts to concentrate on small scale "domestic" productive and reproductive activities which "relegate(s) women to the margins of the economy (1997: 8-10).

In 1989, the distribution of gas and/or open wood burning hearths was as follows (see table 4): 19 (25 percent) reported having only a hearth. The vast majority of 52 women (68.4 percent) reported both a gas stove and a hearth for their homes. A small

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[23] My 1994 survey sought information on whose purse had sponsored the acquisition of a new appliance. Sale of cattle and remittances from international migrants predominate. Local male wage labor and savings from migrants who work elsewhere in Ecuador account for some of the purchases. In no case were savings from embroidery wage mentioned as a source of investment.

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minority (5, or 6.6 percent) had only a gas stove. By 1994 the number of households with both gas and wood burning cooking facilities remained practically unchanged at 54 (71.1 percent). The proportions for single option households had become inverse: only 5 (6.6 percent) reported having an open wood burning hearth, while the number of households with only a gas stove had jumped to 17 (22.4 percent). Most households who used only wood-burning (leña) as a kitchen technology in 1989 have ceased to rely exclusively on this technique and purchased a gas stove. In fact, 12 of these households seem to have given up wood fuel completely to fill the ranks of gas-only users, while 2 families keep using the hearth alongside the gas stove. Five households continue to rely exclusively on a wood burning hearth. Statistically, this is what happened. In real life, however the direction of change is not unilinear:

- A single mother reports wood only in 1994; she had a gas stove in 1989. While she still lives with her parents, she may have established an independent "purse" within the household since 1989, which implies an independent cooking facility (see Vokral 1991a:139). Thus she may no longer report her mother's gas stove as "her household's."
- Another household moved from a rented home to their own house, for which they report fewer facilities, amenities, and infrastructure than at the former rented location. The informant no longer reports electricity, piped water, gas stove, latrine and T.V. all of which they had in 1989. The building/purchase of her own house in this case implied a loss in comfort due to the move to a more remote site with no public services and infrastructure.
- In 3 cases, people who only had a gas stove in 1989 rebuilt a hearth by 1994.

In order to explain social change, we now look at percent changes by community in the nine locations from which I have comparative data.[24]

a) Wood burning hearth only

The exclusive use of a wood burning hearth decreased in 5 communities: Azhapud, Guanal, Cochapamba, Llintig and Zhiquil. The communities of Cochapamba, Llintig and Zhiquil experienced incipient migration only by 1994. Migration had picked up earlier

[24] The data from Santa Rosa and La Dolorosa will be disregarded here, because it offers only one case each for comparison. Since I use proportional (percentage) changes from each community as absolutes, the one-person data from La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa would disproportionately influence the analysis.

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in Azhapud and Guanal and increased over the five-year period I am comparing. Four Communities had no one who only uses wood as kitchen fuel in 1989: Chiquintad, Mayuntur, Sondeleg, and Uzhupud. All except for Sondeleg are communities with long standing migration. By 1994 their ranks were joined by Azhapud and Guanal, where migration increased during between 1989 and 1994.

b) Gas and wood combinations

The combined use of gas and wood increased in 3 communities at the expense of "wood only" (Cochapamba, Llintig, and Zhiquil, all three with incipient migration in 1994). It increased at the expense of "gas only" in Chiquintad.

c) Gas only

Only 3 communities had "gas only" households in 1989: Chiquintad, Guanal, and Sondeleg. In all three places, "gas only" made up 1/3 (33 percent) of the participating households. By 1994, seven communities reported "gas only" households: Azhapud 60 percent , Guanal 83 percent, Llintig 13 percent, Mayuntur 22 percent, Sondeleg 67 percent, Uzhupud 12 percent, Zhiquil 14 percent. There is a definite trend toward gas only. However one of the communities with the longest migratory tradition has reversed the trend: In 1989, 33 percent of Chiquinteño households reported gas only. By 1994 they had gone back to combining wood and gas cooking.

d) Wood burning as a gastronomic device

When we take the categories "wood burning only" and "gas and wood" into account for an assessment of wood-burning cuisine as a gastronomic and cultural trait the following picture emerges: In five communities the access to wood burning hearths in 1989 was 100 percent and by 1994 it had decreased to: Azhapud 40 percent, Llintig 87 percent, Mayuntur 78 percent, Uzhupud 88 percent, Zhiquil 86 percent. Guanal went from 67 percent of households with some use of wood cooking in 1989 to 17 percent in 1994, and the trend in Sondeleg was also decreasing, from 67 percent to 33 percent. In Cochapamba a 100 percent access to wood cuisine remained constant, because nobody

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gave up the hearth even though people did put in gas stoves.

The need to prepare food quickly and to use any spare minute on craft work has propelled many women to use a gas stove,[25] because they have no time to collect firewood. Rapidly cooked meals with white rice or pasta as a base are replacing the soups and mote which require more time and periodic supervision. In the face of decreasing subsistence crops, the acquisition of processed starchy staples forces increasing dependence on the cash-market nexus, because intensifying artisan production makes it necessary that women cut back on agro-pastoral and quality cooking activities. The development project has instilled an increased awareness of "punctuality" in the use of time which requires embroideresses to keep an "efficient" household. Fingers get dirty when dealing with firewood, charcoal and ashes, and this is a serious drawback for women who embroider white-on-white. Using a gas stove, they can rinse their fingers once the washed rice and cleaned chopped vegetables are simmering over the gas burner and return to needle and cloth. In rural compounds with no piped water or an inconveniently located single faucet, washing hands is time-consuming. Swift embroideresses value even a few minutes of time saved toward cash earnings.

As mentioned, the acquisition of counter top gas stoves is made possible by migrant remittances and the sale of crops or animals , because embroidery wages are used for weekly expenses. However, migration also helps reverse the trend from gas only to a combined use of gas and wooden fire, because cultural values become heightened by absence and nostalgia. Migrant remittances even make it possible to buy expensive firewood for culinary purposes. In Chiquintad, where migration has been going on for over six years, people have rebuilt a simple hearth in order to satisfy culinary needs on special occasions. Chiquintad families with migrants living in New York and Chicago send roasted guinea pigs with visitors to the U.S. They even use express mail services to

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[25] All eleven villages are connected to electric power lines (see table no. 3, columns 13 and 14), but the use of electricity is very expensive, and even among wealthy Ecuadorian households gas stoves predominate.

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dispatch guinea pigs roasted over an open fire, because their migrant relatives long for the local delicacy. According to Carpio Benalcázar (1992: 127), guinea pigs sell at twenty to thirty dollars a piece in Flushing Meadows Park in Queens.

Access to electricity increased from 77.5 percent in 1984 to 93.5 percent in 1994. In two communities, the percent in access to electricity went down from 100 percent in 1989 to 88 percent (Uzhupud) and 86 percent (Zhiquil) respectively. In both communities this change occurred, because one informant had moved her household to a new location. Apart from this, the trend by community remained steady at 100 percent in Azhapud and Chiquintad in the Canton Cuenca. Both communities are in a greater region of heavy international migration. Guanal and Mayuntur acquired 100 percent of electrification by 1994, and both sites experience either mid-range or long standing migration. Cochapamba and Llintig is where electrification increased most dramatically over the 1989-1994 period. They are "isolated" and have only incipient migration. However, the same is true for Zhiquil, which was already well electrified in 1989. The initiative for access to electricity, unlike the decision to purchase a kitchen appliance, is taken by a community as a whole. Paradoxically, dramatic increases in electrification seem to occur simultaneously with incipient migration, when entire extended families have to help defray several thousand dollars in "travel money." The phenomenon might be dependent on regional geopolitics, rather than increased income from organized craft production or migrant remittances. The same is true of piped water and irrigation which have remained rather constant over the past five years. Uzhupud and Zhiquil show change in access to piped water due to the mentioned move of a household. Guanal lost all of its irrigation due to the Josefina disaster in 1993. Irrigation is scarce, canals are only found in the Cuenca area. In Canton Gualaceo only those households with riverside holdings report having (direct) irrigation. No community saw an increase in irrigation use from 1989 to 1994, and the decrease in Guanal and Sondeleg are due to the "unnatural" disaster of March 1993. In five

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communities existing irrigation remained constant: Chiquintad 83 percent, Cochapamba 7 percent, Mayuntur 22 percent, Uzhupud 63 percent, and Zhiquil 57 percent. Azhapud and Llintig continue with no irrigation.

The construction of latrines is often due to outside initiative. CARE sent volunteers to Llintig and Uzhupud resulting in dramatic 20 percent to 93 percent and 0 percent to 63 percent increase in households with a latrine between 1989 and 1994 for these communities. Cochapamba and Sondeleg seem to have taken up some initiative due to the CARE presence in close by Llintig and Uzhupud respectively. Chiquintad and Mayuntur remained constant. Chiquintad already had 100 percent latrines in 1989. The decrease in Zhiquil is again due to the already mentioned change of house by one informant.

The transmission of water born parasites has most likely decreased thanks to this trend. I offer this hypothesis, because my survey data reveals that many children died from intestinal afflictions and diarrhea until the mid 1980s. In spite of the serious cholera epidemic in Andean countries during the early 1990s, no related casualties were reported to me for adults and children beyond toddler age. There were a few recent infants/toddler deaths for which intestinal affliction and diarrhoea were given as reasons.[26] The massive overall increase of latrines over the period under scrutiny was brought about by techno-cultural diffusion (CARE and its "side effects") by a development agency, albeit not the one involved in embroidery. However, CBC personnel clearly approve of households with latrines and encourage the few who do not have this infrastructure to build one. While migrant remittances have little to do with this low-tech innovation, I suspect that the influx of surplus dollars will be crucial when it comes to the foreshadowed trend towards expensive high-technology flush toilets. The history of latrine building in the area shows that development agencies can, with a short-term massive project (U.S. volunteers stayed in the villages for a few months),

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[26] During fieldwork, one baby girl in Llintig died from causes unclear to me.

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create new cultural needs. In four to six years a latrine's seep-hole becomes filled, and a new hole needs to be excavated. Migrant dollars permitting, people will want to put in a septic tank and flush toilet, diverting hard earned migrant capital from productive use to consumer needs.

Variation in number of rooms available to a household can hardly be attributed to a single cause. Changes in marital status and number of dependents are important. Migration seems the "prime mover" if one takes the visual premise: newly constructed cement buildings with four to eight rooms catch the eye throughout highland Ecuador, and they always indicate the presence of migrant remittances.[27] However, with regard to this, the embroidery groups are not a representative sample, because the women who have constructed fashionable new houses tend to desert the group. Some embroideresses are themselves migrating to the U.S. where most join husbands or parents. Those who already possessed such real estate in 1989 were by definition not eligible to join a project destined to the "poorest segment" of society.

COMMUNITY BASED EMBROIDERY GROUPS: CHANGING SOCIO-ORGANIZING BEHAVIOR BETWEEN 1989 AND 1994

Almost all embroideresses belong to families with a minimal access to some land. Only 2 of 76 (2.6 percent) reported no land in 1989 and 3 (3.9 percent) said they had no land 1994. For one person data on land was lacking in the 1994 survey. However, no-one reports that the family lives exclusively from agriculture.[28] The average amount of land per family among the 75 data-givers of 1994 is 1.95 hectares, the median being 5.0 hectares. This indicates that most families own very little land, and that there are very few units with somewhat larger holdings.

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[27] The same strikes the traveller in the Swiss and Italian Alps, where emigrants of the 18th and 19th century built incredible mansions on precarious slopes and in otherwise cramped little villages.

[28] My sample should automatically exclude that variety of people, since the project was conceived for women whose households cannot survive and reproduce from agriculture alone.

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The 1989 survey gives no data on the size of landholdings but does tell whether people reported producing for sale or only for family consumption. The 1989 data on surplus sales gives no quantifyable indicators, permitting only to point out the tendency of change, not its absolute value. The tendency to sell surplus from subsistence agricultural production hasn't changed much. A slight increase in reported sales for 1994 is probably due to the fact that sales were under reported in 1989 for fear of being excluded from the embroidery venture. I argue this, because my observations and informal conversations indicate that people abandon more distant plots of land in favor of craft production, wage labor, or international migration. Cars are owned by four embroideresses or their immediate family members. Embedded in the context of the Ecuadorian state, the population of CBC shows very little internal socio-economic differentiation.

The average number of hours worked in craft production per person per day decreased from 5.2 in 1989 to 4.7 in 1994. This is a 10 percent decrease between a time when women worked for intermediaries, and not necessarily in embroidery, up to the moment when the project had been converted into a cooperative. Table 5 illustrates the change in time spent on daily craft production community by community. The number in brackets next to community name indicates data sample.

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Table 5: Change in daily hours worked[29] in craft production from 1989 to 1994

Community	average daily hrs 94	89	medi.daily hrs 94	89	% and quality of change	
Azhapud (5)	3.4	3.2	3.75	5.5	6.25	increase
La Dolorosa (1)*	4.0	6.0	4.0	6.0	33.33	decrease
Santa Rosa (1)*	3.5	9.0	3.5	9.0	61.11	decrease
Chiquintad (6)	4.25	3.0	3.5	3.5	41.67	increase
Cochapamba (15)	3.87	5.0	4.75	4.5	22.60	decrease
Guanal (6)	4.25	3.17	3.25	4.0	34.07	increase
Llintig (15)	5.33	5.8	6.25	5.5	8.10	decrease
Mayuntur (9)	4.94	6.11	5.25	4.5	19.15	decrease
Sondeleg (3)	5.0	6.67	5.0	6.5	25.04	decrease
Uzhupud (8)	4.5	6.75	4.75	7.0	33.33	decrease
Zhiquil (7)	7.0	5.5	9.0	5.0	27.27	increase

* I include the data from these two communities only when I talk about CBC-wide changes; it is not used to analyze trends at the community level. When I talk comparatively about differences among the CBC communities, La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa are excluded, for lack of a significant sample.

Twenty-four participants from four communities constitute the population segment which shows an increase in the average of daily hours spent on craft production. Fifty-one participants from seven communities form part of those whose average of hours spent on daily craft work has decreased. In terms of personnel, 32 percent of those involved in CBC contributed to an average increase of daily craft work per person in their respective communities, while 68 percent of personnel works in communities where the average time spent on daily craft work decreased. In terms of communities, 36 percent of them saw an increase in average daily time spent to produce embroideries, while 64 percent of the participating communities decreased their average daily time investment in embroideries since the project has started. The following explanations serve to qualify the data analysis in table 5:

[29] I compared question 7 b (daily hours worked on embroidery) on the 1994 survey to the average of the weekly salary indicated in question 8a (see appendix 3). In most cases the two answers match; if not, I took the average of 7b and 8a to compile a reasonable data entry.

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- Timing is an extremely important concept at CBC.[30] Each new pattern is embroidered by an artisan engaged by CBC to measure time input. She is supposed to work at an even, steady and "average" pace, duplicating the speed of a proficient embroideress who is neither slow nor extremely fast. Thus, the verbally elicited estimates of time expended in 1994 may be closer to reality than were those collected in 1989, when it was also in a woman's best interest to indicate her involvement in craft production if she were of adult age.[31] Also, the artisans interviewed in 1994 knew their labor time was on file at CBC.

- By 1994 women had grown used to looking at the time they invested in embroidery in a very "puritan"fashion, discounting any time spent doing other tasks, even bodily relief during their time at the stitching frame. Thus they tended to indicate "net" embroidery time. Their sense of measuring time in small units had become heightened.

Looking at these qualifiers, and at the difference in magnitude of change depending on how it is calculated, I propose that the 10 percent decrease computed from the sum total of daily hours worked by 76 women in 1989 to the time spent by the same women in 1994 is probably the most realistic barometer. However, differences among embroidery groups beg further analysis in terms of international male migration. Of the three communities with at least six years of male migration to the United States, Mayuntur and Uzhupud show a decrease in female craft production. Chiquintad on the other hand registers a heavy increase. In Chiquintad, a parish much bigger than all other embroidery communities, migrants left from early on, but the sending process is still going strongly, and families with newly absent migrants feel the heavy burden of debt incurred to pay the coyote. Similarly, in Azhapud and Guanal, where migration increased notably between 1989 and 1994, the same pressure may have led embroideresses to increase craft production. In Uzhupud and Mayuntur the longtime migrants are providing residents with a steady income from abroad. In Cochapamba, Llintig, Sondeleg, international migration was just starting in 1994 and the survey does not reflect its effects yet. Only Zhiquil shows an increase in craft time expenditure, and there

[30] It is, after all, a Swiss development project, and watches are more than a material fetish in Switzerland.

[31] In the case of young girls it was an equally good strategy to say one didn't have any skills yet and thus needed to learn.

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emigration had started a year or so earlier. In the other three (heavily agricultural) communities, the project seems to fulfill its promise: To provide peasant/artisan women with added cash flow, so that they can maintain subsistence agriculture. However, increases and decreases in craft labor can also be grouped geopolitically: Chiquintad and Guanal, both of which have an increase in artisan production, represent locales on paved roads a short distance from the next higher-order geopolitical center (Cuenca, Gualaceo). However, this is not at all true for Zhiquil and Azhapud. On the whole, the more isolated communities of Gualaceo canton are those with a consistent decrease in craft time input. Given that travel time to and from Cuenca has more than tripled for their residents since the Josefina land slide in 1993, they may simply have less time on their hands overall. Again, I have not included La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa in this discussion, because they offer only one case each for comparison over the 1989-1994 period.

Better work conditions and technical training probably contributed to the definite overall decrease in daily hours devoted to female craft production. From 1989 to about 1991, the wage-per-hour, based on a time-calibrated piece rate was above local piece-work rates. Material input is provided and pay arrives weekly without fault or delay. All this allows artisans to accomplish household financial goals more rapidly and efficiently. However, training sessions and educational meetings take up a lot of time. Artisan income is still used to defray basic living expenses, rather than to accumulate savings for future investments. The development project's main goal is to better living conditions overall which should help stop the land-flight (out migration). This should be accomplished on a regional level through the higher wages paid by the embroidery project. This should then give local artisans labor leverage to raise piece-rates. Social organization at the grass roots level is seen as instrumental to achieve these goals.

Grass roots participants and SDC agents worked hard to achieve the legal autonomy of the fledgling organization. In June of 1993, four years after the embroidery

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project had been started, the eleven embroidery groups formally joined in the Cooperativa Artesanal Centro de Bordados Cuenca. This was seen by development agents and artisans as an important step toward self-government and self-management. However the cooperative also reflects the dependence of Latin American countries on Northern financial, technical and marketing resources. The cooperative's constituency is formed by the member embroideresses who convene for two General Assemblies a year. The assembly elects members to the board of directors and board of trustees (administrative and financial councils), to the education and social action committees who jointly form the executive board. However, the Cooperative's manager and the FEPP liaison coordinator are male Mestizo professionals. Funding agencies, be they foreign, NGO, or national government, heavily influence infrastructure, marketing and educational strategies of a grass roots organization. It is against this backdrop that I compare the change in grassroots participation[32] with regard to social organization among the embroideresses. Point one presents absolute values for the cooperative as a whole. Points two and three compare participatory change between the different CBC community-groups. Point four shows the change from 1989 to 1994 in minimum and maximum ranges of participatory actions. Points five to seven compare participatory change among communities according to variables in international migration. This is particularly salient, because I attempt to establish to what degree a change in collective action among the embroideresses is due to the impact of the development project as opposed to the absence of co-resident men. Point eight is a resume of directional change at CBC.

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[32] Apart from association with CBC, the following activities were also accepted as evidence of social organization: Catechism; UCCG and similar, local water and electricity associations/boards; grass roots "Christian Assembly" (supported by the Catholic Church); Comité Promejoras, which is concerned with improving communal infrastructure; health and nutrition programs sponsored by various NGOs; peasant health insurance (Seguro Campesino); parents' association (Asociación de padres, similar to U.S. "P.T.A/P.T.O"); mothers' club (probably grew out of former women's association concerned with sponsoring female saints).

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1) Raw data: In 1989 participation rate was 53 percent (40 out of 76 interviewees)
In 1994 participation rate was 87 percent (66 out of 76 interviewees)
2) In 1989 two of the 11 participating communities showed 100 percent of interviewees participating in social organization, but these two, La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa, are not representative since their sample includes only one participant each.
3) In 1994 seven communities had a showing of 100 percent of interviewees participating in social organization. These are: La Dolorosa and Santa Rosa (which will not be included in the further discussion of the issue, due to their low representability) as well as: Chiquintad, Cochapamba, Mayuntur, Sondeleg, and Uzhupud.
4) In 1989 participation ranged from 29 percent (Zhiquil) to 83 percent (Guanal)
In 1994 participation ranged from 40 percent (Azhapud) to 100 percent (Chiquintad, Cochapamba Mayuntur, Sondeleg, Uzhupud).
5) The communities with long standing male out migration show the following increase in socio-organizational participation:
Chiquintad 150 percent, Mayuntur 29 percent, Uzhupud 167 percent
Raw data: In 1989 12 out of 23 interviewees were participants (52 percent)
In 1989 22 out of 23 interviewees were participants (96 percent)
6) In the communities with incipient migration, the trend is clear: All show an increase: Cochapamba 56 percent, Llintig 180 percent, Sondeleg 50 percent, Zhiquil 100 percent.
Raw data: In 1989 18 out of 40 interviewees were participants (45 percent)
In 1994 35 out of 40 interviewees were participants (87.5 percent)
7) Where migration increased during the 5 year period under comparison, the trend is reversed: Azhapud 50 percent decrease. Guanal stagnant.
Raw data: In 1989 09 out of 11 interviewees were participants (82 percent)
In 1994 07 out of 11 interviewees were participants (63.5 percent)
8) In 7 out of the 9 communities with meaningful data the participation in social organization increased between 1989 and 1994.
In 1 community the level remained the same
In 1 community the level decreased by 50 percent.

In 1989, participation in forms of social organization was low in both migratory and then non-migratory communities (52 and 53 percent respectively). Communities with a well established pattern of male migratory absence rose to a 96 percent participation in social organization by 1994. In those communities, where international male migration had no real impact yet in 1994, participation had risen to 78 percent from 1989 levels. The efforts by the development project to increase participation in different forms of social organization paid off. There was an overall increase of almost 50 percent in those communities where most women's households have male residents.

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The three communities with a marked long term absence of male co-residents, however, rose to almost double the rate of female socio-political involvement at the communal level. These data suggest that the absence of co-resident men has an important influence on the socio-political behavior of women in the Ecuadorian Andes. In addition, it seems that incipient male migration and increased female social organization go hand-in-hand (point six above); things start to move within the co-resident family: men decide to look for new economic frontiers across national boundaries, and women acquire a new skill to be able to maintain the household in the face of increased debt and the temporary absence of the former male income.[33] I offer this interpretation, because in 1989, Guanal and Azhapud were at the migratory "point" where we encounter Cochapamba, Llintig, Sondeleg, and Zhiquil in 1994, and their female participation in social organization was then higher than in Mayuntur, Chiquintad and Uzhupud, where migration had already become a steady stream by 1989. In 1994 Azhapud and Guanal show decrease and stagnancy, maybe because during the CBC project the steady increase of incipient migration put too much stress on artisan women's socio-economic chores to give them time to participate in extensive meetings and fora. In this case, the steady increase in women's activism can be expected to decrease during the next years in Cochapamba, Llintig, Sondeleg, and Zhiquil, as artisans will feel the increasing burden managing the household economy without a co-resident male. In Azhapud and Guanal, on the other hand, with coyote debt service slowly reaching an end, participation rates may rise again.

The migratory cycle brings periods of bust and boom to the artisan household economy and changes to women's rate of participation in communal actions. Development planners need to factor in the consequent constraints operating on women artisans located on the peasant-proletarian continuum, rather than brandishing certain areas (communities in CBC's case) with a positive or negative reputation implying some

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[33] Migrants who invest smaller sums - two to four thousand US Dollars, may take several months to reach the US, because they travel great distances overland, hiring short-term coyotes as the need arises.

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locally "particular" character. The data also indicate that women's long-term involvement in "public" activities currently depends on the absence or attitude of resident men, particularly consorts. The past as well as the current president of the pre-cooperative and Cooperative organism were/are single. In 1994 CBC listed 12 promotoras who served as instructors for new designs and general advocates for social and technical novelties emanating from the coop and CBC. Their residence situation is as follows:

- 7 are single with no consort in residence
  1 has a husband residing in the U.S. (= no co-resident consort)
  1 is widowed with occasional shifting alliances (= no co-resident consort)
  1 is married and lives with her husband (consort in residence)
  2 no data

These promotoras are leading figures in the cooperative. They do not always hold executive functions, but their involvement in the cooperative sets an example for others to follow. Nine out of twelve (75 percent) have no resident consort, one (8.3 percent) has a husband in residence. Embroideresses concur that it is difficult for married women with children and a resident husband to exercise a leadership position . Unequal distribution of socio-reproductive duties within the household holds women's careers back. This is another contradiction inherent in the development project: Given the high toll of male out migration, women are seen as a) responsible for maintaining the precarious subsistence agriculture; b) staying home to care for children and elderly left behind by those who migrate; c) in need of additional cash income. The embroidery project attempts to provide the artisans with an opportunity for self management and concerted social action. Those with absentee husbands can sometimes manage to juggle all these duties and yet sit on the cooperative's board, albeit in a position which does not require extensive travel and committee meetings. There are two or three married women with resident husbands and older children who work as promotoras or sit on the board, since their husbands are "comprensivos" (understanding) and share in the housework. One young, married embroideress with a baby has taken a management function at the

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coop's finishing plant, and her husband shares in housework and child care with her. The majority of married women, however, have resident or absentee consorts who do not consider the wife's artisan work as part of the family's long term career plans, just as women's income in industrialized countries is often conceived as "additional and supplementary."

Since data were collected, three promotoras have emigrated to the U.S. (25 percent), indicating that the technical and social skills acquired through the organization could prove counter-productive to the project's stated goals in the context of an increasing political and economic marginalization of the Ecuadorian countryside. It doesn't necessarily follow that efforts like those of Centro de Bordados should not be attempted, but that in their present guise they are not optimally or even sufficiently coordinated with Ecuadorian geopolitics. In a wider context the rural exodus from Ecuadorian Andes, however, has as much to do with the local lack of education, the absence of economic opportunities and the desire for social dignity as with the international division of labor, unofficially but effectively manipulated by United States' immigration policies and the still permeable soft "Southern Belly" along the Rio Grande. The double standard of U.S. immigration policy and reality translates into the illegal status of those who "wet their feet" to get to the promised land, and whose coyote assisted passing of the frontier is "tolerated" by the government to alleviate labor costs of transnational capital.

CHANGES IN RITUAL BEHAVIOR WITHIN THE COOPERATIVE 1992 TO 1994

Women and men: migration and cooperative action

A few CBC leaders and many embroideresses wear the pollera dress as a symbol of their struggle to stay on the land in the face of massive migration to North America. In many villages, the embroidery group is an active participant in ancient local festivals, which, without the women's ritual, artistic, and culinary input are in danger of becoming completely dominated by ostentatious spectacles paid for through cash

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donations by international male migrants.[34]

The creation of a new ritual space (in terms of time and physical infrastructure) through the development project has given CBC artisans an opportunity and a forum to present themselves as bearers of a culture they cherish at a time when many of them are involved in profound changes in their personal life, in their household's economy, and in communal organization. These personal and community based transformations extend to those of the national political economy, of the gendered and ethnically stratified international division of labor, and of global change revolving around an increasingly monopolized access to transnational capital.

An example of the head spinning pace of current social transformations in developing countries, CBC's General Assembly underwent visible change during its first years as a pre-cooperative and later cooperative event. These changes indicate that 1) lavishness and institutional presence (Church/development aid dignitaries) are linked; 2) folklore representations of culture are a factor of migrant nostalgia and development agent romanticism (to which the resident ethnographer was in no way immune); 3) increased cooperative self management raises readiness for cultural critique voiced by corporate actors.

CBC General Assemblies held at Finca Guazhalan in 1992 and 1993

Following CBC's invitation extended during my first visit, I took the early morning flight from Quito to Cuenca on March 28, 1992. The clear blue sky and brilliant sunshine offered breathtaking views of the Avenue of the Giants, eight snowcapped volcanoes dispersed on both sides of the broad interandine valley which

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[34] Zapotec women weavers of Teotitlán del Valle in Oaxaca faced economic burdens during the years of male migration to the United States similar to those of CBC embroideresses during the period when remittances go toward servicing the coyote debt. (Stephen 1991). Secular fiestas, birthdays in the Zapotec case (ibid), Mother's Day in Azuay, take on certain contents and characteristics of fiestas hosted for local Saints, like fireworks and sponsorship for certain fiesta expenditures. This may be due to change in amount of household income and in the seasonality of cash flow, as well as to the gendered migratory absence of community and household members.

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stretches from the Colombian border to Cañar. The majestic view of six of the giant volcanoes and the mystery of the Amazon's "Eyebrow" would magnetically draw me to sit at a window of the plane's left side on this and almost every subsequent trip.

Urs had graciously offered to pick me up at the small Cuenca airport on his way out of the city toward Gualaceo, where the yearly meeting of embroideresses was to be held. With the neck breaking speed typical of a Swiss mountain driver, he expertly rounded the curves of the winding paved road as if he were sliding his skis through a Giant Slalom. "You know the road well," I remarked with a mixture of admiration and apprehension. "You lowlanders, what chickens you are when it comes to driving mountain roads," he laughed, referring to my birthplace in the Swiss Midland. "There I go;" I thought: "my most difficult task will be surviving the good offices of the two 'mountain goats' our government has fittingly sent into this region," remembering that Flurina, the social worker, is from a beautiful valley in the Grisons, where speed limits are for lowland and foreign visitors. Her "supersonic" speed on Azuay roads was already legendary. Indeed, I should never manage to break my two compatriots' velocity records over the bumpy dirt roads I would come to travel extensively during fieldwork. My Llintig friends used to tease me laughingly, because I would take fifteen minutes to steer the pick-up truck to Gualaceo: "Hey Barbarita," they always said after the first five minutes, "what are you doing ? With Flurina we would be halfway to Cuenca by now."

When we arrived at an old beautifully restored hacienda big house overlooking the Santa Barbara (also called "Gualaceo") river shortly before 9 AM, Flurina and twenty embroideresses were busy preparing chicha and getting the stage and loudspeakers ready for the event. In the big communal kitchen of this ex-hacienda, women from a Gualaceo community cleaned vegetables for the feast's obligatory rice dish. Embroideresses were arriving on foot from nearby Sondeleg and Uzhupud, as well as from Zhiquil, further upriver on the Santa Barbara. The women from Llintig, Mayuntur and Cochapamba had hired pick up trucks to Gualaceo, and some from Guanal

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came wading across the river. One girl from Cristo Rey had come on foot. She had been unable to hitch a ride with the Cochapamba group she is part of, because she is the only one who does not live in that community.

Flurina explained that Finca Guazhalan, as the big house is called, belonged to the Catholic Church which had operated an hacienda here.[35] A few years ago the Church had willed the installation to FEPP who had the hacienda restored with money from various donor agencies. Campesino organizations sponsored by FEPP may use the premises for educational and ritual activities. It is the site of a FEPP sponsored guinea pig breeding station. Plant seedlings for kitchen gardens are made available to members of UCCG. By ten o'clock most attending embroideresses were sitting around the patio. Flurina points out to me that the women from the same community group sit together. Among the women from the Gualaceo communities, pollera outfits predominate. The group from Chiquintad, a rural parish a few miles outside the Cuenca city limits, has only one embroideress in pollera, and the young girls from Uzhupud also wear modern dress. Most women who have children have one or more with them. An interesting correlation between wearing traditional dress and breast-feeding, and modern attire and bottle feeding is displayed by the mothers with infants. Jeans are a status symbol worn by younger women, men, and small children.

As long as the General Assembly is held at Guazhalan, a thanksgiving mass precedes the recognition and awards ceremony. The awards celebrate impeccable attendance records; the embroideress who worked most hours over the past year; the one producing most quality "A." The prizes consist mostly of electric household appliances, emphasizing modern housekeeping technology and access to electricity. Artisans are honored as individual achievers, not as partners in a team. Recognition on group level is not an issue. The women then proceed to lay out the feast: clean bleached sheets cover the

[35] It is the hacienda which, in a process that probably started in 1743, eventually took over most river flats from the Dotaxi comuna in a process of appropriation through leases from individual Indians and cofradías and subsequent sales and consolidation by criollo "citizens" and priests (see chapter two).

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ground, and mote, cuy, chicken soup, hard boiled eggs, rice and potatoes are expertly and swiftly arranged by each embroidery group, adorned with meat from CBC's stately hornado. Again, embroideresses do not mingle among each other, but stay together according to the community-group they belong to. The gregarious Chiquinteñas who had seen me on my first visit, generously invite me to join them. My glad acceptance earns me the first taste of roasted guinea pig which instantly converts into my most favored Andean delicacy. My Chiquinteña hostesses, on their part, had to stomach the smelly Swiss cheese I had brought to share.

The ritual part that follows lunch includes an entertainment activity by each embroidery group. These activities can be divided up into two different categories: dances and popular dramas which require advance preparation, time, and group cooperation. The dances are copied from popular T.V. shows. They are "traditional" with regard to music and costumes. The performers are girls who do not wear polleras in everyday life. Groups performing sketches tend to have more pollera wearing members than those performing "traditional" dances. The second kind of entertainment offered consists in participatory events for the general public, such as egg race, tomato-dance, musical chairs, etc. These competitive games require no prior concerted group action and are managed by one or two leading embroideresses from the presenting group. A cash prize or store-bought gift is given as a reward to the winner. As long as the General Assembly is held once a year and at Finca Guazhalan, the artistic performances (folklore dances and sketches) predominate: in 1992 nine out of a total of thirteen entertainment offers belong to this category, eleven out of thirteen in 1993 (each time one group performed twice, in addition to CBC staff also putting on a show). In February of 1994, at the rather sober Colegio Salesiano premises in Cuenca, there were only two dances and two sketches. Two groups had no show at all to offer. The entertainment offer declined even more during the August 1994 General Assembly held again at the same site in Cuenca.

During my attendance at the third annual gathering in 1993, I started to realize

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that this ritual of agglutination, where artisans act as performers and coordinators, highlights new attitudes toward the cooperative venture and mirrors ongoing change in participants' social relations within Bordados and within Ecuadorian society at large.[36] This becomes more obvious and visible, when after the formal constitution of Cooperativa Centro de Bordados, the General Assembly is held twice a year as mandated by the bylaws. Time and repetition brought clear changes from one year to the next, and these are described below in an attempt to illustrate what messages can be gleaned from a new, dynamic, and increasingly self-managed public statement about corporate identity.

NEW CORPORATE IDENTITY: THE 1994 GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

February General Assembly at Colegio Agronómico Salesiano Cuenca

On February 19, 1994, the fourth General Assembly officially started with a roll call. CBC staff use the official cédula version of the name with only one last name. Thereby, the person's identity is doubly transformed: 1) it is an "official" version of the first names, including names invented by city hall or imposed by a priest, rather than the customary given name used by friends and family. Names misspelled when they were registered by a priest or registry official are perpetuated as well. 2) The Swiss custom of using only the paternal last name is imposed over the Iberian use of both parental surnames.

Of about 130 formally registered coop members, 99 attended. A total of approximately 250 embroideresses and family members were present, including no more than 10 men (other than CBC staff and AT officials). Always conspicuously absent are Urs's and Rolando's' wives; while Octavio's and Flurina's spouses who are both FEPP staff working with other projects attend, with toddlers in tow, whenever their professional obligations permit. In terms of inter-spousal gender dynamics, Flurina and Octavio are role models in Andean complementarity: Flurina's husband gives equal

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[36] Appendix four has a case by case description of the "presentations" offered by each group during four subsequent General assemblies (March 1992, March 1993, February 1994, August 1994).

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importance to his wife's professional commitments, and he takes care of the toddling baby girl while Flurina complies with public duties. Octavio's wife does likewise, yet when her own professional commitments mandated the attendance of an out-of town week-end workshop, Octavio took the baby boy to the General Assembly where it was easier for him and others to mind the child, than for the mother attending a more strictly structured event where a small child's presence interferes with work. At the same time Flurina and Octavio behave just as most embroideresses, they participate with family members and small children. The social worker and contract manager signal not only their commitment to work, but share moments of family intimacy with the cooperative's constituency.

The following excerpts from my field journal illustrate how different CBC actors take up the challenge of addressing the public with reports on the business year's events:

> "After the roll call Octavio, the business manager ('gerente'), delivers a long speech on cooperative finances in general. He doesn't explain what the COTESU production credit is supposed to achieve, namely to tide over the lack of sales expressed in the excessive non sold stock and to enable the Centro to buy primary material. He instead dwells on the importance and the price of expensive, and some argue superfluous, cellophane bags with which each item is currently packed for shipping. The CBC manager has difficulty conceptualizing what are essential versus secondary, what are fixed as opposed to variable production costs. The financial report dwells on small gifts rather than the relations between production costs, marketing success, and debt service. There is no proposal for the next fiscal year. The business manager's report is not sufficiently organized to allow the artisans on the board to exercise their supervisory function.
>
> The education committee, composed of three embroideresses, in turn, is very focused, presenting objectives: how, by what courses, for whom, and when they would be achieved including a graph on wall paper. A point always raised by artisan speakers is: 'speak up, don't be afraid to say it, if something isn't right.'[37] This was never said by the male CBC administrators. The board of trustees presents the coop accounts only. The accounts are presented on a bill board, visible for all. However, they are not very meaningful, since they only involve the coop revenue from monthly contributions by the embroideresses who pay one hour's wage to cover travel and food expenses for board members, promotoras and group leaders to attend meetings and workshops. These expenses are paid for by the fledgling coop as part of the process of self government and financial autonomy.

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[37] "Reclamen no más, digan no más si algo no está bien."

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> Renato's marketing plan meets with little interest and sparse applause. Artisans know sales have slumped. They are bored with a speech on how difficult it is to market their work. They are not told what is concretely being done to boost sales. It is contradictory to them that while they have improved their work performance to the point where production is 90 percent top quality, an enormous achievement from an initial 20 to 30 percent, those responsible for selling the wares are incapable of meeting even the bare minimum to cover production costs. Canceled orders, delinquent clients, and 'Chinese' competition are blamed by the outside hires who manage Centro de Bordados. The fact that a salesperson has to avoid 'bad apple' clients and circumvent cheaper competition is not lost on women who sell surplus production in a highly competitive local market, where the use of one's social network, timely offers, last minute bargains, and exact price-quality ratios are all simultaneously played out to garner small profits" (Field journal Vol I: 72-73).

The ethnographic investigation into subsistence management I conducted revealed that the campesina women of Azuay are indeed experts at transforming surplus raw material such as unmarketable grass. When fed to guinea pigs, a highly marketable delicacy is produced; if grass is consumed by draught animals, services for the household's subsistence plots are obtained, while added cash can be earned by ploughing fields of neighbors and relatives. It is a small wonder, then, that the embroideresses expect their professional management to design a product for which there is a market, and that the necessary steps are taken to connect the end product to the right market place.

With regard to gendered action during the General Assembly, it is noteworthy that only male CBC staff take the speaker stand, in contrast with the cooperative leaders of the education committee. Of the female contract staff only the designer attends. The secretary and the bookkeeper are absent. Urs saw this assembly as a first chance for all CBC staff and board members to conduct such an event independently. In a follow up analysis he offered his suggestions to the business manager that concrete planning other than new markets [the province of Renato's office], and the explanation of financial needs and priorities be included in future presentations. Open elections were held after an initial attempt to hold secret ones.

It is interesting that the female artisan leaders presented their activities in a

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thoroughly professional manner, in contrast with contract personnel. It bespeaks the project's success, on the one hand, in reinforcing and transmitting leadership skills and confidence. The contrast with the younger contract personnel who performed rather poorly suggests that: a) the university level training they received in Ecuador and Canada, respectively, did not teach them how to discern the essential from the tangential, nor to synthesize material and past events into a meaningful nutshell. b) Artisan women in Azuay acquire leadership qualities as members of their society and are able to transform and adapt these qualities to suit new intellectual and social requirements.

Fifth General Assembly at the Colegio Agronómico Salesiano, Cuenca

The preparations for the second General Assembly in 1994, a new periodicity mandated by cooperative bylaws, took place during a two-day workshop on "women and culture" given to coop board members and embroidery group leaders (presidents and vice-presidents) in late August. Since the board was up for reelection, it was necessary to postulate candidates from among current members and the present groups leaders, and the artisan leadership agreed with Rolando to hold the workshop immediately prior to this event in order to gain organizational "synergy."

Observing these preparations, I realized that the political relevance of Andean socio-territorial units is quite akin to the Swiss notion of a "magic formula" for executive office set in a pluriethnic and multilingual context, a fact which had not been lost on the development agents looking for the familiar, not only exotic in their work with grass roots groups. The Swiss executive government, composed of a seven-member collegiate of ministers, has been premised on a "magic formula" (threatening to breaking down due to an increased lack of social consensus within the nation): four major/traditional parties, four language groups, four major cities, several rural regions, and the two major religious confessions all ideally aspire to be somehow represented. Thus each of the seven federal councillors comes imbued with multiple identity markers, e.g: a French speaking Catholic socialist, a Bernese Protestant farmer,

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etc. This penchant for multiple representational layers as introduced by the development project combines well with Andean notions of regional complementarity, where different villages or communities tend to specialize in a craft, trade, or the marketing of an exchange item (O. Harris and contributors 1987). A resumé from the field journal shows how this operated in the Bordados context. The journal excerpt also highlights dynamics between artisans and a member from academia, as the latter tries to conciliate the "banking" practice of knowledge transfer with participatory techniques used by artisan leaders:

> "Two candidates for board membership are postulated by Chiquintad. However, when a second candidate from Llintig is proposed, voices say that Llintig already has one. It is stipulated that there be a candidate from every embroidery group (community), meaning that there is a notion of "magic formula." Uzhupud has no delegate present, but sends in a nomination through one of their cooperative members who works at CBC in order to safeguard its executive position within the framework of a "magic formula." Clearly, the general aim was to have one to two representatives per community on the board, but Azhapud, with no representative at this workshop and no staff embroideress at Centro de Bordados, seems to be left out.
>
> It is agreed that during the assembly people will be briefed on financial and productive matters in discussion groups. The work-shop instructor, Pedro, wants these groups to be mixed, but the board members decide that each community will be briefed by their own promotoras. Cumandá suggests every promotora get eight people irrespective of their group affiliation, probably because eight is a comfortably small number for individuals to feel less shy and for the promotoras to handle. Pedro suggests forming eight groups of fifteen members. Others feel not so sure about this, since the outcome of fragmenting the groups is uncertain. At this point in general discussion on procedures, Pedro decides to flesh out the organization of the General Assembly alone, with no participation from the women leaders. He divides the embroideresses into "socias cualificadas" (those formally registered and with the right to vote) and "others" who can't vote (they are not formal members, due to lack of age, problems with their national identity papers, other reasons for not being a formal member). There will be eight groups of voting and six groups of non voting embroideresses. Voting members will head discussion groups where people cannot vote, so the discussants' voting opportunity seems jeopardized. [38] Pedro wants to remove from cooperative membership some ten embroideresses who may be in arrears with the S./450.- monthly contributions. The bylaws and proposed internal

[38] The anthropologist thinks that were the groups to be left intact, each promotora heading a discussion group could be provided with a roster of formal members, but too many suggestions are already floating around for her to change from the observer to participant at this point.

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> regulations stipulate proper procedures for delinquent payment, but none of the artisans familiar with these documents dare to call them to the attention of the workshop presenter" (Field journal 1994 Vol I:154-156).

The workshop director's performance, while successful in terms of "new public management," where decisions are based on rapid and efficiently taken "consensus," shows how male hegemony easily permeates cultural brokering. The man, a psychologist, is Cuenca born, known to the cooperative's leadership, and well liked by the few artisans who know him. He had been contracted by AT personnel with the consent of the grass roots leaders. Again, his theoretical knowledge of gender was limited to tidbits about the public-private and nature-culture dichotomies, intertwined with an uncritical acceptance of physiological inevitability when it comes to women's reproductive capacities. It may not have been his intent, but the workshop's result was to show the artisans how to be a "lone ranger" type of a leader. Since time is such a critical factor in western productive and social life, it overrides the obvious necessity to arrive at a mature consensus, a priority still acutely present in Azuay rural life. Male hegemony, then, comes with "fringe disadvantages" of transculturation: to value time above communal consensus. When push comes to shove, a strong leader needs to take up the reigns and direct representatives onto the right and rapid path. This may be essential in warfare strategy, and in western business culture where "hostile takeovers" and the like are cast in martial terms. If "the best of two worlds" is to be aspired to by the development effort, native negotiation strategies should be explored and given their place.

As a consequence of the preparatory workshop's focus on formal coop membership, the arrangement of the conference hall on the following morning was still a bone of contention. Reina wanted the qualified members on one side, Cumandá on the other, but a compromise was soon reached: two rows of chairs formed an ellipse with the stage. An artificial line separated 80 seats for non-member embroideresses from 120 chairs for members. The women leaders' idea was to put non-members into the back

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row and members into the front, with the intent to allow community groups to sit still together, as they usually do. In that way, non-member coop companions would be seated right behind the card-carrying voting members of their local group. According to Pedro it was more democratic to have the artisans separated into two different parts of the room, and the coop leaders obliged. The notions of "democracy," and "citizen-" or in this case "membership" imply that individuals imbued with inclusive qualities who are momentarily present at a decision taking forum make plenipotentiary decisions. Excluded are those for whom bureaucratic obstacles and arbitrary limits of age, gender, or literacy levels make inclusion into the decision making forum impossible. Individual exercise of very limited political rights override community consensus arrived at during culturally sanctioned - but nowadays often powerless - local and regional congregations, where voice is given to all those in power of human reasoning. The artisans fragmented into individual decision makers are unable to override an outside male moderator's imposition of form, function, and even outcome of their organization's transcendental annual event.

Confusion reigned. Some members were seated with the non-members and one non-member from the Cochapamba group was sitting with the members. This provoked her nomination for the board elections. Cumandá was bound by the bylaws to make the mistake known, upon which this girl got up and left for the non-member section, which was quite humiliating. After the assembly was over, with the moderator busy talking to Rolando and contract managers, artisan leaders suggested doing future group discussions on assembly matters in the communities prior to the reunion, rather than on assembly day. This should save time. It would also allow groups to come to an internal consensus rather than fragment the communities the way it happened here.

Again there were no CBC balance sheets presented for analysis. Financial scrutiny continued to be limited to the few book movements of the cooperative where monthly membership dues are reflected, but not the costs and revenues of production and

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the active and passive accounts of Centro de Bordados. CBC management continued to think that the formal accounting books are too complex to be understood by the artisan public.

The assembly was no longer preceded by mass, even though cooperative leaders and members seem as committed to liberation theology as before. However, the priest who had supported the Gualaceo knitting group years before had recently moved away, leaving the artisan leadership with no direct spiritual guidance.[39] No one had a video camera, while in the previous two years I had seen two or three in the hands of young men with migrant family members. Rolando had contracted a local band to which only one embroideress and her migrant husband danced.[40] Archangel and Cumandá sang, but since Cumandá held the microphone for Archangel, her voice was not amplified.

The prizes for artisan achievement were fewer but still honored individual success, not cooperative efforts. The most industrious embroideresses of Chiquintad, Sta Rosa, Uzhupud and "Gualaceo" were honored as well as the overall most industrious. To me the geographical division seemed to favor Chiquintad and Uzhupud while grossly discriminating against the six Gualaceo communities in terms of demographics:

Chiquintad	23 members
Sta Rosa/La Dolorosa/Azhapud	32 members
6 Gualaceo communities	118 members
Uzhupud	21 members

This membership situation was established when I conducted my survey June to October 1994. The awards, which invariably go to women who must neglect subsistence

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[39] Checa parish in Canton Cuenca has a dedicated Spanish missionary priest, but the Gualaceo leaders don't know him well, neither do they seem well acquainted with Flurina's uncle from nearby St. Ana parish. Local factionalism is a big obstacle in bringing groups with similar needs and objectives into provincial or nationwide concert.

[40] He has legal papers, and came to get married; she was due to leave as soon as her immigrant visa was coming through. This was a sort of good bye party for her, a prominent promotora from the Checa hinterland.

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agriculture in order to perform at high qualitative and quantitative levels, seem to run contrary to the project's social goals. They do, however, offer recognition to artisans who are single mothers or migrant wives (some of the most industrious have these attributes), and whose personal situation is often far from ideal.

LOCAL RITUAL AND CULTURE CHANGE

During the August 1994 General Assembly, there was a certain appropriation of the ritual on part of the cooperative's leaders who had participated in the women and culture workshop preceding this meeting. They presented a hilarious socio-drama on CBC office life in which they dramatized a staff meeting:

> The FEPP consultant (Rolando) asks for a meeting with the executive staff, that is with Octavio the contract manager, Renato the marketing specialist, Cesar then the contract production manager, and Cumandá, the cooperative's president as well as successor to the Swiss social worker (Fieldnotes, tape 5 A).

Octavio's hurry and nervousness, Renato's excessive travel expenses, Rolando's bossy joviality, Cesar's daily "dance" as the only male (and in an "alpha" position) among the embroideresses at the finishing center, and Cumandá's polite female submission to the male executives were all superbly exaggerated and put into relief for the audience. The fact that the actor embroideresses (Lena as Rolando, Dulce as Octavio, Ñaña as Renato, Adela as Cumandá) embarked on this ritual of reversal, making authority invested male public figures of the project the object of open amusement, shows several interesting facts:

- That the current order at Centro de Bordados is a source of certain "social stress," since rituals of reversal surge from unequal social and cultural relations.

- That the total submission and deference on part of the female artisans toward the mostly male executives, members of the Ecuadorian middle class Mestizo sector, is being replaced by more assertive behavior.

- That both the existing hierarchy at CBC and the performance of the executives meets with a certain criticism among artisan rank and file.

An important detail is the fact that this sketch was prepared at night in the

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dormitories without the participation of the workshop leader, who had, however, been supportive of the idea that the women leaders put on a show. This presentation differed from "pre-cooperative" entertainment productions in form, content, social attitude displayed by individual actors, and with regard to interaction with the social category of development agents. An equally witty, hilarious, and poignantly interpreted act - of very different socio-critical content - put on in 1992 by the Uzhupud group illustrates this trend:

> An embroideress' wedding party arrives at Centro de Bordados headquarters to get the blessing and marital advice of Flurina, the social worker, and her Ecuadorian husband. The party addresses Flurina's husband with a honorific title ("amo patroncito," meaning "milord and patron") formerly reserved for hacienda owners, but Flurina is merely called "blond girl" ("niña zuquita"). Yet behind his back, the wedding party calls the character playing "Flurina's husband" "negrito" ("blackie"), in an expression of their puzzle over interethnic marriage.[41] The Flurina character admonishes the groom to abstain from marital infidelity, while the actor representing her husband emphasizes that the groom should be hard working. The priest-figure is addressed with the Quichua "Taita Curita" (father priest) by the bride, but with the formal Spanish "padre" by the groom, indicating gendered differences in language change, while the groom's mother - in a show of discontent over the match - refuses to partake in the holy communion.

The actresses offered an interesting combination of characteristics: They shed their modern and elegant clothes for polleras and imbued the female characters in the sketch with a great deal of "emancipation." Superimposed was the traditional woman working the spindle, a skill, however, poorly performed by the actresses. The mandatory red cheeks for the country women they represented were made obvious through heavy make-up.

The early sketches and games[42] allow for an examination of the boundaries between "us" versus "others:" artisans wearing modern dress shed it and disguise

[41] "Negrito" is part of the derogatory vocabulary, widely used during the hacienda regime, to denominate Indians. Flurina's husband is Mestizo, and his features are as much Mediterranean, as they are Amerindian, but in Mesoamerica and the Andes the concept of ethnic origin - and its fluidity - override static notions about mere "race."

[42] See appendix number four.

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themselves as "Indians" (Uzhupud, Azhapud, La Dolorosa, Chiquintad, part of Llintig's group). Some, such as Mayuntur's young embroideresses dress up as Otavaleños to perform a dance in February 1994. When the artisans and CBC staff gave Urs a huge farewell party at Guazhalan in July of 1994, promotoras from several Gualaceo embroidery groups even went so far as to rent "real Indian" homespun polleras from women in Cahuazhun. Those who wear polleras in everyday life opt to host games (Mayuntur's mature artisans, Zhiquil), or take contemporary problems as a focus, where people participate as "who they are" (Sondeleg). Cochapamba's 1992 production is an exception in that its pollera wearing artisans display a traditional dance wearing the elegant, festive bolsicón of brilliant reds and yellows over their Sunday outfit. There we see, at that point, affirmation of traditional culture. However, this is not repeated in later years when Cochapamba opts to host games.

Early expressions of the artisans' witty but still rather timid social critique of development in terms of mocking aspects of an agent's private persona, have moved on to examine the public role and managerial efficiency of agents and contract managers as a social group. The embroideresses' preliminary ritual function of social control has the potential of being transformed into an active role of administrative overseeing of the contract executives who are not themselves members of Centro de Bordados. During the previous General Assemblies, rituals of reversal had been reserved to comments on the outsiders' gendered family life (quarrel with spouse, drinking etc) or it had put the development agents and other personnel into competitive joking situations with embroideresses during social games and dances. Never, so far, had the running of the embroidery enterprise been critiqued and commented on.

When the General Assembly site was moved from the familiar and festive grounds of Finca Guazhalan to the sober setting of a Cuenca high school, the ritual changed considerably in form. However, these changes also reflect new artisan attitudes and priorities. Apart from a change in the cooperative leadership's ritual activities, the

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artisans in general display new behavior: People seem more in a hurry; the mood is not nearly as festive as during the Guazhalan celebrations of 1992 and 1993. The feasts are over quickly, lasting only 45 minutes. On the February 19, 1994 assembly, there was only one good socio-drama - by Zhiquil - as well as a mediocre one by Uzhupud, and only two dances, by Chiquintad and Mayuntur, the communities where male as well as female international migration is a dominant phenomenon. Sondeleg, a small group on the verge of being absorbed into nearby Guanal, did not perform. The remaining six groups did not put on collective acts. Fun games with volunteers or "forced" prominent participants (i.e., Urs, Rolando, the designer, the anthropologist) predominated the entertainment scene. This is not at all a "cultural loss", even though I always enjoyed the sketches tremendously, because to the anthropologist they reveal past cultural patterns and offer insight into current culture change. Yet the stereotypical sketches and folklore dances, at times have the artisan appear as puppets, rather than as voicers of social critique. These presentations were also a "safe" spectacle for AT personnel and CBC staff observers who were mildly made fun of at the most, but who didn't have to participate or interact in them. The games put development agents, contract managers and the nosy anthropologist on the same level as the artisans. Often these games involve skills where urban office dwellers lag behind agile and gifted artisans, and in general they seem to do more for CBC group cohesion than the rather competitive displays of sketches and dances. A drawback is that by 1994 the games were no longer mediated by Reina, a Zhiquil promotora, but by Archangel, the coop's lawyer.

One big difference with previous encounters is that practically no men attended. I didn't see one male consort. Since 1993, many a spouse, brother, son, or boyfriend has probably migrated to the U.S., but maybe male curiosity had been satisfied during the four previous assemblies, all of which were sensibly more lavish than this one. It can also mean that men increasingly trust their wives/sisters not to "misbehave" when out on the town, meaning that escorting them on previous occasions was done as supervisors,

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not just as admirers or supporters of their women's achievement.

ARTISAN STRUGGLE IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

Centro de Bordados Cuenca is a socio-economic remedy which addresses the syndrome of minifundist agriculture and male out migration. While projected as a "cure" against rock-bottom artisan wages, export embroidery has run into problems of marketing and international competition which have prevented the cooperative from expanding its membership to the projected one thousand embroideresses, which - as project planners rightly pointed out - would have given the organization considerable leverage on the local artisan labor market. Taken as granted that "women need to stay home," the artisan coop offers a viable career only to the mobile single women who have time and relative freedom of movement to assume leadership roles. The fact that production managers, coop board members, and promotoras need considerable technical and life experience makes for a very small pool of qualified leaders, basically consisting of women above their mid twenties who are still unmarried and have no children - which is almost a contradiction in terms.

As María Patricia Fernández-Kelly points out, gender is a "process rooted in the political and economic fabric of societies (1990:2)." There is, according to Fernández-Kelly, "... a new international division of labor, stratified according to nationality, class and gender" (1990:1, translation mine.). Gender, in her words, is not composed of "personal attributes," but rather stands for a concept which helps us identify "social relations." Therefore, we need to combine the analysis of development and gender with concepts of class and ethnicity, rather than considering them as separate spaces and realities.

Given Andean cultural parameters, cooperative production projects should provide complementary material and parallel political opportunities to men and women. This would add the benefit of effectively stopping land flight, rather than having development agencies become the involuntary handmaidens to added female out migration.

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Development agents familiar with theoretical concepts of gender are needed to innovate and execute corresponding programs and projects.

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VI "Movers and Shapers:" Social history and profile of development agents

> The hottest place in hell is reserved for those who remain neutral.
>
> Dante's Inferno

POLITICAL NEUTRALITY[1] AND GENDER INEQUALITY: STATUS QUO VERSUS SOCIAL CHANGE

Shortcomings, failures, even success in development can only be fully understood when the effects on the aid receiving population is related to the social and political conditions which surround development agency staff. This chapter will provide some historical background to current Swiss foreign policy, followed by a socio-cultural description of the people who shape the development approach of their country and who ultimately put it into practice.

Swiss foreign policy has centered around a permanent neutrality for centuries, and the notion of "permanency" is salient, because it is not an opportunistic and momentary position which arises when conflict has already broken out.[2] At a time when actual Swiss foreign policy is seeking a participation in the international arena which goes beyond the role of neutral bystander (DEH 1995), the national myth of neutrality has become an instrument of internal party politics, rather than one applied to

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[1] Swiss neutrality during the Second World War has come under increased scrutiny in connection with money deposited in Swiss Banks before and during the war by people who later became Holocaust victims and survivors (and by others endangered by the situation in Europe). The problem of "unclaimed" accounts is formally one of Swiss banking law, which not only allows the opening of numbered accounts, and the consequent "protection" of the owner who wishes to remain anonymous. This law also prevents the Swiss state from appropriating "unclaimed" accounts after a certain time of inactivity. Banking laws in other nations allow the state to confiscate unclaimed and inactive accounts after as little as five years. The above explanation of the legal situation by no means excuses the passive attitude of Swiss (and other) banks after World War Two, since the Swiss neutrality concept was the main reason why people whose property was threatened by the Nazi régime, decided to recur to the Swiss banking system. After the war, these institutions had a moral obligation toward victims and survivors to make appropriate - even if special, unprecedented, and innovative - provisions to allow owners and heirs to claim the funds.

[2] For those unfamiliar with the political parameters of "permanent neutrality," see the report of the Study Group on the Question of Swiss Neutrality (1992).

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international relations. Therefore, permanent neutrality continues to be something of a national philosophy. It is not an abstract political concept, but has become part of the nation's "way of life." The current shape of Swiss permanent but "armed neutrality" is a result of multilateral negotiations which started during the 1815 Congress of Vienna when European power bases were being rearranged following the Napoleonic Wars.[3] Swiss regiments had been incorporated into Bonaparte's "Grande Armée" following the emperor's invasion of the Swiss Confederation. The Swiss eventually covered Napoleon's chaotic retreat from Russia, in particular the crucial Beresina Crossing. Within the power vacuum that ensued with French defeat, the Swiss Confederation - a loose "mutual help" association of small independent "cantons" who had lent mercenary services to European courts for centuries - needed to reorient their limited political clout in order to remain independent of its four big neighbors, the French, German, Austro-Hungarian and Italian states.

Liberal-radical anti-monarchism after the 1848 "liberal revolution" dealt a deadly blow to Swiss mercenary interests located mostly in Catholic cantons and serving waning European monarchies (Dürrenmatt 1976:712ff).[4] The concept of an "armed neutrality" was elaborated during the Den Haag conferences on warfare regulations of

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[3] A precursor to this explicit armed neutrality comes in the aftermath of the Battle at Marignano in 1515, when opposing Swiss mercenaries fought each other as members of warring Lombard and Savoy armies. The then rather loosely associated Swiss cantons, under the philosophical and political guidance of the hermit Nikolaus von der Flüe, agreed it was wrong to have "brother kill brother," and that they should not meddle with foreign interests ("fremde Händel"). The mercenary system became drastically reduced. However, this change in late medieval foreign policy needs to be put into the perspective of then global events: The discovery and conquest of overseas domains which opened up avenues for mercenary officers and soldiers, as well as for resettling peasants and crafts specialists. Another is craft intensification in textile and small mechanics (watchmaking). The confederation's favorable trade status with France, obtained in peace negotiations following Marignano (Dürrenmatt 1976:245), opened up a European market for its manufacture. That, together with the ideology of the reformation, made mercenary activities economically less pressing and morally suspect.

[4] The founding of the Swiss and later International Red Cross falls into this time and is connected not only to its founder's humanitarian ideology, but to the liberal interests.

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1899 and 1907, held in the aftermath of the grueling Franco-German war (1870-71). It appealed to the powers surrounding Switzerland for two reasons: leaving the Swiss Confederation disarmed would have made it an easy prey to any invader, converting the territory into an endless bone of contention over the control of several crucial North-South passages in the Alps. The obligation of political neutrality guaranteed that none of the more powerful neighbors could count on the (then) well armed Swiss - who were known for swift mobilization of a considerable "force de frappe" - as an ally. For the confederation, armed neutrality served as a military buffer against territorial expansions by any of the four powerful neighbors and as an internal security valve, since the cantons had often been split over rivaling alliances.

A crucial component of the neutrality concept is the notion that one does not meddle with the internal political affairs of another country. Therefore, Swiss foreign aid is by definition bound to work within the political order its agency encounters overseas, and not to undermine an "indigenous" economy. SDC policy is that of unquestionable neutrality when it comes to a country's internal differences.[5] Swiss development agency personnel make a conscious effort not be used as instruments of vested Swiss economic interests, nor as puppets of power players in a partner country. The concept of neutrality as part of "Swiss national thought" explains why an established status quo is most likely to be upheld through SDC's development effort. Unquestionably, however, development agency staff see themselves as promoters of - peaceful - social change. The question then is, what aspects of material and cultural life are regarded as changeable within this framework. It is here that the socio-historical portrait of the country, and of the agent population in particular becomes salient. This portrait is the object of the present chapter.

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[5] In cases where such neutrality cannot be maintained, SDC prefers to be absent - even if macro-economical conditions of poverty warrant its presence. A case in point is Guatemala's controversial and conflictive internal situation, where the U.N. Mission for the Verification of Human Rights is under constant attack from every corner of the political arena, "damned if they do, and damned if they don't."

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In sociological terms, the Swiss nation was forged from three main sectors: Free, arms-bearing peasants, independent urban craft guilds, and a minority of patrician families connected to European power houses through the extension of mercenary protection services and trade. The political clout wielded by peasant federations and craft guilds made for a proliferation of local customary law which persists into the present. The notion that particular natural and social conditions warrant a specific set of rules is part of the Swiss intellectual patrimony.[6] In the context of international development cooperation, "indigenous" gender systems, as well as other socio-political constraints, are hardly questioned, and much less tampered with. The fact that Swiss women acquired suffrage rights only in 1971, and that some rural cantons held out against such rights into the late 1980s may have furthered a notion of "natural association" between peasant society and women's discrimination; a problem difficult to overcome at home - therefore not an issue with which most Swiss development agents would feel any self attributed right to interfere.

SDC'S INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND OPERATIONAL BASES

SDC is internally divided according to geographic areas (Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe/GUS), issues - called services - (i.e., agriculture,

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[6] On an economic level, Swiss tax law distinguishes three different monetary values for a rural property: 1) "Use-value" which reflects the relative moderate returns per land unit in an agricultural context, if compared to capital gain obtained when land is built upon and the infrastructure used in manufacture, trade, service, or housing. 2) The "exchange-value" which reflects what rural property is worth on the "free" market; and 3) the "tax-value" which is usually a bit higher than the "use-value," but not as high as the "exchange-value." The reason for the "use-value" is that it allows the homestead inheritor to acquire the holding in conditions where agrarian rentability is compatible with debt servicing and a comfortable, middle class life-style.
Swiss inheritance law makes special allowances for rural homesteads: In Germanic cantons, the homestead is indivisible, overriding the general law on equitable treatment of heirs. Male ultimogeniture in the canton of Berne contrasts with male primogeniture in most of the country. These rural customary inheritance practices, are tolerated by the legal system. Local law overrides private property privileges in certain Alpine communities, where private pastures must be be opened for public grazing during the fall when cattle descends from high Alpine summer pastures. Appeals by lowland "outsider" residents are usually overthrown by the next higher order court.

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education, health, etc), and sectors deemed of transcendent importance (environment, gender-balance). The divisions, sections, and services are hierarchical levels with a director at the structure's apex.[7] He answers to the Foreign Minister and directs the division chiefs who in turn are answered to by heads of sections whose country or program officers oversee and plan activities in close cooperation with the coordinators (bureau chiefs) abroad. Money can be spent in a variety of ways: projects and programs planned and executed by SDC personnel in Berne and abroad; subcontracting, where partner-NGOs (Swiss or foreign) submit their projects or programs for financing; partnership efforts where SDC cooperates abroad with an NGO or with a governmental institution i.e. a developing country's[8] ministry of agriculture, finance, health, welfare or a subsidiary regional/local office right in the field. SDC's multilateral expenditure includes important amounts handed over to international agencies in support of specific programs, such as UNDP, FAO, UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO etc. (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1994:117; DEH 1987:26).

The bulk of Swiss development activities is contributed on a bilateral basis (Dannecker 1994:3). The agency prefers to sign explicit development agreements and specific "contracts" with the partner countries. Thus, the rural income-generating project in Southern Ecuador I studied is based on a general development agreement forged between the donor nation, Switzerland, and the partner country, Ecuador. Centro de Bordados Cuenca was developed as a joint venture between SDC and its Ecuadorian partner NGO, FEPP. Each phase of the embroidery project is cemented by a tripartite "contract" signed by the respective Ecuadorian Foreign Minister, the Swiss Ambassador, and the partner NGO (these days the fledgling Cooperativa Artesanal Centro de Bordados Cuenca).

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[7] See appendix 8: Table of organization at SDC

8 SDC calls it a "partner" country

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UNIVERSE AND METHODOLOGY

My sample of 19 development agent interviewees is anything but random. For Centro de Bordados Cuenca I interviewed the three development workers responsible for the project. There are other people employed by Centro de Bordados, and their salaries were in part still subsidized by COTESU, but they are contract managers, administrators and clerics; they are not "development agents." At COTESU headquarters in Quito I interviewed all permanently employed agents, European and Ecuadorian. I also interviewed two Swiss expatriate agents working for a Swiss Non Governmental Organization and one SDC official on an area trip to Ecuador. There are a total of about 75 expatriate SDC development agents assigned to 27 coordinating offices in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (DEHZO 1995).[9] My mixed SDC/NGO European expatriate agent sample of seven has a definite geographic bias, because it includes only personnel working in Ecuador. However, the Swiss Foreign Office in general does not produce area specialists, but geopolitical allrounders, and the same is true for the Swiss Development Cooperation. I have seen SDC agents moved from Latin America to Asia and Africa, from Asia to Latin America, etc.[10] I have, then, a "haphazard" 10 percent sample of this particular agent population. SDC headquarters in Bern has a staff of approximately 275. Around 100 staff members can be qualified as purely administrative.[11] Fifty-seven are members of the Catastrophe Relief Force and of the rather new Division of

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[9] In South America these coordinating offices were called COTESU: Cooperación Técnica del Gobierno Suizo until 1995. Since 1996 the new label is COSUDE : Agencia Suiza para el Desarrollo y la Cooperación. For reasons of historical context, I continue to use the label COTESU throughout this work.

[10] In part this may be due the prerequisite of knowing at least three languages for those working for the Swiss Foreign Office. The acquisition of any new tongue on the job is expected of the employee.

[11] Of these, 48 are are administrative assistants, popularly called secretaries: 44 women and four men (DEHZO 1995), an indication that the two decade long official effort by the government to recruit men and women equally for cadre and administrative jobs has not been too successful.

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Cooperation with Central and Eastern European countries.[12] This left me with a "target population" of 118 available development policy makers, planners, and agents in Berne, of whom I interviewed 12 or roughly 10 percent.[13]

Given that the universe is small, geographically distant from my regular research site in Ecuador, socially elusive and rather élite, any sort of probability sampling was out of the question (Bernard 1988:98). I chose to "snowball," starting with a SDC program officer who came to visit the development projects in Ecuador. The fact that this person is female, an ethnologist and part of SDC's gender orientation task force facilitated my entry. The Latin America section helped me to start the snowballing. This resulted in interviewing volunteers who were basically interested in and ready to talk to a social scientist evaluating gender in development. Since Switzerland is "quota country" par excellence when it comes to ethno-linguistic representation, I decided to reproduce the geo-cultural variable in my sample. When the interview sign-up-sheet returned prior to my departure for Switzerland, I saw that the volunteer population was stratified according to ethno-linguistic origin. As snow-balling contacts were added, the sample took on its present shape.

I arrived in Berne with the intention of not only finding agents who were interested in gender issues, but those who may not consider it a salient component of

[12] I had asked to interview members of the newly created central/eastern Europe division, but I had not been able to do so for two reasons: 1) My snowballing sampling technique out of the Latin America section had not yielded these contacts. 2) My approach was not aggressive enough to "force" interviews with people who were not forthcoming, who had not been suggested or whom I had not been able to "corner" or otherwise interest in my project. My schedule was already overcharged with volunteer interviewees who had been forthcoming through the techniques applied.

[13] Being on the job at a coordinating bureau abroad often rotates with duties at SDC headquarters in Berne, so the two geographically distinct populations of this "universe" are indeed interchangeable. For this reason I chose to represent them both in equal proportion, i.e. 10 percent, even though that meant going for additional Swiss expatriate agents working for an NGO, rather than the government development agency. Swiss NGOs cooperate closely with SDC, since they can apply for SDC funds for certain programs as well as submit bids for SDC contracts.

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development programming. During an office Christmas party, to which I was spontaneously invited, I was introduced to one particularly helpful individual who broke into roaring laughter when shown my interview schedule. I was apparently talking only to those with the "politically correct" gender vocabulary. According to him, the people who had signed up on the interview sheet, which had been circulated in all area and topical divisions at SDC, were all convinced that SDC indeed needs a gender strategy, an opinion that, he pointed out to me, was not universally held. He went on to indicate people who - like himself - might think differently on the role of gender in development, and on the future of development efforts. He, and some of the contacts he arranged for ,came from realms of economics as well as from finance and technical professions, rather than from the political, social and pedagogical sciences.[14] Once I concluded the interviews, formally arranged and fortuitously "seized" ones, this agent's assessment of my initial interview population emerged as rather realistic. One of the male volunteers indeed jokingly pointed out to me that his SDC nickname was "Mr. Gender."

My stratified sample from among SDC' headquarter staff yielded six men and six women interviewees reflecting proportions in national demographics. Ages vary between 23 and 57 years, encompassing almost the entire range of the active population.[15] In short, with regard to the Swiss population at large, the agents interviewed are a

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[14] My fieldwork shows quite clearly that sampling techniques are not only a question of population size and research funds. The issue of power is salient. When studying "down," so-called scientifically representative probability samples are more easily applied than when one studies peers or an élite segment of society. Is it that we consider poor Third World masses as research objects and only humanize our approach when dealing with elusive élites or "at least" with "our own kind?" I could quite easily have used a simple random sample of embroideresses, and my academic colleagues at Centro de Bordados Cuenca would have understood such an approach. However, I could not bring myself to it, because preliminary research had brought me into a close and prolonged contact with the roughly 200 artisans. That with a random sample everyone has the same fair chance at being selected would not have made much sense to any of them, nor to me. The artisans were willing to contribute time and knowledge, I was offering time and an interest in their organization. Randomness would have dehumanized our relationship.

[15] I did not select for age, the variation arose by chance, and as I saw it emerging, I decided it was not necessary to control for this variable.

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representative sample in terms of age, gender, and ethno-linguistic origin. It is my assumption that these cultural variables greatly impact a development agent's attitude toward her/his work and that they shape views on gender. Socio-economic origin is equally important, but to test it in depth would have been beyond the scope of my research. However, as an "insider," I venture the assessment that the agents grossly underrepresent people of working class origin; that agents with a farm and craftsmen family background are over represented, as are agents whose parents were professionals and entrepreneurs. Thus, with regard to the socio-economic makeup of Swiss society the "bourgeois block" supplies far more than its demographic share of development agents, while very few people with a working class or foreign immigrant background make their way into the Swiss Development Cooperation.[16]

Taken as a whole, my sample represents development agents of Swiss and two other western nationalities, working in countries of the South, as well as bureaucrats at the agency's headquarters. Following this I shall present data on agents' family and property situation, years spent as development workers, title and functions within SDC, impact on development policy, planning, and implementation, their private involvement in social organizations (clubs, associations), their religious background, their political orientation, and to some extent their tenure at the development agency. The seven expatriate agents in Ecuador were given a "test" on their knowledge of peasant-artisan women's lives to "measure" their "closeness" to the population which is supposed to benefit from their actions. The expatriates were also asked to describe the use of their income, and how such family budgeting was decided. Again, their answers are compared

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16 This assessment is backed up by questions on parents' jobs and professional qualifications. The findings are parallel to what has been said in more general terms about the élitist nature of Swiss public education, where academic gatekeepers in the form of entrance exams for twelve year olds and high grade point average requisites keep most graduating sixth graders out of university track gymnasium. If they make it past that barrier, most students do not reach graduation, unless household members can act as scholastic coaches, particularly for Latin and mathematics (see Cortesi 1996:2).

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to the general pattern emerging from the artisan survey I conducted. This comparison was sought to determine the difference in life-style between poor rural artisan women and their kin and expatriate development workers living on western salaries.

The SDC agents in Bern, most of whom I met only for interview purposes, were asked to provide detailed statements on the role of women in work and society and on the aim and scope of development policies. Their answers, as well as gender attitudes "gleaned" through participant observation among, and taped interview sessions with the seven expatriate agents in Ecuador will shed light on how European gender images impact on development work at the policy and implementation levels. Conclusions are valid internally, that is with regard to the Swiss Development Cooperation (Bernard 1988). To the reader doing ethnographic fieldwork inside another western development agency, my data are of comparative value.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROFILE OF AGENTS

The sample

Between June and December 1995 I extensively interviewed 22 development agents in Ecuador and Switzerland.[17] Ten of the 22 interviews were conducted in Ecuador, the rest were done at the Swiss Development Cooperation headquarters in Berne. Following is a breakdown of the agent population according to work site, gender and ethnicity:

A) 4 COTESU staff in Quito:1 female, 3 male /1 Swissgerman, 1 French, 2 Ecuadorian

B) 3 CBC staff in Cuenca: 1 female, 2 male / 1 Swissgerman, 1 Raetoromansh, 1 Ecuadorian

C) 1 SDC-Berne staff on an area trip to Ecuador: female / Swissgerman

D) 1 Swiss-NGO staff in Quito: male / Swissgerman

E) 1 Swiss-NGO staff from Zurich headquarters on an area trip to Ecuador: male / Swissgerman

F) 12 SDC staff at headquarters in Berne: 6 female, 6 male / 8 Swissgermans,

[17] See appendices 6 and 7 for interview questions.

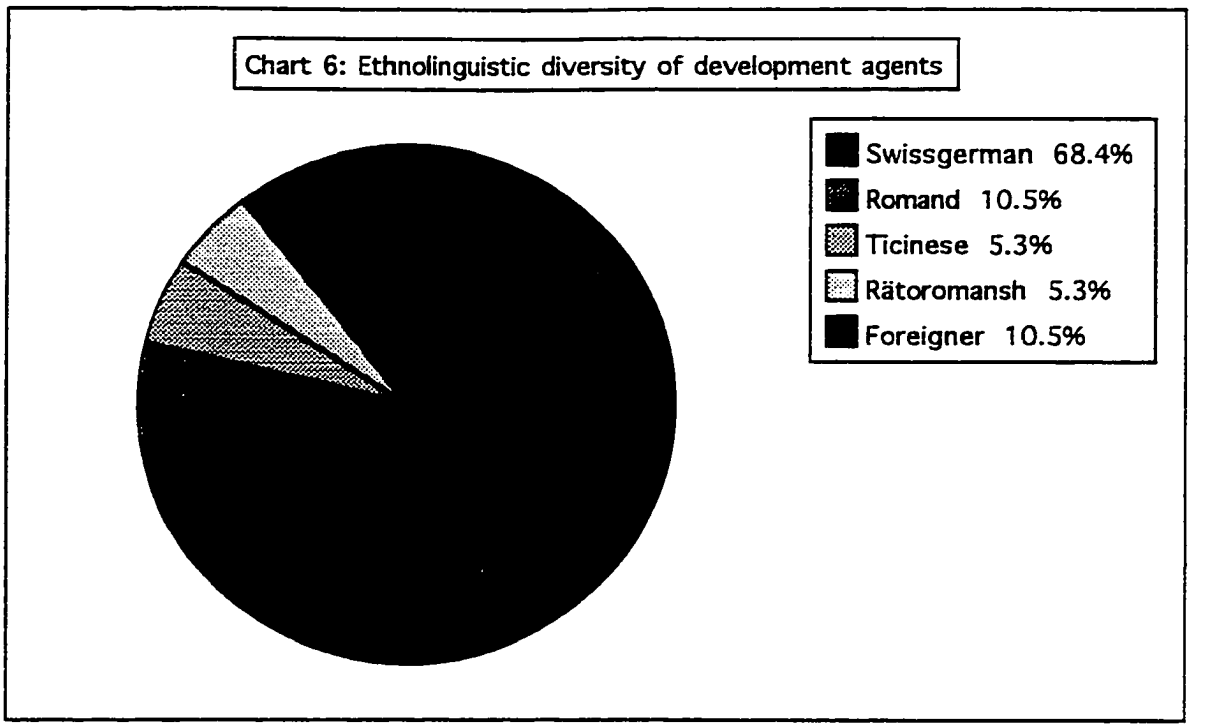
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2 Romands, 1 Ticinese, 1 foreign national (from a country in the western hemisphere).

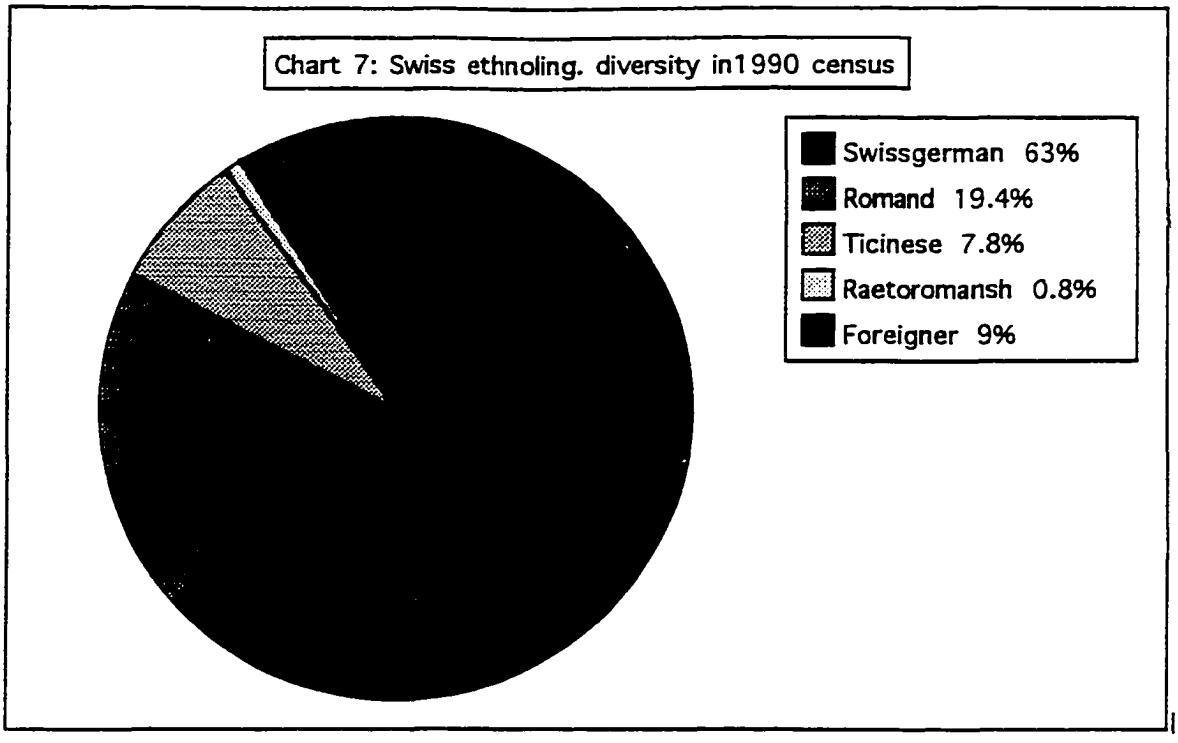
The three Ecuadorian development workers form a "control group" for a comparison of social thought and socio-economic background exhibited by the expatriate development population. In addition to members of the Swiss Development Cooperation, I also interviewed two employees of a Swiss NGO operating in Ecuador. One former SDC-COTESU agent had meanwhile gone to work for this NGO. The French national gives the sample a "European" dimension. The foreigner working at SDC headquarters has lived in Switzerland for over ten years. This extends the sample to take on some sort of "Western" character. In all, the 13 Swissgermans (68.4 percet), 2 Romands (10.5 percent), 1 Ticinese (5.3 percent), 1 Raetoromansh (5.3 percent), and 2 foreigners (10.5 percent) proportionally represent the ethno-linguistic make-up of modern day Switzerland with only slight variations. [18] The following charts illustrate the approximation of SDC agents' ethno-linguistic diversity (chart 6) to that of the Swiss population in general
(chart7).

[18] To Romands and Ticinesi the representational deficit of their groups in this sample is probably not "slight," but a small universe inevitably leads to a numerically small sample. Where the individual makes for a bit more than 5 % of the sample, a perfect match is hard to achieve.

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I shall refer to this sample as "the foreign agents," to contrast and compare their data with that of the "Ecuadorian agents" or "control group."

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Agents' gender and ethnic background with regard to field "rapport"

The "test"[19] given to field/visiting agents interviewed in Ecuador covered: rural living conditions; women's workload as artisans, agriculturalists, child rearers and housekeepers; inventory of crops, domestic animals, and household appliances; communal infrastructure and services; average landholding and property relations; emigration and magnitude/use of remittances. In order to "grade" the test I used my own observations and the overall result of my survey among the embroideresses. To guard against my own bias and that of the survey data givers, I discussed my survey results with an Ecuadorian agricultural engineer. The man, who has twenty years of fieldwork experience in the Ecuadorian Sierra, found my observations and data results to correspond to his own observation and assessment of rural conditions. Agents "scored" between 80 and 55 percent of correct assessments. The Ecuadorian agents showed an average of 77 percent correct answers, while the Swiss/European sample's average score is 66 percent. Among the three agents most directly involved with Centro de Bordados Cuenca, the Ecuadorian outscored the two Swiss agents: He assessed 80 percent of the questions correctly, his Swiss partners (a man and a woman) both scored 70 percent. Male expatriate agents scored an average of 65 percent and female expatriate agents averaged 67 percent of correct answers. Given that two of the four male Swiss agents know Bordados very well, while only one of the three female agents was very well acquainted with the project, it seems that gender is a variable in terms of intuitive access to localized needs. In other words, the two Western women who had only a superficial knowledge of rural artisan women's lives in Ecuador were able to "guess"

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[19] I do not use the word "test" in a strict and "examinatory" sense, but in terms of an experiment. The last page of appendix 6 (the interview questions for development agents in Ecuador) has a detailed statement of intent on part of the ethnographer, and under point 3 it is stated that one of the research goals with regard to the agent-profile is to examine "to what degree an expatriate agent's knowledge about and familiarity with rural life and artisan reality is influenced by geographic and professional distance to the particular project." These variables were probed in addition to gender, degree and content of agent education, etc.

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more accurately how long it takes to haul water, clean, house, prepare meals, tend to animals, etc., than the equally "removed" male agents. Of the four foreign agents not familiar with rural life in Ecuador, the women scored an average of 65 percent correct answers, while the men made it to 60 percent. As mentioned before, the foreign agents who had worked closely with Bordados scored 70 percent irrespective of gender. Given the same level of contact with the local aid receiving population, nationals of the host country are better acquainted with local realities than foreigners. The difference is not dramatic, but it relates to relevant details. Given close contact to the aid receiving population, gender did not show up as a variable among foreign agents, and their scores were the same. When assessment of aid needs has to be made from an armchair position, Western women seem to do slightly better than men in "guessing" rural women's conditions and contradiction fraught realities in Latin America.

Agents' marital status and family size

Armchair policy planners are expected to make gross assessments of aid receivers' most pressing needs. Field agents are required to understand the finer gradings of local social life. The more such a person's own experience is divorced from the realities of the partner population, the less accuracy we can expect at the policy and planning level. Of 19 foreign agents, 13 are married (10 with civil and religious ceremonies celebrated, three in civil marriage only); two live in common-law arrangements; one is divorced and three single agents live alone. The three (all male) Ecuadorian agents are married, two of them had gone through both, civil and religious ceremonies. The male foreign agents are all married. The common-law arrangements are by female agents, and the divorced and single agents are all female. The married and divorced foreign agents all have between one and four children, with the exception of one woman. The common law marriages are childless. There is one single parent among the foreign agents. In the Ecuadorian "control group" there are between one and four children per couple. For those interviewed in Ecuador, I have data on the agents' number

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of siblings and sibling position, because I wanted to see whether a pattern would emerge, but there is no clear tendency: Among the seven foreign agents, two are the oldest, one is an only child, one is the youngest, and three are "middle children." Two of the agents come from small families with one or two children. The other five are from rather large families (between four and seven children). The three Ecuadorian agents are either the youngest or second youngest child from families that had four to six children. Families in rural Ecuador tended to have between five and ten children, but younger couples have intentions to limit family size to two to three children. In the Ecuadorian Andes, initial common law unions tend to precede civil marriage formalities and, family revenue permitting, a more lavish religious celebration. Single mothers are a common occurrence, but it is not considered a cultural ideal.

The foreign agent population as a whole displays a "marriage" variety similar to what can be found among Ecuadorian peasant artisans. Some of these agents come from relatively large Swiss/Western families which goes to say that we can expect common ground to exist between foreign agents and the aid receiving population when it comes to strategies about marriage and family planning. The Ecuadorian agents are from average sized local families, and their marital arrangements closely approximate the cultural ideal of civil and religious ceremonies having been performed. The three agents in the Ecuadorian sample display less variety and can be perceived as more distant to the aid receiving population in this regard.

Socio-economic and cultural background

In terms of socio-cultural background, the foreign agents exhibit one trait which is very particular: with one exception, all agents have mothers with a formal training in a trade or profession. Given Switzerland's gendered discrimination against women being apprenticed into a formal a trade or profession in the generation of our interviewees' mothers, this is spectacular. With the exception of one (the mother of a 23 year old trainee at SDC headquarters in Berne), the mothers were born between 1918 and 1940.

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Given that they learned a trade, they must have ended their schooling and apprenticeship between 19 and 20 years of age. For the whole of Switzerland, the percentage of women with a successfully completed apprenticeship for the time spanning between 1937 and 1960 is on the average 30.5[20] (Bundesamt für Statistik 1995).[21] Among the Swiss based foreign agents, however, 95 percent have mothers with a formal trade apprenticeship. The one exception belongs to the highly underrepresented working class. Given the national statistics, it cannot be taken for granted that all middle class and élite families' daughters born between 1918 and 1940 would have learned a trade. Therefore, the Swiss based foreign aid agents bear a distinct socio-cultural variable in the presence of a somewhat gender-balanced educational background among their parents. This can lead to speculations about their "heightened social conscience;" their idea that "progress" is possible and desirable for disprivileged populations, since their mothers, who learned a trade in spite of gender-discrimination, are a living example of achievement by what was then a clearly underprivileged segment of Swiss society. One may speculate that this contributed to their wish to be active in realms of socio-economic development.[22] The Ecuadorian agents of the "control group", who belong to the same age-bracket as the foreign sample, don't have mothers with a trade/profession. It was not customary in Ecuador for women of all classes in that generation to be active outside the household, be it their own or that of a patron, where poor - mostly indigenous and mestizo - women were and continue to provide domestic services.

Spousal relations

At SDC, as with the Foreign Office in general, spouses are treated as a social

[20] The range is very small: between 28.3 % and 32 %

[21] There is a small number of women with academic rather than trade training which is not included in the apprenticeship statistics. Women academics of this generation make up only 1.9 % of the female population, while overall, academics of this generation represent 3.8 % of the Swiss population. (Bundesamt für Statistik 1993:4).

[22] When this pattern started to emerge, I consulted interviewees as to its significance. Some feel the impact of household gender-balance in education warrants a closer look by child psychologists.

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appendix of sorts. They are expected to follow the title-holding expatriate to the field. Up until the 1980s the trailing spouse was invariably a woman, and giving up one's career to follow the male bread winner abroad was taken for granted. So much so that in 1988 a SDC research on expatriate spouses was still entitled "The escort-wife and her [social] reality" (Eichenberger and Lausselet 1988). The late 1980s allowed escort-husbands to make their entry; however, that is not an ideal situation for SDC's personnel office which complains that the accompanying men are not easily content with a modestly paying local wage job which will not further their career. Of the 15 spouses (including common law arrangements) in the foreign agent sample, 10 are women. There were no same-sex couples reported. All 15 spouses have a profession or a trade of their own, but only nine out of 15 spouses work. All five male spouses work.

In the Ecuadorian "control group" the three female spouses are all gainfully employed, even though one of them does not have any formal training. In the group of expatriate agents who work in Ecuador those (all of them women) with a local wage, which is sensibly lower than salaries awarded in international contracts, have a working spouse, while the majority of those with an international salary (exclusively male) have spouses who are not gainfully employed. Since the escort spouse is expected to follow the bread winner, one would assume that the career in a development agency was a joint decision and that the accompanying spouse fully supports it. The case is less clear-cut: of 15 spouses, seven are fully supportive (four women and three men), seven are in accord with the spouses' work but see frequent moving, absence from family due to field/area trips, and long hours as an important negative factor (five women and two men). One female spouse does not like her husband's development oriented work.

Overall, a greater proportion of men than women are fully supportive as spouses. However, three male spouses are local residents/nationals with careers of their own, and their development-agent-wives earn a salary which is relatively high by local standards; their status with the agency is perceived as positive economic and social

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assets. None of the Swiss based male spouses had given up career opportunities to follow the wife around. The three female spouses in the Ecuadorian "control group" were fully supportive of their husbands. In two cases of middle class origin in the "control group", the development job brought higher pay than could have been expected on the local market. In the case of an upper class Ecuadorian, the European spouse has a positive attitude toward aid work. While the spouses' attitudes are merely elicited from the career agent, they seem quite realistic. Most agents made an honest and thoughtful effort to present the spouse's attitude realistically to me. Of course there was the odd "trickster" who said "she likes it, because I like it," a statement which I classified as "partially supportive." [23] The role of women in Swiss society is neither economically nor politically equitable. Where Swiss women do well for themselves in their work careers, they are often perceived as a threat by male competitors, and as unduly ambitious and neglecting their role as housekeepers and mothers by non-career fellow females. This fact reflects on SDC expatriate agents' public role as a couple abroad. The "escort wife" usually sacrifices her career goals and acts as the traditional expatriate "appendage" typical of other expatriate wives from the private and the foreign service sectors.

Housing and property situation

Real estate is owned by 11 of the 19 foreign agents (most of it located in the home country). All three Ecuadorian agents own the houses they live in and so do most rural Azuay artisans. Of course there is a very big difference in quality/comfort/ infrastructure between the houses owned and lived in by the aid receiving population and the middle and upper middle class dwellings owned by foreign and local development agents. However, the fact that one does or doesn't own a house and land is an important cultural qualifier. In this regard the foreign agent population as a whole is definitely

[23]The insider-interlude I had at SDC headquarters produces a methodological footnote: At the beginning of informant-researcher relationships, shared humor is a powerful social "binder." The outsider scientist is at a disadvantage, because "humor" is a social condition which - like the language - must first be learned by a cultural "alien."

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different from their rural Third World counterparts. Azuay artisans may wonder, why some of these "rich foreign expatriates" can't afford to own a home in their own country.[24] When it comes to cars there is a definite rift between the aid receiving population where very few own a vehicle (always second hand) and the development agents: 16 out of the 19 foreign agents own at least one car, including all staff working in Ecuador. Two of the three Ecuadorian agents also own a car. Expatriate agents and high level local staff invariably have access to agency vehicles with special licence plates. Driving a four wheel vehicle makes a powerful statement about socio-economic clout and puts agents and aid receiving populations at a great social distance.

Agents' participation in associations, clubs, social movements

An important feature of COTESU's involvement with Centro de Bordados Cuenca is to solidify a grass roots women's organization. The agency thus expects a great deal of personal sacrifice from the artisans in terms of time invested in participation in meetings, courses, not to forget the several hours of travel in every of these occasions. I tested the agent population with regard to their own attitudes toward social organization. Some were quite creative and named the corporate health insurance and pension plan as "clubs" they belong to. Others are members of choirs, professional associations, a private school, a parents' association, car-sharing team, real estate cooperative, sports club, etc. Except for the car-share and housing coop (named by the same agent) and a minority parents' association, there isn't any real grassroots character[25] to the associations and clubs the foreign and Ecuadorian agents participate in. This is quite salient, since the clubs and associations in which development agents participate are not

[24] I encourage foreign agents to discuss property relations, cost of living/real estate with their disprivileged partners in Third World societies. This can only serve to build better intercultural relationships and bring a more realistic picture of the North into marginal settlements of the South.

[25] Grassroots actions revolve around basic material and cultural needs, and they are carried out by the people directly concerned who resort to collective action in order to obtain tangible change.

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aimed at fulfilling basic and immediate survival needs, and therefore the time invested is minimal, and the outcome of collective acts are not primordial for household reproduction. In all, 15 of the 19 foreign agents and two of the three Ecuadorians participate in some form of extra-work social organization. Overall, the foreign agents show a participation rate equal to that of embroideresses from non-migratory communities (78 percent), which does not live up to what CBC expects from its members. Ecuadorian agents have an even lower participation rate.

Political participation

People who make culture change their life's work are surrounded by a politically charged environment both abroad and in their organization's headquarters. Given that Swiss development agency personnel work within the broader ideology of neutrality, I had anticipated meager responses to party affiliation. Therefore the questionnaire also covers political ideology in general. The agents' personal political participation is indeed scant. Five out of the 19 SDC/NGO agents are affiliated with a political party, which is invariably socialist . In the Ecuadorian "control group", one member used to belong to a left-of-center activist party in the past. Three foreign agents definitely rejected the idea of identifying with the ideological package ("Gedankengut") of any party: "I can't squeeze myself into a party straight jacket;" "[P]arty militants are all a bunch of liars;" and "[I] trust my own judgment;" were the reasons they gave for staying far away from any political party's ideology. Of the 16 foreign agents who do sympathize with the political ideology of a certain party I have already mentioned the five who are members of the Socialist Party. With one exception, an individual who favors the bourgeois-liberal camp, the remaining 10 rely on socialist and green ideals to orient their voting behavior. In general, the political ideology of our Swiss-based foreign agent sample - which is balanced in terms of gender, age-groups, and ethno-linguistic origin - is left-of-center and decidedly far more to the left than a middle-of-the road U.S.

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democrat.[26]

Religious orientation/affiliation

Religion is taken seriously in many developing nations, be it the country's traditional variety, or the palette of "imported" Eastern, Christian or Muslim conversion options, and understanding the social dynamics of religion is an important attribute for a development worker. I decided to probe this by discussing with the interviewees their personal religious background. My expectation was that this would provide me with a better way to "measure" socio-cultural distance to aid receivers than a theoretical discussion on the social functions of religion. "Are you religious," "do you belong to a church," "do you practice a confession," would have been questions which easily produce misleading results in a Swiss context. Once baptized, [27] quite an effort has to be made by the parishioner to be released from the Church (not separated from the state), be it the Catholic or the Zwingli Protestant variety. One agent told me you can't be released from the Protestant church in his native canton of Vaud - "period." The question about religious practice, on the other hand, would most often have yielded an indignant no. In order to assess an agent's general attitude toward religion as a cultural trait - and for the lack of opportunity to do in depth participant observation in agents' homes and communities, I checked up on the following issues: "Were you raised with a religious orientation (not necessarily in the form of strict devotion) as a child?" "Are you affiliated with a denomination?"[28] "Do you/would you bring up your children with a similar sort of religious orientation?"[29]

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[26] It should be borne in mind by anyone researching political ideology that"liberal" in the political vocabulary of Western Europe is the insult hurled from the left at a right-of-center liberal democrat (FDP) and does in no way denote the left-of-center socialist.

[27] Children are usually baptized as infants in both of the dominant denominations

[28] I explained that the answer is yes, "unless you willfully requested release/excommunication from the denomination you had been raised in."

[29] The question was put to childless agents in hypothetical form.

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Emerging from the survey is the following cultural profile of and attitude about religion: All 19 foreign agents were raised within a religious denomination; three of them say that their religious orientation was minimal. 10 of the 19 were raised as protestants, eight as Catholics, and one was socialized into both denominations, because his parents belong to two different confessions. Sixteen out of 19 foreign agents are still formally affiliated with the church they were raised in. The three who say they are not, are ex-Catholics. Three of the eight Catholics don't/wouldn't raise their children with a religious orientation, and six of the 10 protestants don't/wouldn't either. These agents consider general humanistic principles and professional/personal ethics to be more useful guidelines for children. Ten agents of both denominations continue to raise their children within a broad and liberal sense of religious identity. All three Ecuadorian agents were raised in Catholic families, and two of them continue raising their children within the Church. It emerges that the agents were raised within a given religious denomination, and that they can be expected to understand the workings and social functions of religion. Roughly half of the foreign agents continue with a broad and less doctrinaire variety of religious orientation for their children. Most say they feel children need to have an ideological "home base," and occidental Christianity provides a convenient source for humanistic ethics dear to them. Incidentally, agents who had worked in Asia, assimilated religious and ethical ideas from those cultures, while agents who had worked in Latin America showed less interest in and knowledge about syncretic aspects of Latin American Catholicism or precolumbian religious issues and features.

Gender and ethnicity within the agency's career hierarchy

Finally, I look at the gendered career hierarchy. I approached snowball contacts selectively in order to include interviews from six major hierarchical tiers. I was unable to interview people from the top-gun floor. SDC's director was willing to grant a formal interview with pre-viewed questions a few months down the line. Illness on my part prevented me from following up on that offer during a later visit to Switzerland. I

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interviewed the visiting division chief from a Swiss NGO and a deputy division chief at SDC. Both are Swissgerman males. The sample includes four heads of sections and/or deputies: three men, one woman; two Swissgermans, one Romand, one foreigner. Among the seven program officers (SDC Berne)/coordinators (abroad) there are four men and three women; six Swissgermans and one Romand. There are two female Swissgerman diplomatic/scientific consultants. There is one Swissgerman male project manager/field consultant. The three male Ecuadorians from the control groups are also in this category. Lowest ranking in this hierarchy in terms of pay and prestige are the three administrative assistants/social workers. All three are women: a Ticinese, a Raetoromansh, and a foreigner. Of nine women, three (1/3) are employed in the lowest ranking functions where no men are found. Evidently, female gender and ethnic minority status are the combined characteristics of SDC's lowest ranking employees.

Among the 118 SDC staff members of my target population the gendered hierarchy situation is as follows: No woman is found among the nine member apex of SDC, according to the employee register (DEHZO 1995). There are no female division chiefs either. There are 50 positions qualified as "chef," meaning the director's floor, heads of divisions, sections, and services. Five are held by women. Three of these top managing positions held by women are of no transcendental or top level policy shaping importance: library, statistics, electronic data processing. Only two positions are powerfully imbued with "meaning:" The section for economic affairs and the service for social development policy (ibid). In brief, SDC is trying to promote "women's issues" and "gendered development" throughout the Third World. However, it sets absolutely no example to follow at home, even though an equal gender opportunity office has existed

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within the Swiss Federal government for almost two decades.[30]

AGENT PROFILES AND DEVELOPMENT IMPACT

SDC's development approach is changing from the support of specific projects directed by the resident "master expert" to more general programs where expatriate coordinators and consultants cooperate with local implementing agencies. As might be expected, national development agents are better acquainted with local realities and needs than expatriates; however, the differences decrease considerably when expatriates take up permanent residence among the aid receiving population. Itinerant consultants and expatriate coordinating staff residing in a developing country's capital are shown to have more difficulties in accurately assessing marginal socio-economic conditions. Women, however do better than men in assessing conditions and needs from an armchair position.

Marital status is an important social attribute both in Ecuador and Switzerland. Surprisingly, the Swiss expatriate agent population displays the same wide variety of conjugal and parental alliances as their rural Azuayo partners in cooperation, while the Ecuadorian "control group" is socially more distant. When it comes to property relations, the situation is ambiguous for the expatriates who are entitled to western standards of comfort when it comes to housing, and whose children need to attend private schools for reasons of language and future reintegration into a European system. This opens a wide gap between agents and the aid receiving population, even if the housing is rented and the children's enrollment in élite private schools temporary. This gap is equally wide for most Ecuadorian agents, since the salaries paid by international aid agencies are supposed to allow the worker a standard of living similar to that prevailing in the donor country. If representatives of aid receiving populations were able to visit

[30] After years of lobbying for gendered career equity by a few women agents at SDC, the agency introduced an "'affirmative action' policy for women" in March of 1997. In a recently published article of the person in charge of elaborating the pertinent guidelines (Zumr 1997) the data I extrapolated from the employee register was presented graphically. It appears that an additional woman "chef de section" was added in 1996, but the statistics do not speak on the character of women's top level positions (ibid:31), which, as I show above, can greatly vary.

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the donor country as part of management training, they would come to realize that at home the development agents use public transportation to go to work - just as poor Azuayos do; that living space is rather cramped in western cities and recreational opportunities are costly; that children attend a well established public education system. This last fact could give Southern grassroots leaders stamina and arguments for their ongoing fight for better quality public schools.

The expatriate agents in my sample are not very good role models when it comes to grass roots activism in their own social context. Only two of the nineteen interviewees are involved in grass roots organizing in their "world." Their political outlook on the other hand is quite similar to that of the embroideresses. A majority favors left of center ideologies of promoting social justice, but they think party politics often corrupt these goals and they prefer not to carry a specific membership card.

The question about the agent populations' religious identity and upbringing is also of more general importance in the context of global links in techno-social cooperation. The missionary zeal of European denominations has given way to efforts concerned with socio-economic development in former colonies. The fact that all foreign agents interviewed were brought up within mainstream Christian denominations, yet few are devoutly practicing reveals that the ideological "force" of secular Swiss development agents is geared toward a generalized "humanistic utopia," where the human condition entitles every one to a fair share of the world's natural riches, socio-cultural achievements, and economic benefits. A religious conviction akin to this secular agent ideology drove a considerable number of Swiss Anabaptists to abandon the increasingly rotten status quo of the archaic Swiss Confederation in the sixteenth century. As the section on political orientation shows, SDC, in a peculiar way, channels the energy of potential political dissidents into the exercise of promoting increased social justice

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abroad. [31] However, their potential to promote more radical social change in the aid receiving countries is bridled - for better or worse - by Swiss notions of neutrality and of upholding the status quo through a social contract.

With regard to family socialization, the Swiss expatriates I interviewed do seem to be well prepared for gender sensitive training and its application in the field, given that they grew up in households where both parents were endowed with sound post-secondary school training, but female expatriate spouses are still forced by SDC's employment structure to play the role of a wife subordinate to the career moves and choices of her husband. The Ecuadorian "control group" provides the aid receiving population with role models for parallel spousal careers. The gendered career hierarchy within SDC, where men dramatically outnumber women in high level decision making positions, makes the implementation of "gender balanced" programs very ambiguous for development agents conscious of this internal contradiction. My follow up visit to SDC headquarters in January of 1998 revealed that the agency still insists on a separation between the "export product" of gender balance in their development programs and the house intern attempts at gender equity in development careers. In addition, as one internal critic pointed out, what little gender equity is implemented within SDC is directed exclusively at single women or childless married women, "a profile not exactly representative of the average Swiss female," as she aptly remarked. Evidently, SDC sees childrearing as a private problem, not an issue of general social reproduction, hence its effort to tie women to home and hearth through low wage cottage industry. As one

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[31] The historical roots of modern development cooperation lie with the colonial expansion of European states (Asad 1973, Escobar 1995, Frank 1968), but the socio-ideological reasons for the action of many development workers are quite different. The focus of the European search for a humanistic utopia shifted overseas when exploratory voyages revealed that vast New World extensions could compensate for the unequal distribution of subsistence lands at home (see paragraph on Anabaptist exodus in chapter 8). When the rebellious youth movement of the 1960s could not change the modern status quo in Western Europe and North America, some of its exponents gave rise to a generation of development "pioneers." The U.S. Peace Corps and the first generation of SDC agents are cases in point.

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participant in the follow up discussion group pointed out, "the 'best' program in gender and education which SDC sponsors in Latin America is a vocational training school in Bolivia where four percent of the students are women...!"

NATURE, NURTURE AND PROGRESS: FOREIGN AID AGENTS' VIEWS ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Critics of development grounded in gender theory signal theoretical flaws in the following premises which underlie progress oriented national and private impulses of social and economic change:

1 *Women are portrayed as inherently different from men with the underlying notion of bipolarity, of a psychic unity of womankind mandating bio-generically specific technology.*
According to Warren and Bourque (1989) this leads to a further setting apart of women's sphere of social, political and economic action, since women's sublime physical differences can be called upon to explain deficiencies in professional and public office careers (Martin 1987, Mathieu N.-C. 1978).

2 *That the universal existence of patriarchy prevents women from equal access to economic resources, cultural expression, and political action* (Wallerstein 1984).
Projects ideologically rooted in a battle against world patriarchy tend to present Third World women as an undifferentiated lot. "Patriarchy" as a scapegoat for a supposed universal subjugation of women obscures that fact that the term is better applied where we find "intergenerational power relations monopolized by men" (Nash 1988c:16). Nash identifies as "male hegemony" the process where a patriarchal gender hierarchy has been imposed on non gendered social hierarchies or on non hierarchical gendered forms of social organization, linking this sort of hegemony to a "distinct process of transculturation" (ibid). To make these distinctions would allow development agents to transcend the uncritical application of "cultural relativism."

3 *Western images of "ideal womanhood,"*
advanced by women's programs and the mass media put added stress on women in development, because they burden them with western middle class requisites, such as overseeing children's schoolwork and permanent bodily neatness, as well as becoming themselves embodiments of western "beauty," "elegance," and "efficiency" (see also Mullings 1992).

4 *Macro-economic measures of developmental progress are content to see an overall increase in women's participation in parliament, academe, and managerial floors.*
This sort of "gender" approach diverts attention from a class approach to poverty and underprivileged population segments, turning development into a war between "sexes" (Baca Zinn 1987, Leacock 1986).

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I wanted to assess whether SDC personnel views inherent sexual differences and patriarchal universals as the root of gender imbalances in aid receiving populations. I was also interested in how they would measure rather elusive elements of social change. In order to do so, I administered the following questions:[32]

1) Are differences in social behavior between men and women to be attributed to the inherent biological differences between the sexes?

2) If yes/no, how does your view influence techno-social cooperation?

3) How would you characterize "adequate technology?"

4) Do we need a "feminization" of technology?

5) Is there a fundamental/inherent difference between female and male headed households?

6) Do women need "liberation" from certain tasks?

7) What tasks are naturally "female?"

8) How do you picture an "ideal" woman?

9) How do you measure "progress?"

10) How do you measure "improvement of women's condition?"

I started my gender role section of the interviews at SDC headquarters by asking each agent, whether there is a "natural," i.e. biologically conditioned difference between men's and women's social roles. I pointed out that they were not asked to address the obvious bio-reproductive differences between the sexes, but questions of gendered human behavior. Seven out of 12 came up with a quite spontaneous and firm rejection of any idea linking gendered social differences to biological roots. Five agents instinctively and impulsively started by affirming that the natural/biological differences between men and women are at least in part responsible for their differential roles in society. By the time the next few question rolled in, four started to rethink their initial "compulsive" affirmation that there is a natural and thus irrevocable difference between

[32] Questions one to seven build on Warren and Bourque's (1989) identification of four different gender approaches to development: "Integration of Women; Appropriate Technology; Feminization of Technology; and Global Economy"

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what man and women do. Their feeling is that both nature and culture shape gendered differences. One agent feels that the difference in male and female gene pools has a definite and important impact on human behavior.

When called upon to reflect on how agents' gender views influence development policy, three of the six female agents explicitly criticized the institution they work for. Their reflections are noteworthy:

> "In SDC field stations the coordinator and project managers are almost invariably male. Women play a secondary role. At headquarters [women] program officers have a position of power as "donor representatives" vis-à-vis the aid receiving population. In [names a country in Southeast Asia] women agricultural engineers are not a rarity [in contrast to Switzerland]. The Asian extended family gives women the opportunity to pursue a career [because the extended family guarantees child-care]. Social class is of course a variable."[33]

This informant chose to answer the question "internally," reflecting on how SDC's gender-hierarchy influences development work. Her point is: "Who are we to promote socio-cultural equality between women and men abroad, if as an institution we provide an example far from the gender balance we are supposed to promote?" Another woman contextualizes the SDC internal gender-battle with the culturalistic attitude of many western agents who tend to accept local gender imbalances as time-honored traditions which shouldn't be tampered with by foreigners:

> "Change [toward gender equity] is possible. However, SDC is much more interested in the pursuit of happiness and social welfare than in change. [Gendered] differences are not "god's will," but SDC male agents tend to view feminism as a western cultural imposition [on a "primitive pristine], because they do not acknowledge the colonial impact."

Then there is a voice which challenges culturalistic "fatalism" toward gendered socio-political inequalities encountered in the field:

> "The socially conditioned gendered division of labor [in a development context] is

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[33] These agents know that if quoted, they remain anonymous, but they also know that such anonymity is relative within the pool of just over one hundred possible interviewees. That they still openly come forward with constructive criticism speaks for agency openness with regard to diverging ideas. It also goes counter to Escobar's (1991, 1995) hypothesis that development agents are mere puppets who uncritically dance to the ideological tunes played by high level policy makers.

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> accepted as "culturally correct" by the agent population, and that can have negative repercussions on development cooperation."

The three female agents quoted have made development work their life's career, and their radicalism contrasts with the more positivist and culturologist views expressed by the two women in their twenties and mid-thirties who either think that culture is a component in gender relations which cannot/should not be controlled by a foreign development agency, or who see SDC's "gender-balance" approach as a potentially positive force. Interestingly, the younger, less critical voices also think that human biology has a rather important impact on gender roles. The "radical" women are split on the nature-nurture issue: two reject any biological determinant for social behavior, while one gives it limited credit.

When we turn to male agents' stand on social and biological impacts on gender differences, five out of six clearly deny that biology determines anything except physical reproduction and difference in muscle morphology, while four out of six women tended to see the female bio-reproductive complex as somehow co-determining what women can and can't do on the socio-economic plane. However, no male agent is radical or has a historically oriented view of current gender imbalances. The male agents call for "gender sensitivity," or propose that no difference at all be made when administrating development aid to male or female partner populations. The latter male voices confirm that they are not preoccupied with regard to gender role distortion and manipulation at the hands of male-centered colonial administrators and Green Revolution development agents.

Among both male and female agents interviewed, there is one non-archetypal individual: one woman is convinced of the gene-pool's importance in shaping gender-relations; she argues that the macro-social context has to accommodate women's need based in their biological condition. One man calls himself "Mr. Gender." He, quite uniquely, believes in a basic male-female balance existing within the individual (an idea influenced by his knowledge of and respect for Asian and Andean philosophies). He holds

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that when this individual balance is allowed to spill over into society, a generalized economic and political balance can be arrived at. Despite (or because of ?) the fact that this agent and a female SDC social scientist are very well versed in current gender theory and ongoing debates, neither was called to work on the gender "task force."

On the question of what constitutes "appropriate technology" there is a general consensus that acceptance by recipients is a primary and paramount condition. Local natural and educational resources should be able to sustain a project, meaning that there is little room for transcendental change, particularly with regard to deficient Third World public education. Sensitivity toward local "taboos" are an issue. In general the attitude here is culturologist and particularist. However, nobody asks the question of how such a culturally acceptable and economically viable aid project can be conceived within the framework of a global economy over which neither recipients nor aid agencies have much influence. One noteworthy reflection is that "[S]elf sustaining and self administered development ventures need careful introduction and a precise methodology, but all this is still very much male-biased." This agent touches on the fact that cultural considerations, while necessary to introduce a project which should not be a guaranteed outright failure, are far from sufficient to promote a target populations socio-economic welfare. She gets at the point of "power;" who has it, who doesn't, and at what level. In world politics and on the global marketplace, political economy is subject to manipulations by transnational corporations where men occupy most dominant positions. On a global scale, poor peripheral regions and widespread urban poverty reflect unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities in developing, newly industrializing and post-industrialized countries.

Whether technology needs to be "feminized" was a "control" question on my part. Those who had flatly rejected a biological co-determinant for socio-generic differences should, if consistent, reject such a term, and some indeed did, saying: "What do you mean, that's totally contradictory [with her/his answer to question number one];" or

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"To take women seriously is all we need for the next step in development. How do you conceptualize 'feminine technology' anyway?" Others pointed out that

> "[G]ender balance should not single out women, but constitute an evolution toward equity. Most SDC partners (institutions, aid receiving populations) are not gender-balanced. The danger with 'adequate' methods is an exacerbation of differences between men and women."

Underlying some responses is a notion here that SDC's own internal structure and outward practice is gender-balanced, which is not the case at all. Only one agent grounds her rejection of a feminized technology in methodology: "We need to counter-balance the male bias in technology, for example in irrigation. SDC has a male bias which is handed on from male [agent] to male [partner] and discrimination reproduces itself." She points out that this reproduction of male-to-male transmission has two agency-endogenous reasons which are quite independent of the gendered division of labor and access to power one might encounter in the field: For one, the SDC coordinator (highest ranking SDC field position) is almost invariably male. When it comes to agricultural, high-management, or high-tech innovation, Swiss women are not particularly numerous either at home or among the SDC specialists. The question of "how are we thus able to practice what we preach in terms of gender balance and equity ?" is a contradiction this agent and other critical voices at SDC would like to see addressed within their institution, so that it could also effect gender equity benefits "at home."

One agent with experience in rural development supports the income-generating hypothesis (Hartmann 1987):

> "We need a feminization of technology, otherwise men are the major beneficiaries. Gender balance aspires for women to support an entire family. However, projects in subsistence agriculture only place a greater burden on a woman's workload. Women need the possibility to earn a real income, rather than [wasting time on] kitchen gardens."

In her proposition that increased income will give women more political power Heidi Hartmann - speaking on women's conditions in developed/industrial countries - assumes that chances of earning money are equal for all women, and so is their shot at

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quality education. However, most income-generating development projects do not include long-term collateral efforts to advance educational opportunities for underprivileged populations. And, as one informant has shown me, out of six SDC programs targeting education, only one is in a technical profession open to women. Most male agents who categorically advise making no difference between men and women, put forward a facile and ahistorical argument: Create "equal" technological and educational opportunities; indeed "include" women into development programs, and much else just falls into place. According to this view it is for women in developing countries to grasp the opportunities. To change the cultural obstacles preventing women from doing so is seen as improper intervention by "neutral" foreign agents. Concomitant with this neutrality is the absence of any reflection about how female discrimination came about, let us say in South East Asia, Melanesia, or the Andes.

I also asked the agents whether they see a fundamental difference between male and female headed households. Five agents agree that there is a marked economic difference as a result of negative adult demographics, because female headed households have only one provider. Female poverty is seen as a product of culturally shaped gender differences. Others take a functionalist approach: "It is important to know that households are not uniform, that their composition is variable." Another sees female headed households as part of "the social context, where status and work load are important variables." Four agents think the difference is substantial, probably inherent, because: "Women are more stable and migrate less;" or that "such households have a different quality, their 'way of life' is different." One agent has a methodological concern: "When dealing with female heads of households, women need to be the technocratic mediators;" another thinks that "for children, the ideal is having an equilibrated image of women and men. This is necessary for a child's psychological development toward facing reality."

On the question of whether certain tasks are naturally feminine, there is a

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general consensus, even among those who allow for biology to act as a co-determinant of gendered social actions: "That there is nothing inherently sexed in any task or profession with the exception of providing milk for a newborn." Agents reject the notion that "women have to chose between family/children and a career." "A balanced society does not know such differences," is one statement which sums up the views expressed on this subject. One informant reflects on the fact that women in Asia have been allowed to keep and practice their medicinal/health knowledge which contrasts with the male dominance of Western science and medicine. This uniform rejection of a natural order behind a gendered division of labor contrasts with the earlier allowance made by five agents for nature to somehow co-regulate gendered social behavior. It seems to me that higher education imparted in the West - especially with regard to Aristotelian duality, bipolar opposites, and psychologically informed "psychic" unity of human - and womankind - propose a "natural" view of gender, albeit mitigated by socio-cultural effects. When occidental development agents are confronted with gendered, social, and economic differences in the realm of work in the South and East, their views are altered, because they have been taught to respect culturally specific behavior. However, an almost total absence of gender theory even in the "gender-balance" transsectorial program at SDC is responsible for the confusion with regard to the gendered division of labor both in the field and within the agency.

As a sequel, the next question asked whether women need "liberation" from certain tasks. While two men promptly proposed that men need liberation from the military service and from a complex of superiority, there is a consensus that, universally, women's work days tend to be overloaded and that an "Ausgleich," an equity in time and effort invested and remuneration awarded, needs to permeate western as well as developing societies. One critical remark is that "women need to be able to take better care of their health, education, and the health of their children." Here we encounter a critique of development regarding the - albeit involuntary - burdening of women with

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responsibilities of welfare which would be part of a society's political "package."

By "subverting" women's programs into lectures on modern hygiene, western fast food cooking practices, child nutrition and health, as well as family planning, women's time to acquire new technical and especially managerial skills is compromised. Also, given failures, women tend to be blamed for lack of interest in or understanding of these issues. These themes of general social welfare rarely make an entry into irrigation, agro-technical, mechanic workshops and financio-managerial seminars delivered to male aid recipients. By imparting knowledge on western home economics, mandatory in Swiss girls' middle school education up until the 1980s, to women only, the notion that women, and women alone, are responsible for the non-economic welfare and reproduction of a "family," western notions of womanhood and male socio-economic dominance are reproduced through the development effort. While knowledge on home economics has become mandatory for both adolescent girls and boys in Switzerland, that sort of knowledge still has a class bias. In the prestigious gymnasia, the jumping board to Swiss universities, teenagers are hardly bothered with cooking, cleaning, hygiene, and child rearing material. It is assumed that they will probably count on hired help for the former two categories of domestic work and that their highly theoretical education will sufficiently cover aspects of human health and development. If working people and lowly clerks need being taught home economics, then dysfunctional families and illness infested urban barrios or rural villages can also be put to their blame. It is again at this crossroad of theorizing gender, ethnicity, and class, where development agencies fail to connect their agents' potential skills with those of aid receiving populations, and with a population's most pressing social and economic needs. Socio-economic differences in the First World are clouded in an idiom of contractual social relations and development agencies - at times unwittingly - help reproduce large scale socio-economic differences in the host country.

The last two questions on how to measure "progress" and "improvement in

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women's status" often provoked reactions of self-irony and laughter, as well as exclamations such as: "You are a sneaky one!" "Gosh, you do want me to have a headache...!" "Oh come on now, you know not even the World Bank has figured that one out." "Yeah, right, there we spend a lifetime working on something, and we don't even know how to scientifically measure it." Coming from a social scientist, these questions, rather than antagonizing the informants, joined interviewer and interviewee in the common contemplation of how to "measure" social change. Some agents stick to the orthodox method of assessing macro-social and economic factors, such as education - measured by drop-out/graduation rates - coverage of basic needs, exercise of civic rights ["empowerment"], and income. Others name cultural and intellectual freedom of expressions as parameters to measure how just and equal a society is. These attitudes reveal a belief that social action needs to address the equilibrium of a system and not necessarily intervene in a process of change.

One agent, trained in the social sciences, poignantly puts a cost-benefit calculation to this problem of measuring progress:

> "If a systematic procedure is applied, it means to measure [progress] in quantitative terms. Questionnaires and self-evaluations are expensive and time consuming methods. Intuition [on part of the evaluator and the informants] yields rapid results cheaply."

The concise assessment Rolando, the Ecuadorian coordinator of FEPP has made of Centro de Bordados' main achievement best articulates how to "measure" culture change that should lead to improve the quality of human living:

> "The most concrete direct advantage is the organization; that there is now a grassroots organization which can envision new alternatives for the future. That fear and reluctance have been overcome. With regard to indirect achievements, I think most important is the example delivered by the embroidery groups with regard to organizational skills, work, participation, behavior. Not in one community have I come across rejection of the embroidery group. To the contrary, the embroidery groups have become a fundamental motivator providing new dynamics to community life through their participation. In Mayuntur, Zhiquil, La Dolorosa, and Azhapud the embroideresses are the ones who propel claims for[improvements/maintenance] of electricity, water, the basket-ball court. They are the ones who bring about change and who are at the helm of

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communal organization."

Rolando is convinced that such achievements do not come about in vacuum, but are intimately tied to improved economic opportunities; he adds:

> "In the realm of production, CBC's most important achievement has been the promotion of a business culture; we have created our own culture: to understand completely what it means to efficiently produce high quality, to be competitive and to maintain our hold onto a share in the market."

Rolando, whose entire professional life has centered around the development effort in his own cultural and social environment is able to discern socially and culturally important achievements in spite of pressing needs for improved management and marketing strategies. As a member of the society at which the development effort is directed, he has the necessary long term comparative perspective to see processes of change which are intangible to the short-term outside observers, development specialists and analysts alike.

GENDER THEORY AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

The Occident continues to ascribe a subordinate, supplementary, and decorative role to its women, and the colonial imposition of such an order, parallel with increasingly class based economic differences and racial discrimination soon led to a triple oppression of a great number of women - impacting on the quality and length of their lives and that of their consorts and offspring - in today's developing world as well as in western metropoli. Ethnicity is a label used by colonial powers to identify populations needed as a work force for capital accumulation (Vincent 1974, Whitten 1981, Wolf 1982). If western development agents fix their attention solely on labels of ethnicity and gender, without attention to historical changes, if within agencies such changes aren't analyzed and thematically explored, then development can't help but bei a handmaiden to further impoverishment of resource poor masses through the machination of a global economy.

The sexual (rather than gendered) division of labor in governments of the North

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and South does not help either. As Chaney and Schmink (1980:173) point out: "In Latin America, women in politics are viewed as having a particular responsibility toward primary institutions concerning themselves with the 'domestic affairs' of the society and the nation: with the lot of the woman, the child, the old, the sick, the juvenile delinquent." Women ministers/secretaries of state often carry portfolios such as public health and social welfare - at best they are given the Foreign Office, because they can make "bella figura."[34] The "President's Wife" is often in charge of special social programs dedicated to "youth and family."[35]

Feminist scholarship has made crucial theoretical and methodological contributions to development, but these have not been optimally assimilated, because development agencies tend not to have a "general staff" researching and collecting breaking social science theory and test it through controlled application. Marx and Engels, for example, had proposed that the "status of women is the measure of progress" (Nash 1980:2). Nash - building on Rosa Luxemburg's long ignored work on the social dynamics of marginal social groups ignored by Marx and Engels - points out that women were "uncaptured" in terms of protest movement. Where women's protest was obvious, it was often marked as devious. Nash also points out that women's subordination within the family and society is not looked at by dependency theorists (ibid). As we have seen, some agents within SDC have come to similar conclusions, and they try - on their own - to apply these parameters when measuring social change. However, macro-economic

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[34] An Italian expression alluding to an individual's capacity to present a positive public image based on physical attributes and [vain] oratory skills, rather than brilliance of mind. Current U.S. Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, is an exception to this gendered stereotype.

[35] In Ecuador INNFA (Instituto Nacional de la Niñez y de la Familia/the National Institute for Children and the Family); in Guatemala "Las Obras Sociales de la Esposa del Presidente de la República" (The President's Wife's Social Programs which also deal with these "domestic" issues). When Hillary Rodham Clinton tried to promote a transcendental health care reform in the United States, she clearly overstepped the implicit boundaries of "bella figura" and female decorum expected of a "President's Wife."

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formulae try to restrict social science analysis to what economists cannot do (Nash 1994:9 emphasis mine). Therefore it is often up to policy planners and field agents to reconcile development theory and practice in makeshift manner. Their overloaded work schedules rarely permit keeping up with theoretical matters, since they already spend many hours of "free time" at home reading up on field and policy publications. It follows that social science deficits are reproduced over two decades before new paradigms - feminist theory in the case at hand - make it into the development agency tool kit.

Caroline Moser's (1989) differentiation of women's needs into practical and strategic ones is based on Malinowski's broader concept of basic (practical) and derived (strategic) human needs, known to the social science community since the 1920s. Maxine Molyneux (1985) had already presented this sort of division of women's needs into immediate or practical and strategic ones in a study of women's grassroots mobilization in Nicaragua. Moser's well explained framework was rather rapidly accepted as a guideline for gender awareness seminars at the Swiss Development Cooperation headquarters in the early 1990s (SDC 1991b: Chapter 4, SDC 1995), but the time lag between Malinowski's seminal work and its application for gender and development theories forces culture change into slow motion. If a sound grounding in social science theory were mandatory for development agents, people embedded in international cooperation since the 1960s would have been able to help reshape development and gender theories from their practical experiences. In the case at hand, an ongoing interaction between development practitioners and critics/theoreticians could have alerted to the fact that polar opposites such as practical versus strategic needs, public versus private domains, formal versus informal activities, create false dichotomies. These dichotomies are often transcended by women's grassroots movements and addressed simultaneously by individual behavior and collective action (Stephen 1997).

In the Swiss case this time-lag between breaking social science theory and its

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assimilation by promoters of social change is wedded to the concept of neutrality. Over the past century, this concept has become an inherent part of the Swiss Confederation's foreign policy and of "national philosophy." SDC, in its attempt to uphold and fortify, rather than upset the equilibrium of a political system, does not see fit to upset an existing class and or gender hierarchy.[36] It follows, then, that the interaction between the social sciences and development policy makers is far from dynamic. When theories make their entry into policy makers' floors, their selection seems haphazard, and without attention to ongoing debates in the academe. In the Swiss case, Boserup's (1970) premise that agricultural systems can be divided according to a universally gendered set of criteria was never confronted with emerging revisions revealing class rather than universal gender distinctions (Deere and Leon de Leal 1982, 1987, Guyer 1984, Mackintosh 1989). Heidi Hartmann's (1987) view of female wage labor opportunities as a panacea for women's economic and political emancipation - limited as it is in the industrialized North - is thought to have universal value as well, yet it is precisely in the examination of women in development programs where this paradigm crumbles to reveal persisting poverty and increased female drudgery (Nash 1990, Sen and Grown 1987). Caroline Moser's (1989) useful distinction between the immediate, individually pressing practical needs revolving around livelihood and women's [usually unfavorable] access to strategically important services and infrastructure can easily be read as a conflation of "gender" with "women," ergo a socio-physical "condition" rather than a socio-economic and historically conditioned "process."

The rather entrenched division between theoreticians who retreat into ivory

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[36] It is far from me to suggest the Swiss as a nation start meddling with such "systems." There is more than enough proof of inhuman results from such foreign interference from the Latin American arena. What I refer to is that development policy shapers, planners, and practitioners should consider their work as part of a peaceful culture change leading to greater gender and class equity, and to the abolishment of ethnic and racial discrimination. It implies that one see culture as adaptive process, not only as a functionally integrated and static structure.

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tower armchairs after "ritual" fieldwork, and sworn anti theoreticians in the field, has not been conducive to an active and fruitful interplay between development theory and practice. Gender as a "transcendental" theme in development seems more like a lip service in this light, at least when it comes to a willingness at highest levels of decision making, to allow development agents the time and resources to analyze and participate in ongoing social science debates. Such participation would allow the construction of a theoretically grounded gender policy and practice truly benefiting the economically and socially disadvantaged. It would at the same time propel us to scrutinize constantly social science theory in the light of ongoing culture change.

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VII "Hexentanz:" Development cooperation and critique, a performance without choreography

"Herr, die Not ist gross! Die ich rief
die Geister werd ich nun nicht los!"
["Master, behold my peril, I now can't rid myself of the spirits I called upon"]
From "The Sorcerer's Apprentice,"
by J.W. von Goethe

"TO AID OR NOT TO AID?" THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF TECHNO-SOCIAL COOPERATION WITH REGARD TO A DONOR COUNTRY'S FOREIGN AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Legal basis for Swiss Development Cooperation activities

The Swiss Development Cooperation, like its counterparts in countries of Western Europe and North America, is a government agency linked with the foreign office.[1] Foreign policy is supposed to further a nation's political, economic, and socio-cultural goals vis-à-vis other such international actors. Many times, foreign policy is used to consolidate internal issues, especially with regard to political stability and certain groups' economic prosperity. SDC has a clear mandate to help the globe's "poorer" countries, and within them the "poorest" population segments (DEH

[1] The Swiss government's involvement in what is commonly known as "development aid," is based on a 1976 federal law on international development cooperation and humanitarian aid (Recueil systématique... 1976). The current expenditure is at roughly 0.34 percent of GNP and falls 50 percent short of the U.N. proposed 0.7 percent of GNP, and shorter yet of the 1 percent of GNP spent by some Northern European countries with a standard of living and welfare similar to that of Switzerland (DEH 1994a:40).

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1991[1992], 1995).[2] However, SDC's responsibility to "mobilize the necessary 'synergy' among the various instruments of Swiss foreign, economic and social policy" (Guidelines 1991 [1992]:11, parenthesis in the original source, EDA/EVD 1994) hints at the fact that no development agency, as Escobar (1991,1995) points out, is totally free of partisan interests.

National development policy as a conciliator between internal political pressure and international public image

Swiss foreign policy is that of a small European country, devoid of direct colonial economic assets and political obligations. With industrial intensification that policy started to revolve around guaranteeing the influx of locally scarce or unavailable raw materials (textile fibers, metal, fuel), and giving manufacturing enterprises access to bigger markets. The armed neutrality[3] during two World Wars brought Swiss banking and insurance brokerage into the international arena, making the financial sector one of the economic pillars of the country. In the military and political polarization between East and West of the post World War II era, Switzerland joined the Non-Aligned countries who were neither part of the Warsaw Pact, nor of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Among other members, the Non-Aligned block used to count Austria, Cuba, most Latin American countries, Tito's Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian

[2] SDC personnel uses the terms "development cooperation" [Entwicklungszusammenarbeit or EZ], and "partner" country or population when speaking about their work and the people it affects in the Southern hemisphere. SDC directs the flow of its resources to what it calls "focus countries" [Schwerpunktländer] where - statistically speaking - the most underprivileged human populations are living. SDC distinguishes these countries from "newly industrialized countries" [NIC] or "Schwellenländer" ["threshold countries"] such as Mexico, Brazil, Korea, etc. SDC personnel self-identify as "coordinators and cooperators in development" [Entwicklungszusammenarbeitende], rather than "aid personnel" or "development agents" ["Entwicklungshelfer"]. I have given preferential use to this terminology in order to transmit its ideological content. When not talking directly about SDC efforts, the conventional terms of development "aid," and "agents" are used to break vocabulary monotony.

[3] The concept of an "armed neutrality" implies that the neutral country does not: enter into military alliances; accord favored status to any warring party; allow the transit of foreign armed troops through its national territory.

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nations as well as many countries in Africa and Asia.

Among the Non-Aligned nations, the North-South polarities and economic differences were easily apparent, and early on the North-South dialogue became the conceptual part of Swiss foreign aid policy, when such took shape in the 1960s. According to one interviewee the salient difference between SDC's current strategies and the development approach of the sixties is that

> "micro-level projects with lone ranger experts focusing on hardware innovation" have given way to "middle-and wide range programs coordinating and concentrating efforts that punctually employ highly specialized consultants who transfer soft-ware know-how."

What I see as an advantage of the "archaic" expert, is the long term personal involvement with a region and smaller groups of people, rather than the jet-setting optimizing of consultants.

With no direct involvement in issues of "decolonization," the Swiss had to come up with a cooperation formula consistent with its political neutrality on the international level. That policy revolved around maximizing "limited resources of a small country," trying to reach the globe's most disadvantaged population segments. From its inception in the 1960s, the Swiss Development Cooperation effort was conceived to be separate from any promotion of Swiss foreign trade interests. Two different agencies were put into place in two different branches of government: the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (formerly known as the "Swiss Directorate for Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid") was put under the wings of the Foreign Office, which for decades had been headed by subsequent Ministers from the socialist camp of the Swiss executive Government. Political ideology, as it emerges from the staff survey in chapter six, was and still is rather socialist. It is normal, that these attitudes should contrast with those at work within the Federal Office of Foreign Trade (BAWI), a branch of the Ministry (department) of Economy, where promoting Swiss economic interests abroad is the "raison d'être." The agents I interviewed felt comfortable with

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what up to the present was a clear separation of their work from that of trade promoters. They felt it was good that these two offices were located in different ministries.[4]

So far, Swiss international cooperation is not a case of North-South string pulling, because the neutral and "non-aligned" status of the donor country is diametrically opposed to the use of political clout over a partner government's decision making power. The concept of "neutrality" implies, however, that the Swiss development agency cooperate in maintaining a "peaceful" status quo rather than working toward radical social change - whatever direction such change may be. With regard to Latin America, SDC's regional policy makers continue to feel autonomous, and members from the directorate's "floor" appear to have a great deal of confidence in their competence. I suspect this also has to do with the top managements' increased sensitivity to Swiss internal politics, where Latin American issues are not immediately salient. An example of such internal policy importance is the inclusion of South Africa and Palestine as new

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[4] Calls for pan-executive "synergy" [including between SDC and the Office of Foreign Trade] start being voiced as the Foreign Office becomes controlled by a Christian Democrat. At the same time the notion of "new public management" is introduced, where outside hires are permitted to enter into highest echelon career positions ["Quereinsteiger und Senkrechtstarter"] without having to fulfill general recruitment conditions or go through the diplomatic "boot camp." Within SDC this has not been as big an issue as within the Foreign Office in general, since the development agency always relied on hiring what it felt were appropriate experts, rather than relying on a static corps of career agents, but it has had its impact on SDC's very apex. The current director, while a former career diplomat, had been on a long leave of absence, directing - among other positions - the Swiss Trade Expansion Office (OSEC/SHZ). The foreign minister's "new public management" style is coming under increasing scrutiny and occasional attack in the Swiss Press (Neue Zürcher Zeitung and Weltwoche articles, summer 1997), mainly because career diplomats feel the "rocket propelled" high level outside hires do not perform better than they. Within SDC the discomfort with this new management style is quite different: given the unpredictable nature of current administrative policy, it is feared that political interference from the Swiss entrepreneurial camp will enter the Foreign Office and thwart development efforts originally conceived without any strings attached.

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"focus countries"[5] in 1995, when at the same time SDC received the mandate to scale down the "focus" from 21 countries to 16. The current "attack" on the concept of "focus countries" is ambiguous, however. Gerster (1995:87), in Switzerland an influential voice on development, finds that "the concept of a focus country is only valid for technical cooperation and financial assistance emanating from SDC; it is not considered salient by other Federal agencies, particularly not by the BAWI." Recognizing that a small country can't spread its resources too thinly, Gerster recommends concentrating all Swiss efforts, be they in the camp of techno-social cooperation, financial flux mediation, or commercial expansion. While inviting potential partner countries to transmit opinions on how Switzerland can become a "globally more compatible" country (ibid:94), the author's main argument is for an integral "palette" of Swiss offers where "the private sector is given a voice" (ibid). Gerster (ibid:95) suggests that in the future the determination of "focus countries" be made conjointly by BAWI, SDC, and - significantly - the Department of Interior Affairs ("Home Office").

The first results, in 1995, show that resources are being spread thinner with the inclusion of "politically correct" (with regard to optimizing internal pressure, rather than global needs) new focus countries, and my survey among programming and implementing agents indicates that this decision was probably taken over the head of SDC policy formulators. The situation would be different if SDC decided to forgo the focus country concept and replace it with "focus populations," an approach which would enable the agency to reach the "poorest segments of world populations" without being tied to macro-economic definitions of poverty. These macro-ecnomic parameters are still shaping newly emerging "synergized" forms of development aid, such as the recently constituted "Society Facilitating Swiss Investments" [SOFI], where private and SDC

[5] Palestine's international situation is still tenuous, and proverbial Swiss precaution would have warranted something short of a head on dive, yet it is certainly a constructive effort in terms of regional peace building. South Africa, on the other hand, compares with Brazil and Argentina as a Newly Industrialized Country - all with great internal socio-economic differences for sure - yet for the South American NIC, as agents pointed out, SDC fund expenditure would be difficult to justify with Swiss politicians.

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resources are pooled to promote small entrepreneurship in SOFI's own "focus countries."[6] Whether "focus populations" is a concept easily put into practice is something social scientists should debate with development workers who have insight into the intricacies of agency budgeting and resource optimization.

Swiss foreign policy of the 1990s is a big challenge for Swiss legislators and particularly for the executive government. The year 1991 was supposed to be a jubilee commemorating 700 hundred years of more or less independent political destiny. It was overshadowed, however, by a flat refusal, on part of the country's constituency, to ratify the executive government's desire to join the European Economic Space, a step that would have allowed closer links with the European Community. Years earlier, in 1986, Swiss voters had rejected a proposal to join the United Nations.[7] There was an acute need to mediate these foreign policy "flops" on the international level with a high profile approach to techno-social cooperation. The 1990s brought an increased fragmentation on the European political scene, with a proliferation of small nation states emerging from the dust of the crumbling Soviet Union. In this new context, the Swiss were quick to recognize their decreasing "marginalization" as a "small nation." Swiss multinational corporations rank among the top five (!) in terms of direct investors behind those of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Germany (EDA/EVD 1994:25-26). An intelligent and "synergic" combination of foreign aid and multilateral networking is going to allow the Swiss to maximize their economic clout at a time when nation states as international players become increasingly overshadowed by transnational corporations.

These new global conditions have brought the Swiss a seat in the World Bank. This

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[6] To analyze CBC's marketing failures, intimately linked to shortcomings in SDC's cooperation modus with a Swiss private entrepreneur, should be high priority for SOFI.

[7] Art. 89 of the Swiss Constitution guarantees optional referendum rights with regard to international treaties if a minimum of 50.000 constituents or eight cantonal governments so demand it, under the condition that the treaty's duration exceed 15 years or is unlimited. The referenda results express Swiss voters' disagreement with and distrust in the multi-party executive's foreign policy.

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was made possible by a development policy focus on the re-negotiation of Southern countries' foreign debt. A major advantage to the Swiss government was its swift political capture of an internal willingness to address the international debt crisis:

> "The petition *Development needs disencumberment* launched by Swiss [non-governmental] aid organizations in 1989 has considerably increased popular consciousness with regard to the tremendous significance of the [international] debt crisis. The increased sensitivity of Switzerland for this important problem has also been revealed by several parliamentary motions " (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1991a:2).

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund currently argue that issues of "good governance" guide the development approach which should combat corruption in aid receiving countries. These guidelines converge with the Club of Paris debt renegotiation efforts to direct western governments' development approach in the 1990s (DEH 1995, EDA/EVD 1994). I think the new priorities will allow development agencies of powerful big nations to examine closely a partner country's internal political system, as well as to influencie its economic policies with a mandate to tie the release of resources to internal "reforms." Such restructuring may put poor people into increased socio-economic marginality. Once social, political and economic conditions in the South have thus been altered on the macro scale, smaller donor nations, such as Switzerland will have to follow the "big picture," whether their policy shaping development agents like it or not.

While the Swiss development policy mandates that financial resources be deployed to the benefit of the globe's most needy in particular focus countries, the European, in particular the German reorientation toward "the East," has weakened the pronounced North-South focus of SDC. The Swiss government recognized that "in countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union the living conditions... cannot be compared with the survival battle fought by a vast majority in poor countries" (Schweizerischer Bundesrat 1991b:4). The shift in technical assistance toward Eastern Europe and ex-Soviet Central Asia is a general trend not only among government

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development agencies in industrial nations, but also among ecclesiastic and secular NGOs. Up to now there had been no immediate goal of promoting concrete Swiss export or other trade interests through SDC. That is the province of the Office of Foreign Trade (BAWI) - which incidentally does also sponsor development programs in what are termed "newly industrialized countries" (e.g. the Pacific Rim, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil).

With the end of the cold war, the traditional division of labor between the Foreign Ministry's branch of development and humanitarian aid through the Swiss Development Cooperation, and the Office of Foreign Trade of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs, shows signs of erosion. Increasingly, the business training seminars which the trade office had sponsored as part of their - rather small - international cooperation program became more important. There are now political voices who want to "synergize" SDC's quite different efforts to promote micro-entrepreneurs, many of whom operate from what is called "the informal sector," with those of the foreign trade office whose main job is by definition to further Swiss trade interests. As of 1998, BAWI has become active in Central America where it promotes debt re-scheduling, subsidizes deficits in the balance of payments, and establishes clearing centers for environmental questions and for small entrepreneurs. Clearly, BAWI resources are made available to the dominant sector, since macro-economic measures rarely filter down to "the poorest segments of society." Small entrepreneurship is predicated on high levels of literacy, a privilege which eludes probably more than 80 percent of the population in parts of Central America.

I called on my interviewees to reflect on why and how SDC's involvement so far has had no trade promotional strings attached. Comparison of SDC policies with those of North American and Western European government agencies lead to the conclusion that former colonial powers - and in this context the United States' involvement in Latin America is perceived as "neo-colonial" - show very high levels of linkage between the

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promotion of foreign trade and foreign aid.[8] With the increasing importance of Swiss capital in the transnational sector, the country's aid office runs into the danger of becoming coopted by the demands - legally channeled in the form of parliamentary motions and interpellations - of "foreign trade" cum "transnational interests." Increasingly, these undemocratic forces seem to dominate policy shaping - regardless of contrary public opinion: the Swiss public has so far been content with the fact that SDC efforts bear the indirect long term advantage of promoting a positive Swiss image abroad, making the Swiss a potential business partner decades down the road, when - so modernists hope - the developing countries and their people have acquired the economic means of productive and trade interactions with the North.

The deployment of resources through development channels is always connected to the donor nation's foreign policy, and that policy is more often than not a consequence of particular internal conditions and problems. Where the current development critique runs into trouble is in its undifferentiated treatment of all such agencies, and in the unilinear characterization of people involved in shaping and implementing development policy.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE DEVELOPMENT CRITIQUE:THE RESURFACING OF OLD DEBATES

My work with development agency staff shows that some key issues, which fueled earlier debates in the social sciences, anthropology in particular, shape development policy today. The notion of humankind's *psychic unity* underlies development strategies aimed at bringing *adequate* and *feminized* technology to Third World women, whose economic condition, social status, and political participation the development effort is supposed to enhance. The fact that these women are also members of disadvantaged ethnic groups and at the bottom of a highly stratified class society is not ignored, of course, but overshadowed by what is supposed to be a universal entrapment in a disadvantaged bio-

[8] SDC personnel sees its policies and the manner in which they are carried out akin to those of Scandinavian nations, yet very different from German, French, Italian, even Dutch development ventures.

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social condition. *Culture and personality* studies are used to solve parts of *culture's riddle*: "savages" are not necessarily on an evolutionary path to civilized salvation. Rather, common human problems can be solved in a variety of innovative ways adapted to particular historic and ecological conditions. Since development agents only get a cursory introduction to these social science debates, they apply the notion of cultural relativism uncritically. This is conducive to the *invention of tradition*, to seeing culture as an isolate, a system rather than a process. In the development context, the notion of the *rural-urban dichotomy*, while recognized as artificial by most field agents, is still a theoretical framework used in shaping programs, such as those aimed at combating "land flight."

The development critique has addressed some of these theoretical shortcomings at policy making and implementing levels. Arturo Escobar (1991) points out that development agencies recycle Western patterns of knowledge and productive relations. What Escobar does not address directly, is that this recycling of Western ideas is most apparent in gendered development approaches. Development agents - anthropologists and otherwise - have tended to characterize humans with a single characteristic such as "poor peasant, " "pregnant woman," "Indian," and perceive culture as a "way of life" (ibid). Escobar, who addresses in particular those anthropologists who work as development agents, points out that these petrified labels persist because development agencies are not sufficiently critical about their own ideas, and they don't follow debates in anthropological theory. However, Escobar implies that any anthropologist involved in development agency work does so under the premise that "development, " if not "necessary," is at least "inevitable."

While Escobar's development critique is a synthesis of development's most salient shortcomings, it is also - to a great extent - a reinvention of the wheel. Feminist scholarship had started to address the West's and North's radical infringement on indigenous societies since the late 1960s and early 1970s. Those who examined the

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effects of European colonization on non-western societies revealed that when women's access to resources, to political office, and to social status is jeopardized by the imposition of inheritance laws, rules of ascent to office, and access to public privilege which replicate European customs of male primogeniture and stewardship over "dependent" adult women, indigenous societies break down (Bunster 1980, Gailey 1987, Handwerker 1974, Leacock 1972, Ortner 1981, Pomeroy 1988, Weiner 1976, 1986, 1989). Feminist criticism of the Green Revolution - based on ethnographic work among aid receiving populations and on the examination of particular development policies - revealed early on that capital intensive new techniques, as well as the gendered transfer of skills and access to jobs and resources, put the poorest people into further disadvantage (Benería and Sen 1986 [1981], Butler and Santos 1985, Cohn, Deere 1982, 1987, Garrett et al 1986, Marshall 1984, Mencher 1966, Mencher and D'Amico 1986, Nash 1980, Phillips 1987, Radcliffe 1990, Safilios-Rothschild 1985, Sen and Grown 1987, Wood and Haag 1981).

Taking this criticism back home, those who studied industrialization and transnational economic processes transcended the world system's and dependency theories as well as Escobar's later framework of "development encounter," to reveal how the increasing segmentation and manipulation of the work force at the hands of highly concentrated, mobile capital has adverse effects not only on Third World poor but it is responsible for increased under- and unemployment in the North (Fernández-Kelly 1983, Leacock 1986 [1981], Mullings 1986, Nash 1979, 1980, 1988c, Nash and Kelly 1983, Stevens 1987). Where the regional focus of these processes was on the South, the investigators who paid attention to changing women's conditions often saw a decrease in vestiges of women's economic autonomy and political power with the introduction of wage labor in transnational operations (Aguiar 1983, Bunster, Chaney and Young 1985, Elu de Leñero 1980). Recognition of the dramatic transculturation of non western societies and the imposition of Euro-American social relations in

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production and gender roles is a common ground for these scholars. Their work has been coopted without recognition by critics of development and ignored by others, who, since the mid-seventies, have scrutinized rural production and the agrarian question.[9]

I was stimulated by Escobar's (1991) challenge to do an ethnography of development agencies and their social history, and I have found his criticism with regard to these general development premises to be quite accurate. However, I also found a few problems with the sweeping statements he makes: one cannot assume that all anthropological/social science involvement with development agencies results in the reproduction and inevitability of "modernization" and "progress." Neither can it be taken for granted that anthropologists or others, as development agents, uncritically reproduce or promote a particular agency's ideology. The relationship between policy making and implementation within the development apparatus is multistranded. In the Swiss case, an entire generation of agents has shaped agency policy, rather than the other way around. There are anthropologists who pursue their particular theoretical interest even though they are on a development agency's payroll. In one case, the sponsor agency who funded the work - through a multilateral channel that conducted the funds from Switzerland to the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] in Rome, and from there to an Ecuadorian government agency, and finally, after everyone's "overhead" was cashed in, to the particular purse - saw no problem with that and was not interested in the researcher's own political ideology. The anthropologist in question was not even remotely interested in compiling a document fueling the "ideology" of any agency lined up along this funding channel, but rather wanted to contribute to an academic debate and to help formulate more realistic development strategies (Vokral 1991b).

Another colleague is working in indigenous forest management at the intersection

[9] Main exponents of "the agrarian debate" in their writings since the 1980s did not pay attention to questions of gendered productive and social divisions, among them excellent analysts such as Bernstein (1986), de Janvry (1981), Hyden (1980), Mamdani (1987), Onimode (1988), Roseberry (1983, 1986), Shanin (1987) , Wolf (1986). Some have since become interested in gendered social behavior (Roseberry 1990, Wolf, 1989)

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of Amazon colonization by highland indigenous or mestizo peasants. This is an approach designed to fortify indigenous forest managment, an important part of their horticultural cultural subsistence straegies. At the same time the program promotes this indigenous technique as a subsistence supplement among a limited number of peasant migrants from the highlands. The anthropologist's reputation as an academic professional, highly regarded in Andean anthropology, is in no way jeopardized by this line of work, which s/he exercises with full intellectual, professional, and ethical autonomy from the Swiss NGO, from the COTESU coordinator who acts as a local liaison, and from the Ecuadorian agency whose mandate it is to foster autochthonous forestry management. Both colleagues would indeed be burdened with a permanent and disabling headache, were they to attempt reducing their work to many and at times even conflicting ideologies espoused by highest level agency executives.

When we look at the work of the Swiss technician in charge of Centro de Bordados, we find that indeed, that the development agency seems to hire people with what they consider the "right" ideology, but that ideology had in turn been shaped by agents acting as independently thinking intellectuals who wouldn't be bound by vested political interests. Urs made a concerted effort to find the necessary raw materials locally and regionally in order not to create a new dependency. When I questioned his refusal to use high quality European linen for embroidery, which would sell much better in the market CBC was targeting, he made it clear to me that his mandate, collateral with the creation of added rural income, was to stimulate local production, not to promote the export of Swiss or European materials. Recognizing that linen was indeed a more appropriate fabric on which to apply high quality embroidery - rather than the light and less durable cottons - he tried to acquire it from Chile - the closest Latin American provider he could find. These actions do not discredit the agent as a manipulated puppet, but as an intelligent and sophisticated analyst trying to implement a locally sustainable project, even if the approach was fraught with the deficiencies of dependency and world systems

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theory. My ethnographic research indicates that we must address the enormous time lag with which ground-breaking social science theory makes its entry into development agencies. Redfield's (1930) view of the rural-urban continuum, as well as Ortner's (1981) nature-culture, Rosaldo's (1974) [since revised] public-private, or Moser's and Molyneux' practical-strategic dichotomizations of what are gendered social relations in production and reproduction, continue to dominate the social science materials used by SDC.

In the case of Bordados, the particular strategy employed by an individual agent demonstrates his ability to carry on with a very personal view of how development should work, that is it should not foster new systemic dependencies. This particular view is also espoused by the policy formulators at the Berne headquarters whom I interviewed. Middle and high level policy formulators actively shape an agency's ideology. In our case that ideology corresponds with what many Swiss voters from a majority of political fields (green, left, social democrat, even many from the bourgeois block) - except for the radical right - expect to be done with the tax resources flowing into development projects. Development agency practice, then, seems intimately linked with a donor nations' "momentary" internal situation. This "moment" in Swiss history is on the brink of change, as unemployment levels rise and right-wing ideology gains ground. It is balanced, however, by an increasing socialist participation in parliamentary politics. Symptomatic of the current weakening of the nation state as an international player, Swiss transnational interests - a capital intensive demographic minority with access to parliamentary representation - try to foster their agenda by pushing for an increasing "synergy" between the Office of Foreign Trade and SDC. My interaction with SDC personnel left me with a feeling that these "discreet" efforts from outside will meet with considerable resistance from SDC policy formulators who are not only used to autonomy when applying official SDC strategies, but are also used to being intimately involved with the formulation and shaping of these strategies. However, I lack

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data on attitudes from SDC's directorial level.

By the time I was completing my fieldwork, Escobar (1995) had published a substantial work, yet it seems he did not heed his own advice to do an agency-ethnography. Therefore, the shortcomings of his 1991 article are reproduced. His focus on development as a "discourse," examines the existing world order and situates development within the context of a global system where multilateral credit organisms (Bretton Woods creations such as World Bank, IMF) monopolize productive decisions and social policy in the South. However, in his global rejection of the development paradigm of the 1980s he may be right for the wrong reasons: He does not deconstruct his unilinear picture according to which development agents are entirely manipulated by agency ideology. According to Escobar, agency staff are dancing like marionettes dangling from the strings of highly competitive salaries, to the ideological tunes of the hands that feed them. There is no attempt at a socio-culturally differentiated "typology" of development agents. Other development critics transcended the monolith by examining how local aid receiving populations manipulate input, resources, and information when they can (Crain 1987, Page- Reeves 1996).

Escobar's undifferentiated view of "The West" and "The Third World," is premised on the notion that we need to rewrite the rules about the development discourse (1995:217), rather than analyze the power relationships going on according to clearly defined categories: Is an individual actor imbued with personal, tactical, or institutionalized strategic power? Can a powerful actor impose her- or himself on individual others, on other groups? Does the actor synergize power at various levels of group interaction, or is the person the almighty exponent of a transnational web that controls access to vital resources and information ? (Wolf 1990). These issues were addressed by contributors to Annis and Hakin (1988) who took an actor oriented approach to critical development analysis. As Little and Painter (1995) point out, Escobar's focus on language construction rather than power relations ignores prior

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critiques of development and equates development anthropology with uncritical cooperation within development agencies.

My fieldwork brought me in contact with three "practicing" anthropologists, two of whom have already been introduced. The third is a lucid critic of the particular agency's gender program and of the status quo which is often upheld through the development effort. Yet a person may choose to work within an institution in order to affect policy making slowly and propel gradual change, rather than content him/herself with criticism - useful as it may be - from without. As Dante says, those who remain neutral will burn in hell's hottest corner, and neutrality can also be equated with academic aloofness. When development is treated as "text" - rather than as a process-, the deconstruction of the discourse needs to be followed by the reassembly of theory into a whole (Painter and Little 1995). If Escobar treats Women in Development studies and the feminist development critique, as if they had miraculously emerged - deus ex machina - between 1991 and 1995 (Escobar 1995: 177ff), he is merely cutting and pasting, as it were, rather than constructing a new and useful approach to culture change that could replace the destructive aspects of international techno-social cooperation. With these limitations, he indeed reduces anthropology to "the science of stubborn traditions," (ibid:218) rather than making it - as some of us try - the analysis of processual change and - with a deal of luck - the forecaster of emerging social phenomena, giving those policy makers willing to address issues of social justice an opportunity to circumvent future human tragedies.

CULTURE CRITIQUE AND THE DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Ethnography has tried to move away from the authoritarian representation of a "whole truth" that characterized the work of early ethnographers, such as Radcliffe Brown and Malinowski. Their masterful descriptions and at times daring attempts at formulating systemic theories continue to be useful instruments for anthropological initiation, but we have seen that the "subjects" are themselves quite capable of muting

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contradictory world-views and to handling a combination of Christianity, Marxism/Leninism/Maoism and Animism (Nash 1992) without having taken a course on the Sociology of Religion. In general, such individual polyphony need not be a contradiction in terms for the people involved (Crain 1994:205).

When anything in the West became questionable in the 1960s, anthropologists started to debate whether culture is an observable reality, or a phenomenon that needs "thick" description followed by cultural translation or "interpretation." In order to evade the problematic of studying exotic "others," anthropology was brought "home," juxtaposing the "familiar" with the "strange," where "the other" became transformed from exotic extravaganza to a potential human alternative (Clifford 1981:542). This position has been "re-exported" by those who continue to do research in faraway sites, now without returning as "master narrators," but rather with the intent to rebuild theory (Crain 1994:206).

Marcus and Fischer (1986:114) stress the fact that the existing world order must be factored into a cross cultural comparison, advice which development criticism has heeded.[10] However, Escobar's development critique, while paying attention to global connections, presents North and South as monoliths. In a rather romantic and idealized view of Third World social scientists, he asserts that they [he seems to be part of "them"] feel "the urgency of social questions coupled with a relatively close relation between intellectual and social life" (Escobar 1995:218). As Crain's (1990, 1994) case of Ecuadorian women shows, contradiction is part of a subordinate group's life within the larger society. Such contradiction can bring "aid recipients" and development agents of the same nationality (as well as foreigners) into unproductive and even

[10] See for example Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1991)

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opposing situations (DEH 1994b,[11] Page-Reeves 1996). One cannot a priori assume that a foreigner is less suited to mediate social change than a "native," nor vice-versa. Sweeping statements about entire agent populations need careful qualification as to gender-orientation, ethnic origin, class based identity, and socio-historical background.

If Ecuadorian campesina women do not always openly resist capitalist relations of production in public places and during ritualized overt behavior, in the privacy of their homes and communities patterns of resistance emerge (Crain 1994:206). A similar case can be made for development workers: Their work place conditions the public actions they take, yet in the "privacy" of their offices, those who see their jobs inherently tied to further social justice resist - as formulators of policy proposals - global trends to make development agencies the handmaidens of transnational capital and subsequent partner populations' transculturation. Their hands are tied, at times, not so much by - real but circumventable - contradictory pressure from above, but by their inability to access and involve themselves in ongoing scientific debates in a timely fashion.

Some of my SDC interviewees provided me with an excellent analysis of the "evolution" of Swiss development aid since the sixties, and their insight is particularly useful with regard to anthropological soul-searching: The development "pioneer experts" of the 1960s worked in an aura of enthusiasm which reflects the Boasian

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[11] In a document entitled "You don't see the women for all the trees," SDC experts working in Bangladesh report that the urban staff of the local NGOs in charge of a reforestation project lacked awareness of gendered work differences in the rural countryside where tree seedlings were given to men rather than women. Result: the men picked varieties optimal for the male Khet (field perimeters) which did not serve the female Bari domain (terrain surrounding the house). When SDC agents demanded that the NGOs provide female liaison personnel to work with rural women, none could be found. Upon this, SDC personnel indicated that those NGOs who couldn't come up with at least one woman technical advisor among their staff would lose funding for two male positions within their organization, "upon which, miraculously, competent female staff was found to exist..."

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salvage ethnographies and the structure-functional "master" narratives. The Swiss transformation, during the past century, of precarious mountain agriculture into highly specialized cheese making ventures was being idealized, not taking into account that excess population had been absorbed first through cottage industry and manufacture's assembly lines, later through out-migration. This ideal helped bring about dairy projects in the Himalayas and the Andes, yet often the corresponding consumer needs were lacking within the local urban élites. One agent who had experienced this era personally, added that in the 1960s the "animal was the central focus of technology transfer for SDC, not the animal caretaker,"[12] just as "data" assumed an overpowering importance in materialist and ecological approaches to anthropology, rather than the human actors.

During SDC's "expansionist years" in 1980s there was an increased interest, on SDC's part, to find suitable local partners in the planning and execution of projects. These projects still included the "master"expert, and Bordados is a case in point, but the approach was highly technocratic. Just as with textual analysis, which in anthropology follows the massive data analysis and theory formulation by symbolists and materialists, the 1980s "expansion" was followed at SDC by the "organization and coordination" of thought and action. The 1990s have laid the professional expert to rest, but I think this may be a mixed blessing, since, if armed with the necessary theoretical knowledge about the dynamics of social life, such an "expert" can gain insight into a small scale local society.[13] Such insight can give a particular theoretical debate a new direction. SDC now works with allrounders who serve as coordinators and managers building on regional

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[12] Seeds, fertilizers and pesticides commanded a central place in the Green Revolution, not necessarily the people who had to handle them.

[13] Another informant sees the 1960s "soft" participation as a lost opportunity for implementing gender balanced programs early on. The men who were the 1960s main protagonists of SDC aid work for the most had "feminist" wives. These agents had the necessary personal sensibility to acquire a critical gender theory and apply it in the field, but such theory - then in its ground-breaking stage - was not available to them.

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know-how, and they expect the foreign partners to voice local needs. This is reminiscent of a "textual" approach in anthropology, because - with its advantages of incorporating knowledge available in partner countries - it does not address the issue of power relationships within a partner country. The use of qualified NGOs, such as FEPP, can mitigate against the "power vacuum" within which SDC works, but it does not constitute the consistent and methodological application of a precise "power theory."

Whether we go for thick descriptions or lucid explanations of culture, we need to examine the dynamics of inter-group relations, recognizing the political circumstances in the societies where research is done. In 1972 Scholte called for a reflexive and critical anthropology. He was heard well, but it seems some only heard half of his message. The subsequent postmodern quest for interpretation was a reaction against the focus on political economic contexts for ethnography, which had paid little attention to culture's power to generate behavior. While world systemic links are overlooked by those limiting the interpretation of symbols to represent models of and for the world, others use the bigger system as a prime mover, ignoring differentiation processes within a country as well the capacity of development aid receivers to appropriate contacts in politically meaningful ways and to shape the development encounter in a way to meet short and middle range goals of their group. Reflexivity and discursive deconstruction are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for explanatory anthropology that goes beyond the study of ["stubborn"] traditions (Scholte 1972). Literary attention to style and discourse needs to be wedded to the scientific author's preoccupation with "hard facts," because - elusive as it may seem at times - human reality is observable, if the observer is armed with a body of theory that can be put to the test of reality. The interpretation of thick descriptions and the analysis of discourse devoid of attention to intergroup relations, prevents us from burrowing deeper into theoretical debates, allowing only a shallow superficial presentation of human life's "imponderabilia."

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SELF EXAMINATION AND CRITICAL INNOVATION

Crisis in the social contract

Eighteenth century scholars like David Hume, followed later by Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, present intergroup contract as a basis for social life. European democracies, and the Swiss case in particular, are an attempt to uphold social contracts in the forms of global labor agreements celebrated between big concerns and trade unions. In Switzerland the contract between the state and major religious groups was a salient feature of 1848 internal peace-making in the wake of liberal domination. After World War I, the liberal camp gave up its monopoly over the executive government to share responsibility with the catholic block, the socialists, and the farmers. During the economic duress suffered in the 1920s and 1930s, this emerging "magic formula" helped prevent the bi-polarization of the country into a worker-small farmer-craftsmen alliance opposing the bourgeois block.

The current extreme fragmentation on religious and political levels into mini-"sects" and a myriad of parties, such as the "Automobile Drivers,'" the "New Democrats," the "Free Democrats," and other right leaning orientations, as well as a variety of "ecological" and "green" fractions,[14] poses problems to national governments who base themselves on consensus and contract. Switzerland is practically "ungovernable" at this point, because almost any executive proposal is turned down in the plebiscites. The "contract" between so many interest groups can no longer be upheld. "Concordance" is difficult to achieve for the lack of important "bottom line" principles. Each interest group paints the picture of a particular "enemy." The democratic crisis defines trenches and opposition, rather than emphasizing commonalties. In multi-ethnic and multi-class societies, where economic activities are fragmented according to the

[14] See Wolf (in press) about "German Ideology" and the role of political "naturalism" - an infatuation with nature and the motherland (Heimat) - in the rise of Nazism (also Mann 1964 [1918]). To focus on nature and its preservation, even if it comes in the company of social democracy, bears a danger of being easily subverted to foster essentialist goals which can be distorted into acts of racism and ultra-nationalism.

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differential hiring criteria of transnational capital, demagogically colored "morality" overrides common socio-economic interests.[15]

The social contract between parties who have differential access to productive resources and social infrastructure is the bottom line of many development agencies. Non governmental organizations, in their attempt to deal with the contractual failures of official, state sponsored agencies (education, health, access to water, energy and road infrastructure in rural and marginal urban areas), emphasize moral behavior (Nash 1997a). This focus on morality/ideology fragments considerable resources into often repetitive efforts. In Chiquintad the state's rural development agency fosters a "kitchen garden project" among women who are expert gardeners, taking advantage of their weekly embroidery congregation which is indeed based on FEPP's groundwork years earlier. In Llintig and Cochapamba the archdiocese of Cuenca fosters child care, health, family planning and gardening in duplication of previous CBC lectures, taking advantage of embroidery entrega de trabajo with ensuing time conflicts for the artisans.

"Mirror mirror on the wall:" development analysis and self-evaluation[16]

In the World Development Issue of 1987 (number 15) British development analysts took a good look not only at achievements and problems of development work, but at their capacity to contribute to social science theory . British development analysts are forced to be somewhat "parochial," in that most of their work concentrates on events

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[15] Transnational firms eclectically pick out local conditions that favor the employer to fragment their globally recruited work force. "Local hires," working for lower wages and less fringe benefits are distinguished from "international contractees" at the top management level, whose many benefits include health insurance coverage giving them assess to world's most leading medical technology. Local hires have to do with the increasingly deficient public health clinics in Western democracies. International hires benefit from tax breaks and a yearly "home leave." Where such an international contractee lives and works in her/his own country, travel benefits may send the whole family on visits to "headquarters" oversees, equating with free vacation trips. In the South, increasing literacy requirements for menial repetitive assembly line jobs introduce class differences into poor households and exacerbate gendered access to wage labor (Wolf D.1990).

[16] SDC is using the mirror symbol to characterize its efforts at self evaluation (1991a)

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occurring in post-colonial Africa. In a disciplinary sense the focus is on peasants and rural-urban dichotomies and discontinuities. Blacking links development studies with the reification of "tradition," pointing out that the social science use of kinship may obscure rather than illuminate property relations and employment conditions (1987:528).

In a concrete effort to repatriate knowledge gained from the analysis of processes in the Third World, so-called Least Developed Countries [LDC] and Newly Industrialized Countries [NIC] are seen as inherently different from the developed North and West. Faber (1987:533) criticizes the lack of conscious separation between theory and method in British development studies. Since these are limited to a symptoms analysis, they do not constitute a discipline in the true sense of the word, because they are incapable to cover all aspects of economic and culture change (ibid). However, Faber's "pathology" view of Sub-Saharan economies is extended to reveal more puzzles, rather than solving pressing human needs: Why could China defy malnutrition but not famine? why could India defy famine, but not malnutrition? he asks. At the time of his query, others were coming up with answers, linking endemic malnutrition to the unequal, often gendered and ethnically divided distribution of of economic opportunities within a nation (Mackintosh 1989), and famine to transnational production and redistribution manipulations over which a single nation no longer has much control (Vaughan 1987). Faber's call to get the answers and apply them to Africa comes somewhat late in 1987, when causes are being identified - based precisely on African materials - by scholars whose attention to gendered inequalities cover social variables ignored by macro-economic analysis.

Michael Lipton (1987:522) examines agricultural modernization of the 1960s, concluding that we are not confronted with "revolution, but [with] individually applicable [techniques] on experimental plot[s]" without any change in the particular power structure. He sees modern agriculture as catering to individual capital

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accumulation, because the "improved seed varieties" propagated during the 1960s Green Revolution did not allow poor rural producers to be active participants in change (ibid). There, the main goal was to mass produce cheap staples for the urban labor force. And while Lipton thinks the 1970s brought improvement to agrarian production enabling participation of the poor through wage labor, his analysis ignores the fact that such work is minimally paid, and that women's tasks have not been mechanized, but continue to be back breaking, time intensive ventures yielding the lowest salary levels (Mencher and D'Amico 1986). Lipton's main question, however is, again, that of legitimacy for development studies: If there is any relevance in them, then Least Developed Countries can no longer be studied with regard to their "special features." If development analysts cannot come up with hypotheses and generalization, on the other hand, then, Lipton asks, what is their purpose ?

John Toye's study (1987:503), is another effort to repatriate the utility of development studies, again suggesting that they change from a problem diagnosis to a problem solving position. Speaking of industrial countries imitating the impressive economic growth rates of Newly Industrialized Countries, Toye warns "against the idea of transplanting overseas business practices to speed up economic growth, [because their] whole cultural matrix... is not fully known." One would have to import," he notes "the political and cultural context in which [the business practices] produce their effects" (ibid 590-10), making it clear that "business ideology," and that includes gender views, is an integral part of skills and technology transfer. Without questioning that development uncritically does just that in a North-South transfer, he points out that one should not study countries grouped together in terms of developmental stages, but to study "a highly complex social process - development." Here, we have a good example of how one can be right for the wrong reasons. Taken seriously, Toye's uncritical suggestion equates studying poor Third World people as if they were rabbits or guinea pigs whose behavior can shed light on that of "higher order humans," as it were. With

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regard to women's status, he remarks - in 1987 - that "little has yet come of... comparative work between women's lives in the First, Second and Third Worlds" (ibid:506), ignoring editors, such as Leacock and Safa (1986), Nash and Fernández-Kelly (1983) who had compiled and analyzed women's works and lives with attention to transnational processes and cultural diversification.

This particularly "male-centered" development analysis has ignored, right from its outset in 1987, earlier attention to the radical infringements on women 's power and authority during colonization,[17] through industrialization and transnational economic processes,[18] and through the application of development programs.[19]

When it comes to intra-agency soul searching, SDC shows remarkable objectivity on the one hand, but little attention to theory on the other (DDA 1995, BAWI/SDC 1997, SDC 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1995: Chapter 2). Symptomatic of a certain "pathology" view of social problems, inherited from the influential early works of Arensberg (1942) and Warner (1947), a psychologist's manual on how to deal with the "helper syndrome" (Schmidbauer 1977) is used in SDC's field preparation seminars during the early 1990s.[20] Schmidbauer's focus is on past events such as childhood rejection, as well as on some rather extreme character traits: mega-ego, narcissist needs to declaim and to attract attention, and the transformation of open aggression into indirect corrective actions. More interesting than the rather extravagant traits is the

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[17] Bunster (1980), Gailey (1987), Handwerker (1974), Leacock (1972), Ortner (1981), Weiner (1976, 1986).

[18] Aguiar (1983), Bunster and Chaney (1985), Elu de Leñero (1980), Fernández-Kelly (1983), Leacock (1986 [1981]), Mullings (1986), Nash (1979, 1980), Nash and Kelly (1983), Stevens (1987)

[19] Benería and Sen (1986 [1981]), Butler and Santos (1985), Cohn, Wood and Haag (1981), Deere (1982, 1987), Garrett et al (1986), Marshall (1984), Mencher and D'Amico (1986), Nash (1980, 1985), Phillips (1987), Safilios-Rothschild (1985), Sen and Grown (1987)

[20] People formerly involved in running and assisting these seminars also explained some of the materials used.

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fact that Schmidbauer situates these symptoms of the helper syndrome in a society where altruism and wage labor are wedded into a permanent contradiction. The book may be helpful to diagnose the "helper" impulses of certain Western European professionals, including those of the Teutonic branch. If complemented with Franz Kafka (in particular the "Prozess" and "Amerika"), it may indeed shed some light on why individuals choose development agency work. To use such information in soul searching efforts of self-evaluation may be necessary and useful, but it isn't sufficient, unless shared with the aid receivers, so that they can familiarize themselves with the social history of their western counterparts.

I included a self-evaluating part in the question package of SDC interviewees who occupy critical policy shaping and supervisory positions.[21] Since SDC had rather recently changed from a long "tradition" of being run by a career diplomat on "routine" assignment, to a man with a more diversified government curriculum, seasoned SDC staff have a comparative perspective. I elicited opinions on what influence "the chief" can take on SDC policy shaping and application. With regard to the change at the agency's apex, staff feel their know-how and experience continue to be appreciated. They manifest their intent and confidence to continue operating in autonomy from Swiss party politics. With regard to the change of guard at the Foreign Ministry, a thoughtful observer dwelt on the difference in operation style proper to the two parties in question: during the decades of Social Democrat rule at the Foreign Ministry's apex, SDC was "left alone," and the institution was considered to be a "good thing," both in terms of international solidarity (an important socialist war horse) and public image. Christian Democrats are seen as quite capable of "humanitarian feelings," in the form of Christian Mercy. Yet, remarks the observer, such mercy manifests itself in a paternalist guise.[22] Therefore,

[21] See "Tour d'horizon" in appendix 7

[22] According to Mario Alberto Morales (1997) charity is "...a successful bourgeois institution...which those [who want to have a] good conscience substitute for social justice." ["...esta institución burguesa tan exitosa: la caridad, con la cual las buenas conciencias sustituyen la justicia social."]

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issues such as "empowerment," and "sustainability" may be jeopardized, and attention to gender, I may add, could take a turn for "essentialist" and "naturalist" courses.

In short, there is a definite change in SDC's operational style - not yet with development aid context and policy - with the Foreign Ministry's apex passing from Social to Christian Democracy, and with the introduction of hand-picked personnel throughout its highest echelon. Since 1989 the difficulty convincing a reluctant Swiss public to approve an association with the European Community, has made foreign policy an important executive issue - different from its disguise as "Sleeping Beauty" since the 1960s. As long as the Foreign Office did not seem transcendental with regard to Swiss internal politics, the liberal majority in the executive was content to let one of its two socialist colleagues deal with it. As the nation became divided (along ethno-linguistic and rural-urban lines of demarcation) over issues of foreign policy, a Christian Democrat was quickly put at its helm; a smart move of the bourgeois block, because nominally Christian Democrats are not associated with big capital; that is the prerogative of the Free Democrats (the successors to the 1848 liberals). Within SDC, the Social Democrat maxim of international solidarity is still reflected by the ideology of the "old" hires, and they are at the policy shaping level in their careers. Paternalist attitudes with regard social "misery" (rather than injustice) is characteristic of Christian Democrats; coupled with the party's "endemic" attention monopoly to internal affairs,[23] this change in "style" may have a serious impact on SDC's ability to continue in "participatory" approaches to social change. The new "style" also differs with regard to powerful lobbies. Rather than shining in terms of international solidarity and goodwill, the focus will increasingly turn to the satisfaction of Swiss internal politics. There, exponents of powerful transnational conglomerates, while demographically small, do exercise considerable influence through their association with the important Free Democratic Party.

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[23] This is true for Christian Democrats all over Western Europe.

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Different approaches to the development critique have amply demonstrated that technological change during the Green Revolution promoted middle and big farmers rather than precarious smallholders.[24] My own research shows how difficult it is, under the best of intentional circumstances, to promote women's management skills in the Third World. If neoliberal politics and "new public management" become the war horses of SDC's development approach, I fear that the positive aspects, for development practice, of the neutrality concept[25] will erode to the point where only the rich get richer in the process, while its inhibitive effect on the application of gender equity programs will continue to plague the development effort. If a paternalistic management style slowly translates into the manipulation of Swiss development funds by transnational interests - operating through parliamentary channels - then the tax-franks, hard earned by workers, farmers, intellectuals, and small to middle range entrepreneurs will no longer be able to foment "participatory" and "sustainable" projects. These projects, while theoretically still deficient, can be improved to make the development effort not into an evolutionary dinosaur, nor into a reinvention of tradition, but into a constructive social link between working people of different hemispheres who may want to be joined - through tax-expenditure and development programs - with ideas, knowledge, and mutual support as exponents of a shared humanity.

The use and abuse of reciprocity

A new approach to development critique and "self-evaluation," be it by practitioners or critics, is offered by Xavier Izko (in press) who takes the Andes-Amazon contacts as a South-South example of North-South communication gaps. Andean colonists in the Upper Amazon are socio-organizational "hybrids." Their parcellation of land, mandated by law, leads to environmental depredation in the absence of an integrated

[24] These include Escobar (1991), contributors to the World Development Issue of 1987 and to Annis and Hakin (1988), and , after all, Women in Development Studies and exponents of the Feminist Critique, some of whom are mentioned in footnotes 17 to 19 this chapter.

[25] SDC agents have not been partial to Swiss economic interests.

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agro-pastoral use of the forest adapted by Amazonian horticulturalists with the advent of cattle and cash cropping.

Taking quinoa production in Bolivia as an example of contradictory and counter productive North-South-North dynamics, Izko (ibid:15) shows how mechanization not only leads to increased erosion when plough shares lay open vast extensions of raw earth, but to an increased presence of quinoacidal worms. The increase in pests is followed by more use of pesticides and the abandonment of bio-dynamics, such as the pasturing of sheep in quinoa fields. The use of chemical agents turns out to be a marketing problem for quinoa exports, since the product - bought by health conscious Latin American and Northern urbanites in specialized stores - is no longer "organic." In addition, mechanization "pollutes" harvest forecasts, and this discredits local knowledge.

When it comes to changing the dynamics of social life, Izko (in press:42) remarks that "[R]reciprocity - [while not coterminous with equality] - permits a reproduction of the weakest actors in the relationship, sufficient to enable them to continue maintaining and activating themselves as subjects of reciprocity [if] reciprocity is *established* among disparate sub-units pertaining to the same socio-economic and cultural context." This reproduction of a system's weakest actors is subverted when subunits engage in "reciprocity" which is "radically different in regard to material resources, cultural rationality, and political forms" (ibid). The work mingas organized to repair rural infrastructure alleviate the financial and labor costs of the state - in the guise of provincial and municipal governments, even the state itself in the case of bigger catastrophes - yet without any reciprocal returns for those forced to submit to corvée labor, since - as citizens - they already paid for these services.[26] Development agencies are also radically different in their access to national and transnational power centers and to productive resources. If their mediation of these

[26] Those citizens living in middle class and upscale urban dwellings never have to submit to corvée labor to repair vital infrastructure. There, tax money pays for specialized repair and maintenance crews.

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conditions is premised on "reciprocity among unequals" (see Mitchell 1991) Andean grass roots participants will be ploughed under, rather than become fully emancipated partners able to interact with local and national power structures and resource keepers.

Reciprocal exchanges are in order, though, between development cooperators and critics. Development studies need to analyze critically "development as text," but in doing so, one may want to heed Blanca Muratorio's (1994:10) more general advice uttered with reference to the critical reexamination of Indian images represented by western observers of the 19th and 20th century: "... an academic perspective [needs to be] centered on one hand on the 'imaginizers' and on the other on the cultural and historical circumstances during which the images were produced. This requires familiarity with the culture of those who project images, as well with that of the imagined." It follows that the development critique can no longer be carried out from the armchair position when it comes to examining agency ideology and staff behavior. The conditioning of North-South relations currently lived in Latin America are mirrored by the way Spain externalizes internal claims to autonomy (Cataluña, the Basque Country, Galicia), giving rise to a pluralist policy (Izko in press: 15), where regions are a focus for policy application. These regions do not enter the scene as political actors in their own right, and Corsica as well as Brittany in France are another case in point.[27] Izko - contrary to Escobar - sees the utility of the anthropologist "in the linkage of reality with programming" (in press:44), precisely because our discipline enables us to

[27] The European Union [EU] and the European Council deploy funds for the administrative maintenance of the Association of European Regions. These, like the Veneto, the Regio Basilensis, the Jura or the Bodensee Region, to name a few, have no constitutional right to exist within their nation states, but are fathomed as "focus areas" in certain EU programs. When such regions extend beyond current national borders, as is the case with the latter three, their status becomes even more tenuous. The creation of such "regions," often historically rooted, but devoid of their former political clout mechanisms, is part of a carrot-and-stick policy aimed at diverting attention from pan-regional issues of class differences, gender inequalities, and ethnic discrimination. The deployment of funds within them repeat the "watering can" principle criticized for North-South development, where the most capital intensive entities in a "poor region" tend to profit most from aid resources (Verrips 1975).

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disentangle, explain, and expose patterns of social inequalities, economic inconsistencies, and political manipulation.

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VIII Conclusion: Culture change and the development paradigm

GENDER, CLASS AND ETHNICITY: OPPOSING TRIANGULAR RELATIONS, OR MULTIFACETED PROCESSES IN THE STRUCTURAL POWER PLAY ?

My research focused on a development project which aimed at stemming migration out of semi-subsistence rural areas through the introduction of cash income derived from intensified artisan production. The resulting encounter between European development agents and their Southern partners restructured gender roles according to ideals prevalent in both, the guest and the host cultures. Essentialist European ideas about peasant women's need to stay home in order to halt male migration, together with patriarchal local structures proved to be a serious obstacle for the effective recruitment and training of artisan women as managers of their cooperative. The failure of development agents to promote women's skills in crop cultivation and animal husbandry has contributed to the more general decline in subsistence production, primarily due to structural adjustments to global markets and financial conditions. Unable to acquire the necessary skills for managerial positions in the embroidery cooperative, the more adept women often emigrate to the United States to join their husbands. Even though the project was to designed to stop land flight, its inherent contradiction of intensifying craft production to the point of diverting labor from subsistence agriculture, has increased rather than halted the rural exodus and hindered the promotion of rural self sufficiency.

The thesis starts out with the exploration of historical processes which have changed gendered productive and socio-political conditions in the Andes since the Spanish Conquest. I then show how new powers (secular and ecclesiastic colonial bureaucracy, republican officialdom, or international development agencies) structure access to interaction spheres where local actors need to negotiate their individual and collective cultural and economic survival. This increasing integration of semisubsistence producers into a global socio-productive system puts them at risk in economic and political terms. Without sound and well researched development programming their

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material and cultural survival is uncertain. In a global system where access to productive and reproductive resources and strategies is stratified according to gender, ethnicity, race, and social class, development planners and project managers cannot succeed as mediators between rural craft or subsistence producers and the world market without a firm knowledge of these socio-political qualifiers and their effect on culture change.

The thesis shows how a critical and ethnographically conducted examination of development praxis and policy making, rather than dismissing it as useless (Escobar 1991, 1995), can offer alternatives to international cooperation where the attention to gendered, racial, and class based needs allows the formulation of programs which do not reinforce existing inequalities. Anthropology as the science of human group behavior is concerned as much with the systemic analysis of social structures as with historical process. If ethnography and the development critique are to further our understanding of contemporary cultural transformations, the anthropology of development needs to focus on how international finance and global production influence living conditions and political options of economically disprivileged and culturally marginalized populations of the South. Such research, by taking into account gendered conditions of the past, is not a mere study of "stubborn traditions," but the analysis of how present inequalities arose. Development policies which follow such analysis will allow for actions that go beyond mere "emancipation" to open economic venues and political channels which promote subsistence security and self determination.

The current subsistence crisis in Latin America is due to the continuous usurpation of indigenous lands and to the social annihilation of indigenous knowledge and technology which began with colonization (Galeano 1973, Wolf 1982). In the colonial domains of the Americas and elsewhere, the imposition on aboriginal societies of European gender discrimination in the succession to and exercise of political office and economic activities, destroyed gender balanced structures. Current gender segregated

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development programs can do little to reverse this as long as they trap women into time-consuming craft production without transmitting the necessary management skills to generate autonomous grass roots cooperatives.

Where development paradigms are based on the assumption that increasing market integration is part of progressive and unilinear change, the present western division of labor according to class and gender is taken for granted as a necessary level of socio-economic development. Agency policy which sees rural society as a "closed system" needing to open up to the world market does not question how rural class formation since the sixteenth century is connected to capital requirements and accumulation (Lofgren 1984:177ff).

Neoliberal policies curtailing popular access to quality education and health care in "developed" countries are brought to bear on development policy in the South through institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, and BID. Through them resources are channeled into balancing Third World trade deficits and into restructuring Southern nations' debts at the expense of addressing dramatic needs for educational and health infrastructure. These international finance institutions are managed by officials from Northern governments, and the guidelines they produce in turn serve as parameters for government development agencies and non-governmental organizations alike. They demand that foreign investors may count on a secure social and economic climate. What they mean is the absence of an organized work force bringing about or enforcing national labor legislation promoting fringe benefits and work place protection. Therefore, little effort is made today, in the realm of rapidly revolving and perpetually renewing capital, to continue the "social contract" between governments and their citizens, between employer conglomerates and labor. The need for capital to be reinvested, with ever higher profit yields for a diminishing number of human investors, mandates an ever increasing pool of surplus labor. Repressive government forces needed to keep wage costs and fringe benefits at an alarmingly low level, deplete state resources. This makes

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culturally satisfying social and physical reproduction ever more elusive for a majority of the world's population.

The difficulty development specialists experience in knowing about, accessing, and in turn informing social science theory jeopardizes the achievement of well intentioned, even well researched development goals. Swiss agents' cursory familiarity with fractions of gender theory led them to focus on women in their qualities as "migrants' wives," that is as somewhat "incomplete" social and economic actors. The craft project was premised on this, even though in Azuay, as in the Andes in general, women carry out and manage the vast majority of rural subsistence activities. While men in the Andes perform specific and seasonally variable manual tasks on the family plots, they are expendable when it comes to managerial duties. While members in rural households often pool their resources, these individuals do not necessarily "share" them in Rousseauian harmony. Competing claims and aspirations are on the rise when households experience the squeeze of reproduction. Therefore, where subsistence insecurity forces men to migrate, attention to rural women should revolve around the cooperative organization of certain agricultural tasks in order to compensate for gendered household labor needs. In Azuay province it is the campesino-artisan men who are underemployed, not the women, who become overburdened with intensified craft production.

The embroidery project was premised on a narrow western definition of women's appropriate field of action, and the technical skills the artisans acquired through the craft project were not matched with the corresponding knowledge to allow for an autonomous management of the artisan enterprise. Therefore the artisan household is better off exporting these women's technical skills to increase the cash flow through the influx of foreign currency remittances. The downside of this mid-range household strategy is that whenever people migrate, capital goods change hands. This may take the contemporary form of mortgage on small subsistence plots to acquire cash to defray the

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costs of coyote assisted passage,[1] or it may result in the expulsion of peasant smallholders by religious and political coercion, with subsequent usurpation of land by the ruling regional or local élite.[2] As June Nash points out: "From a social and cultural perspective, one of the most important factors in the articulation of satellite and metropolis is the migration of workers" (1981:406).

AGRARIAN CHANGE: A VARIETY OF REASONS

A look at agrarian intensification reveals that this occurs when increasing numbers of rural smallholders become absorbed into rural as well as urban wage labor forces. As a result there arises an acute need to "intensify" the production of cheap food, so that these wages can be kept low. Large-scale production of mono-crops, formerly protected from massive pests through bio-dynamic intercropping and agro-pastoral interfaces, are sprayed with hazardous pesticides. The crops' caloric value and external appearance, rather than their nutritional impact, are boosted by artificial fertilizers, forcing small producers who want to compete in this market to use scarce capital resources. Machines sow and harvest. Women, whose income is thought to be supplementary, to rather than on par with that of male co-residents, do back-breaking non-mechanized weeding and crop quality control for wages which maintain the household below survival minimum. In the case at hand, the Bordados development project intensified craft production to counter an insufficient land base due to a long history of smallholder usurpation at the hands of large scale land owners. Locally specific ecological constraints to subsistence agriculture are perceived as impossible to address, given the massive emigration of men. Therefore women need to intensify artisan production, even though this will not provide them with an income above the bare survival minimum.

In modern Latin America, development agents acting as cultural brokers try to

[1] This is the case in contemporary Azuay.

[2] That was the scenario in 16th century Switzerland (Dürrenmatt 1976, Zimmermann 1990), and it is presently the case in Chiapas, Mexico (Kovic 1996, Sullivan n.d.).

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mitigate this "simple reproduction squeeze."[3] Production projects where western gender stereotypes are reproduced often add to the labor burden of women who are left to care for dependents, maintaining a precarious rural smallhold in the face of male underemployment and consequent international emigration. Yet the importance of their work in subsistence crops is often overlooked by development agencies. Modern development projects aimed at women are plagued with an added problematic, because they transfer skills which are more useful to migration tactics than to long-term managerial autonomy.

Essentialist approaches to women in development often defy attention to pressing local needs. Increased craft production promotes the abandoning of hilly terrain which in turn leads to more erosion. Yet nothing can be done about it "in the absence of resident men," since soil conservation and agricultural revitalization are often eschewed by development agencies whose personnel does not associate female work with agricultural management. Equally static, ecological determinists do not explain social change and conflict when they reason that the emergence of industry, scholarship and urban migration in the Alps was brought about by the long winters, producing a "finely integrated [cultural] pattern that has emerged as the end product of a longer process of evolutionary adjustment..." (Burns 1963:130). Attention to peoples' use of ecological variation (ibid:137, Cole and Wolf 1974: Chpt. 7, Netting 1976:14) however, helps explain cultural variation in inheritance patterns and shifting property relations not as inflexible or irrational cultural norms, but as productive strategies adapted to natural conditions as well as changing social constraints surrounding rural producers. Attention to interaction between and within groups reveals that land tenure, as much as soil type, will define crop rotation (Smith C.T. 1978:208); that a field's rotational cycle (fallow vs. arable) will determine whether it is communal or private property, revealing

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[3] See Bernstein (1978) who refers to the household's inability to properly reproduce, since increased taxation and changing cultural norms mandate cash expenditure beyond its means.

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dynamics in land tenure (Netting 1976)[4]; that the availability of fallow lands has an impact on the number of cattle a homestead can raise (ibid, Fel and Hofer 1969), leading to intensified production and increased social stratification (Slicher van Bath 1963).

POWER AND CORPORATE ACTION: AN INTEGRATED ANALYSIS OF RULES AND PLAYERS IN THE "GLOBAL VILLAGE"

The ethnographic work with a corporate artisan organization leads me to reflect on the relationship between grassroots action and access to vital resources. The worldwide reduction of smallholder ("peasant") subsistence has received considerable attention in the social sciences. Attention paid to the interaction between differentiating rural classes reveals that commons and private plots do not remain static, but obey cultural and economic fluctuations and dynamics,[5] rather than being explained by ecological variation alone.[6] Increasing intra-community differentiation is a often a result of reduced common property.[7]

Usurpation of peasant resources took many forms. In Mesoamerica (Collier 1975, Lewis 1951) fertile, continuous, flat, valley floors quickly became the private property of large landholders using mechanized agriculture to plant cash crops. Steep, stone-strewn, fragmented, difficult to access plots without irrigation were retained as communal property planted in subsistence crops by Indian communities. Access to small extensions of prime flat lands is only possible through debt peonage in most of Latin America.[8] A similar trend is found in other parts of the world. In Africa women were left to work family subsistence plots with time consuming back-breaking hoe-

[4]It becomes clear that not only can both systems (communal and private) be combined within the same community, but that any one plot may shift back and forth, depending on its use.

[5] Vincze 1980, Bloch 1961, Smith C.T. 1978

[6] Steward (1955) and Arensberg (1963)

[7] Fel and Hofer 1969, Mintz J.1982, Slicher van Bath 1963, Smith C.T. 1978, Wolf 1986, Wolf and Mintz 1955

[8] Chance and Taylor (1985), Crain (1987), Guerrero (1991), Harris O. (1982), Wolf (1955, 1957).

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technique, while big private landholders monopolized male wage labor [these women's consorts] for cash cropping with plough agriculture. In Central and Eastern Switzerland, as well as in the Grisons and Valais valleys, where many Alps continue to be the property of communal or clan based Alp corporations, expropriation on a massive scale has not occurred. Utopian Anabaptists rallying around moral issues, rather than corporate management and production, were unable to protect their privately owned alpages. After migrating to Pennsylvania,[9] to the Canadian Plains and to the jungle of Paraguay, they added a corporate structure to their religious stakes. With that structure, they have been able to survive as separate economic communities with alternative technology into modernity.

In Andean, Alpine, Indonesian, Mesoamerican, or Mid-Eastern contexts, the partly corporate character of small scale production allows the producer to devote the agricultural season to the individual planting of cash crops, human staples, or fodder. Corporate ownership of certain resources like pasture, water, or forests and the corporate training and employment of transhumance or hydraulic specialists help the individual household to invest small capital in a few animals or diversified plots too cumbersome to maintain if all of the landed and human resources and infrastructure were individually owned and supplied. Like European agro-pastoralism (Vincze 1980), the combination of subsistence agriculture and craft work is a dialectical relationship of two apparently contradictory productive strategies, each of which can only be fully understood if considered in relation to the other. Cooperative enterprise requires that the community involved reduce internally competitive demands, to exploit "mutually supportive elements," giving rise, as corporate ventures have in the past, to specific

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[9] A note on "language" is in order: These early settlers or migrants are called "pilgrims" in modern America, emphasizing their religious orientation and stubbornness, rather than their political and economic alienation (hence their emigrant status) which forced them to leave Europe.

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techniques and institutions.[10] In Alpine Europe, where crop cultivation and live stock raising are different and conflicting productive activities, corporations force all participants to jointly face these conflicting demands in terms of individual skills, the allocation of labor, capital and other resources (Vincze 1980).

Cooperatives are "total institutions" where culture and behavior, that is ideology and action, are at work in a development process (Nash and Hopkins 1976:29). To introduce a new productive process is therefore a delicate and difficult enterprise, since it may not be based on local knowledge, nor be compatible with local cultural norms. In the case of the embroidery cooperative, the imposed organization is at odds with the Andean notion of gender complementarity and with the gendered division of work in the region. The analysis of the artisan-agricultural interface in the Ecuadorian Andes shows that the embroidery project fills the household's acute need to complement semi-subsistence agriculture with added cash. The fact that corporate action revolves around the cash producing artisan cooperative, rather than subsistence agriculture and land tenure, however, is a drawback.[11]

With increasing tax burdens levied on subsistence producers, they lost corporately owned prime resources, such as flat and easily arable/irrigable land to the encroachment by a growing number of merchant capitalists in need for reinvestment opportunities. This occurred both in slowly modernizing Europe and the newly colonized Americas. Where Alpine peasants were able to retain certain more productive tracts of land, they did so as private owners of smaller parcels where crops for human consumption and animal fodder were planted for cash sale and partial self

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[10] Examples from Switzerland include the making of huge wheels of cheese by corporate Alp associations and the artistry surrounding cattle ascent to and descent from summer alpage pastures.

[11] See Nash and Hopkins (1976:6-7, citing Vessuri and Bilbao): In Argentina a collective agricultural production with "single-crop, highly capital-intensive exploitation [gave way] to diversified crops with labor-intensive organization." CBC is both capital and labor intensive. Intensive labor efforts cannot be shared and combined among coop members, however, since effort and remuneration are highly individualized.

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consumption.[12] Corporate ownership and management became restricted to less desirable plots such as land currently laying fallow for purposes of soil regeneration, or remote highland pastures with a relatively low caloric yield (but high in vitamins and fiber). The training, appointment and remuneration of the necessary herding/cheese making specialists also remained the province of corporate organization (Netting 1976, Vincze 1980). In the absence of communally managed natural resources, there is increased intra-group differentiation (Roseberry 1983, Slicher van Bath 1963, Fel and Hofer 1969:46). However, rights for cooperative members can only be fully exercised when all levels of knowledge and skill have penetrated and are being absorbed and processed by membership ranks. Otherwise, and CBC is a case in point, a small élite makes all the pertinent decisions (Nash and Hopkins 1976:12, citing Ben Salem and Vincent).

In the agro-artisan interface, attention needs to be paid to the availability and flow of information vital to the economic venture in question. Advance knowledge of seasonal fashion trends is vital for the marketing of socially differentiating and politically rewarding "luxury" goods.[13] To gain a head start on such vital productive information is costly, since it involves yearly travels to international fashion fairs in North America and Europe where prices for a square foot of exhibition space are exorbitant. In addition, attending these fairs requires foreign language and travel skills which cannot be acquired rapidly by the members of a rural cooperative in the Southern hemisphere. Current information can be gleaned from the constant and specific

[12] See Weinberg (1975) on the Swiss Valais, where communal consolidation of private Alpine pasture and its corporate ownership and management allowed individual households to enter strawberry cash cropping which would have interfered with labor demands formerly made by individual long distance herding.

[13] Apart from basic food, shelter, and survival knowledge, most of what is conceived "essential" by members of a given group, is culturally constructed. In certain upper middle class and élite households the use of exclusive table linen is "essential" to the entertaining functions of their members. But since that "essentiality" is culturally construed, socially mandated, and regulated by current fashion trends and color codes, changes in what is the "right" kind of table linen occur rapidly.

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monitoring of mass media, but that cuts the time available for its transformation into new designs from roughly twelve months to six months before the start of a new fashion season (assuming that for household decoration, there is at most one season per year). The embroidery project was very successful in transferring new technology (the use of a stitching frame, specific needles, precision replica of master designs). It has fomented grass roots groups in villages that lacked women's organization at a critical time in the face of increased male migration to North America (only Mayuntur had a functional and cohesive women's group which ran a community store before the advent of CBC). On the other hand, the skills to exercise financial auditing, to manage mid-range planning, and to direct successful international marketing have not been acquired by grass roots members, even though some artisans had the necessary high school diplomas to enter formal university careers in management, marketing, financial planning, and design.[14] The mobility into managerial roles was not achieved in the five to seven years of average project duration. Although such mobility may problematic, because it fosters the emergence of a new, or consolidates a traditional, élite, it might rescue the project from demise.

My point is that the cooperative management of production and marketing, involving rapid and elusive changes, is difficult for producers in the global periphery where formal and domestic education have not prepared them to capture this sort of information in a timely and efficient manner. Centro de Bordados Cuenca has also run into difficulty recruiting professional staff from other sectors of the Ecuadorian society to process and transform this sort of information. When we examine the strategies employed in the project of Centro de Bordados Cuenca, it becomes clear that the cooperative effort does not entail the full assumption of resource management by the

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[14] Some may argue that this critique comes late, since SDC is no longer concentrating on specific projects involving the "master expert." I argue that such projects, combined with programming efforts aimed at concretely changing local educational structures - tentatively through a scholarship program available to grass roots project partners and their household members - may prove more successful.

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member participants. It is also evident that the artisan activity of each woman caters to her household's very acute cash needs. Subsistence agriculture, on the other hand, is something for which practically all project members are fully qualified when it comes to resource management, planning of productive cycles, and marketing strategies for surplus.

We are thus faced with the following facts about Centro de Bordados Cuenca:

- It produces a high quality export product for which there is a limited and not easily accessible market.
- It has established solid grass roots organizations with a great deal of potential in cooperative management provided its members have access to the necessary information in order to obtain and manage the pertinent resources.
- The income from craft production, while less impressive than migrant remittances, is vital for the daily and sometimes perennial survival of the artisans and their dependents.

Centro de Bordados Cuenca has at present a costly and inflexible administration, while the productive forces in the villages and at the processing plant are flexible enough for the rapid responses needed in a changing fashion market. At this point, one non-local marketing-design specialist - contracted as a SDC consultant who pays several yearly visits - could take care of most issues for which the FEPP coordinator, outside manager, outside accountant-secretary, and grass-roots production manager combine their efforts without the desired effects.[15] Embroideresses who currently deal with production management and local marketing could become such a specialist's apprentices, financed by SDC. The knowledge they gain could then be optimally diffused among interested coop members through the education committee in place. The administrative and supervisory board of the cooperative could be turned into a two year management on-the job training, using funds SDC currently pumps into salary subsidies for the outside administrators.

As an alternative, the cooperative effort might well be directed toward the management of local agrarian resources, including low impact tourism, as well as the

[15]With the experience gained at CBC the contract staff has an advantage over peers in the local labor market, while the FEPP coordinator can continue working within his NGO.

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production of craft and elementary consumption goods for the regional and national markets. These markets, their variants and fluctuations, are well known to coop members, and with managerial and marketing expertise gained from apprenticeship within the commercial embroidery venture, they would soon be able to capture and process information relevant to the national Ecuadorian demands for certain crafts, for basic consumption goods, and leisure market services. Whether the export venture can be continued may be uncertain, but it would be a very worth while experiment to train grass roots leaders to operate such a cooperative export outfit.

The point is that in the subsistence-cash nexus faced by small or petty commodity producers, cooperatives are viable in the field where the corporation members acquire the production and management skills culturally "... as members of their society." When we look at why and how Alp corporations survived in Switzerland in the face of increased household cash needs we find that artisan production, as well as labor and capital intensive cash crop ventures were dealt with individually at the household level through the "services" of profit oriented mercantile intermediaries with access to consumer information and marketing networks. The summer herding of dairy cattle, goats and sheep continues to be managed in corporate fashion at the community level, allowing modern farmers to keep more cattle than if they had only access to their private village lands (Netting 1976). Combining the existing gendered subsistence management in the Andes with conclusions about these processes of Swiss rural change allows development workers to formulate a cooperative project aimed at reinforcing local subsistence agriculture.

The globalized aspects of the local economy are mediated by - often capital intensive - processing and marketing ventures operated by select specialists with the skills, resources, and networks to access elusive and trendy information and process it in a timely fashion for successful marketing. Once rapid technological change becomes part of the generalized education package, corporate management of newly defined local

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resources can resurface. This is the case in the corporate management of winter sports infrastructure in parts of the Swiss Alps, as well as in machinery and production corporations in socialist forms of agrarian life.[16]

Social scientists involved in shaping development policies need to look at "critical cultural elements"[17] within the society that is supposedly to benefit from such an effort, and not at a mere "trait list." This allows them to identify people's skills beyond the mere mechanics and technology (they already know how to embroider). That means looking for specific local managerial and intellectual abilities which can be "optimized" in a collective manner. Development efforts building on locally specific management abilities allow the intervening agency to connect the local economy and its small scale resources to the wider world and its economic system through information channels which eluded the "target" population. In a nutshell, people need to be identified not only by what skills and resources they lack, but by what they do know and what they already can manage, e.g. skills of coordinating crop cultivation, cattle management, cooking, child tending,etc, which require a coordination in the allocation of scarce resources that could translate into management potential. Often these local skills are unknown to the development agent, and the local resources are unmanageable by her or him. However, the non-local development specialist comes with information and networks into which local artisans and subsistence producers can tap. In this case local development partners must be able to determine first, which resources they can best manage through the development effort. That would entail a changing role of the agent from the "teacher-

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[16] Moshav, Kibbutz, Kholkoz and Sovkhoz models.

[17] Kirchhoff (1952), in his study of the Mesoamerican culture area, identified the region's salient social features, or "critical cultural elements:" a world-view acknowledging a long-cycled but continuous reshaping (re-making) of society (the world) after destructive events; an ample but functionally uniform pantheon comprising a wide variety of gendered deities; planned, big, and highly structured urban centers; and the agricultural and nutritional Trinity of maize, beans, and squash grown together for soil fertilization and protection. The dynamic interaction of these elements fortified the adaptive patterns of societies.

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coordinator" to an "apprentice/information-transmitter and co-coordinator."[18]

An artisan cooperative which builds on work fragmentation where no individual or production crew has full control over the final product from the drawing board to the shipping room prevents the growth of worker cohesion beyond the kin group and village affiliation.[19] The continued village-based commensality during important ritual activities of Centro de Bordados is a material testimony to the absence of pan-Bordados cohesion. It also attests to the artisans' desire to shape the organization in their own cultural terms.[20] The project intended to counteract the "abuse and exploitation inherent in Verlag industry (putting out)." Cottage industry, even in the guise of "Kauf" or "cottage craftsmanship", where control over labor power is held at the household level (Goody 1982:15), paves the way for an ever more detailed division of labor. This has lead to a situation where artisans in a putting out system are considered wage labor by social scientists who look at questions of work-process control and decision making (Littlefield 1978, Cook and Binford 1990). At Centro de Bordados, control over production is split up between the production manager, contracted general manager, sales manager, and FEPP coordinator. CBC replicates the hierarchy found in non cooperative enterprises, and female rural labor continues to be the bulk at the bottom of this hierarchy. Its top is made up of educated middle class men to whom the production managing embroideress defers for lack of sufficient training.

The money entering households through embroidery in part helps reproduce

[18] In order to acquire and use the necessary insight, the apprentice/network facilitator would need prolonged residence with the local partners similar to that practiced by the former "master experts," but in a somewhat reversed role.

[19] See analogies in Gordon et al (1982) and Webster (1985).

[20] Stephen (1993:36) shows how Oaxacan weavers, by distancing themselves from state sponsored cooperative programs, "came to exert a significant degree of control over the marketing and distribution of their product within Mexico." SDC, as a non-Ecuadorian entity has the advantage - precisely because of practical Swiss neutrality - to mediate managerial skills which would enable CBC artisans to achieve such control. If marketing skills are to cover the international market, then SDC must sponsor culturally adequate yet commercially competitive consultancy over several years to come.

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gendered educational and status differences (Ong 1987), with female craft income being spent on the higher education of sons and brothers (Nash 1993a:11). Girls who graduate from primary schools are forced to mind the household chores, rather than go on to secondary school so that the mother has time to earn cash through embroidery. In that, the project's aim to further women's status is thwarted when it comes to the next generation. When female cooperative leadership provides a political basis for power that is constructed in opposition rather than in complement to presently male centered communal hierarchy, danger to women's lives may become very real (Nash 1993b).[21]

POLITICS OF THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

Durkheim's notion of organic solidarity, rooted in the social division of labor, making constituent groups dependent on each other through the "social contract," conflates two distinct aspects of the locus of control over labor power. As Marx, as well as many anthropologists irrespective of "credo" have pointed out, a certain division of labor according to age, sex, or other socio-culturally construed criteria is found in every human society. A quite different form of control, however, is exercised in the division of labor on the shop floor and across the countryside, which occurs with the intensification of capitalist social relations. This distinction is important, because a division of labor according to crafts still permits the worker to exercise influence over the productive process from inception to its completion. It also implies an extensive know-how. A breakdown of the productive process into a myriad of segmented tasks divorces the worker/artisan and administrator from a holistic understanding of the entire production and distribution process and thus prevents the individual from influencing it. Braverman (1974:77) points out that the breakdown of production into constituent parts is not by itself a division of labor in the shop, as long as one person - or a cooperative production conglomerate (such as households in a Kauf cottage industry

[21] Parallel hierarchy has been subverted by state sponsored development in Highland Latin America during this century. Current development projects need to find parallel avenues to mediate resources and infrastructure, rather than implementing separate "women's programs."

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situation) does it all. On the surface, CBC corresponds to such a conglomerate, and as such it is a - rather big - Kauf cottage industry. Its constituent members lack access to one critical resource, however: information on trendy fashion changes, and rapidly shifting market and financial conditions.[22] That information is made inaccessible by barriers of physical and cultural distance which can only be overcome after closing an education gap based on class, ethnicity and gender. This would imply that the labor site of production need also be the site of political action. [23] In order to achieve full self management for Centro de Bordados Cuenca, we would need a restructuring of the present education system in Ecuador, which differentiates in quality and quantity according to class, ethnicity, and gender. That would be possible if those families, élite and other, who have access to expensive private institutions would pool their resources with the state in order to create a demographically balanced, methodologically efficient, and socially equitable system.

The interaction between core or metropolitan capital and peripheral labor mediated through development programs sustains the status quo encountered in the field.[24] Development programs sometimes achieve sensible improvement in living conditions. They can fortify those local organizations which find ideological and

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[22] Archaeologists working with the concept of Optimal Foraging Strategy point to the information variable when it comes to explain why people do not always act like "perfect economic men:" They may lack access to all the information available to those who build the optimizing model, or they may adjudicate different values to part of the information.

[23] See Burawoy (1984) who warns against the conceptual conflation of the two.

[24] Certain western countries directly impose on their aid agencies a mediating role between capital and labor. Such is the case with Simpson, a U.S. forestry firm operating in Guatemala (Siglo XXI, Guatemala Nov. 1996 - March 1997).

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productive "niches" within the national political and economic "habitat."[25] However, development agents from western countries see themselves as "mediators between the state and civil society," rather than as a revolutionary force, and revolution stimulated from without would be a rather risky business in terms of professional ethics and human relations. Even the creation of corporate village water boards, rather than an artisan cooperative, might be perceived as a threat by local politicians and big landowners, especially if women would be massively involved in its running. It is here, however, that attention to gendered complementarity would help mobilize the entire group in a way which would allow compensatory resource claims to be presented in a more effective yet culturally acceptable way.

Questions of class formation, consciousness, and struggle are explored by Karl Marx and Max Weber, who shared a view of society as composed of distinct socio-economic classes. They differed, however, with regard to the actual formation of such classes and the consciousness of its constituent members. While Weber emphasized the importance of status groups and moral foci of identity, Marx saw class divisions occurring in correlation with access to means of material production. These two contrasting views continue to permeate modern social analysis. Development workers involved in CBC tried to mediate the deficient access to means of production by making investment capital available to a population cut off from formal lines of credit for lack of adequate collateral. However, the Swiss and Ecuadorian development workers also know the limits of political worker action; some of them had witnessed unsuccessful social upheaval during the 1960s in Europe and the 1970s in Ecuador. Since political avenues

[25] This terminology was coined in order to explain processes of natural selection among animals. Dirks (1978:126) defines "niche" as a species' specialization or "profession" [trade] when it comes to exploit resources available in a given "habitat." The "habitat," then would be the species' "address," so to speak. It is important to remember, though, that uncritical analogies between biology and culture bear the danger of borrowing descriptive rather than analytical models. "When social variables, such as leadership, social relationships of production, exchange value, and political organization are not modeled to fit a biological idiom, they are frequently factored out of the analysis or reduced to residual behavior" (Keene 1983:141).

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are the only legal way for worker citizens to press claims on the distribution of the social product, ethnic, religious, and geographic/ecological differences are easily exploited by governments and employers to cut across class lines, fragmenting workers, farmers, and the petite bourgeoisie (Przeworski (1985:11, 28). This splits any actor's social persona along the opposed lines of producer-consumer. It is then "the market" and its related evil of "unequal exchange," for which producer-consumer identities blame their respective counterparts, rather than the exploitative productive relations which mandate the existence of a cheaply maintained and "serviced" labor force.

Corporate hegemony, which can control all aspects of public life within any community in a nation (Nash 1985:15),[26] is reproduced through the development effort, exacerbating gendered work load differences. In programs directed at male productive strategies, such as irrigation, fruit orchards, etc, women are kept "busy" with issues of general social welfare. Where women are productively engaged, as in Centro de Bordados, they still have to support collateral tasks of socio-public reproduction, diminishing the time artisans have for education in the realms of management. This lack of time, combined with greater household cash flow, leads to increased consumerism and expanded consumption possibilities. When social critique revolves around distribution mechanisms, rather than questions concerning access to capital and power relations around the production process (Braverman 1974:10-11), gendered issues of the "simple reproduction squeeze" remain unaddressed.

The notions of "proletarianization," "homogenization," and "segmentation" portray a unilineal evolution of the industrialization process (Gordon et al 1982). Unilineal models of evolutionary change imply that certain historically specific conditions in the "developed" world represent a necessary "stage" for progressive cultural transformations. This leaves no space to consider gender models and

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[26] Work, education, health-care, even the arts are turned into competitive, self financing business oriented endeavors in "Tank Town" or Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which is the site of this case study.

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property/power relationships from non-western and pre-colonial cultures as viable development alternatives. The Swiss development effort, considering its limited resources, often turns to "small is beautiful" as a guiding concept. While I agree that the concentrated effort with a limited number of participants is more likely to become a successful development result - CBC attests to this - it exemplifies the evolutionary view of social change inherent in development planning world wide. It sees small scale craft intensification as a necessary precursor to a later stage of industrial production. In addition the CBC paradigm, while aimed at halting migration, accepts men's decision to do so as inevitable - hadn't Europe exported her poor to the Americas a century earlier ?

At the general policy level there is no effort to examine uneven development, to acknowledge that low and high intensity of capital involvement can go side by side. This is currently the case in the North American garment and computer chip industries, both of which heavily rely on offshore production (read "legal tax evasion") and an undocumented work force segregated according gender, age and ethnic/racial affiliation (Fernández-Kelly 1983). While offshore capital exploits a foreign work force all while being tax exempt, the embroideresses exploit their own labor, and they pay corporate as well as individual taxes to the Ecuadorian treasury.

This research shows that development projects aimed at improving women's economic situation, political position, and social status are often fraught with contradiction, where furthering one end thwarts the overall goal of preventing massive land flight and international migration. It also confirms that women in the South are quite capable of directing social change into culturally appropriate channels, should development programmers take autochthonous skills and resources into account, rather than focusing heavily on "what is missing."

Edited volumes on women's economic contribution (Nash and Safa, 1980, 1986, Etienne and Leacock 1980) alerted scientists and government officials to the fact that women's work was understated, and their contribution to household budgets and the

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national economy underreported. Unsurprisingly, women were also long ignored by national and international development agencies (Butler and Santos 1986: 208). "Women in Development" became not only an issue of academic debate, but of development agency practice. However, the ensuing women's projects and programs so far address the former neglect in only terms of "degree," and even that is done with only meager quantities of overall development budgets. Interviews with SDC agents and my analysis of COTESU's Quito budget specify that between one and three percent of an agency's yearly expenditure go to "gender oriented programs and issues." Much of this is devoted to theoretically weak "gender awareness seminars" at headquarters and to issues of general social reproduction (health, nutrition, housekeeping, substance abuse awareness) in the field. While some of these issues are of vital importance, they should not be construed as "women's programs," since they address general welfare needs in which men and women should be equally involved, unless one wants to burden women's time yet once more, to make their days into quadruple workloads, and their chance at acquiring managerial skills ever more elusive.

Ethnographic work within a particular development agency shows that social science theory as a body of knowledge plays a marginal and haphazard role. Where agency-policy makers are given a wide range of autonomy, as in Switzerland, the agency does not provide them with access to current debates, nor with the time to participate in them. Therefore, the agency's well intentioned self-analyses lack the theoretical orientation necessary to address project and programming flaws they themselves identify. The social science critique of development, while pointing out critical flaws such as the unreflective reproduction of western ideas and productive forms, has been carried on in an "ivory tower." As long as development criticism and practice are construed as polar opposites, the child will be thrown out with the bath-water as a "failed paradigm."

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THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT RATHER THAN "DEVELOPMENT ANTHROPOLOGY"

As the development effort of some Northern countries shifts attention away from Africa, Latin America, and South-East Asia, toward the European East and Central Asia, new "frontiers" open up, new "others" come into view. In these new venues, theories of social justice and gender equality need to be dealt with at the agency's policy making and planning level if past and current mistakes are to be avoided. Should anthropologists put themselves at the margin of these decisions, busy debating in the "ivory tower ?" If "development" hasn't worked, we may need to find a new way of connecting the global village in terms of political economy and class and gender equity. Introducing social science theory into mandatory school curricula[27] and into the director's floors of development agencies may be a good start. These two goals go hand in hand and require that the discipline extend the time consuming, personally taxing, and professionally expensive field work technique to agencies, to their personnel at various levels of internal hierarchy, and to the intergroup relations inherent in transnational ventures, be they "public," "private," "corporate," or "individual." In that the challenge is different in geopolitical magnitude rather than social kind, from the traditional village study, where the researcher has to be careful to cover all segments of local society without ignoring or antagonizing any particular group.

This study has brought together actors living in different continents and locales situated in separate hemispheres. My work shows that without the critical examination of social science theories, development agencies suffer the inversion of program and project goals, because they limit their agents' theoretical tool kit to notions of unilinear evolution and "progress." The world is seen as a "system" into which rural artisans women need to be integrated irrespective of native socio-cultural gender paradigms. I suggest that development agents need to acquire a thorough familiarity with local socio-

[27] The American Anthropological Association took a step into this direction during its 1996 conference, when K-Grade 12 teachers from the San Francisco area were invited to examine this question with members of our trade.

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cultural and politico-economic processes before they are called upon to formulate development remedies. In the case at hand the professionals entrusted with the creation of an income generating project for women were well acquainted with rural Ecuador, but the two agencies that sponsored the effort had no clearly formulated gender policy; neither SDC nor FEPP provided the planners with access to critical debates in gender theory.

The focus on women's domestic and reproductive functions is based on the concept that there is a "universal" female condition which mandates a woman's presence at home. While the current subsistence crisis makes increased cash income a most pressing concern, rural smallholders gain little with low artisan piece rates. Western gender stereotypes disregard Andean gender complementarity, and when Third World women are live-stock managers and agricultural specialists, their respective management qualities are ignored. Intensified artisan production not only burdens these women with a triple work load, the intricacies of a constantly changing fashion market does not allow them to use their culturally acquired intellectual capacities. The development agencies' goal to help create an autonomous artisan cooperative is commendable, and their effort to build on an existing technical skill confirms that there was a genuine regard for local know-how. However, the fact that the artisans are women seems to have diverted the planners' attention from the fact that the aid receiving population is endowed not only with able hands but with smart brains.

While SDC gave its planners the mandate to create avenues for increased rural income, it did not ensure that a detailed marketing study and subsequent product design precede the implementation of the artisan project. Therefore, the high quality embroideries were launched within a monopoly buyer frame where the production plant is highly dependent on the fortunes of a single business contact. The project manager had to do marketing research in addition to his sixty hour work week installing the finishing plant in Cuenca and organizing production in rural Azuay. Since shifting fashion trends

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and global currency fluctuations are hard to control even for well educated development technicians and planners, it must seem impossible to prepare rural artisans with elementary education for such a job. However, the project's failure to create an autonomous cooperative during its six years of formal duration needs to be situated at the crossroads of gender, class and ethnicity: women need to stay home, more so if they have children and migrating husbands. Poor rural artisans, a majority of whom have only limited elementary education, are not expected to acquire the necessary skills to run a productive and commercial enterprise operating in the world market. This begs the question, then, why the production of a sophisticated export product was conceived of in the first place. Even when campesino women possess the same secondary education credentials which allowed locally hired non-campesino managers (mostly men) to acquire their university degrees, the dozen grass roots candidates for formal training are wasted on the perfection of tedious, repetitive manual tasks at the finishing plant. One by one they started to leave for hard currency illegal jobs in North America.

If the development agents decided not to consider the few properly credentialed grass roots artisans for formal and vocational training from the very beginning, they may have wanted to avoid the creation of a small and highly privileged group and thus further rural differentiation. This imposes the conclusion that development programs and projects which do want to fortify grass roots organization and management need to

- establish an inventory of local intellectual and managerial knowledge, not only technical abilities
- take advantage of existing vestiges of native gender equity, such as the parallel Andean socio-political career hierarchy for husband-and-wife teams and the general Andean gender complementarity, which distributes labor in ways different from western stereotypes and according the same prestige and value to gendered tasks
- identify cooperative projects which allow the use of culturally transmitted management skills, rather than stressing what it is that the aid receiving population cannot do.

If development agencies have decided that mid-range projects with the "master expert"

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have not succeeded in promoting locally sustainable long term ventures, their replacement should not involve the increasing use of jet setting consultants. Neither is it always optimal to leave all field work in the hands of local specialists who come with their own socio-cultural distances toward the "target population." My agent profile reveals that the combined effort of local professionals and expatriate "resident apprentice-coordinators" may provide an approach which does not lead to the communication-conflict model presented by Centro de Bordados Cuenca. Stephen (1993) pointed out how self-determination brought a better marketing opportunities to Oaxacan weavers once they became independent of state cooperatives. The artisan leaders at Centro de Bordados Cuenca have tapped into a variety of funding sources and new marketing ventures in the three years since the project has been formally terminated. In that the insistence, on part of COTESU and SDC headquarters, that the cooperative needs to stand on its own feet is correct. However, the years of direct involvement in a future project could bring about change more quickly and more in harmony with local needs and cultural parameters, if such an "apprentice-coordinator" is encouraged to build on local knowledge and to let the participants shape aims and goals of a project.

In order to deploy such personnel in ways which further social justice rather than uphold the status quo in the "focus countries," a good dose of political neutrality, so far characteristic of Swiss international relations, needs to go hand-in-hand with planning and field agents' ability to address pressing issues of socio-economic inequity. The bilateral contract concerning a particular program must be tied to additional and massive efforts to redress quality differences in education. That can only be achieved with full cooperation from the aid receiving country's élite. Therefore macro-social, rather than macro-economic measures should be extended by international development finance institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, IDB or even the BAWI, and they should concern issues of general welfare, rather than subsidizing the balance of payment and rescheduling debts. These efforts should be administered and monitored, among

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others, with the cooperation from seasoned "old school" SDC personnel. In order to optimize the use of scarce funds, western development agencies need to seek coordination with bilateral, multilateral or non-governmental entities beyond the present practice of "watering-can" lump sum donations to broad and administratively costly multilateral programs.

Gender equity can only be furthered through the development effort if agencies and social scientists engage in an ongoing theoretical debate. That debate must be informed by the continuous evaluation of specific projects and programs. This would enable development agencies to formulate a coherent gender theory; it would also require that the gendered career hierarchy in western businesses and administrations be questioned and reformed, since one cannot preach water while drinking wine. The fundamental problem of development helping to maintain a given status quo, then, can only be addressed with deep ranging structural transformations of societies North and South.

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Appendix 1: Archivo de la Vicaría de Gualaceo - Documents on Indian land alienation

On January 12, 1743 Capt. Estéban (Estívan) Saenz Viteri leased a half a cuadra (1/2 ha) from the Indian Juan Zhicay, "natural... of Toctesi (Dotaxi) hamlet" for the time of nine years. An additional plot (half a solar or 2500 m2) of Guazhalan land was leased for six years with the explicit consent by the indigenous "owner" that Saenz Viteri may plant it with sugar cane, for which the crown forbade the use of Indian labor (see Bonnett 1992a:108).[1] The sum Zhicay received, was used to pay his tribute. The "Indio Zhicay" is held to compensate the White renter for improvements to the land and for buildings put up, should anyone (that could mean other comuneros from Toctesi, or the ayllu leadership in general) interfere with Saenz Viteri's activities on the land. A similar contract was drawn up on April 4, 1743 between Saenz Vitery and Teodora Zhicay and Manuel Saquicaray, a mother and her son from Toctesi. In both instances, the Protector of Indians was present, however no intervention of his is recorded in the rent agreement. His presence confers legitimacy on Spanish encroachment of indigenous lands rather than protecting Indian rights and patrimony. On May 15, 1743, Saenz Viteri had a third lease drawn up for Guazhalan lands. This time the priest[2] and the head of the Indian church board (síndico de la iglesia), a man named Augustín Cando, lease Toctesi fallows which "belong" to the cofradía of the Sacred Heart. This is done in order to finance Church taxes and the priest's fees for reading mass. At the same time, priest and síndico lease an additional plot which had "belonged" to a childless widow, whose funeral had been paid for by the priest. The deceased Indian woman, Ana Sucumbay, had

---

[1] Probably in order to maintain a monopoly on the transatlantic sugar and rum trade (see Schneider 1977).

[2] "El Padre predicador, Gral. Fray Martín Vivar y Banda, cura doctrinero de Gualaceo"

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apparently willed her plot to the cofradía.[3] Three days later, on May 18, 1743, Saenz Viteri leased more cofradía lands in Guazhalan. This time the land had been worked by María Alí, a comunera from Toctesi. However, her marriage to Santiago Cando from Chordeleg reverted to communal use the plots she had received in usufruct through parallel descent from her mother. The land had already been leased and subleased before, and the rent had gone toward the burial of Francisca Duchi, María Alí's mother.

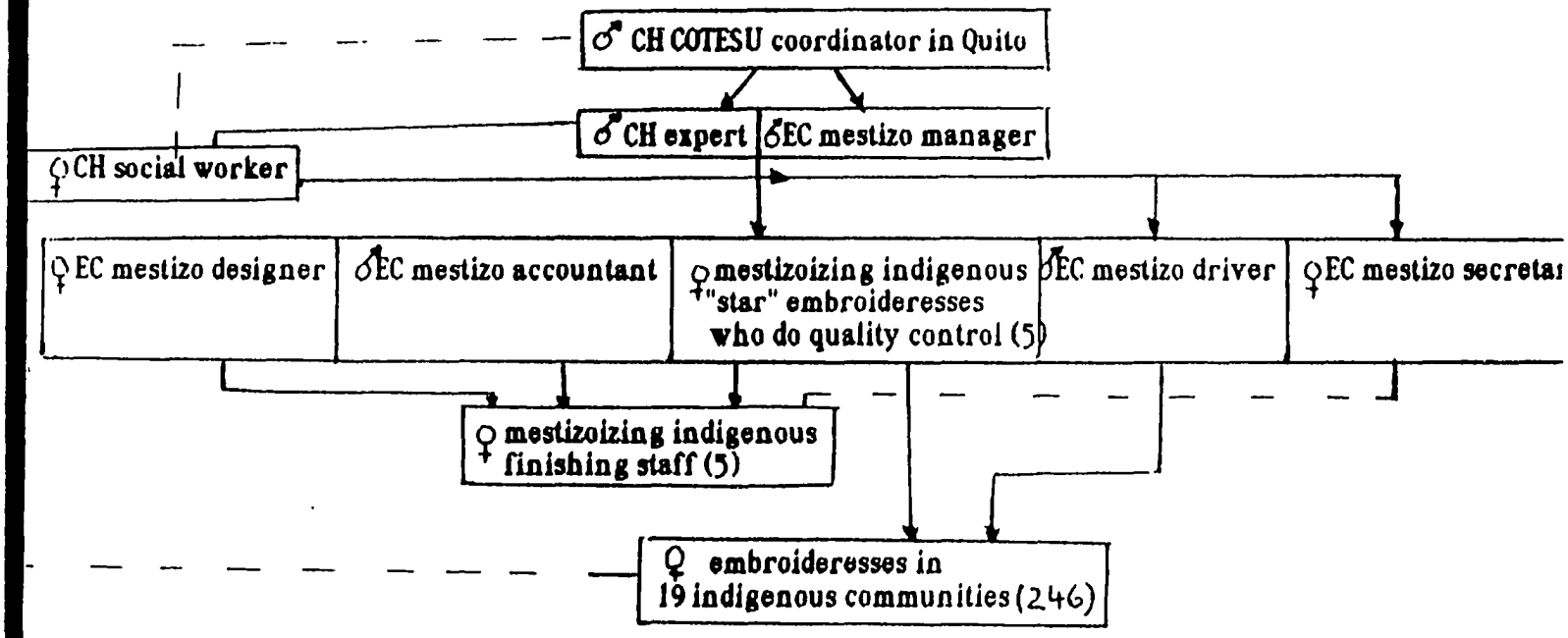
[3]This is very unusual: For the year 1750 there is only one mention of a will in the Gualaceo Church Archives, and it was made by a rich white woman from Gualaceo. A cash poor Indian widow who draws up an expensive formal will sounds suspicious, when at the same time her funeral expenses are advanced by the priest.

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Appendix 2

Hierarchy structure and power flows within Bordados de Cuenca according to gender and ethnicity



Legend

♀♂ female male

EC = Ecuadorian
CH = Swiss

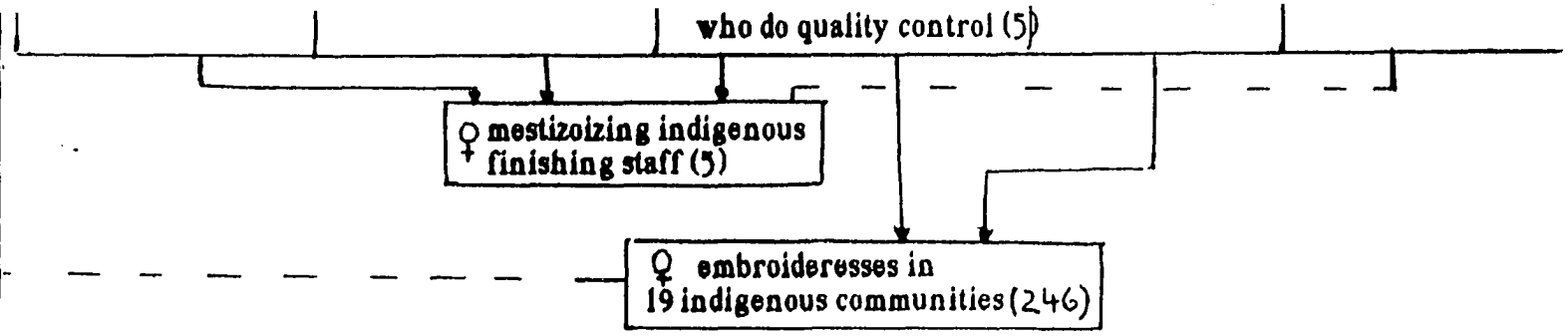
daily/weekly personal contact
occasional contact

Appendix 2: CBC organizational chart (Source: CBC internal ms.)

Organizational chart published by Bordados de Cuenca

FUNCION	PARTICIPANTE	ESTRUCTURA ORGANIZATIVA	Nº BORDADORAS
Financiamiento Asesoría	COTESU	GUALACEO (cantón Gualaceo) Llintlo	35

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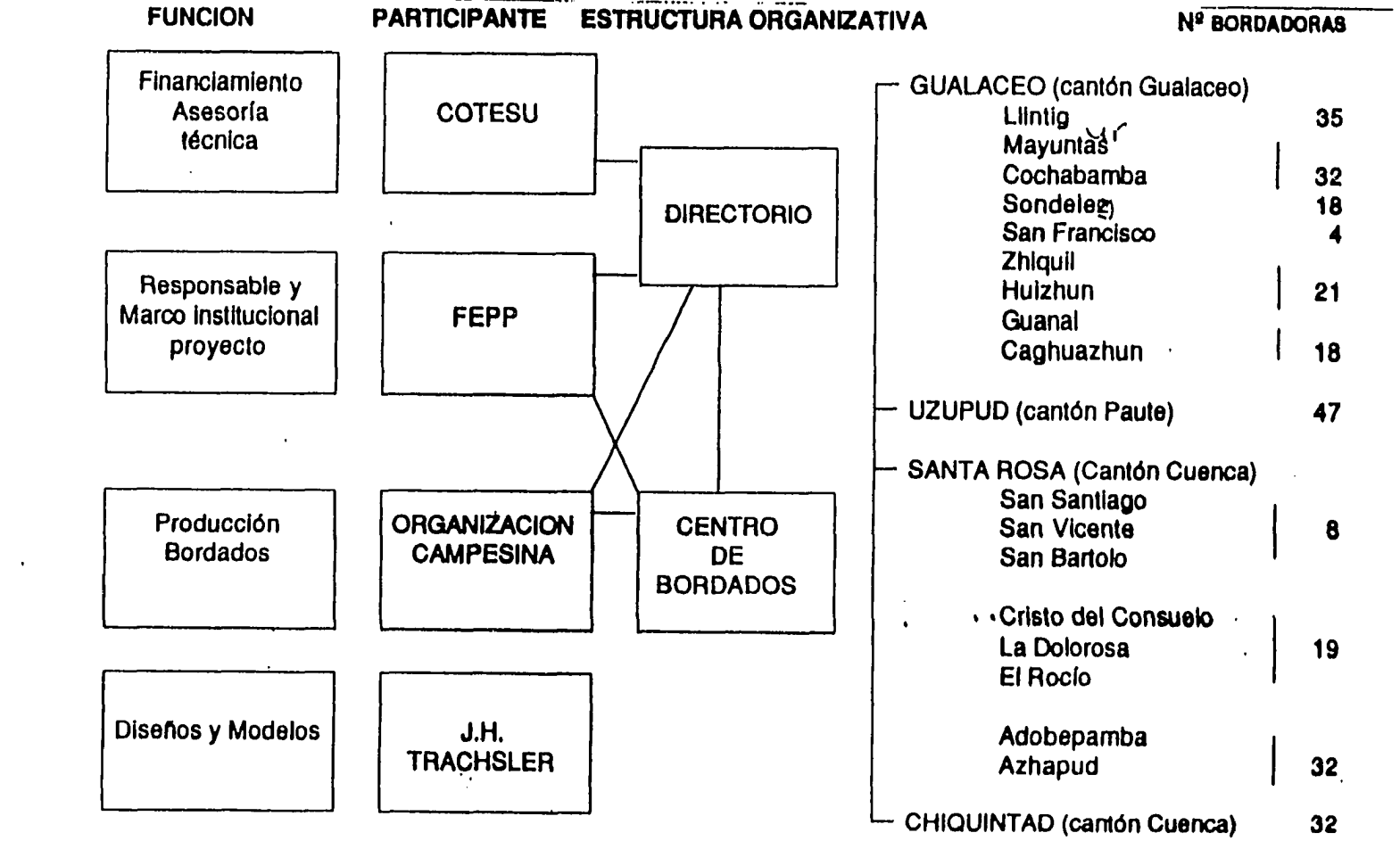
Legend

♀ female
♂ male

EC = Ecuadorian
CH = Swiss

_____ daily/weekly personal contact
---------- occasional contact

Organizational chart published by Bordados de Cuenca



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APPENDIX 3

DIAGNOSTICO INICIAL DE LA SITUACION SOCIO-ECONOMICA DE LAS MUJERES INTERESADAS EN PARTICIPAR EN EL PROYECTO DE BORDADOS

ENTREVISTADOR:.....

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS:.....

CANTON:.....PARROQUIA:.....

COMUNIDAD:.....

UBICACION DE LA VIVIENDA:.....

FECHA DE LA ENTREVISTA:.....

EDAD:..... AÑOS DE ESCUELA:.....

ESTADO CIVIL:.....

NUMERO DE HIJOS: VIVOS:..... MUERTOS:.....

EDAD DE LOS HIJOS QUE VIVEN JUNTO CON LA ENTREVISTADA:.....

OCUPACION DEL ESPOSO: -PRINCIPAL:.....
-OTRAS:.....

TIENEN - CHACRA: Propia ☐ Arrendada ☐ Al partir ☐ Prestada ☐

Las cosechas son principalmente para comer ☐

o para vender ☐ ?

GANADO: Bovino ☐ Ovino ☐ Porcino ☐

Si es posible estimar la cantidad

COMO LA ENTREVISTADA REPARTE EL TIEMPO ENTRE SUS DIVERSAS OCUPACIONES EN UN DIA ORDINARIO ?

..... HORAS : QUEHACERES DOMESTICOS

..... HORAS : AGRICULTURA Y CRIANZAS

..... HORAS : ARTESANIA

..... HORAS : COMERCIO

..... HORAS : OTRAS ACTIVIDADES

.....

.....

DESDE HACE CUANTOS AÑOS TRABAJA EN LA ARTESANIA?.....

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A QUE TIPO DE ARTESANIA SE DEDICA ? .....

.....

QUE TIPOS DE ARTESANIAS TIENE CAPACIDAD DE PRODUCIR? .....

.....

QUE ARTICULOS PRODUCE (en orden de importancia)? .....

.....

CUANTOS HIJOS/HIJAS LE AYUDAN EN EL TRABAJO ARTESANAL? .....

.....

COMO SE ABASTECE DE MATERIA PRIMA?.....

.....

.....

COMO CONSIGUE LAS OBRAS (pedidos)? .....

.....

.....

COMO VENDE LAS ARTESANIAS? .....

.....

.....

COMO SE HACE EL NEGOCIO CON LOS COMERCIANTES ? (anticipos, compromiso de entrega de productos, etc.).....

.....

.....

CUANTOS SUCRES PRODUCEN LAS VENTAS DE LAS ARTESANIAS DE LA FAMILIA?

En un mes bueno .....

En un mes regular .....

En un mes malo .....

CUANTOS SUCRES AL MES SE GASTA EN COMPRAR PARA LA ARTESANIA? (materias primas, pequeño equipo, etc.).....

.....

.....

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CUANTOS SUCRES QUEDAN PARA REMUNERAR EL TRABAJO FAMILIAR? .....

.....

EN COMPARACION: UNA LIBRA DE PAPA CUESTA S/.)

UNA LIBRA DE ARROZ " S/.)

UNA LIBRA DE CARNE " S/.)

EL PASAJE ..... S/.)

EL PASAJE..... S/.)

LA VIVIENDA ES: Propia ☐ Arrendada ☐ Prestada ☐

EN SU VIVIENDA ACTUAL, CUANTOS CUARTOS TIENE? .....

- EL PISO ES DE :.....

- LAS PAREDES SON DE:.....

- EL TECHO ES DE:.....

LA VIVIENDA TIENE: - LUZ ELECTRICA?.....

- AGUA ENTUBADA?.....

- SERVICIO HIGIENEICO O LETRINA?.....

- COCINA DE? .....

LA CASA TIENE (Artículos de uso domestico y de mayor estatus social)?

.....

.....

PERTENECE UD. A ALGUNA ORGANIZACION, NOMBRE:.....

.....

QUE PIENSA DE LA ORGANIZACION:.....

.....

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Appendix 4

Cuestionario de datos socio-económicos para boradoras

I Datos vitales

Comunidad_____

1. Apellidos_____; Nombres_____; fecha entrevista_____
2. Edad___ años.

3. Estado civil: Soltera___ ; Casada: Si__ desde___ años. Edad del esposo__ años. Viuda: Si__ desde___ Casada_____ años. Esposo murio por____ Divorciada desde____ El matrimonio duró_____ años. Causa/divorcio____

4a. Niños:	sexo:	edad:	ocupación/causa de +
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____

4b. Embarazos fracasados: causa_____; mes_____
y niños nacidos muertos: causa_____; mes____;sexo_____

4c. Método de control de natalidad_____; desde cuando____

5a. Herm.os	sexo:	edad:	ocupación/causa de +
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____

5b. Embarazos fracasados de su mamá: causa:_____mes_____
y hermanitos nacidos muertos: causa_____mes___sexo___
6. Educación:_____

II El bordado

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7a. Desde cuando borda Ud._____

7b. Horas que trabaja normalmente en el bordado por semana o por dia

_____

8a. Cobro semanal por el trabajo del bordado:

entre_____ y_____

8b. destino del ingreso_____ quien decide_____

9. Es Ud. socia de la Cooperativa: Porque si/no_____

10. Tiene cargo dentro de la Cooperativa: Porque si/no_____

11a. Reuniones de bordadoras: por mes_____

11b. Reuniones en comites de bordados: por mes_____

12a. Otras reuniones_____

12b. Reuniones en otros comites_____

13a. Antes de bordar, a que se didicaba Ud._____

13b. sueldo/semana_____ 13c. destino_____

13d. quien

decidió_____

14. Que dice su esposo/padre del bordado_____

15. Porque dejó lo que hacía antes y comenzó a bordar?_____

16a. Que hace aparte de bordar para ganar dinero?_____

16b. sueldo/semana_____ 16c. destino_____

16d. quien decide_____

17. Puede una bordadora capacitarse para

a) gerente porque si/no_____

b) jefa de prod. " si/no_____

c) contadora porque si/no_____

d) diseñadora " si/no_____

III Trabajos domesticos, agropecuarios y otros

18. Cocina: horas/dia_____

19a. Lavar ropa:

horas/semana/día_____

19b. Cargar agua: horas/día_____

20a. Limpieza casa: horas/semana/día_____

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20b. Cuidado de animales: horas/día_____

21. Trabajos de campo:

a. arar dias/año:_____
b. siembra_____
c. deshierba_____
d. cosecha_____
e. riego y limpieza del canal_____
f. otros trabajos de campo_____

IV Propiedad mobiliaria e inmobiliaria

22. Vivienda: a: propia___/escritura___; arrendada___; prestada___ por___
comprada por_____ hace cuando_____; heredada de___
b. no de cuartos__; c. piso de_____; d. paredes de_____; e. techo___

23. Animales:	no.	edad	cuidado por
a)Vacas	__	_____	_____leche/dia_____
b) toros	__	_____	_____
c) terneros	__	_____	_____
d) chanchos	__	_____	_____lbs/muertos_____
e) cuyes	__	_____	lbs/muertos____f:____m:_____
f) gallinas	__	_____	huevos/sem__ lbs/muertos___
g) ovejas	__	_____	_____
h) otros	__	_____	_____

24a. Huerto: m2____ cultivos_____
gasto semillas e insumos_____
% autoconsumo:_____
% venta_____ S./año_____ a quien_____
% regalos_____ a quien_____

24b. Tenencia:propia_/escritura _; arrendada __ ; al partir ____; prestada___

25. campo

_____	cultivos_____	zona_____	tenencia_____
_____	" _____	" _____	" _____
_____	" _____	" _____	" _____

% autoconsumo:_____
% venta_____ S./año_____ a quien_____

26. Tiene su casa:		desde cuando	quien pagó
- cocina de	___	_____	_____
- nevera	___	_____	_____
- televisor	___	_____	_____

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- video ___ _____ _____
- equipo ___ _____ _____
- licuadora ___ _____ _____
- maq.cos. ___ _____ _____
- plancha ___ _____ _____
- otros ___ _____ _____
- letrina ___ _____ _____
- SS HH ___ _____ _____
- agua ent. ___ _____ _____
- agua pot. ___ _____ pago mensual_____
- agua rieg. ___ _____ pago mensual_____
- luz ___ _____ pago mensual_____
- teléfono ___ _____ pago mensual_____

V Otros ingresos y gastos

27a. Quien más vive en su casa_____
27b. veces/sem_____
27c.Quienes de su familia viven en casa de otros:_____
27d. veces/sem_____

28a. Trabajo del marido:_____b. lugar:_____
c. horas/semana___ d. sueldo/semana_____e. horas transporte_____
f. gasto transporte/dia_____

29a. Inversion viaje/coyotes del migrante_____ b. quien pagó:_____
c. Ingresos remitidos de migrantes_____/año o mes
d. destino del dinero_____
e. quien decide eso_____
f. trajecto, duración del viaje_____fecha salida_____

30a. Trabajo de los hijos:_____b. lugar_____
c. horas/semana_____ d. sueldo/semana o dia_____
e. destino del sueldo_____
f. quien decide eso_____

VI Sus espectativas del CBC y de la Cooperativa

31. Cuales considere Ud. son los aspectos más positivos del CBC?_____
de la Coop?_____

32. Cuales son las principales dificultades que tiene el

CBC?_____de la Coop?_____

33. Como se pueden solucionar estas dificultades?_____

34. Que espera de/ a que aspira dentro de la cooperativa?

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a) personal_____
c) como grupo_____

35. Con que identidad étnica se define Ud?_____

36. Cuales son las fiestas más importantes en su comunidad:

a. nombre	b. fecha	c. como se celebra	d. quien organiza	e. quien paga

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APPENDIX 5: DETAIL OF EMBROIDERY GROUPS' ENTERTAINMENT OFFER DURING 1992 to 1994 GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

1. Assembly March 28, 1992	Finca Guazhalan, Gualaceo
2. Assembly March 27, 1993	Finca Guazhalan, Gualaceo
3. Assembly Feb. 19, 1994	Colegio Agronómico Salesiano, Cuenca
4. Assembly August 27, 1994	Colegio Agronómico Salesiano, Cuenca

Azhapud

1992 Dance. The participants wear modern dress and have to change into polleras and dress suits for their female and male dance roles. The girls in polleras dance better than those dressed up as men. There is some confusion in the formation of "couples," and the girls end up on the "boys'" left sides.

1993 Dance. Folklore dance where women who wear modern dress in everyday life don the festive bolsicón and exquisite shawls (paño).

1994/Feb. Musical chairs. Participation is no longer structured to have strictly one or two participants per group, but a free "first-come-first serve" sort of an event.

La Dolorosa

1992 Socio-drama. On marriage. The actresses don traditional polleras over their modern dresses and perform a very funny act on the travails of countryfolk trying to legalize their marital union. This act is part of a rich folklore theme-tradition.

1993 Socio-drama. A marital conflict where the woman's glittery dress alludes to a capricious urban spendrift. The husband, wearing shirt and tie is also supposed to indicate that the couple have these problems, because their household economy emphasizes urban dress codes, rather than careful savings toward children's educational goals or homestead expansion. This act is an original creation by the artisans.

1994/Feb. Competition. The organizers select three male participants who are given the task to put on as many items of clothing they can from among the apparel thrown at them by friends and family. The winner is a Chiquinteño who wears 6 bolsicones from the Chiquintad dance group.

Santa Rosa

1992 Tomato-dance: Organizer asks for 5 couples (same or opposite sex) from different groups. The pair needs to fix a tomato between the cheeks and dance until the fruit is dropped. A store bought small gift is the prize for the winning pair.

1993 Folklore dance with pollera outfits. Santa Rosa artisans usual wear consists of modern style dress.

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1994/Feb. Egg race. The organizer solicits four volunteers. Rolando and Lena are among them and two more men from among the visitors.

Chiquintad

1992 Folklore dance: The young girls, none of whom still wears a pollera, all sport beautiful "chola Cuencana" outfits. The dance is led by Ñaña, a Chiquinteña embroideress who works in CBC's finishing department.

1993 I Folklore dance. Women wear polleras, the men are dressed up with black slacks, white shirts and hats.

1993 II Kasachok dance. A Russian folklore dance (Moscú-Danza). The outfits of the "cossacks" consist of jeans, 6-shirts and leather boots. The dancers are remarkably good at this demanding task. Some performers already participated in the first dance, and the fact that two shows are put on seems less an indication of group dissonance, but of participatory enthusiasm.

1994/Feb. Folklore dance. The polleras have particularly rich and beautifully machine embroidered seams; bolsicones are worn over them.

Cochapamba

1992 Folklore Dance. Colors are beautifully played out in this dance, where yellow and blue bolsicones (overskirts worn on high holidays over the embroidered pollera) alternate. The group has some younger girls who wear modern dress, but the majority wears a pollera in every-day life.

1993 Game. Musical chairs are organized and a cash prize is offered.

1994/Feb. Game. The sack-race offered draws hilarious reactions by participants and spectators.

Guanal

1992 "El Sargento" dance: A sergeant and three soldiers go to find dancing partners among the assembled women. The sergeant selects the note-taking anthropologist whom few embroideresses know but whose appearance is obviously "gringa." Guanal women, most of whose male kin have migrated to the U.S., all wear modern dress.

1993 Beauty Contest. The attributes usually given to runners up in beauty pageants are made fun: There are Miss "Ojote" (big-eye), Miss "Acholada" (someone rejecting indigenous/campesina identity), Miss "Coqueta" (the flirt). Miss "Perezosa" (the lazybone wearing a night gown), and Miss "Chisme" (the gossip).

1994/Feb. Competition. Rolando and Urs are dragged onto the stage where they are given two baby bottles filled with Coca Cola. Rolando wins. Andean fiestas involve a lot of ritualized alcohol consumption. CBC - on the other hand - fosters sober behavior;

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a moderate amount of very good chicha is offered during General Assemblies However, the men at CBC at times go out together and have a few rounds of drinks with CBC business partners etc. They then often tease each other at work about who can bear to drink more, and who got silly, etc. To invite these two male protagonists to a drinking competition is a joking acknowledgement of typical male bonding. It is probably as much a compliment to their closeness with local life as it is a female critique of "male excess."

LLintig

1992 Socio-drama "El matrimonio del Indio." A majority of embroideresses from Llintig wear polleras, among them some young unmarried girls, but those who act out this play are the ones with modern dress who have to disguise themselves and genuninely need to invent the role of indigenous peasant. The policeman performs the wedding ceremony against the protests of the bride who knows that the Police do not have the authority in matters of civil status.

1993 Dance. The group constructed a beautiful and huge caterpillar (centipede) out of expensive colored tissue paper. They dance to modern Ecuadorian music and have the animal twist and turn in funny contortions.

1994/Feb. Competition. Couples (always a woman and a man) are tied together by the ankles and then race to the finish line. Four female and four male volunteers were solicited. Then the young men were allowed to select partner. The only girl in pollera was selected last and that pair lost. She felt very uncomfortable, being tied to and held by a young man whom she didn't know.

Mayuntur

1992 Three members from each embroidery group are invited to a drinking competition. A small bottle of Coca Cola needs to be emptied: A member from Centro de Bordados wins the S./ 2.000.- cash prize.

1993 Puppet show. Two embroideresses (Cumandá and Adela) put on a puppet show on the cooperativa's struggle with leadership roles and obligations, like attending meetings, learning about financial planning and marketing management. The tone is admonishing toward membership; there is no critique of how knowledge is imparted to the artisans. It is a clear sign, however, that the acquisition of these new skills are problematic.

1994/Feb. Dance. The group's young members dress up as Otavaleños to perform one of that region's typical dances.

Sondeleg

1992 Sociodrama "Problemas en el grupo de bordados." The young

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embroideresses drive around with a rented pick-up and chase the boys.[1] One girl, who hasn't handed in finished work in a while needs to return her stitching frame [a concrete CBC practice]. After a while the girl wants to be re-incorporated, but that decision cannot be made by the local promotora. The group makes a pilgrimage to CBC headquarters in Cuenca, where the girl is given permission to join the embroidery group again. The party returns with fresh zeal and will to tackle problems and "get ahead." Almost all Sondeleg women all wear polleras in every-day life, even young girls.

1993 Sociodrama. The baptism of a sickly child. Members of a family bring the child to the parish center to have it baptized, since it may die. The priest chastises the "Indians" for always baptizing their children late, rather than as small infants. Fee-based baptism is a good revenue for the Church, since the burial of a non baptized child would be in a marginal section of the cemetery, or even outside of it, a shame few are ready to bear.

1994/Feb. None.

Uzhupud

1992-I Socio-drama "El Matrimonio en Guazhalan." The story is of an embroideresses' wedding party which goes to Centro de Bordados headquarters in Cuenca to get the blessing and marital advice of social worker Flurina and her Ecuadorian husband: "Vayamos a verle a la 'niña zuqita' (Flurina) que habla con su 'negrito' (Flurina's husband)." The party addresses Flurina's husband with "amo patroncito," and the actors representing him and Flurina respond with "'compañeras', por 'nosotros' (meaning Centro de Bordados) no hay problema." The Flurina-character goes on to admonish the groom not to get into marital escapades and her husband implores the groom to be industrious. The priest-figure is addresses with the indigenous "Taita Curita" by the bride and with the formal Spanish "padre" by the groom. The groom's mother refuses the holy communion.

1992-II: Sociodrama. An actress dressed up in a pollera tries to nurse a swaddled baby which hangs on the mother's body up-side down. The mother and her companion both pretend to be drunk, hence the trouble with the infant, and they play their roles very well. Uzhupud has members who wear polleras, but, again, the roles are performed by embroideresses who have shed ethnic dress in every-day practice.

1993 Sociodrama. Two drunks fight over a woman.

---

[1] María-Patricia Ferández-Kelly (1983) has a parallel account of women maquila workers chasing men. In early industrial Europe the ascribed licentiousness of factory worker women indeed covered up these girls' lack of protection against the sexual abuse by male overseers, as well as by men on the street who would accost the women returning home from work. The European and Mexican cases are examples of a breakdown of "patriarchal" protection reciprocity and growing cooption of patriarchal behavior patterns in industrial settings. The CBC example may also indicate such a break-down, but in the face of increasing male hegemony (see Nash 1988:18)

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1994/Feb. Sociodrama. A drunk woman voices critique of Octavio who has to mind his toddler son today. She then goes into labor and screams loudly for her husband "José" to come and assist her. Archangel, the coop lawyer who moderates the sketches and games this time, catches the baby and starts screaming for Urs, since the newborn is blond.

Zhiquil

1992 "Hollas encantadas" competition: The organizers select 10 participants, ideally one from each of the other groups. Their eyes are blindfolded, and one after the other is given a stick to break ceramic vessels filled with sweets which are dangling from a rope over the participant's head. Flurina is made to go first. The reward is collecting the sweets. This is a traditional fiesta diversion in Azuay, elsewhere known as "piñata" and done for children's birthdays all over Latin America.

1993 Sociodrama. The group's young girls are dressed up as bottle feeding toddlers driving their nanny crazy. This sketch seems to be taken from soap opera T.V. productions.

1994/Feb. Sociodrama. "Rolando's divorce," dwells on how Rolando spends too much time with the women embroideresses at work and therefore has trouble at home. The sketch ends with a song in Quichua.

Centro de Bordados

1992 Folklore dance: The embroideresses who work at the finishing department in Cuenca all wear modern clothes. Half of them dress up in polleras, joined by Flurina, while the other half is dressed up as men and perform a complicated dance.

1993 Dance. Folklore dance with polleras (no bolsicones).

1994/Feb. Competiton. Tomate dance, where the couples have to balance a tomato between their cheeks.

1994/Aug. Sociodrama. Cooperative leadership takes to the stage, rather than CBC artisan staff or individual groups. They present a parody on CBC management where Rolando, Octavio, Renato, César and Cumandá's leadership and work manners are the main target. While former group sketches lasted a few minutes only, this act goes on for about 20 minutes, and it is awarded laughter and shows of delight throughout; the final applause is very enthusiastic (for detail on content, see chapter V).

Observations

The interesting thing about the folklore dances is that non of the embroideresses who normally wear polleras are part of dance groups, with the exception of Cochapamba in 1992, where women who are pollera wearers in everyday life don the festive bolsicón. When Mayuntur, where most middle aged married embroideresses wear polleras, decided to put on a folklore dance in February of 1994, they did so dressed up as Otavaleños.

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Appendix 6

Fragebogen für COTESU Personal

I Persönliche Angaben Wohnort CH_____

1. Name_____; Vornamen_____; Datum_____
2. Alter___. 3. Zivilstand: _____
4a. Kinder: Geschl.: Alter: Schuljahr/Beschäftigu

_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

4b. Fehlgeb., Grund:_____; Monat_____

4c. Totgeburt, Grund:_____; Monat___;Geschl. ___

4d. Verhütungsmethode_____; praktiz. seit___

5a. Geschwist. Geschl. Vorname/Alter Beruf

_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	

5b. Fehlgeb. der Mutter, Grund_____; Schw.Monat_____

5c. Togeb. Geschwister, Grund_____; Monat___; Geschl.___

6.Bildungsweg :_____

II Beruf

7a. Seit wann arbeiten Sie bei/durch DEH _____

7b. Titel, Funktion_____

7c. Seit wann arbeiten Sie mit Bordados _____

7d. Arbeits-h/Woche_____

8a. Bruttolohn/Jahr_____

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8b. Verwendung des Lohns_____

8c. Wer entscheidet darüber_____

9a. Sitzungen betr. Bordados/Jahr_____

9b. Total Sitzungen DEH Projekte/Monat_____

10a. Mitgliedschaft in Vereinen_____

10b. Vorstandssitze in Vereinen_____

11a. Arbeit vor Anstellung DEH_____

11b. Damaliger Bruttolohn/Jahr_____

11c. Verwendungszweck/Lohn_____

11c. Wer entschied darüber_____

12. Wie gefällt dem Ehepartner Ihre Arbeit_____

13. Weshalb traten Sie bei DEH ein_____

14 a) Nebenerwerb_____

b) Hausbesitz_____; c) wo_____ d) Autos_____

e) anderes_____

III Kenntnisse des Projektes Bordados

15. Wie lange braucht eine Novizin um zur Qualität A Stickerin zu werden ___

16. Kann eine Stickerin angelernt werden als:

a) Projektleiterin, warum ja/nein_____

b) Produktionsleiterin " ja/nein_____

c) Buchhalterin " ja/nein_____

d) Designer " ja/nein_____

17 Wie viel Zeit verwendet eine Stickerin täglich zum:

a) Kochen_____; b) Waschen_____; c) Wassertragen_____

d) Putzen_____; e) Tierhaltung_____;

18a) Wieviele Tage/Jahr arbeitet die Stickerin in der Landwirtschaft_____

18b) Welche landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiten führt eine Stickerin aus_____

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18c) Welche Tierarten werden gehalten_____

18d) Was wird alles angepflanzt_____

19) Wie sind Bauernhäuser beschaffen:_____

20) Welche Haushalt- Elektrogeräte u.a. Installationen sind in einem Bauernhaushalt zu finden: 0-nie; 1-immer; 2-fast immer; 3-selten:

a) Gasherd__; b) Feuerstelle__; c) Kühlschrank__; d) T.V__; e) Video_____;

f) Stereoanl__; g) Mixer__; h) Nähmash.__; i) Glätteeis.__; k) Radio_____;

l) Latrine__; m) W.C.__; n) Wasserleitung__ o) Trinkwasser__; p) Bewäss.__;

q) Elektrisch__; r) Telefon im Haus__; s) Telefon im Dorf__ (Anzahl Bordadodörfer)

21) Landbesitz der Stickereifamilien_____

22)Wie hoch schätzen sie den Anteil (%) an Land

a) im Privatbesitz mit Grundbucheintr__; b) im Privatbes. ohne Grundb__

c) in Pacht_____; d) "al partir"_____; e) Gratisbenützung_____

23) Wöchentliches Einkommen des Ehemannes/Vaters einer Stickerin_____

24) Emigration

a) Anteil (%) Stickerinnen mit verwandten Emigranten (Eltern, Kinder, Geschw, Schwäger)_____

b) Emigrationskosten_____; c) Finanzierung_____;

d) Zinssatz__; e) Monatliche Remissen__; f) Dauer der Schuldtilgung_____;

g) Eintscheidungskraft betr. Remissen_____;

25a) Feste, die in Stickereigemeinden begangen werden_____;

_____b) totale Anz. Tage/Jahr_____

IV Erwartungen/Prognosen/Diagnosen betr. Stickereigenossenschaft:

26) Selbstverwaltung:

a) Zu erfüllende Bedingungen_____

b) Zeitplan_____

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27) Welche Dienstleistungen sollten den Gemeinden durch direkte Mithilfe der Stickereigruppe zugute kommen

28) Welche Vorteile sollten den Gemeinden indirekt durch die Präsenz des Stickereiprojektes erwachsen

29a) Bisherige Errungenschaften des CBC

b) der Genossenchaft

30a) Grösste Schwierigkeiten des CBC

b) der Genossenschaft

c) Lösungen

31) Wie erfolgreich war der Einsatz des/r schweizerischen

a) Projektleiters

b) Sozialarbeiterin

c) technischen Personals (Stickerei, Maschinen)

32) Wenn Absatzschwierigkeiten die Stickerei unwirtschaftlich machen, welche Möglichkeiten sehen sie organisatorisch und technisch für das Ueberleben der Genossenschaft in anderen Wirtschaftszweigen

33a) Ursprüngliches Ziel des Projektes

b) Basis für Zielsetzung, sozialgeschichtlicher Hintergrund

34) Gegenwärtige Errungenschaften

35a) Unerfüllbarer Teil der ursprünglichen Zielsetzung

35b) Grund

V Persönlichkeitsprofil

36) Warum arbeiten Sie in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und nicht in der Privatindustrie oder sonstigen Verwaltung

37) Sehen sie diese Art Arbeit als Lebensaufgabe oder vorübergehende Erfahrung

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38) Gibt es ein persönliches Erlebnis/eine Situation, die den Ausschlag gab für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit_____

34a) Beruf des Ehepartners_____; b) gegenwärtige Tätigkeit_____

39a) Beruf der Mutter_____, b) des Vaters_____

40a) Sind sie Mitglied einer politischen Partei_____

b) Identifizieren sie Ihre politische Beiteiligung in der CH in grossen Zügen mit Standpunkten einer spezifischen Partei _____

41c) Warum nicht_____

42a) Sind sie Mitglied einer Kirche_____; b)Wurden Sie mit einer religösen Orientierung erzogen_____

c) Erziehen Sie Ihre Kinder im gleichen Sinne_____

d) Grund zur Aufgabe/Weiterführung dieser Orientierung_____

e) Alternative Quellen geistiger/geistlicher Orientierung_____

Ziel des Fragebogens

1. Erkennung des Entwicklungshelfers betreffend Beruf/Berufung, sozialem Hintergrund.

2. Erkennung von Variablen wie Geschlecht(errolle); Ausbildungsgrad; ideologischer Orientierung.

3. Abklärung wie weit geographische und berufliche Distanz zum Projekt und seiner Technologie Massstab sind für Ausmass der Kentnisse über/Vertrautheit mit dem Leben der Stickerinnen.

4. Skizzierung von Zügen der schweizerischen Sozialgeschichte und deren Zusammenhang mit Projektformulierungen.

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Fragebogen für DEH-Personal

I Persönliche Angaben Wohnort CH_____

1. Name_____; Vornamen_____; Datum_____
2. Alter___. 3. Zivilstand: _____
4a. Kinder:

Geschl.:	Alter:	Schuljahr/Beschäftigung
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

5. Bildungsweg : _____

II Beruf

6a. Seit wann arbeiten Sie bei/durch DEH _____

6b. Titel, Funktion_____

6c. Lohnklasse_____

7a. Mitgliedschaft in Vereinen_____

7b. Vorstandssitze in Vereinen_____

8. Arbeit vor Anstellung DEH_____

9. Wie gefällt dem Ehepartner Ihre Arbeit_____

10. Weshalb traten Sie bei DEH ein_____

11 a) Nebenerwerb_____

b) Hausbesitz_____; c) wo_____ d) Autos_____

e) anderes_____

III DEH Arbeitshypothesen: Allgemeines

12. Unterschied zwischen "Schwellenland" und einer Region mit Bedarf für EZ/TZ_____

13. Welche Eigenschaften hat eine Menschengruppe, welche der EZ/TZ bedarf_____

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14 a) Welchen %satz des BSP sollte die CH auf EZ/TZ/HH verwenden_____

b) Warum_____

IV Geschlechterrollen

15. Sind Frauen naturgemäss anders als Männer_____

16. Wenn ja/nein, welchen Einfluss hat dies auf EZ/TZ_____

17. Was beihnhaltet "angepasste Technologie"_____

18. Brauchen wir eine "frauengerechte" Technologie in der EZ/TZ_____

19. Besteht ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen Haushalten mit einem weiblichen Vorstand und solchen, wo ein Mann mit Frau und Kindern lebt_____

20. Müssen Frauen von gewissen Aufgaben "befreit" werden_____

21. Welche Aufgaben sind naturgemäss "weiblich"_____

22. Wie ist eine "ideale" oder Frau_____

23 a) Wie misst man "Fortschritt_____

b) Wie misst man Statusverbesserung (der "Frau")_____

V Persönlichkeitsprofil

24) Warum arbeiten Sie in der EZ und nicht in der Privatindustrie oder sonstigen Verwaltung _____

25) Sehen Sie diese Art Arbeit als Lebensaufgabe oder vorübergehende Erfahrung_____

26) Gibt es ein persönliches Erlebnis/eine Situation, die den Ausschlag gab für EZ_____

27a) Beruf des Ehepartners_____; b) gegenwärtige Tätigkeit_____

28a) Beruf der Mutter_____, b) des Vaters_____

29a) Sind sie Mitglied einer politischen Partei_____

b) Identifizieren sie Ihre politische Beiteiligung in der CH in grossen Zügen mit Standpunkten einer spezifischen Partei _____

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30c) Warum nicht_____

31a) Sind sie Mitglied einer Kirche_____; b)Wurden Sie mit einer religiösen Orientierung erzogen_____

c) Erziehen Sie Ihre Kinder im gleichen Sinne_____

d) Grund zur Aufgabe/Weiterführung dieser Orientierung_____

e) Alternative Quellen geistiger/geistlicher Orientierung_____

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Projektdiskussion

I Identifikation

1. Name_____ 2. Vorname_____ 3. Dienst_____

4. Funktion_____; 5. seit_____

II Region/Dienst. allgemein

6. Schwerpunkte in ihrer Region/Dienst_____

7. Ideale Zeitspanne für ein EZ/TZ Projekt_____

8 a) Ist Selbstverwaltung und Uebergabe an die Basis stets ein Projektziel__

b) Wann/warum ja_____

c) Wann/warum nein_____

d) Bester Weg zur Selbstverwaltung_____

e) Zeitspanne_____

9) Welche Dienstleistungen sollten der Basis durch direkte Mithilfe eines EZ/TZ Projektes zugute kommen_____

10) Welche Vorteile sollten der Basis indirekt durch die Präsenz eines EZ/TZ Projektes erwachsen_____

III Region/Dienst im "Gender-"Umfeld

11. Frauenprojekte in ihrem Sektor ja____ nein____

12. Wieviel Frauenprojekte vom Total_____

13. Anteil Budget für Frauenprojekte a) %_____ b) sFr_____

14. Weshalb (keine) Frauenprojekte_____

15. Wie wird die Geschlechterrollenverteilung als ausgleichender Faktor in Projekte eingegliedert (gender balance)_____

16. Geschlechterdynamik in Ihrem Sektor (Region/Dienst/Berufsgattung

_____

17. Geschlechterrollen in der CH. im Vergleich zu oben (Nr. 14)_____

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Tour d'horizon avec chef de section/suppleants

1. Welcher Anteil des DEH Budgets wird für "gender" spezifische und "gender" orientierte Projekte/Programme eingesetzt?

2. Was sind momentan die EZ Prioritäten der DEH?

3. Welches sind die DEH Planungsphasen?

4. Wie haben sich die DEH Prioritäten im Verlauf der Zeit geändert (60er, 70er, 80er Jahre)?

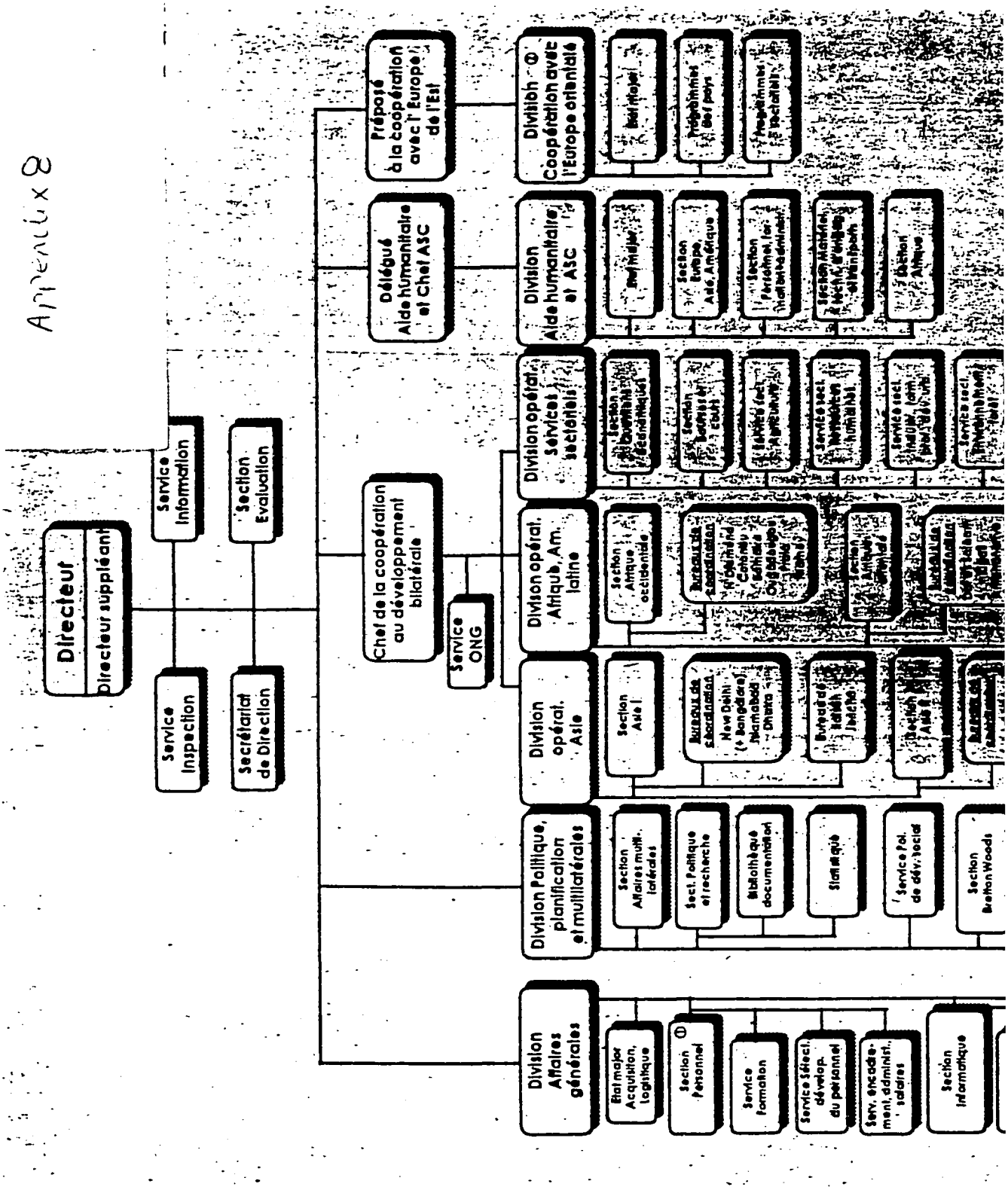
5. Wer bestimmt diese Prioritäten?

6. Wie kommen DEH Kurswechsel zustande?

7. Welchen Einfluss haben personelle Veränderungen an der Spitze von DEH und EDA? D.h. in welchem Mass beeinflussen Chefbeamte auf die Philosophie der DEH.

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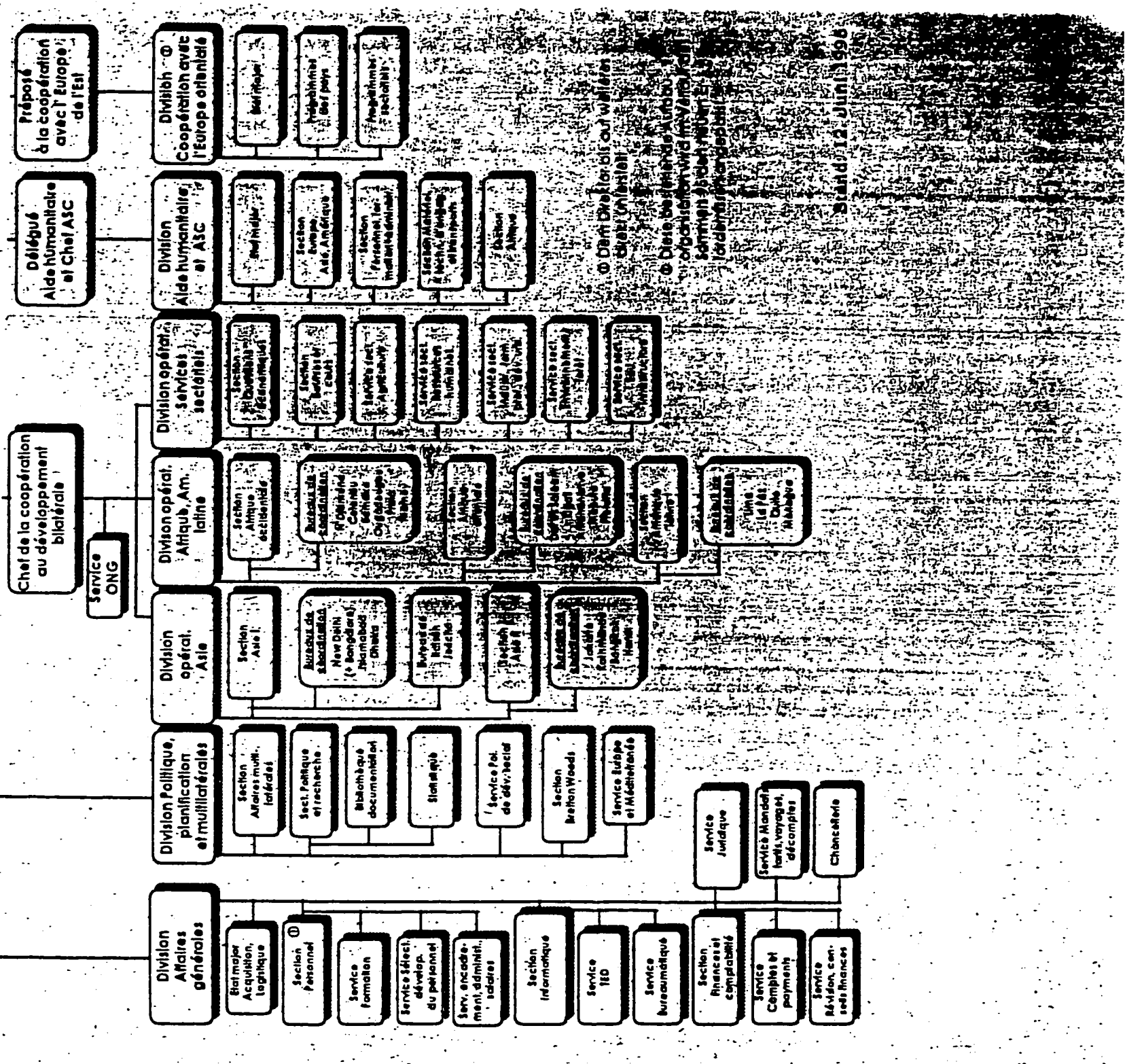
Appendix 8: organizational chart for SDC
(Source: DEHZO 1995)



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anizational chart for SDC
ce: DEHZO 1995)



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TRANSLATION ANNEX

Except for very short quotes, for which translation is provided within the text, this annex contains all original statements and utterances in foreign languages, which appear in their English translation throughout text and footnotes. Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine. The following dictionaries (approximately. 150.000 entries each) were used as working tools: Langenscheidts "Spanisch-Deutsch/Deutsch-Spanisch" (1984), and "Italienisch-Deutsch/Deutsch-Italienisch" (1985); Cassell's "German-English/English-German" (1978); and Larousse's "Français-Allemand/Allemand-Français" (1978).

Chapter II

FN 24 p 61

"Doce leguas de este pueblo de Cuenca está el río que llaman de Santa Bárbara, donde todos los más vecinos de esta ciudad [Cuenca] echaban cuadrillas de indios a sacar oro, y lo sacaron algunos años; y el de 1544 se sacaron 300 y tantos mil pesos con 18 ó 20 cuadrillas; cada una traía a 50 y a 80 indios. Y en aquella sazón, este pueblo de Cuenca no estaba allí poblado [this was before the official foundation of Cuenca in 1557], que era término de esta ciudad. llevaban la comida para estas cuadrillas cada uno de su pueblo, que estaba de allí 30 ó 40 y más leguas" (Valverde y Rodríguez [1576] 1992:238).

FN 43 p. 72

"Las comunas [indígenas del Ecuador] en la concepción del la ley, no son por definición ni indígenas, ni suponen un control colectivo de la tierra. De ahí que a lo largo de todo el país se han ido configurando comunas por razones administrativas, dentro de las cuales hay diversos tipos sociales y formas organizativas..." (Barsky 1984:31).

FN 44 p. 73

"Los Indios no deben probar jamás ni una miga de carne. ¡Carajo! Donde se les dé se enseñan y estamos fregados. Todos los días me hicieran rodar una cabeza... Carne de res a los longos...! Qué absurdo!...Son como las fieras, se acostumbran. Y quién les aguanta después? Hubiera que matarles para que no acaben con el ganado" (Icaza 1994 [1934]:200).

Ocllo's agrarian history of Chiquintad, pp. 73-74

"La tierra de Chiquintad era pobre, pura Cangagua. Maiz no crecía. Maiz no se tenía. Solo en las haciendas daba maiz. Pero como se trabajaba todo el día para la hacienda, no podían dedicarse a sembrar mucho, ni tenían abono. Nadie tenía tierras en Chiquintad. Era todo de un solo dueño, los ... y los ... que son zucos y tienen ojos verdes y solo se casan entre sí; entre primos hermanos y primos segundos. Mi abuelo era huasipunguero. Se les decía "Indios," "mitayos." El [abuelo] organizó la primera huelga campesina y de ahí daban vendiendo un poco de terreno. Pero antes nadie tenía nada. Mi papá así recibió bastantes tierras en herencia. Pero solo con el tiempo, poniendo abono año tras año, se hizo productivo y se pudo sembrar maiz. Nosotros comíamos cebada, máchica (cebada tostada y molida). Eso se ponía en las sopas y en el café negro. Pero tampoco no era suficiente la cosecha para el año. Quienes tenían 20 sucres se fueron a Cañar con caballos a comprar papas, habas, maiz, frejol. Estas cuatro cosas, porque en

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Cuenca no había nada, no había mercado. Para ganar plata se iban a Guayaquil los hombres. Pero como allí el 'Rio Grande' (Daule] no tenía puente, no se sabía cuando volverán. Tenían que ir caminando tres días y cruzar al río con una azoga. Volvían a los dos años. Era como para quienes ahora se van a Estados Unidos. No se sabe cuando vuelven. Mi Papi se fué, pero no tuvo suerte. Eramos pobres. Mi Mami tenía 12 niños, pero solo viven cinco. Dos más nacieron muertos, antes del tiempo, asi que tuvo 14 embarazos. Hope es la primerita de todos, ella les conoció a toditos. Yo en cambio me acuerdo de unito no mas que se murió. Después de mi hay [mi hermano], de ahí una que se murió y la 'Naña.' Los demás [seis niños] se murieron entre la Hope y la Ñusta. Dos se murieron de la noche al día siguiente. Dice mi Mami que tal vez ella les aplastó. Había entierros de guaguas cada semana. Pero la gente iba al cementerio cantando, bailando, con la radio en voz alta porque esos fueron angelitos. Asi era mejor para ellos, que se podían morir. No había plata para irse al doctor pronto. Mami dice solo se iba al Doctor para morirse. Se caminaba a Cuenca al doctor y al regreso ya se morían. Tenían cólera infantil, vómitos y se morían. A los pudientes no les importaba. Eran Indios no mas. Hasta hoy no se casan con nosotros. Una Asturias (pseudonym) se quizo casar con un Cusiquanche (pseudonym), primo mio, pero no le dejaban. Antes, ni eso! Lo hubieran matado [al hombre con rasgos y apellido indígena]...!" (Fieldnotes Vol I 1993:43-45).

Chapter III

Chapter motto by Aida Maita Supliguicha on p. 88

"Nosotras, las mujeres nos encargamos de las deudas y luego de todo lo que es hogar, como lo son los hijos, la artesanía, los animales menores. Con la migración, de todas estas cosas nos encargamos las mujeres." Aida Maita also dwells on this issue of women's workloads in a video aired in 1993 by "La Televisión," a weekly issue presented by Freddy Ehlers,(a presidential candidate for the 1998 election). The program on the artisan women of Centro de Bordados Cuenca was chosen in the aftermath of the Josefina disaster, and because of their uniqueness as export producers and grassroots public figures in the Ecuadorian "landscape" of cooperatives and small businesses.

Hope' history of land acquisition and of her mother's subsistence strategies on p. 106-107

"Cuando Rumiñahui e yo estabamos recién casados, despues de un año, pudimos comprar la primera parcela en playa de Chanchán. Nos ibamos a vivir allí por dos semanas a la vez cuando había que arar, sembrar, deshierbar y para la cosecha. Nos gustaba mucho porque nos ibamos con comida y todo, maicito, papas, porotos y con todos los animalitos: Ovejas, pollos, cuchis (puercos) y cuyes. Cargabamos los animales menores y los demas andaban con nosotros. Vivíamos en una choza que había allí. En aquellos tiempos Rumiñahui no tenía un trabajo fijo durante todo el año como lo tiene ahora y teníamos el tiempo para trabajar la tierra. La chagra de San Andrés la cmpramos la compramos unos años mas tarde cuando las tres primeras guaguas (niños) eran ñutos (pequeños). Una vez que los grandes entraban al colegio y los dos pequeños a la escuela no pudimos ahorrar mas dinero para comprar mas terrenos. La tierra nos abastece durante el año y a veces podemos vender algo poco, pero muy de repente. No podemos comprar vestidos, y pagar los gastos escolares y libros ni enseres del hogar con lo que se produce. Eso tampoco fue posible para mis papas cuando eramos niños. Mama tenía que vender el pan, asi que ella me dejó en el cuarto con llave y con los guaguas (niños), con una candela y una holla de barro grande para calentar la teta y darle al bebé. Ella venía tarde de Checa o de Cuenca.

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De allí traía a pie los quintales de harina, porque en aquel entónces no había bus. También tenía ella que llevarle la comida a papá que trabajaba en la planta de luz."

Hope's devil story on p. 115

"Aquí sabía andar 'el maligno' - así le sabemos decir al diablo. El andaba en forma de gato o perro negro. Es que aquí, antes de que se había la carretera nueva, estaba muy botado. No vivía nadie en este sector. Ahora, si el animal veía primero a la persona, pasaba algo. Las personas podían morirse. Si en cambio, la persona le veía primero al animal, no pasa nada. Entónces los que ahora son viejos pusieron una cruz. Los que somos cristianos creemos en que Dios nos ayuda. Desde que hay la nueva carretera aquí esta muy poblado, pero antes no había nadie y la gente a veces veía al maligno sentado sobre algunas rocas aquí a derecha. Todo era muy selvaje, hasta el puente era mas abajo, mas cerca del río. Entonces la gente vió a veces al diablo con rabo, cachos y todo. Una vez, de recién casados, veníamos de abajo, de Tixan, de la casa de Papa Calisto y todo el camino rezando, conversando, y Rumiñahui fumaba, porque esto le aleja al diablo. Así veníamos" (Fieldnotes Vol. I 1994, p. 98).

Cumandá's and Tella's comments on embroidery on p. 123

"A mi me encanta bordar. Lo hago desde muy pequeña, desde que terminé la instrucción primaria. Y en cada muestra, en cada pieza, por muy pequeña que esta sea, yo siento que se va un pedazo de mi vida" (Cumandá).

"Nosotras, a las cinco de la madrugada nos levantamos para hacer el desayuno, mandar a los niños a la escuela y de ahí tenemos que arreglar la casa y ocuparnos de los animales. Luego de los animales de repente hay que hacer algo en la agricultura, hay que sembrar, deshierbar o cosechar. De ahí viene el almuerzo, la cena. De noche, a veces solamente a las nueve, de repente podemos trabajar [bordar] algo" (Tella).

Chapter VI

Rolando's development assessment on p. 310-311

"Concretamente yo pienso que la ventaja directa es la organización. Que se haya desarrollado una base organizativa que puede envisionar nuevas alternativas para el futuro. Esto ha vencido al miedo y a la timidez. En cuanto a logros indirectos, lo mas importante es el ejemplo que dan los grupos de bordadoras en cuanto a organización y trabajo, participación, manera de ser. Yo no he visto en ninguna comunidad el rechazo del grupo de bordadoras. Mas bien, los grupos de bordadoras se han convertido en una parte fundamental que motiva, que dinamiza la vida de la comunidad a traves de su participación. Y en algunos casos lideran en trabajos revindicativos para la comunidad. Para luz, agua, cancha, como es el caso de Mayuntur, Zhiquil, La Dolorosa, Azhapud a donde las compañeras bordadoras son las que realmente dinamizan, las que llegan a realizar y estar al frente de la organización comunitaria."

"El logro mas importante del Centro de Bordados en lo productivo es haber realmente promovido una cultura de producción empresarial. De crear una cultura para nosotros. Entender todo lo que realmente significa la eficiencia, la calidad, el rendimiento para afrontar la competencia, para permanecer en el mercado."

Given that the statements by SDC agents are gender specific, they are only provided in

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translation, because the multilingual composition and small sample would all but give away an agent's identity, if I included their original utterances.

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AVG	Archivo de la Vicaría de Gualaceo
BAWI	Bundesamt für Aussenwirtschaft/Federal Office of Foreign Economic Affairs; also: Federal Office of Foreign Trade
CORQUI	SDC Coordination Bureau, Quito
DDA	Direction du Développement et de l'Aide Humanitaire [SDC in French]
DEH	Direktion für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und Humanitäre Hilfe [SDC in German]
DEHZO	ibid: during transition period 1995; DEZA in 1996 and after
EDA	Eidgenössisches Departement für auswärtige Angelegenheiten [Swiss Foreign Ministry]
EVD	Eidgenössisches Volkswirtschaftsdepartement [Swiss Ministry of Economy]
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation [DEH/DEHZO/DEZA in German; DDA in French]

AVG

1678-1811	Libros de Bautismo de "Españoles," "Indios Quintos de Parcialidades," "Indios Forasteros de Gualaceo," "Indios Forasteros de Paiguara, Puzio, Chordeleg y Toctasí."
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AA	American Anthropologist
AE	American Ethnologist
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AQ	Anthropological Quarterly
ARA	Annual Review of Anthropology
CA	Current Anthropology
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
DC	Development and Change
EDCC	Economic Development and Culture Change
G&S	Gender & Society
HE	Human Ecology
HO	Human Organization
JPS	Journal of Peasant Studies
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
SH	Social History
WD	World Development
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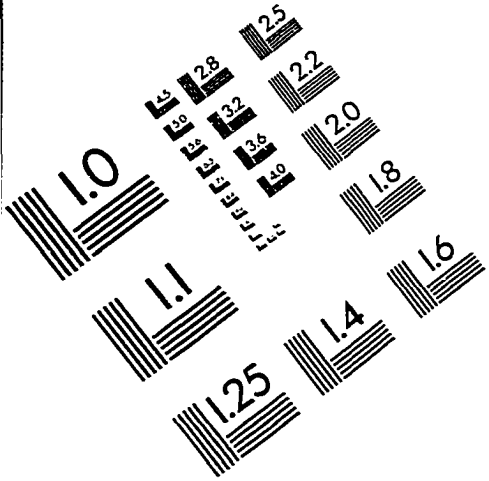
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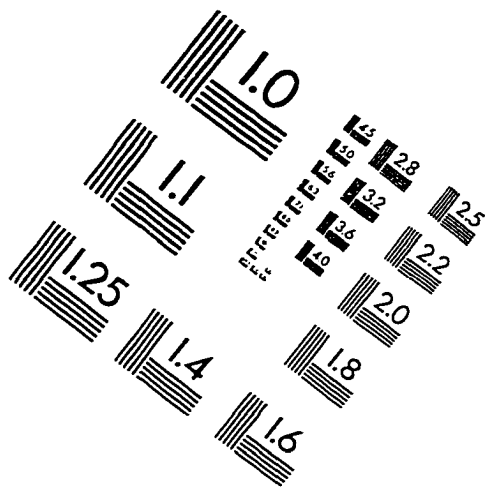
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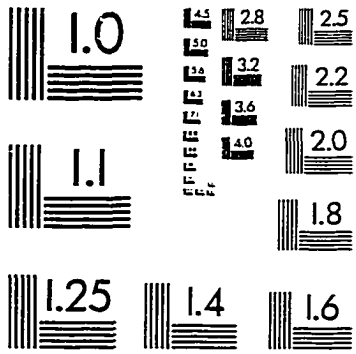
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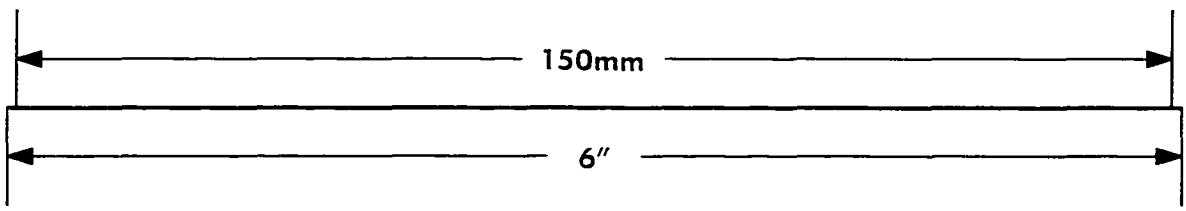
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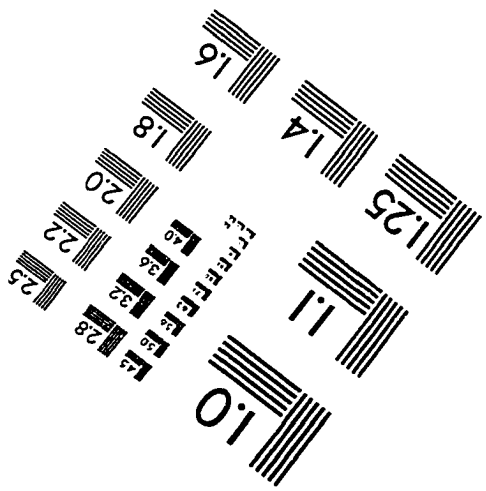
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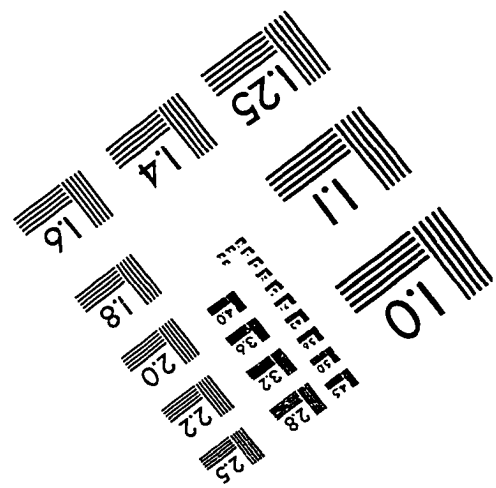






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