8. Migrants' Construction of an Urban Identity

8.1 The Scope of Migration in Peru

Chuschinos have participated in the tremendous onslaught of highland peasants who have descended upon Lima in search of employment. In 2.2 I discussed the push and pull of Peruvian migration. The capital of Lima, where 72 percent of the nation's industry is located, has borne the heaviest portion of the migratory burden. Over 25 percent of the country's 13.5 million lives in or around the city. Lima's population has more than doubled during the period between 1940 and 1972, corresponding to the post-World War II industrial development. Other cities are experiencing rapid growth as well. According to the 1972 census, 53 percent of Peru's population lives in the urban centers of Lima, Trujillo, Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno-Juliaca, and Huancayo (Alcántara and Vásquez 1974: 15). Carlos Delgado estimates that during 1967 alone 75,000 persons migrated to Lima (1971: 125). If the current rate of mass exodus from the highlands continues, by 1980 Lima will have a population of 5,800,000 (ibid.).

Chuschino migrants join the hopeful mass of highland peasants who make up close to 40 percent of Lima's 3.5 million. However, their hopes are too often unfulfilled and they find themselves among the economically inactive. During the ten years between 1961 and 1971 there were 200 economically inactive persons in Peru for every 100 persons working (Alcántara and Vásquez 1974: 26). Lima's recent migrants often find themselves in the unemployed category and facing a rapid inflation rate (estimated as over 150 percent for the last ten-year period).

The migrant must call on a wide network of kin and co-villagers for survival in the competitive urban environment. Furthermore, the threat of failure motivates migrants to maintain strong ethnic and economic ties with their places of origin. Paul Doughty (1970: 32) has aptly stated: "That
situation facing the individual migrant in Peru is complex, and one must be startled not by the fact that there is apparent social chaos and anomie at times, but that so many individuals and families are indeed able to retain their integrative structure or to reorganize their lives in meaningful ways.” Doughty offers an analysis of the clubs or regional associations as an integrative mechanism facilitating adaptation to the urban environment. Likewise, Mangin (1967) has emphasized the positive aspects of the ability of the squatter settlers to cope with potentially adverse urban situations.

An analysis of the manner in which migrants from Chuschi have manipulated the traditional symbols of their place of origin provides an illustration of the process by which migrants restructure their shared identity to accommodate their urban experiences and render them meaningful. The migrant might be called the “bricoleur” (Lévi-Strauss 1966) of traditional concepts and symbols; he takes the elements at hand and rearranges them for his own purposes; he is an innovator and constructor of symbolic structures. Nevertheless, he is constrained by the structural elements available to him. The interplay between the migrants’ collective experiences and the transformation of key traditional concepts gives rise to the formation and construction of structures. This chapter applies structuralist methodology to the urban phenomena of migration.

Pierre Maranda (1972: 338) has stated that, in order to communicate, people must share common mythic conceptions, which are a society’s effort to preserve its identity over time in spite of the entropic effects of history. As the random and chaotic events of history impinge on a society, the members construct a “mythical conception” of those events. This case study provides an example not only of how an Andean society made the chaotic events of migration and illegal invasion orderly but also of how it utilized the experiences to restructure shared identity and shared mythic conceptions.

8.2 A Brief History of Migration

In the late 1930s the first villager to journey to Lima was a young monolingual Quechua speaker, with no formal education, who had been conscripted into the army. He returned to Chuschi and convinced a male first cousin to join him in Lima. The two found lodging in one of the inner city’s block slums and established a small commercial business in the major market. The first migrant never married. He returned to the village in his advanced years and died there. Several of the subsequent migrants were widowed women who preferred to set up small enterprises in the major market of Lima or establish a house as ambulatory vendors rather than remain in the village and try to remarry. Vending has remained a major occupation of women to the
present day. None of the migrants from this particular village have been employed as household servants. They consider such positions beneath their status; perhaps this is understandable in light of the absence of hacienda domination or of influence on the village of origin. Chuschi has been an independent administrative center since Inca times, and during the colonial era it was the seat of administration for a repartimiento, but no haciendas developed in the area. Villagers jealously guard the communal pasture lands, and they view themselves as an independent closed corporate community and not as part of the national culture.

This independence and lack of hacienda history helps explain the migrants’ preference for self-employment in small independent businesses. In 1970 such enterprises included a small wrought-iron furniture shop, a taxi service from the squatter settlement to the major market, several small stores in the settlement, and, as mentioned above, market vending as a major occupation of women. Migrants from Chuschi have begun to penetrate the textile and shoe factories and other wage employment requiring completion of primary school. This correlates with the increased education of the first migrants. Concomitantly, factory employment has fostered union membership and political awareness.

By 1941 there were perhaps fifteen to twenty Chuschino migrants residing in Lima in various inner city tugurios (densely populated block slums). In that year they organized the Progressive Society of Santa Rosa of Lima, with Santa Rosa as their patron saint. The declared purpose of the society was to promote and safeguard the welfare of the village. In the same year they presented the petition and documentation necessary to obtain the legal status of indigenous community for the village. With that action the society was recognized as the legal representative of Chuschi and has continued to handle legal matters, supervise elections, audit books, and inspect records in the village. The society also raises funds for the village schools, buying such items as sports equipment, uniforms, and band instruments.

In 1946 the members of the society participated in the squatter invasion of San Cosme, now one of the largest pueblos jóvenes or “young communities” in Lima, located on the central highway about five kilometers from the central city. Matos Mar (1966: 19) estimates that in 1955 the population density of San Cosme had reached 857 inhabitants per hectare (over 85,000 per square kilometer). The population in San Cosme continued to expand, and the original migrants from Chuschi sponsored newcomers from their village of origin, offering temporary housing to those who wanted employment during the period between November and April, the interval between planting and harvest. With the concentration of the migrants in San Cosme, two types of migration emerged:
1. Cyclical migration, whereby migrants depend upon relatives and compadres for housing and aid in finding temporary employment during the period between November and April

2. Permanent migration, whereby migrants decide to become permanent residents of Lima when their economic situation becomes stable enough. They retain control of their lands and provide cash for seed, often returning to the village to supervise the harvest. A relative agrees to plant the migrants' fields for one half of the harvest.

The literature on migration in Peru has not differentiated the dynamics of migration; however, Héctor Martínez (1968: 10) offers a useful typology of migration. It appears that for Chuschi cyclical migration responds to the employment potential in Lima, but I have no records or observations to demonstrate how migration fluctuates with economic development or declines. It would be most illuminating to study the process by which temporary migrants become permanent migrants and contrast this process to that which typifies perpetual temporary migration. The migration process is a continuum that we know only fleetingly. Mangin (1959, 1960, 1967, 1970) has described cityward migration, but to my knowledge no one has described temporary migration in Peru or the return migration and the resultant effects on the rural villages.

Chuschi has suffered a decline in population during the past decade. The census of 1940 lists a population of 1,310, but in 1961 the population had dropped to 1,099. A survey completed in 1967 by the Ministerio de Trabajo (Bolívar de Colchado 1967: 16) tabulated the outward migration between January and August of that year. They found that forty villagers migrated to Lima, ten to Ayacucho, the department capital, and ten to a coca plantation in the department of Jauja. They did not determine whether these migrants were seeking temporary employment or intended to remain permanently at their destinations. It is common for villagers to migrate to Lima and to the department capital to seek temporary wage employment during the period between planting and harvest. Migration to the coca plantation in Jauja is always contractual for the coca harvest. During the dry season a Chuschino can catch a weekly bus to Lima, a two-day trip, and arrive within walking distance of the squatter settlement where his fellow villagers are now nucleated. He can communicate back and forth between the rural and urban places without speaking Spanish or adopting western dress or crossing the Plaza de Armas in the center of Lima. He can work for relatives in the major market or find employment near the new nucleated squatter settlement called 7 de Octubre, where the majority of permanent migrants live. The settlement bears this name due to the fact that the original invasion took place on October 7, 1963,
on the eve of President Belaúnde's birthday.

8.3 The Invasion of 7 de Octubre

On October 7, 1963, twelve migrant Chuschino families residing in San Cosme participated in a "spill-over" invasion across the central highway into an unpopulated area owned by a housing cooperative comprising six hundred market vendors. One of Lima's leading papers, *La Prensa*, reported that 2,000 people took part in the October 7 invasion. The police and the Guardia Civil successfully expelled all but 200 of the invaders on the day of the 8th. The twelve Chuschino families were among the entrenched 200. They reported that they defended their position by fortifying the upper entrance of a double-mouthed cave, the only access to the top. A system of signal lights was used to warn the hilltop defenders of advancing troops. The police and Guardia suffered eleven wounded and the invaders many more—the exact number was never reported. On October 9, 1,000 squatters returned to the site, and the authorities did not contest their claim to the area. The squatters elected a seven-member junta whose names were not revealed to the press—they were designated by numbers only. The first activities of the squatters were to delineate plots with stones, to construct mat shelters, and to make paths up the steep hillside. The events of this invasion parallel those described by Mangin (1970). The invaders of 7 de Octubre followed closely the formula for a successful takeover except that the area they chose to invade was private rather than public property. The market vendors' cooperative has attempted to reclaim its land legally, but nothing has been resolved.

During the first months of occupancy the seven-member junta instituted a defense system whereby each household was responsible for one day of guard duty at the entrances to the settlement; failure to comply resulted in a fine imposed and collected by the junta. This effort was not totally effective in keeping out latecomers to the area, and informants say that the first few months saw many new squatters pouring into the area. The first rule of squatter invasion is continuous occupancy. If a mat shelter was left unattended, informants report that it would be immediately occupied. One of the original invaders left his plot for only two weeks in order to participate in the village harvest; he returned to find his plot occupied by persons he called "foreigners," a family not from his village.

The first months of occupation in 7 de Octubre not only saw the creation of a quasi-military-political organization but also evidenced territorial division, strife, and fraud as well. Six distinct localized zones developed. The Chuschino migrants' territory was literally in the middle, in the third zone. Those in the first and second zones complained to the junta that their plots were smaller
than those of zones four through six. They attempted to take over areas adjacent to their zones, causing open battles to occur. Informants relate that they were compelled to carry straw shields to and from work to protect themselves from the barrage of stones as they passed through the first and second zones. A mat shelter could not be left unoccupied even for a period of a few hours for fear of takeover by those of the first and second zones. Anxiety over possession of individual plots heightened, and the squatters were ready prey when one of the members of the junta fraudulently sold titles to the land. Complaints were brought against him; he was tried and currently serves a prison sentence for fraud. In spite of the territorial strife and fighting, the settlement united in order to construct a primary school. They were successful only after battling government forces and suffering casualties in the fracas.

At the time of this research (1969-1970), the migrant population from Chuschi totaled approximately 275 persons residing in 55 households in 7 de Octubre and 45 persons residing in 9 households in San Cosme. A household typically includes someone from the village, usually a relative, who is in Lima temporarily. These persons generally have minimal facility in Spanish and rely upon their relatives for aid in seeking temporary employment. They often work for their relatives in the market as street venders or as construction laborers. They are the cyclical migrants discussed in 8.2.

The ties of kinship and compadrazgo are essential to adaptation to urban life, and the bilateral personal kindred of the village is flexible to the demands of the city. Out of a sample of 59 unions of persons residing in 7 de Octubre and San Cosme, only 18 were with persons other than co-villagers. Of these 18 "foreign" unions, 5 were with persons in the same district or province, and the remaining 13 were with other migrants of highland origin. The preferred pattern is to marry someone from Chuschi after a period of residence together. One informant had not known her husband prior to her arranged marriage at the age of fifteen to a young man who had established himself in Lima with wage employment. He returned to the village after the two families had successfully negotiated the marriage and brought his fifteen-year-old bride-to-be to Lima. They lived together for a year in what is traditionally called "a year together" (watanakuy), after which they returned to the village to be married in the church and by civil law. The custom of "a year together" has been almost eradicated in the village by the priest, but it has reemerged in Lima, where church influence is remote. Migrants explain their preference by saying that fellow villagers are "our people" and also by the practical consideration that land and animals can be consolidated with a propitious marriage.

Compadres are overwhelmingly chosen from villagers or from co-villagers living in 7 de Octubre or San Cosme. Essentially the same forms of
compadrazgo are practiced in the squatter settlement as in the village (chapter 5). Changes in both marriage preferences and compadrazgo selection will probably occur with the next generation, who see themselves as Limeños rather than villagers. They will prefer to intensify their urban identity at the expense of their rural ties. One wonders whether the typical forms of reciprocity will be abandoned. Chapter 7 differentiated two types of village reciprocity—public work days for community projects, and private reciprocity, which is kin-based and directed toward individuals or families. The latter is repaid in kind, and the former guarantees membership in the society. In Lima both public and private reciprocity are utilized, and mutual aid has been a key factor in the success of the migrants’ adaptation to their self-constructed community. House construction is usually carried out over a period of years, during which both wage and mutual aid are utilized. Turner (1970) estimates that the self-construction characteristic of Lima squatters extends over a twenty-year period. The priorities followed by Chuschino squatters parallel those outlined by Turner; they constructed temporary mat shelters first and then built one-story cinder block shells without roofs, flooring, plumbing, or electricity. Adequate living space is the first consideration; a second story is added on as the migrant family is able to pay for the materials. Most often mutual aid is utilized for part of the construction labor, but wage labor is used for special skills such as brick laying. Communal labor is essential for the later priorities—sewers and electricity. In 7 de Octubre electricity is often illegally obtained by hooking up to lines from a commercial urbanization project below the settlement. Public reciprocity is being utilized to construct the social and ceremonial center of Chuschino urban life—the club house. (See plate 15.)

The club house was begun under the auspices of the Progressive Society of Santa Rosa of Lima in 1966. They held dances, sports events, and lotteries to finance the materials, and public work days were called on Sundays with the society providing beer for all workers. The club house has been built around the lower entrance of the double-mouthed cave that was crucial to the defense of the migrants’ claimed territory against government troops during the invasion. The building is a three-sided structure, with the cave serving as the back wall, and the upper entrance has been closed off. As of yet, the building has not been roofed, so the cave itself is the place of congregation where public occasions are held, often accompanied by the retelling of the invasion story. The club house is the physical self-constructed icon of migrant unity and identity. The recounting of the invasion story is the manifestation of the creation of a modern urban origin myth or “mythic conception.” The choice of the cave as the site for the club house is not coincidental, but rather demonstrates the influence of Andean concepts. One of the Inca origin myths describes the emergence of the founders of the Inca nobility out of the mouth of
Plate 15. 7 de Octubre Invasion Settlement. Chuschino club (white building) in the mouth of a cave.
a cave (Rowe 1963: 316). In Lima we see an Andean theme applied to the urban experiences of invasion, squatting, and construction of an urban community. Their new urban origin is symbolized by the construction of the community club house at the mouth of the cave.

8.4 The Transformation of Andean Concepts

We have seen that within traditional village contexts, the basic concept of "my group" versus the outside world has the following configuration (2.8, 4.3.3):

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+             -
INSIDE        OUTSIDE
MEMBER        NONMEMBER
COMUNERO      QALA
CIVILIZED     SAVAGE
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The question we will now address is, How was the structure of this concept transformed by the migrants? The most obvious transformation occurred in conjunction with the notions of social space. Chuschinos conceive of themselves as members living inside the boundaries of the civilized village as opposed to the entire foreign world, which has penetrated the center of their socio-political space and has come to dominate the political and spiritual spheres of village life.

In Lima this dual structure is not an appropriate interpretation of the migrants' social space. The members of "my group of squatters" are localized around the club house, whereas the element most threatening to their social space is the presence of other squatters around them who covet their territory.
The migrants' experiences have been such that they do not see the world as foreign and threatening and have redefined the term in accordance with their experiences. They are upwardly mobile and desire integration into the national culture. Most often this is expressed in terms of the possibilities for their children to become professionals or bureaucrats. Their notion of social space is still concentric and dual, but the organization has been rearranged. The "bricoleur" migrant has taken the traditional elements of the structural organization of space and rearranged it thus:

The values have been reversed, and there has been a transformation from the concept of the closed, corporate, bounded "we" versus the foreign threatening "they" to a conceptualization of the unified members nucleated together around the club house as the physical symbol of membership versus the threatening squatters adjacent to their territory. The outside world is viewed positively as a potentiality for membership and national urban identity. The transformation can be presented diagrammatically:
8.5 New Rituals and a New Opposition

Turning to the role of the minor saint, El Señor de los Temblores (The Lord of Earthquakes), we see that this small male saint represents an outside subordinate political unit. The early migrants carried this small effigy to Lima to symbolize their colonizer subordinate status. A religious organization was formed for the cult of this minor saint; its membership is responsible for this small male saint’s return once a year to visit his “father,” the major saint, housed inside the village church. This new pilgrimage is reminiscent of the traditional one taken by the seven minor saints representing the seven villages subordinate to Chuschi, the religio-political center (2.10).

In 1941 a group of migrants formed the Progressive Society of Santa Rosa of Lima with the female major saint, Santa Rosa, as the patron. Santa Rosa became the principal cult object, signifying that for the immigrants who invaded and settled in 7 de Octubre, a new opposition had been formed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+</th>
<th>-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santa Rosa</td>
<td>El Señor de Los Temblores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Represents Urban Lima</td>
<td>Subordinate to Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the construction of this opposition, urban Lima became identified as no longer threatening or savage, but rather representing to the migrants a possible category for membership and identification. This is not to say that the urban place is not without threatening or “savage” elements. It is possible that the government troops and Guardia occupy this position vis-à-vis the migrants, but during the celebration of Santa Rosa in August, 1970, the caricatures of political, religious, and supernatural dominators—that is, the priest, the military office, and the naqaq (6.2)—were conspicuously absent. The flyer announcing the celebration had listed their appearance, but the only traditional portrayals were positive ones: a boy and a girl in traditional dress depicted the sponsors of the bullfight enacted on the streets of the invasion settlement with a papier-mâché bull, accompanied by the blasts of two cattle horn trumpeters imported from the village for the occasion and the migrants' brass band. A procession sponsored by the mayordomo of the fiesta, carrying the effigy of Santa Rosa to the club house, resembled the processions in the village except that the mayordomo was in this instance the head of a sports club claiming two hundred members with the same surname. Twenty-three young men residing in Lima shared the expense of the celebration, and their kinsmen in the village sent the traditional musicians, corn, potatoes, and llama...
meat. The traditional network of kinsmen was employed for the success of the fiesta; moreover, we see that in the urban setting the generational emphasis of reciprocity among age mates has taken the form of a sports club.

The absence of the icons of oppression and domination that are an integral part of village rituals delineates the migrants' changing view of the outside world. They appear to be molding the positive traditional symbols of identity, and the obvious question is whether new portrayals depicting negative forces will emerge. It is unlikely that migrants will focus on the outside world as dominating, threatening, or savage, but they might caricature their fellow squatters in some way to remind themselves of a nearby threat. Currently, the migrants appear to be ritually focusing on success and prosperity as well as on the time-honored concept of prestige. Sponsorship of the celebration of Santa Rosa of Lima has become one of the means by which migrants gain prestige and status in the eyes of their fellow migrants. Several families informed me that they were saving to sponsor the festivities, usually three to five years hence, and it is clear that an urban prestige hierarchy is under construction.

Sponsorship of another ritual serves as a mechanism for gaining status and prestige. However, it is a ritual foreign to Chuschi and has become exclusively the prerogative of the nouveau riche migrants, those who have become financially successful and prominent. The ritual is called the corte monte, or tree cutting. It is commonly observed in some parts of the Andes during carnival, but in Lima the celebration can take place anytime. According to informants, the ritual was borrowed from other migrants in 1967.

In the invasion settlement, two sponsors for the corte monte are required, one male and one female. They must be affluent: the man must purchase a grown tree and transport it to the invasion settlement, and the woman must buy gifts, such as small bottles of wine and alcohol, small bags of coins, plastic household items, and candy, gum, and cookies—all purchased items. None of the items are made by the sponsors themselves; the ritual requires a great deal of cash.

Once the tree has been decorated and planted in the middle of the street, the festive cutting down of the tree takes place. Only those wishing to sponsor next year's celebration participate in the ritual dancing around the tree. As the group dances around the tree, each dancer takes the ax and cuts into the trunk. The last couple to wield the ax when the tree finally falls must sponsor next year's celebration.

The nonparticipants watch and wait for the tree to fall to scramble for the gifts. They are the less successful, who have not accumulated the wealth (in cash) to expend on such a display.

During the 1970 corte monte that I observed, the participants wore the costumes of the hacendado class. The men were dressed in cotton ponchos,
sunglasses, large straw hats, and bright-colored neck scarves.

In an earlier publication (Isbell 1974a: 253) I argued that the affluent migrants were emulating the prosperity and success of the hacendado class, and that, moreover, the traditional concept of displaying generosity was being used in the urban environment to gain prestige. The form of generosity utilized in the *corte monte*, however, requires cash and therefore differentiates those who have succeeded in the capitalistic economy of Lima. In addition, sponsorship of the ritual demands individual wealth that cannot be supplied by the mutual aid of one’s kin network. In contrast, the 1970 Santa Rosa sponsors were members of a collective—a sports club. The traditional collectivity of kin-based mutual aid has been transformed into the urban manifestation of a sports club. But the *corte monte* sponsorship demands individual wealth, an expression of capitalistic values.

In the postscript (10.4), we will discover that in 1974 the same group of affluent migrants further elaborated traditional symbolic expressions of generosity to construct literally an “upper class.” In other words, my analysis of the successful migrants’ emulation of the prosperity of the hacendado class was only partially correct. They consciously used rituals to construct a class structure and place social distance between themselves and their co-villagers. Therefore, we see the dynamic creation of social classes in the urban environment among a group of migrants who also manipulate ethnic identity and solidarity for other purposes.

In the role of cultural brokers, the migrants successfully manipulated the basic opposition of “we,” the comuneros, versus the exploitative elements of the outside world. Below, the events of 1970-1971 are discussed, and in 10.3 the subsequent changes effected by the migrants between 1970 and 1975 are detailed.

8.6 The Impact of the Urban Transformations on the Village

Turning to the question of the impact of the transformed concept of “we” versus “they” on the villagers’ traditional ideas, I have stated that migrants have played an important role as legal representatives and “cultural brokers” for the village. Their position has been extra-legal in that they often sought solutions to village problems outside of the sanction of the law. For example, the Progressive Society of Santa Rosa tried for several years to remove the director of the schools from office. They charged him with neglecting his public office to attend to his private businesses, a store and a truck service. The director belonged to one of the *qala* families of the community. He is a descendant of the first schoolteacher who came to the village four generations ago. He was also charged with plying comuneros with alcohol and
cheating them out of their land. Finally, in a public denouncement in 1970, the migrants charged that the director was "an enemy of the revolution." Charges and counter-charges proliferated over a ten-year period, culminating in success for the migrants in 1971. During the period of 1970 to 1971 they were jailed on several occasions for their activities against the director and the church. The church was their second focus of attack.

The members of the Progressive Society formulated a plan to confiscate the church's holdings in land, cattle, and sheep and to convert these into a cooperative in the name of the community. Again, after several stormy attempts resulted in repeated arrests, the migrants were able to instigate a court action whereby a village cooperative would be formed from the church's herds and lands, comprising 250 head of cattle, 1,500 head of sheep, and thirteen large corn plots located in the most desirable agricultural region below the village in the qichwa zone. Each one of the thirteen corn plots equals the total amount of agricultural land owned by the average comunero family (about one to two hectares).

In 1971 the Agrarian Reform Office supported the migrants' efforts by coming repeatedly to their defense and releasing them from jail. The dispute with the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law; the priest was transferred to another locality, and the matter is currently before the courts. This incident is an example of the agrarian reform officials following behind and supporting grass-roots efforts generated at the local level. Two neighboring villages have had similar histories of efforts instigated by migrants to transform church possessions into cooperatives.

The migrants were not only opposed vigorously by the church, they also had to deal with the apathy of the villagers. Over the years, the villagers opposed the migrants' efforts because, as they said, "You come from Lima and stir up trouble and then you return to Lima and leave us with the trouble." Due to the pressure of the 1970 Agrarian Reform Law, several migrants have returned to the village to retain usufruct rights to their land, and their return has legitimized their efforts for progressive reform. It is highly probable that the majority of migrants from this village hold agricultural plots, and the migrants who have returned to the village to comply with the residence requirements of the law are doing so to maintain legally defined comunero status (4.2.1 and 4.2.2). Two migrants have been elected to the newly created posts of president of the administrative committee and president of the vigilance committee. Both are active members of the Progressive Society of Santa Rosa in Lima and have been active in the movements to form cooperatives from the church's holdings and to remove the director of the schools. Their efforts and position are no longer extra-legal; they have reintegrated themselves into the fabric of the community.
In structural terms, the returned migrants are now occupying the position in the center of the village formerly occupied by the foreign, dominating *qalas*. The returned migrants have learned to deal with bureaucracies through their invasion experience; labor union membership has provided them political sophistication and organizational skills; but they identify themselves as "sons of comuneros," and they value the cooperative and reciprocal bases of the village social structure. They are true mediators between the urban and rural ideologies, and now their position as legal representatives and interpreters of the law has been legitimized.

I predict that the rate of change in this village will increase, for the migrants have the opportunity to enforce the revolutionary laws to form co-ops and incorporate the village into the national culture. Moreover, the process of incorporation will begin with a transformation of the conceptual structure of social space in the following manner:

1. Foreign dominators
2. Moieties
3. Outside world

1. Nucleated migrants
2. Other squatters
3. National culture

New Structure in the Village, 1971

1. Migrants in position of power as governmental officials
2. Moieties
3. National culture
The migrants now occupy the positions of authority in the district and village. They are installed in the governmental offices on the plaza; they are also attempting to socialize the church's material wealth, which will lessen its influence as a foreign dominator. The migrants have dual identities—they see themselves as members of the national culture as well as members of the community. Thus they are the mediators between the urban ideology of the national culture and the traditional ideology of the village. Their success in mediation depends in part on historical events beyond their control. The transformation of this closed corporate community also depends on the degree of opposition from the traditional moieties and the members of the prestige hierarchy. The network of reciprocity discussed in chapter 7 maintains what Wolf (1966: 7) has called a "ceremonial fund," which provides the economic basis for the symbolic and ritual expression of understandable social relations among comuneros—the inclusive "we" opposed to the entire foreign world. The basic opposition of "we"-"they" will become transformed by the legitimate, authoritative presence of the returned migrants, who now occupy the category defined as threatening, "peeled," savage, and from the outside. They are attempting to mediate socially and structurally.

In structural terms, their position is currently ambiguous, and therefore I have not assigned positive or negative values to the proposed new structure. The degree of resistance to or acceptance of them as the vehicles of reform will determine in part the values of the new opposition. The logical possibilities include: (1) the traditional moieties stand opposed to the migrants and the outside world; (2) the migrants and the traditional moieties unite in opposition to some element of the national culture, such as governmental bureaucrats, the national police, or the church; and (3) the villagers lose their closed corporate attitudes and perceive the possibility of integration into the national culture; they would still define the outside "they" as neighboring villages with which they continue to battle over land boundaries.

The conditions under which any one of the above becomes the dominant pattern in the village will depend on historical events and accidents. I can outline some of the conditions that would impinge on the conceptual structures under consideration. Possibility 1 would result from strong opposition from the traditional sector of the village. This is likely to occur immediately when the migrants attempt to implement the Agrarian Reform Law. If they attempt to alienate the comuneros from their privately-held agricultural plots, then I predict strong opposition and the return to the traditional village structure, with intensifications of the conceptualizations of the comuneros standing opposed to an outside world that has become more threatening. Possibility 2 could be precipitated by a union of the migrants and the traditional comuneros against a common foe. If this occurred, the migrants' chances of introducing
urban ideas and concepts would be increased: they would identify as members of the established traditional “we.” This situation is already a potential with the current court case concerning the formation of a village cooperative out of the church’s land and animals. Possibility 3 also depends on the success of the migrants in introducing new ideas and concepts. If the proposed cooperative is successful and benefits the village economically, the door will be open for integration into the national culture through participation in the national market. The three possibilities outlined could occur serially, with one structure dominating for a period of time and then giving way to another. It is clear that the traditional closed corporate structure of the village, which has withstood previous onslaughts, is currently under the strongest of pressures. It is very likely that the closed corporate organization that is maintained by the dichotomy of “we” versus the entire outside world will in time disappear. We have seen that an urban prestige system is forming. The time dimension and the process depend on the interaction between the ambiguous structure of the migrants’ present social position and the experiences of the villagers. The basic Andean opposition of “we” versus “they” that has served as an interpretive device by which villagers have rendered their social world intelligible will become transformed. In other words, to use the phraseology of Robert Murphy (1971), the outcome will depend on the dialectic between ideas and activity. In applying structural methodology to such a dialectic in the case under consideration, I have found two dialectical processes occurring simultaneously. One is between the ideologies of the villagers and the ideologies of the returned migrants; the other is the dialectic between ideology and the vicissitudes of history. Using structuralism as a heuristic device to order the seemingly chaotic events of migration, invasion, and return to the traditional home of origin, I have tried to gain new insights into the dynamics of these events and their interaction with ideology. By focusing on the dialectic between ideology and events, we can better understand the dynamics of change.

In closing this chapter, I caution readers against interpreting these conclusions as stating that all of the Andean concepts under discussion will disappear. What I am saying is that they will be transformed. In describing the transformations of the key concept of “we” versus “they” effected by migrants in Lima, I have proposed three logical possibilities for the transformation of the same concept in the village. The basic assumption is that the two ideological systems—the urban and the traditional—are self-regulating systems that interact with one another as well as with the events and flow of activity. It is within these dimensions that a dialectical and structural point of view is most profitable.