

VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT THE
HOUSEHOLD LEVEL: ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF GUATEMALAN AND PERUVIAN
HIGHLAND ARTISANS

by

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Variations in Social Organization of Textile Production at the Household

Level: Adaptive Strategies of Guatemalan and Peruvian Highland Artisans

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ABSTRACT

The thesis analyses variations in the social organization of textile handcraft production in the highlands of Guatemala and Peru, to illustrate household adaptations to the process of handwork within the contexts of industrialization and expansion of modern capitalism in rural areas. The objective is to emphasize how individuals organize their craft activities according to their household's needs which are seen in terms of regional resources and work alternatives constraining both household subsistence and craft activities. Guatemala and Peru are both renowned for their textile arts. Despite differences in the indigenous and Spanish colonial situations both regions have been subjected to Spanish conquest, European technology and ideology during the same historical period.

A provincial town and smaller community were studied in each country to illustrate varying integration into the national economy in terms of market facilities and work alternatives. Ethnomethodology and participant observation of stickloom and footloom weavers from each location provided the basis for data collection during eight months' fieldwork. A "mode of production" framework was used as an organizational tool to analyse household units involved in commodity and non-commodity production.

Comparative studies of craft production at the household level are important since handwork based on non-capitalist relations of production persists worldwide. Studies of the

Industrial Revolution note the disappearance of household craft production in Britain due to the expansion of capital and wage labour relations of production in the factory system. More recent analyses of the impact of industrialization in third world countries, however, suggest that the demise of traditional domestic production is not inevitable under the specific conditions of dependent capitalism. This study confirms that simple commodity production not only persists but is encouraged by capitalist producers in Guatemala and Peru. Nevertheless, craft producers not directly subsumed as wage labourers are indirectly constrained by participation in a world market dominated by capitalism. More intensive, long-term studies of brokerage and how finances are redistributed within households will complement an articulation of modes of production approach by clarifying how production systems are connected to the social economy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Social Organization of Handcraft Activities

This study analyses variations in the social organization of handcraft production of textiles in the highlands of Guatemala and Peru, to show individual household adaptations to the process of handcraft work within the context of industrializing states. The objective is to emphasize how individuals organize their craft activities according to their household's needs. That is to say, their craftwork cannot be understood simply through a study of their tools, weaving techniques and textiles, but also in terms of regional access to market facilities, raw materials and work alternatives, which constrain adaptation parameters in household subsistence and craft activities. An ethnographic field approach has been used to illustrate constraints on household needs, in the context of the integration of textile production into the broader range of subsistence activities required of household members in their daily lives.

The highland regions of both Guatemala and Peru are included because a comparative method provides a more general view of handcraft work than a more "particularistic explanation"

of one historical situation. ¹ Guatemala and Peru have been selected for this study because both countries are renowned for exemplary textile arts of the Maya (600-900 A.D.) and pre-Incan cultures of the coastal Paracas people (100-500 A.D.). ² Although there are differences in the indigenous and Spanish colonial situations, both regions were subjected to Spanish conquest, European technology, and ideological institutions within the same historical period, the early sixteenth century. In each of these nations, the indigenous people have been left the most marginal land in the highlands where families struggle to meet household needs by cultivating small fields, using only simple tools such as the digging stick and intense human effort. Household craft production continues to be a widespread means of supplementing agricultural subsistence for these rural people who face both land shortages and insufficient wage labour.

This thesis focusses on contemporary stickloom (backstrap) and footloom weaving activities, both of which are considered to be "handcraft" activities because production is primarily by hand and not with the help of power-driven machinery or pre-programmed cards of the jacquard looms. ³ The stickloom is

¹ Fred Eggan, "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison", in American Anthropologist, Vol.56, No.5, 1954, pp.743-763.

²For a discussion of the various pre-Incan peoples and their textile arts, see O'Neale & Kroeber, "Textile Periods in Ancient Peru", in American Archaeology & Ethnology, Vol.XXV, Univ. of Cal. Berkeley Press, 1930, pp.23-56.

³See Glossary for technical and/or foreign terminology which appears in the text in bold type. Not all emphasized words are noted however.

an indigenous tool used in the production of clothing by Maya and pre-Incan peoples in both Guatemala and Peru. The footloom has been introduced to both regions from Europe, as a commercial tool to produce textiles for the Spanish colonial population. ⁴

Weaving activities within households located in five different highland communities where footloom or stickloom weaving continues to be a means of producing textiles for sale, or for household use, are examined to illustrate how particular households have adapted or accommodated their handcraft activities to available resources. Differences in resources (such as raw materials), work possibilities and markets that are available to particular households, are emphasized by selecting communities that differ in size and in their relative isolation from major industrial centres. The communities range from urban centres with populations of over 20,000 to a small town with about 8,000 inhabitants, (many of whom live in dispersed hamlets), to an especially isolated community of only 500 persons. The regional market system provides the main indicator of differing degrees of integration into the national economy in terms of access to transport and market facilities, which implies relative reliance on goods and/or labour involving capital-intensive machinery and wage labour relations of production. The larger towns serve as major redistribution centres for outlying areas. These towns provide facilities such

⁴Lilly de Jongh Osborne, Indian Crafts of Guatemala and El Salvador, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

as daily shopping (involving cash sales of a range of machine-made goods), as well as telegraph, road and air contact with the capital city. Smaller outlying communities may have a weekly market but in the case of the most isolated hamlets there is no local marketplace. The more isolated households rely on locally-produced food and handcrafts and on personal trading arrangements with kin and neighbors. In the larger urban centres the population does not produce its own food through subsistence agriculture which has continued to be the main means of meeting needs in rural communities. Urban residents rely on wage labour or commercial activities, must purchase household necessities and pay rents and taxes that maintain the town's facilities such as electricity, plumbing, roads, schools and hospitals.

The "household", which is recognized as a residential unit of production and consumption, is the basic unit of analysis.⁵ Members of a household may include one nuclear family which is generally made up of a husband, wife and their children, or it may include an extended family where married children, their spouses and their children continue to reside in one household and contribute to that household's subsistence. Family members who leave the household to seek work elsewhere to support household needs maintain their status as household members.

⁵ A.V. Chayanov, a Russian authority on peasant agriculture in the 1920s has contributed to this micro level approach in his studies of Russian peasant farm organization and peasant behaviour which concentrates on the family as the basic unit of production and consumption. See D. Thorner, B. Kerblay & R. Smith (eds), A.V. Chayanov: The Theory of Peasant Economy, D. Irwin Inc., Illinois, 1966.

Others, however, who leave to set up their own independent households, are no longer considered members of the original household. ⁶

Further studies of textile production at the level of the household are important because handcraft activities not only persist in many regions of the world, but in Guatemala and Peru household craft production is encouraged in commercial centres that are already establishing mechanized means of production. ⁷ Although Guatemala and Peru are only beginning to "industrialize", an array of imported and domestic machine-made goods are already widespread in local shops and marketplaces. Compared to mass production in a factory system based on capital intensive machinery, "handcraft" production is generally described as small in scale and labour intensive. Thus, household production of textiles and other handcrafted products made primarily for trade in the marketplace is in competition with machine-made items such as clothing that sell at comparatively low prices.

Studies of the Industrial Revolution note the disappearance of household craft production in Britain due to the expansion of capital and wage labour relations of production of the factory

⁶The category of household is not clearcut however, as many offspring who have set up their own households may either continue to receive assistance or contribute to their parents' household.

⁷Bryan Roberts, "The Social History of a Provincial Town: Huancayo 1870-1972," in R. Miller, C. Smith & J. Fisher (eds), Social & Economic Change in Modern Peru, University of Liverpool Monograph Series No.6, 1974.

system.⁸ The focus of related studies has been the factory with less emphasis on the social organization and livelihood of the rural craft producers not yet directly involved in the industrial sector, and who continue to rely on the household as the basic unit of production and consumption. The emphasis of this study is on individual households involved in craftwork, to examine how they adapt or accommodate their activities to industrial changes, and to the national economy that dominates the rural peasantry in both Guatemala and Peru, in terms of increasing reliance on wage labour and machine-made goods and influence of the world market.

In the Field: Scope of the Research

Examples of textile production, which include commodity and non-commodity production, were selected in order to explore how particular individuals have adapted their craft activities to household subsistence activities in relation to regional situations. Household situations which differ in access to market facilities, raw resources and work alternatives contributed to a range of different possibilities for and constraints on continuing household handcraft production. Selection of a wide range of examples, which include capitalist

⁸Karl Marx, Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production, Vol.1, F. Engels (ed.), International Pub., N.Y., 1967, 1867; and E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, Pantheon Books, N.Y., 1963.

and non-capitalist modes of production, has enabled analysis related to the "articulation of modes of production" approach.⁹ Of particular interest here is the question of how producers can continue their handcraft activities in the context of domination of the world market and industrial production by capital-intensive machinery and wage labour relations of production.

Fieldwork consisted of three months, October through December 1979 in Guatemala, and five months, June through October 1981 in Peru. The fieldwork period in both locations coincided with the dry season when harvest was ending and when most craftwork and fiestas took place. Preparatory work included becoming acquainted with numerous highland communities and major cities to determine the scope of contemporary weaving and marketing activities. Based on this orientation and on previous library research, the following communities were selected to represent different degrees of isolation from markets and industrial centres.

Huehuetenango, has been selected as an example of a highland provincial urban centre in Guatemala because it is an important footloom weaving town, a major commercial centre and administrative capital for the department. Huehuetenango has a population of around 20,000, and to differing degrees residents have access to such urban facilities as electricity, schools, a

⁹This approach is discussed in the following Chapter which clarifies the conceptual orientation for this thesis.

small hospital, banks, daily and weekly markets, a variety of shops and restaurants, as well as direct contact by air and road with the national capital, Guatemala City. Craft specialization and wage labour are concentrated in the urban centre compared to subsistence agriculture which is predominant in the rural outskirts. In this region urban dwellers wear machine-made clothing rather than the handwoven traje (traditional clothing) worn by the indigenous peoples living in the rural communities.

Colotenango represents a rural pueblo (town) in Guatemala where the women all continue to weave their traje on sticklooms. Few men, however, continue to wear their traditional clothing. Most of Colotenango's 8,000 residents live outside the main township, dispersed in rural hamlets. Colotecos rely primarily on subsistence agriculture supplemented by seasonal work at coastal plantations. Although Colotenango is less than one hour from Huehuetenango by bus, the fare is a considerable expense for most residents. Residents rely primarily on local facilities such as a weekly market, a few small tiendas (shops), one elementary school, and a posta de salud (health clinic) which opens once a week when a first-aid person visits Colotenango.

Todos Santos is included as a second example of a Guatemalan pueblo where women continue to weave on sticklooms. Todos Santos is more isolated from the commercial centre of Huehuetenango than is Colotenango. Todos Santos has a long tradition of commerce however, as it is on the main Mayan trade route to Mexico. Townspersons are accustomed to outside visitors

and have established several small restaurants, pensiones, and both a daily and a weekly market. Although the pueblo is more nucleated than Colotenango, most of Todos Santos' 10,000 residents are also dispersed in outlying hamlets and the surrounding hillsides. Todos Santeros also rely primarily on subsistence agriculture and migrant work.

Ayacucho has been selected as an example of a provincial urban centre in the Peruvian highlands where footloom weaving is an important handcraft activity. Ayacucho has direct contact by air and road with the national capital city of Lima. Like Huehuetenango, Ayacucho's population is more than 20,000 persons, and residents have local amenities which include electricity, schools, a hospital, banks, shops and both daily and weekly marketplaces. Ayacucho is the departmental capital and a commercial centre. It is best known as an important cultural centre however. Ayacucho has a university, fine arts school, professional and trade schools as well as more than thirty Spanish colonial churches and Huari (Wari) ruins which attract scholars and tourists.

Urubamba, Peru, the fifth community in this study, provides an example of household craft production of textiles in a much more isolated situation. Urubamba consists of about 90 households, nestled in a quebrada (gorge) in the southwestern part of the department of Cuzco. There is no electricity, no hospital, municipal buildings, shops or marketplace in the community. There is no road only steep, often narrow, mule

tracks. Residents must walk four or five hours, often barefooted with heavy loads on their backs, to reach the nearest town of Colquemarca which is situated about 600 metres above on the puna, the high barren altiplano region of the Andes. Most food, tools, clothing and shelter are either produced by one's own household, come through personal networks of exchange, or are purchased at the weekly market in Colquemarca.

The next phase in fieldwork was to gain personal entry into each community. In both of the larger towns of Huehuetenango and Ayacucho, formal permission was arranged by faculty members of Simon Fraser University, because fieldwork there would coincide with the University's Field School. The two pueblos, Colotenango and Todos Santos involved a personal visit to the alcalde (mayor) to seek permission to study. Entry to Urubamba was made possible through Cuzco University and an invitation to join a Peruvian research group which had already established both formal permission and general acceptance by el presidente (the mayor) and residents of this isolated community.

Personal orientation began with a walking tour in the community, sketching a map of the streets, shops and craft activities. The drawings attracted the attention of passers-by and so provided an opportunity to explain my purposes, and begin to make acquaintance with residents and their community. In short-term field visits it was important to gain early confidence of the people. "Participant observation" was the most appropriate method for this study because, as a weaver working

with a few key persons who were also weavers, there was an opportunity to establish rapport and trust in a fairly short period, through mutual exchanges of skills and ideas about the craft. ¹⁰ Both the object of study, textile weaving, and my personal profile, married, female student, were responded to positively by the persons with whom I worked. Invitations to join in household activities provided welcome opportunities to observe daily routines and to enquire about activities often over-looked or incorrectly accounted for in brief and formal interviews. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure the privacy of the persons described in case studies in the thesis.

In Huehuetenango the Guerrero household was selected as a case study because they were involved in textile production employing footlooms without the jacquard cards used by several other households and because their shops displayed some of the most interesting textiles in town. ¹¹ A relationship of trust was initially established through a situation of "mutual aid" when on one occasion six American shoppers turned the small shop into a busy bargain-hunting centre. The Guerrero shop manager,

¹⁰My husband and I learned to weave in 1975 in Toronto workshops and on our two 45 inch looms. Since that time we have continued to produce a variety of textiles as a part-time, and periodically as a full-time activity, in Toronto, Los Angeles and Vancouver.

¹¹The question of ethnographer selecting and being selected (as informant) is more complex than suggested by these choice of words, i.e. the events are transactional. For example, see P. Radin, Preface in M. Oakes The Two Crosses of Todos Santos: Survivals of Mayan Religious Ritual, Bollingen Series XXV11, Princeton Univ. Press, 1951.

Table 1. Fieldwork locations and households studied in Guatemala and Peru.

GUATEMALA				PERU			
Location	Approx. Pop. (1979)	Economic Base	Household Studied	Location	Approx. Pop. (1981)	Economic Base	Household Studied
Huehuetenango	20,000 (urban centre)	Gov. Admin. centre Commercial centre Professional services Handcraft production (wage labour & independent production)	Guerrero commercial footloom specialists	Ayacucho	30,000	Gov. Admin. capital Professional Services Handcraft production (wage labour & independent production)	Martinez commercial footloom specialists
Colotenango	8,000 (dispersed rural households)	Subsistence agriculture Sale of surplus corn, beans & regional citrus crop specialization seasonal migrant wage labour	Mendoza (Maria) stickloom weaving	Urubamba	600	Subsistence agriculture Personal trading of surplus potatoes, grains, beans & pottery	Vargas (Anna) stickloom weaving
Todos Santos	10,000 (dispersed rural households)	Subsistence agriculture Sale of surplus corn, beans & regional specialization potatoes seasonal migrant wage labour	—				

Sonia, asked me to translate and help with shelved items since the enthusiastic and impatient customers requested gift suggestions and explanations for the various handcrafted goods. Both she and her father encouraged me in my studies and welcomed me to visit their home and textile workshops.

In Colotenango, the alcalde's brother suggested that his compadre's wife might be interested in teaching a North American to use a stickloom.¹² There was a subsequent agreement to reimburse Maria with \$2.00 each day for the time that she would give up to devote to instructions. This financial agreement

¹²Compadre, or co-parent, is a fictive kin, a relationship established between ritual parents and the biological parents of a child through the Catholic ritual of assigning godparents at such ceremonies as baptism.

helped clarify individual's rights to tools, since payments would be divided between various women since they contributed to Maria's lessons. ¹³

In Todos Santos the emphasis was on the village as a comparison with Colotenango, rather than an indepth study of another stickloom weaver's activities. The confidence of a wide number of persons was gained in a relatively short period of time, through the good fortune of having possession of an ethnography of Todos Santos published thirty years earlier by Maud Oakes. ¹⁴ Discussion of this book, with photos and memories of the parents and grandparents of many Todos Santeros, was a special event and the persons involved eagerly shared their experiences and observations of community life. Through this indirect association with Maud Oakes came a capacity to discuss Mayan beliefs otherwise approached only after longer acquaintance.

In Ayacucho the Martinez household was selected because they were the leading tapestry weavers in the town. An invitation to visit their Ayacucho studio was offered by one of the sons during a textile exhibition in Canada, prior to the fieldwork in Peru.

¹³More generally, questions concerning family assets and income are very sensitive and not always accurately answered. This became especially apparent in Peru where a national census was administered and persons were concerned about increased taxation, which might come about as a result of confiding certain information to persons on official business in the village.

¹⁴ Oakes, Op.Cit., 1951.

The fourth case study, which was undertaken in the isolated Peruvian community of Urubamba, focussed on Anna Vargas and her neighbor, Marco Lopez. Anna was selected because she spent more time weaving than the other women of her village, and because she welcomed the acquaintance of an outsider. Marco was included in the study because he was an exceptional case, being the only male in this community who was involved in weaving.

The most obvious implication of an ethnographic field approach is the impossibility of controlling the environment such that each of the five situations are studied under the same conditions. It is also true that the presence of an outsider, whether a close neighbour, a local or foreign research student, alters the behaviour of the household residents.

In consideration of these research obstacles, the role of student weaver was successfully adopted in Colotenango, involving extensive participation assembling and using a stickloom. In Urubamba however, the people were unable to devote as much time to lessons, given the lesser appeal of cash in this situation, and so data collection involved more observation than actual participation in weaving. Colotenango fieldwork comprised day-time visits, whereas Urubamba involved participation in setting-up and running a small house in the community. The most extreme difference was the fact that in Urubamba there were other anthropologists already engaged in an ongoing study, of post-Agrarian Reform economic conditions. This produced a "double-host" situation where the guest of the Peruvian research

team was, in addition, guest of the village. This implied productive engagement with the rural comuneros as well as coordination with the Peruvian students from the urban centre of Cuzco. Benefits included translation help from Quechua to Spanish and verification of data by the students.

Because of the differences from one situation to the next it was important to be systematic in the kind of data included in each case study. Data collection focussed primarily on the material culture and activities that are most easily observed first-hand, and so provide the most reliable source of data. The first step was to simply observe the stages involved in the weaving process. Ethnomethodology, in which the goal is to gain the actor's (i.e. the weaver's) own definition of their activities, was used for data collection in the field. Initial questioning was structured to include simple ascending and later descending questions about the tools and techniques, asking "What is that?" to learn the weaver's own terminology, and then later ask questions, such as: "What is the kallua (beater) for?"; or, "Where does a weaver get her kallua from?" Photography also focussed on the tools and actual production process. Then as rapport was established, discussions could move to more personal topics about social relations and responsibilities of the various members of the household.

Another problem was the impossibility of keeping the researcher's perspective/objectives from biasing the material, in the sense that data recorded is necessarily selective. One

person cannot be watching everyone in the household at once, and thus any two observers will present different results. By using a "mode of production" organizational approach, and limited to this sense, data collection was given some measure of control. It also facilitated comparisons of the various households involved in textile production in the different community situations. For each of the households, the weaving tools, materials, techniques and textiles produced were examined in the context of the social relations of production, to see who was involved in production, and most importantly, who controlled the resources and products of the weaver's labour. Questions addressed what products were made for what purpose, how materials would be renewed and what other daily activities demanded time away from the craftwork. Although one is cautious about generalizing from a few selected case studies, the illustrations of the weavers included here reveal how different individuals adapt or accommodate their handcraft activities to different regional situations and market influences.

Chapter Two considers general theory relating to Latin American craft production. This is followed by three chapters on Guatemalan household textile producers, three chapters on Peru and a summary chapter. Chapter Two focusses on various interpretations of household craft production and socio-economic conditions in Latin America, in order to clarify the conceptual orientation of this thesis. Chapter Three discusses the geographical and historical context of textile production in

Guatemala. Chapter Four then focusses on an urban household specializing in commercial footloom weaving, and Chapter Five concentrates on a rural household involved in stickloom weaving of textiles for their own use, both examples located in the western highland of Huehuetenango. Chapter Six presents a brief orientation to the geographical and historical background of textile production in Peru. Chapter Seven focusses on an urban household in the southern highland department of Ayacucho, specializing in commercial footloom weaving as a comparison to the Huehuetenango footloom specialists. Chapter Eight discusses the more isolated situation of a southern Cuzco community where rural households are involved in stickloom weaving intended for household use. In Chapter Nine, the summary, analysis of the Guatemalan and Peruvian data is presented in the context of theories on social change and the articulation of modes of production approach.

CHAPTER TWO

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON HOUSEHOLD CRAFT PRODUCTION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

The following discussion of anthropological literature will clarify the conceptual orientation and case study analyses of household textile production presented in this thesis.

Peasant Studies

Peasant studies examine the livelihood of rural cultivators. Peasants, who make up the majority of the world's population, refers to rural persons who engage in agricultural production on small landholdings primarily for subsistence needs, not for cash crops to be sold for profits in the marketplace. ¹ The peasant household is the basic unit of production and consumption and the peasant relies on family labour, not wage labour, to work the land. However, the peasant is not seen as an autonomous producer but rather as an interdependent yet subordinate part of a larger society. Household needs actually include a surplus that must be

¹Peter Worsley, The Three Worlds, Culture & World Development, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1984; J. Ennew, P. Hirst & K. Tribe, "Peasantry as an Economic Category", in Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol.7, No.1, 1979, pp.48-69; and Eric Wolf, Peasants, Prentice Hall Inc., N.J., 1966.

transferred to the dominant outside locus of power, as well as the family's own immediate food and shelter.

Eric Wolf discusses how peasants struggle to balance the demands of their basic physical replacement fund (which includes seed for the next planting), with requests by local community members who may have suffered crop failures or sickness and whose support may be required in the future for a similar disaster. Other demands may arise in consideration of marriage partners needed to reproduce the family from generation to generation. In addition, requirements by outsiders must be met by peasant households. Examples of such demands are goods, money or labour for rents from tenants on large private estates, ceremonial funds such as payments to the church for marriage, funeral or other rituals, government taxes on land/personal property at the time of sale or inheritance, or conscription into the army. ² Income taxes which are accountable by salaried wage labourers are not collected from subsistence farmers, as they do not keep records of annual production.

During the Classic Maya and Inca periods, all peasants were required to provide local elites with tribute in goods, such as surplus crops or woven textiles, or in labour to build roads and temples, or to fight in the army.

The earliest detailed peasant studies were carried out in Russia by district assemblies set up to study problems arising

²Wolf, Op.Cit., 1966. See also James Scott, The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in S.E. Asia, Yale Univ. Press, 1976.

with the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. Over 4,000 volumes of statistical data were compiled on Russian peasant agriculture prior to the mass collectivization campaign of the 1930s.³

A.V. Chayanov of the Organization and Production School played a major role in the analysis of the Russian data as well as conducting further fieldwork. He focussed on the "family farm" and the varying qualities and sizes of fields and their use. The family included a husband, wife and unmarried children who together comprise the basic unit of production and consumption. Chayanov noted that unlike a business enterprise, peasants were not profit motivated. He explained that the tendency to pay high rents and to sell crops at low prices was due to the peasants' immediate goal to feed the family.

Chayanov worked out a "labour-consumer ratio" based on family composition of working to non-working members at particular times within a family's development cycle to explain different periods of labour intensity.⁴ He considered this ratio to be the main regulator of peasant farm activities, and concluded that peasants chose to reduce their labour efforts once immediate needs were met. His study of peasant farms

³Thorner, Kerblay & Smith, Op.Cit., 1966, p.xii.

⁴Ibid. p.xvi. A newly established family has two labourers supporting the same two persons as consumers, namely the husband and wife. After several years the couple will labour to feed themselves as well as several young children. As the work load is greatest the children mature and eventually become labourers themselves, so that the ratio of working to non-working members swings in favour of the labour factor in the "labour-consumer" formula.

influenced micro-economic studies and substantivists, such as Polanyi, who later argued against the formalist school which evaluated peasant production as irrational compared to capitalist enterprise geared to efficiency and long term profits. ⁵ While Chayanov suggested that differences between peasant families were minimal because all peasants go through periods of relative advantage and disadvantage at some time, for Lenin, "social differentiation" was a more likely outcome, as he saw an emerging class of petty bourgeoisie who were motivated to expand their farms and hire wage labour. Unequal access to land would cause small producers to lose their own means of production and they would become wage labourers. ⁶

Rodolfo Stavenhagen discussed unequal access to land in the Latin American region. ⁷ He noted how class relations, which are defined by the distribution of land and by labour that link one sector of the population to the other, also followed ethnic characteristics. With conquest the Europeans became privileged landlords while the indigenous peoples lost ownership of their land except usufruct rights and small holdings in marginal areas. Large landholdings incorporating the most fertile land

⁵Scott Cook, "Economic Anthropology: Problems in Theory, Method, and Analysis", in J. Honigmann, (ed.), Handbook of Social And Cultural Anthropology, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1973.

⁶Thorner, Kerblay & Smith, Op.Cit., 1966, p.xix, and V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Progress Pub., Moscow, 1966.

⁷R. Stavenhagen, Social Classes in Agrarian Societies, Anchor Books, N.Y., 1975, p.170.

were granted by Spain to conquistadores, royal officials and the Catholic Church, as reimbursement for their services and loyalty to Spain.

Stavenhagen explains that "social stratification" in Meso America (Mexico, Guatemala) is not based purely on racial criteria. The growing mestizo population (offspring from indigenous and Spanish unions), who tend to be urban craftspersons, commercial farmers or traders, are identified as ladinos, together with indigenous persons who leave their communities, and so are no longer tied to the protection and restrictions of the indigenous community, to become urban craftsmen or traders. Thus, although the extreme between indigenous-European, small landholder-large landholder follows racial criteria, indigenous-ladino is mainly a social and cultural distinction. The indigenous person is identified as a member of a community where the people rely on subsistence agriculture, continues to speak an indigenous dialect and in many cases wears a traditional costume.⁸ The ladino, who is usually, but not necessarily, mestizo, has taken the European as a model. Ladinos speak Spanish, tend to live in urban centres, and those involved in agriculture produce commercial crops aimed at the market for profits.⁹ While the ladino engages in wage labour, say as teacher or administrator, the indigenous

⁸The term indigenous is used here in preference to the term Indian (which Redfield, Wolf and Stavenhagen use in works quoted within).

⁹Stavenhagen, Op.Cit., 1975, pp.166-179.

population correlates to the campesinos, that is rural subsistence cultivators who continue to rely on the household as the basic unit of production involving family, and not wage labour. ¹⁰ However many peasant families in both Guatemala and Peru must work part-time as migrant help on coffee or sugar plantations in order to supplement subsistence agriculture, and to support the traditional ceremonial system of their community, relating to funds for annual fiestas.

Latin American highland indigenous communities, which Wolf has described as "closed corporate" communities, are defined by a bounded geographical territory held in common by registered members and which cannot be alienated to outsiders. ¹¹ Community members rely on subsistence agriculture, they maintain exclusive membership through endogamy, and have their own social system and politico-religious offices which bar outsiders from political access to communal affairs. The community holds festivals to honour a patron saint, and in Guatemala and Peru, members of many communities continue to hand-weave and wear a traditional community costume. ¹²

¹⁰ Social stratification and class relations in Peru follow this same pattern, except there the ladino term is replaced by the term cholo, and mestizo by misti. Steven S. Webster, "Ethnicity in the Southern Peruvian Highlands" in D. Preston (ed.) Environment, Society and Rural Change in Latin America, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y., 1980, p.143.

¹¹ See Chapter Three in Wolf & Hansen, The Human Condition in Latin America, Oxford Univ. Press, N.Y., 1972.

¹² Closed communities were established during the Spanish colonial period by the institution of reducciones (indigenous communities set up to separate inhabitants from the Spanish colonists, and to facilitate the collection of tribute in goods

Wolf contrasts the "closed" community with the "open" community which is more common in lowland regions, and is a more recent response to capitalist development of cash cropping. In "open" communities residence is not restricted and consequently the community is characterized by loose shifting personal relations.¹³

To define highland communities by the existence of separate socio-economic systems is to suggest independent, self-sustaining units. This has tended to obviate investigation of how community members are integrated into the national economy. However, F. McBryde and M. Nash note the elaborate regional marketing system through which goods are moved between highland communities in Guatemala. ¹⁴ Nash describes this regional market system as a "solar market" system in which communities are linked into a system of rotating markets. A central market centre serves as a major redistribution centre and is surrounded by smaller market centres with different weekly market days serving rural hamlets. In the Huehuetenango department, where fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken, the department capital, which is Huehuetenango, serves as the main redistribution centre for surrounding communities. These are

¹²(cont'd) and labour from the indigenous peoples).

¹³Wolf & Hansen, Op.Cit., 1972, Ch.3.

¹⁴ M. Nash, "Market & Indian Peasant Economies", in T. Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasant Societies, Penguin Books, N.Y., 1971, p.161, and, F. McBryde, Cultural & Historical Geography of South West Guatemala, Greenwood Press, Conn., 1947.

located at different altitudes and so specialize in different local crops. Full-time comerciantes move between the solar markets, attending San Pedro Necta's market one day to trade for coffee, Colotenango the next to obtain oranges, then Todos Santos later in the week to trade for potatoes.

The concept of "market" does not refer simply to a marketplace however, but also to a system of exchange which may be based on barter or cash sales, and through which values for goods are established by supply and demand, or governmental price fixing and as dictated by world markets. Polanyi has defined three qualitatively different systems of circulation that exist, or co-exist, in peasant societies and which relate to integration at the level of household, community and national units.¹⁵ These include (1) market exchange, which is based on the price-making market, (2) redistribution, which is based on appropriation of goods by a central person or institution and then redistribution outwards, and (3) reciprocity which is a personal system of exchange between symmetrical groupings.

¹⁵D. Lalone, Historical Context of Trade and Markets in the Peruvian Andes, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, pp.5-9.

Theories of Social Change

Theories of "social change" address problems in subsistence agriculture and household handcraft production that arise with industrialization which involves both technical and social changes. Literature by anthropologists studying Latin America in the 1950s has reflected the idea that indigenous peasants are inherently traditional compared to the urban ladino who is more open to change. ¹⁶

Modernization, as explained by the "diffusion model" during the 1950s, proposed that all societies change from undeveloped to more developed stages, and that modernity could be measured by such indices as G.N.P., per capita income, or urbanization.¹⁷

According to this modernization approach, development was possible through outside aid to spread modern technology and capital to backward areas. This "diffusion" model portrayed Latin American countries as supporting a "dual society" where the mass of the peasant population continued their traditional system alongside urban centres which were already developing the factory system based on capital and wage labour relations of -----

¹⁶Robert Redfield, A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited, Chicago, 1950; Sol Tax, Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy, University of Chicago Press, 1963, 1953; Manning Nash, Machine Age Maya: The Industrialization of a Maya Community, University of Chicago Press, 1958.

¹⁷Frank Fitzgerald, "Sociologies of Development" in Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol.11 No.1, 1981, p.5; and W.W. Rostow, "The Takeoff Into Self-Sustained Growth" in Etzioni (ed.) Social Change: Sources, Patterns & Consequences, Basic Books, N.Y., 1961, 1956.

production. Everett Rogers suggested that planned social change programs were likely to fail, however, due to an inability to communicate with the rural peasants and failure to change peasant attitudes to modernization, that is, resistances to change. It was simply assumed that the peasant's conservative nature was the reason for resistance to change. ¹⁸

Neil Smelser focussed on the structural changes which modernization involves. He identified four processes of change: from simple to mechanized technology, from subsistence to cash crops, from human to machine power, and from rural to urban settlements. All four would give rise to "structural differentiation" as division of labour increases and social roles and organizations split into two or more specialized roles. As the old social order becomes more complex, "integration" would require new legal and social institutions to coordinate the new social order. He suggested that conflict between the old and new roles and uneven periods of development that resulted in a lag between economic differentiation and integration were the reasons for disruptive situations and thus a problem for modernization. ¹⁹

Raul Prebisch, the first Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), attributed Latin American "backwardness" to traditional oligarchies and misguided

¹⁸E.M. Rogers & L. Svenning, Modernization Among Peasants, The Impact of Communication, Holt, Rinehart & Winston Inc., 1969.

¹⁹Neil J. Smelser, The Sociology of Economic Life, Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1963, 1973, pp.150-155.

foreign development models. He was also a pioneer in expressing the problem of imperialism in terms of centre-periphery relations, where the centre gained from productivity at the expense of the periphery.²⁰ ECLA recommendations promoted a policy of "import substitution" as the solution for "backward" countries. *Desarollo hacia adentro*, or inward-looking development, involved high protective import barriers, and a Latin American common market to achieve economies of scale, in order to establish an industrial base. This development plan focussed on replacing imports to achieve a balance of payments at the national level. This policy was intended to offset vulnerability to boom-bust cycles, common to both Guatemala and Peru, resulting from their reliance on monocrop exports for which prices and demand were subject to external situations in the industrial metropolises and the world market.

Dependency theory evolved in Latin America in response to modernization theorists' failure to account for the exploitative relationship between industrial metropolises and the rural hinterland (at both national and international levels), and the failure of ECLA to improve rural economic conditions through industrialization based on import substitution. The *dependistas*, such as Frank, Dos Santos and Cardoso, emphasized that it is dependency on the metropole that perpetuates "underdevelopment"

²⁰Philip J. O'Brien, "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency" in Oxaal, Barnett & Booth (eds), Beyond the Sociology of Development: Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Boston, 1975, pp.7-27.

and not so-called peasant conservatism. Dos Santos explained the concept of dependency in these words:

"By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development. ²¹

Underdevelopment is brought about by the expansion of capitalism in the developed countries as capital is drawn out of the Latin American nations through means that include repatriated funds, interest on loans and fees for royalties. According to dependency theorists, development is feasible only when internally-generated and self-sustaining, and this requires revolutionary social change to equalize access to resources and power, not simply more modern technology. This critique is an important breakthrough for the rural inhabitants because it recognizes problems regarding unequal access to resources and redistribution of the products of their labour. As a tool for analysis, dependency theory lacks a strong empirical data base due to its macro-level of analysis and subsequent problems with operationalization of the dependency relationship. As Norman Long points out, the concept of dependence needs to be more explicit in what is implied in relation to different structural

²¹Ronald H. Chilcote & Joel C. Edelstein (eds), Latin America: The Struggle with Dependency and Beyond, Schenkman Pub. Co., Mass., 1974, p.26.

contexts, especially regarding micro-level studies that focus on interpersonal relationships. ²²

John Clammer also notes that the concept of dependence infers exploitation and points to the existence of a conceptual problem relating to the link between the two. ²³ A problem with the concept of exploitation is its subjective definition, that is, when is a relationship exploitative and therefore no longer beneficial to the exploited party? ²⁴

Although this thesis supports Long's argument that dependency is not appropriate as a theoretical framework for a study such as this, which focusses on a micro level analysis of particular units of production (i.e. households), dependency, as a relationship, is significant for an understanding of how Guatemala and Peru are dependent on an unstable world market. Foreign capital, which has been concentrated in the development of primary and not secondary industry, has resulted in export economies that are based on exporting two or three main products, (i.e. raw resources), and importing manufactured

²²Norman Long, "Structural Dependency, Modes of Production and Economic Brokerage in Rural Peru", in Oxaal, Op.Cit., 1975, p.263. See also Ernesto LaClau, "Feudalism & Capitalism in Latin America" in New Left Review, No.67, 1971.

²³J. Clammer, "Economic anthropology and the sociology of development: 'liberal' anthropology and its French critics" in Oxaal, Op.Cit., 1975, p.225.

²⁴ For further discussion see George Dalton, "How Exactly are Peasants 'Exploited'?" in American Anthropologist, Vol.76, 1974, pp.553-561; Scott, Op.Cit., 1976; and Harold Wolpe, "The Theory of Internal Colonialism: the South African Case" in Oxaal, Op.Cit., 1975.

goods. ²⁵ The main implication for countries that are only now industrializing, is that they are doing so in the context of a world where countries such as Britain and the U.S.A. have already developed an industrial base, and have invested money and technology in countries such as Guatemala and Peru, which subsequently will not undergo the same historical development as either Britain or the U.S.A.

Frank's work on the metropole-hinterland relationship has also been criticized for his focus on the level of exchange, and not on the underlying production process. ²⁶ His conceptualization of a hierarchy of metropolitan-satellite relationships concentrates attention on a geographical (i.e. spatial) analysis of distribution. This tends to obscure class relations of production. Frank's denial of the persistence of pre-capitalist modes of production is criticized by French theorists such as Dupré, Rey, Godelier and Meillassoux who argue that the co-existence of several modes of production with the

²⁵Wolf compares an "export economy" to "enclave economies" in which strategic products of a country are concentrated in relatively restricted areas and controlled by relatively few enterprises resulting in a rich metropole which is mostly foreign-owned (the enclave) and employs only a small percentage of the local population compared to a large poor hinterland. (Wolf & Hansen Op.Cit., 1972, Chapter 1). Such enclaves have developed in both Guatemala and Peru around mining projects such as the INCO nickel mine at Exmibal, Guatemala, and oil projects in the Amazon region of Peru.

²⁶Fitzgerald, Op.Cit., 1981; and O'Brien, Op.Cit., 1975, pp.7-27.

capitalist mode must be incorporated into the model. ²⁷

The "articulation of modes of production" approach is an attempt by Dupré, Rey, Godelier, Meillassoux and others to overcome the weakness of the dependency concept by addressing both the level of production and the level of exchange. ²⁸ This approach foccuses on analysis of various modes of production and the inter-connections between co-existing modes. Such an approach initially involves micro level analysis of the production process and social relations of the producers to both their means of production and the products of their labour, as well as the processes by which surplus product is created and extracted. This indicates in the case of handcraft production how particular individuals have adapted their craft activities to the increasing influence of mechanized manufacture and wage labour relations of production which are characteristics of the dominant capitalist mode of production.

A "mode of production" is conceptualized as a dynamic system made up of a dialectical relation between:

1. A particular set of "factors of production" (e.g. land, labour and capital) which includes technological aspects (tools, techniques), and,
2. a particular set of "social relations of production" that indicate who does what, who owns or has access to what resources, who controls the products, their distribution, exchange and consumption.

²⁷Fitzgerald, Op.Cit., 1981, p.223.

²⁸Clammer, Op.Cit., 1975; and, Aiden Foster-Carter, "Can We Articulate 'Articulation'?" in Clammer (ed.), The New Economic Anthropology, MacMillan Press, London, 1978.

"Production" is the process by which persons, through their labour power, their tools and technology, transform the object of their labour (e.g. land or sheep's wool) in order to gain some material or economic return (crops or textiles for use or exchange). "Mode" refers to a manner or method of doing or acting, stressing process, not results. Thus it would be misleading to consider "a mode of production" as though it were an object.

The capitalist mode of production is defined by a system where the actual producers do not own their means of production and where production is based on wage labour. The owner of the means of production is not necessarily a producer himself, but is the owner who controls the production process and the products of the worker's labour. The owner appropriates the products to sell as commodities.

An example of a non-capitalist mode of production is simple commodity production. This is defined as small-scale production of commodities where the producer is the owner of the means of production and relies only on his or her own labour or that of the family, not wage labour relations of production.²⁹ Another example of a non-capitalist mode of production is the production of goods aimed at domestic consumption or "use value" and not commodities aimed at sales and "exchange value". The producer

²⁹ Ennew, Hirst & Tribe, Op.Cit., 1979, p.309; and Alice Littlefield, "The Expansion of Capitalist Relations of Production in Mexican Crafts" in Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol.6, 1979, p.475.

owns the means of production, hires no wage labour, and like the simple commodity producer, relies only on his or her own labour or that of the family.

Foster-Carter notes that the articulation of modes of production approach has been developed from Althusser's readings of Marx' critique of the capitalist system, in which actual producers are paid a wage that represents only a portion of the total value added by their labour. ³⁰ The remaining "surplus value" which has been added by the workers through the production process is appropriated by the capitalist owners. Marx notes how the capitalist owner's goal is to invest money in production of commodities in order to obtain expanded returns on the initial capital investment which is formulated as M-C-M+ (Money-Commodities-More Money). ³¹ By re-investing the "surplus value" as capital to buy more materials and/or equipment the capitalist owner can increase production and thereby make further money.

In the case of the simple commodity producer, producers appropriate "surplus value" produced by family labour as does

³⁰Marx was concerned with the impact of industrialization and social change. He focussed on how the feudal system, which was based on lord-serf relations revolving around land tenure, was transformed into capitalist owner-wage labour relations of production centred on the factory system. He examined the processes whereby serfs and small peasant landowners were losing their rights to land and becoming wage labour, and what this meant in terms of classes of persons who had unequal access to resources and the products of their labour. Marx, Op.Cit., 1967, 1867.

³¹Ibid. p.150.

the capitalist from wage labour. Family members have rights to the products of their labour so that if they are unable to work they will continue to receive subsistence needs and inheritance rights may assure them a share of any surplus that is produced. Thus, although family members may invest in more materials and equipment to increase family production, what appears to be an expanding workshop actually reflects the reproductive needs of an expanding family. Marx differentiated such small-scale commodity production based on family labour as C-M-C (Commodities-Money-Commodities), where the goal is to exchange commodities in order to obtain other commodities necessary to ensure the simple reproduction of the family. ³²

The significance of concentrating on the social relations of production, which are defined in terms of ownership and control of the means of production, the production process and the products of labour, is that individuals in countries such as Guatemala or Peru can be defined according to objective political-economic classes (e.g. capitalist owners, wage labour). Thus social relationships are not discussed according to simply more subjective stratification based on descriptive occupation, such as farmer, teacher or artisan, which are often associated with ethnocentric cultural values. Within the occupation of farmer there are variations in technology and social relations of production. There are subsistence

³²In the case of barter not involving money as a medium of exchange, Marx shortened the formula C-M-C to C-C (Commodity-Commodity). Ibid., p.88 & pp.111-112.

cultivators who own their land, use simple hand tools and family labour, while others may have to rent land and so must turn over part of their harvest to a landlord, while others again work on mechanized plantations in return for a wage and/or use of a small subsistence plot.

The "articulation" concept emphasizes the relationship between differing modes as a "process in time", to help understand how a mode of production might change as it is sustained and replicated over time. According to Rey, different modes of production are initially linked through the sphere of exchange and, as the dominant mode (i.e. capitalist) eventually subordinates other existing non-capitalist modes, they are transformed and eventually disappear.³³ However analysis is not limited to examination of how the capitalist mode of production transforms non-capitalist modes into the capitalist system based on wage labour relations of production, but also on how various modes are actually co-existing in countries such as Guatemala and Peru. According to Bettelheim:

"non-capitalist forms of production, before they disappear, are 'restructured' (partly dissolved), and thus subordinated to the predominant capitalist relations (and so conserved). The predominance of this tendency is doubtless connected with a group of determining factors produced by the 'external' domination of capitalism: 'blocking' of the development of the productive forces, constraint to a disadvantageous international specialisation, 'external' presence of centers of capital accumulation (toward which converges the capital that might have 'revolutionized' the material and social conditions of production), all this being over-determined by political

³³Foster-Carter, Op. Cit., 1978, p.218.

factors (the maintenance with the help of imperialism of domination by classes incapable of revolutionizing the conditions of production)." ³⁴

Long and Richardson discuss the "putting-out" system as an example of a transitional mode of production that has been subordinated and conserved under the capitalist system. ³⁵ The putting-out system is a form of simple commodity production where production is small in scale, based on family labour performed in the home and where the artisan owns the means of production (tools). However, the artisan is not an independent producer in that a middleman provides the materials and so controls the production process by dictating product design, quality and piece rates, which are interpreted as the subsumption of the worker as wage labour. Unlike Britain where the putting-out system was transformed into a centralized factory system, the putting-out system in Latin American countries has been perpetuated, and even created as a means for the sub-contracting capitalist to minimize overhead costs of equipment, and gain access to a cheap labour market by eliminating the payment of social security and the cost of work stoppages. ³⁶

³⁴Bettelheim is quoted in N. Long & P. Richardson, "Informal Sector, Petty Commodity Production, and the Social Relations of Small-scale Enterprise" in Clammer, Op.Cit., 1978, p.184.

³⁵Ibid., p.185.

³⁶ Ibid., p.185. See also Littlefield, Op.Cit., 1979, pp.476-479. Littlefield notes the revival and persistence of the putting-out system for blanket production and blouse embroidery in Oaxaca. See also C. Meillassoux, "From Reproduction to Production" in Economy & Society, Vol.1, 1972, p.103, regarding the maintenance of a peasant community as reserves of cheap labour that are undermined and perpetuated at the same time. In

A problem with the articulation of modes of production approach is that theorists cannot agree about the relevance of "feudal", "primitive" and "Asiatic" modes cited by Marx, or recent types, such as "peasant", "foraging" and "domestic" modes of production. ³⁷ The very generation of a typology of modes results in static categories for systems of production that are undergoing rapid changes due to the influence of industrialization. Dupré, Rey, Godelier, Meillassoux and others have also been criticized as "Africo-centric" because much of their general theory is based on African studies. ³⁸ Clammer also points out that the concentration on production and distribution has meant a neglect of ideological superstructures such as spiritual values that affect decision-making. ³⁹

³⁶(cont'd) the case of Guatemala, plantation owners only require seasonal labour and so the persistence of a peasant population which produces its own food (e.g. a non-capitalist mode involving only family labour) means the plantation owners have access to seasonal as well as a cheap source of labour for which they do not have to provide social security benefits.

³⁷See for examples: Ennew, Hirst & Tribe, Op.Cit., 1979, pp.295-321; Richard B. Lee, "Is there a Foraging Mode of Production?", in Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol.2, No.1, 1981, pp.13-19; Marshal Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, Aldine Atherton, Illinois, 1972.

³⁸By implication this criticism also applies to Latin American scholars or other regional specialists. It is important to note however that the articulation of modes of production approach has been developed by theorists focussing on African regional studies while dependency theory has been initially developed in Latin American studies, but both have subsequently been applied to the other regions.

³⁹Clammer, Op.Cit., 1975, p.213.

The strength of the articulation of modes of production approach is in its applicability to empirical studies. Using the approach as an organizational tool, particular units of production can be analysed and compared to, or interrelated with, other units which may involve different technology and different social organization, as in a case where one person may carry out all production processes, while in another household, a merchant may pay wage labourers to do the actual production. Different modes of production which involve different social relations of production (i.e. classes) that cross-cut individual households can also be distinguished. For example, within one household some members contribute to their household's needs through family labour for the cultivation of subsistence crops or the production of handcrafts for sale, while others may engage in part-time wage labour to supplement subsistence crops or, alternatively, may engage outsiders as wage labour to help expand their craft activities. Thus the spatial bias of Frank's metropole-hinterland approach is overcome as social relations of production not only cross-cut households within a community, they do so across community and national bounds. Analysis shifts from the basic unit of production of textiles to more general household subsistence activities and from micro to more macro levels of community, national and international units of production. However, the definition of an "articulation" which emphasizes a relationship between different modes of production as a process in time, means that this approach, like dependency

theory, still has problems with operationalization. The problem for the "articulation" concept is the identification of mechanisms by which labour products are extracted and redistributed, as in the case of distribution within households where members are involved in more than one mode of production.

Long suggests that "economic brokers", the individuals such as professional traders who establish and maintain relationships with local producers and external markets, provide insight into the mechanisms by which economic surplus is extracted.⁴⁰ A study of brokerage moves analysis to the actor-oriented perspective and makes use of case study methods to identify networks of trans-personal ties, which may be based on kinship relations, or *compadrazgo* (fictive kinship through Catholic rituals of godparenthood). Such ties involve either horizontal relations (e.g. co-parent relations), or vertical patron-client relations, that can be utilized to redistribute/exchange products of one's labour and/or to secure entrepreneurial advantage.⁴¹ Thus brokerage can complement a mode of production analysis as identification is made of the social characteristics

⁴⁰"Structural Dependency, Modes of Production and Economic Brokerage in Rural Peru", in Oxaal, Op.Cit., 1975, pp.273-275.

⁴¹*Compadrazgo*, the Catholic ritual of establishing ritual kin through the assignment of godparents at such ceremonies as baptism, marriage and a variety of other occasions, is widespread in both Guatemala and Peru. The relationship of *compadres* (that is co-parents) is often more binding than the relationship between godparent and godchild. See H. Nutini & D. White, "Community Variations & Network Structure in the Social Functions of *Compadrazgo* in Rural Tlaxcala, Mexico", in Ethnology, A. Spoehr (ed.), Vol.XVI, No.1, 1977, pp.353-384.

of, and strategies adopted by, individuals who play a major part in connecting local production systems with the wider socio-economic structure. ⁴²

Ethnographic Studies

Ethnography provides indepth accounts of particular communities in the highland regions of both Guatemala and Peru in the twentieth century. Ethnographers who have not focussed on textile production contribute to an understanding of household activities which often include the craft of handweaving as well as domestic chores of cooking and childcare, agricultural fieldwork and exchange of surplus goods at the marketplace. These studies are important because they illuminate textile production as part of a way of life and not as an independent art form. ⁴³

However, although ethnographers described craftwork within the context of a particular community, until recently they did not adequately integrate either the craftwork or the community into the national economic system. The tendency to become "community-bound" was due to the fact that ethnographers defined the community as their basic unit of study and so treated their community as if it was an independent (or at least a separate)

⁴²Long, Op.Cit., 1975, p.278.

⁴³See, for examples of Guatemalan communities: Wagley:1947; Bunzel:1952; Valladores:1957; Hinshaw:1975; and for Peruvian communities: Montalvo:1965; Mayer:1974; Brush:1977; Isbell:1978.

socio-economic system. The community-blinkered approach tended to obviate investigation of horizontal and vertical linkages (e.g. socio-economic relationships that community members establish with other indigenous persons or with government and commercial agents outside the community), which integrate the community into the national economic system. Thus the earlier ethnographies of highland communities contributed to and were reinforced by the 1950's diffusion model of a "dual society", in which the traditional indigenous peasant communities were conceptualized as separate from the modern industrial urban sector dominated by the European population.

Much of the anthropological literature that focusses on Latin American weaving has tended to be historical, technology-bound or costume-descriptive. ⁴⁴ However this literature provides an invaluable introduction to, and historical record of, regional variations in costumes and designs which were considered to be rapidly disappearing because highland persons were weaving fewer textiles as they began buying cheaper machine-made clothing. ⁴⁵

In both Guatemala and Peru, the indigenous stickloom is composed of only a few sticks around which the warp is wound and

⁴⁴See for examples: O'Neale & Kroeber:1930; D'Harcourt:1934; O'Neale:1945; Osborne:1965; Petterson:1976; Rowe:1977; Sperlich:1980.

⁴⁵ Robert Hinshaw discusses the trend away from traditional stickloom costumes to either a more general textile produced on footlooms or store-bought clothing, in the central highland community of Panajachel, Guatemala, in Panajachel: A Guatemalan Town in 30 Years' Perspective, Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1975.

held under tension by a belt which fits around the weaver's waist and a rope which secures the other end to a post. (See Figures 16, 37 & 38 below). In Guatemala the indigenous highland peoples obtained raw cotton from the lowland region which they would spin into a fine yarn on a spindle and whorl. They would then dye the yarn with vegetable dyes such as añil (indigo), various tree barks to produce black brown and yellow dyes, cochineal which is a red dye produced from a tiny insect, and purpura patula which is a purple tint obtained from a coastal mollusc shell. ⁴⁶ In Peru weavers used cotton fibre as well as wool from the South American cameloid animals (alpaca, llama and vicuña) which were not present in Central America. The South American peoples spun the fibres using a spindle and whorl and used similar vegetable dyes to the Central American weavers. However the South American weavers were able to produce a more extensive range of colours with woollen fibres which were more absorbent than cotton, and retained tints without the complicated chemical processes of adding mordants to fix colours which the cotton materials required. ⁴⁷ Yet in both regions the indigenous peoples had developed a range of weaving techniques, such as plain and twill weaves, and designs created by floated series of warp or weft threads, or by adding design threads

⁴⁶Osborne, Op. Cit., 1965, pp.35-40.

⁴⁷L. Lumbreras, Pre-Hispanic Textiles, Librerias ABC, S.A., Lima, p.17.

(e.g. embroidery and brocade work). ⁴⁸

Although the stickloom technology and weaving techniques are basically the same today, highland weavers also use footlooms which the Spanish introduced from Europe in the seventeenth century to establish textile production as a commercial activity. The footloom structure provides a more efficient means of weaving, as its frame is more substantial than the stickloom and so it can support a longer, continuous warp to mass-produce larger quantities of fabric. Materials have also changed as the Europeans introduced sheep and later aniline dyes, synthetic fibres and electric spinning and weaving machines. ⁴⁹ Such technological innovations involve changes in how materials are obtained and how the production process is carried out, (e.g. more help is generally required to mass-produce yard goods on footlooms than to produce single garments on sticklooms).

Questions that are raised by the "mode of production articulation" approach regarding control of resources, control of the products of one's labour, and ways in which handcraft activities such as textile weaving are perpetuated over time are the focus of this thesis and other recent studies by

⁴⁸Embroidery designs are applied after a cloth has been woven, compared to brocade which is applied during the weaving process.

⁴⁹Littlefield, Op.Cit., 1979; Diana Ryesky, World of the Weaver, An Ethnographic Study of Textile Production in a Mexican Village, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1977; Carol Jopling, Women Weavers of Yalalag, Their Art and its Process, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1977.

anthropologists who are interested in the fact that handcraft production is still widespread. While a "mode of production" approach has been applied in a limited sense, that is, as an organizational tool for a micro level analysis of particular household units involved in textile production using sticklooms and footlooms, this framework facilitates study of the integration of household craft production of textiles into the larger community and national context. ⁵⁰

Since "traditional" society is seen as rapidly changing in terms of a national economy incorporating a rural peasant subsistence way of life, an ethnographic field approach provides the most current data on household craft production of textiles. This approach enables the researcher to experience first-hand the ways in which households meet their subsistence needs, assists comprehension of the householders' perceptions of their needs, plus the significance or value of household production of handcrafted textiles, and further clarifies how craftworkers adapt their activities to their overall household needs. The following chapters comprise data from library research and fieldwork for this study of variations in social organization of household textile producers in Guatemala and Peru.

⁵⁰Macro level studies involving a comprehensive class analysis of Guatemala and Peru have been presented by S. Jonas & D. Tobias (eds) "Guatemala" in NACLA, Berkeley, Calif., 1974; and W. Bollinger, "The Bourgeois Revolution in Peru: A Conception of Peruvian History" in Latin American Perspectives, Vol.4, #3, 1977, pp.18-67.

CHAPTER THREE

GUATEMALA - THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The theme of the next three chapters is the integration of household textile production with the demands of the household, community, regional and national socio-economic situation of Guatemala. This chapter provides a general introduction to the Central American region designated the Republic of Guatemala. The discussion begins by emphasizing the major vertical zones which are central to an understanding of the cultural ecological adaptations of the inhabitants of this mountainous region, as well as those of the South American Andean region of Peru, discussed below. The contemporary profile is followed by an historical sketch of the region which focusses on developments in the production of textiles. The third and final subsection concerns the western highland department of Huehuetenango, where fieldwork for this thesis was carried out. Chapters Four and Five then focus on examples of footloom and stickloom production of textiles in the department of Huehuetenango to illustrate the variation in social organization, as well as the differences in the parameters of subsistence between urban and rural situations.

The Land and its Resources

The small Central American Republic of Guatemala incorporates 108,882 square kilometres of land bordered by Mexico and Belize to the west and north, and Honduras and El Salvador to the east and south. (See Fig.1 below) Although Guatemala lies wholly within the tropics, between 14-18 degrees north latitude, not all areas are tropical. High altitudes of the Sierra Madre and Cuchumatanes mountains result in temperate and freezing alpine climates in contrast to the steamy lowlands that are more characteristic of the tropics.

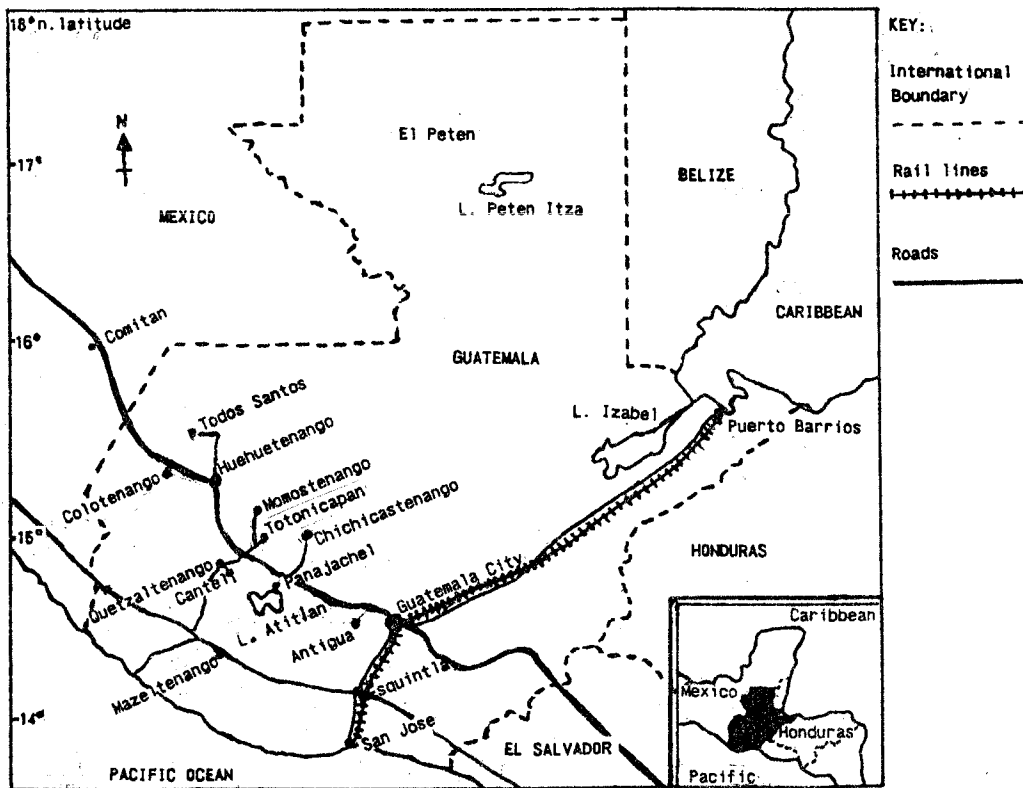


Figure 1. Map of Guatemala

The sierra (highland) incorporates more than half of the total land area. Although much of this rugged terrain is not arable, or even inhabitable, the sierra is home for more than 75% of Guatemala's population of six million. Small rural communities are dispersed throughout the multitude of high intermontane valleys. Families struggle to produce their basic staple diet of corn, beans and squash on what little arable land is available. Their milpas, as the Guatemalans generally refer to these small subsistence plots, involve a simple digging stick and intense human effort. Fields are often several hours walk from homes and slopes of up to 70 degree angles defy the use of oxen and plough or mechanized equipment. Fifty percent of all agricultural holdings are less than three and one half acres in size, the minimum generally considered sufficient to support a family of five. ¹

Crops, length of growing season, and yield vary from field to field, valley to valley, due to differences in soil types, slopes with various sun and rain exposure, erosion, as well as differences in temperature due to altitude. A general picture can be drawn according to zones based on elevation which helps make sense of this multitude of highland micro-environments.

The most rugged terrain lies mostly in the northwestern part of the country where the department of Huehuetenango is located. The tierra fría (cold land) between 1,600 and 3,000

¹ J. Dombrowski et. al., Area Handbook for Guatemala, The American University, Washington D.C., 1970, p.273.

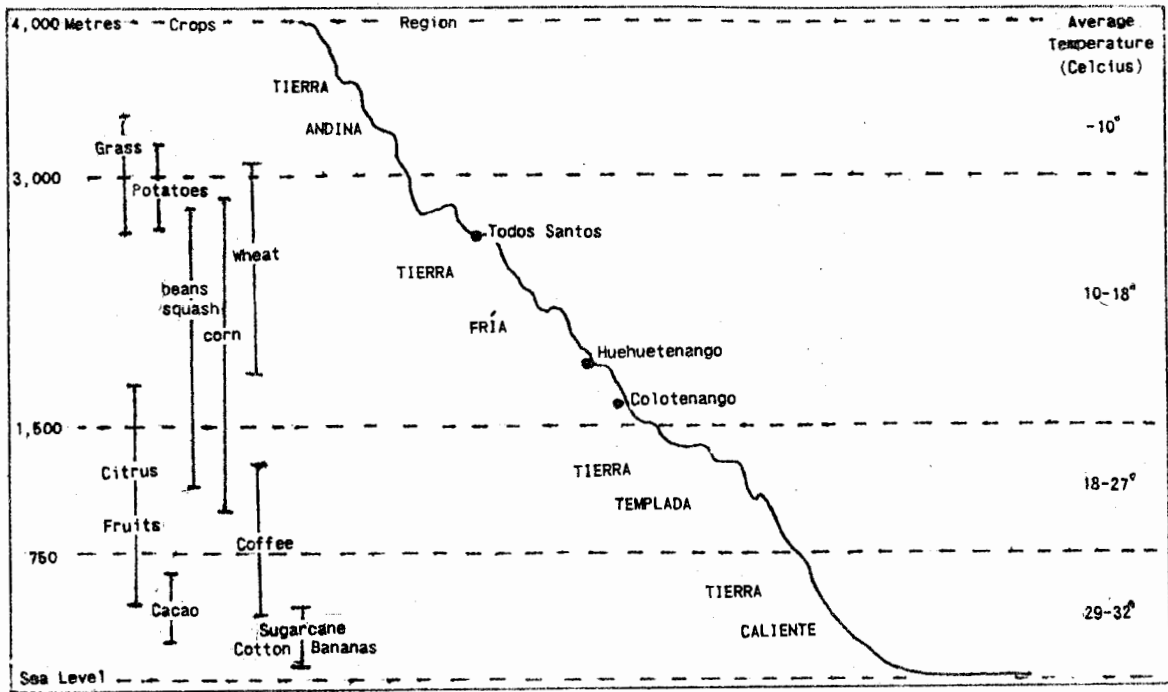
metres supports subsistence crops, such as corn, beans, squash, wheat, barley and potatoes. The tierra andina, which lies above 3,000 metres, is subject to more environmental constraints. Only hardy tubers and grasses that support small herds of sheep survive the severe frosts of this barren land. Increasingly individual plots cannot produce self-sufficiency for the growing population. Some surplus must also be exchanged in regional markets for other goods such as salt, matches, sugar, citrus fruits and coffee, and to raise cash for ceremonial expenses and rents.

The tierra templada (temperate land) lies mostly in the lower central highlands that is Guatemala's most important region. The land is less rugged with wider valleys which produce



Figure 2. Milpas, Todos Santos

Figure 3. Vertical Zones in Guatemala, showing locations of communities studied



Compiled from Stadelman, *Op.Cit.*, 1940; Oakes, *Op.Cit.*, 1951; & Dombrowski, *Op.Cit.*, 1970

the majority of the country's corn crop and other domestic staples. ² Lying between 760 and 1600 metres, a wide variety of cash crops such as green vegetables, fruits and coffee, the nation's leading export, also grow here. Coffee producers rely heavily on human labour, (i.e. highland indigenous persons), to tend their coffee bushes which are generally planted on sloping land. Export figures include coffee as the only crop that extends as high as 1400 metres. The marginal position of the

²Four times more corn is grown than coffee, the nation's number one cash earner. No corn is exported. It is grown for domestic consumption, making up half of the diet for 75% of the nation's people. Dombrowski, *Op.Cit.*, 1970, pp.276-279.

western highlands is apparent as most of the western highland department of Huehuetenango lies above this level.

Heat and humidity, and therefore disease, discourage human settlement in the *tierra caliente* (hot country), which includes the two lowland regions known as *la costa* (the narrow humid Pacific coastal strip) and *la selva* (the northern jungle of El Petén). El Petén accounts for one third of Guatemala's land but has only one percent of the total population. Although smaller in area, *la costa* has about twenty percent of the population. Poor soils inhibit agriculture in El Petén. At *la costa* on the other hand, rich alluvial soils and relatively flat land supports Guatemala's two most important cash crops, cotton and sugar cane. ³ Plantations are mechanized but still require a large indigenous seasonal labour force, most of which comes from the highlands after the earlier corn harvest there is completed.

According to Table 2. below, agricultural crops accounted for 69.2% of the value of Guatemala's total exports in 1978 compared to a slightly lower figure of 65% in 1982. However the manufacturing exports showed little change, accounting for 30.8% of total export value in 1978 and only 30% in 1982. Guatemala also began exporting oil in 1982. ⁴

The department of Esquintla, which lies in both the *tierra templada* and *costa* zones, produces as much as 80% of the

³ Guatemala is an active volcanic region, and rich volcanic soils contribute to agricultural productivity.

⁴Brooks, Op.Cit., 1983, pp.1161-1162.

Table 2. Guatemalan Exports, 1978, 1982

<u>Product</u>	<u>% Total Exports</u> 1978	<u>1982</u>
Coffee	39.21	30.80
Cotton	13.90	6.80
Bananas	4.30	9.50
Sugarcane	2.46	unavail
Beef	2.36	unavail
Other Crops	6.89	unavail
Manuf. Goods	30.00	30.00
Mineral Prod.	1.40	unavail

Sources: NACLA, 1983, and J. Brooks, (ed.), 1984 South American Handbook, Trade & Travel Pub. Ltd, Bath, U.K., pp.1161-62.

nation's sugar, 70% of the cattle, 50% of cotton, and 20% of coffee. ⁵ Esquintla is adjacent to Guatemala City which helps provide a labour force for such industries as sugar refining, coffee milling and beverages that are directly associated with the department's agricultural produce. Industrial development has been facilitated by the Pacific seaport of San José and the interocean road and rail connections to Caribbean Sea ports via Guatemala City. Esquintla is also strategically located at the crossroads for the Pacific Coast Highway and rail lines that link other major coffee centres to the capital and sea ports.

Despite the concentration of both industry and labour in the relatively small department of Guatemala, less than 25% of the economically active population there is employed in

⁵ Ibid. p.268.

manufacturing. Most of the capital's one million residents work in the commerce or service sectors. However the largest of the manufacturing establishments are concentrated in this area. Of 2,100 establishments classified as fábricas (factories employing 5-14 persons), 1,500 (70%) are located in Guatemala City and along the highway to Esquintla. One hundred fábricas are concentrated in the three main coffee centres of Esquintla, Mazatenango (Suchitepequez) and Retahuleu. A further 270 are around Quetzaltenango (Xela), the nation's second largest city prior to the 1975 earthquake. ⁶

Most manufacturing still involves household craft producers. The department with the highest percentage (38%) of its people engaged in manufacturing is Totonicapán. This department is midway between the western highland department of Huehuetenango and the more heavily populated centres of the central highland region. ⁷ Communities in Totonicapán rely on household specialization in crafts such as pottery, woodwork, footloom weaving and jaspe, a technique of tie-dyeing yarn before it is woven into fabric. Craft specialization is widespread here because of the rugged and severely eroded terrain which will not support subsistence agricultural activities. The persistence of household craft production and the indigenous peoples' reliance on both migrant work and subsistence farming, which are discussed further in the following chapters, illustrates the

⁶Ibid., p.288.

⁷Ibid., p.289.

tendency of the Guatemalan government to concentrate industrialization in the metropole (i.e. capital city) and major urban centres which are dependent on the extraction of raw resources and labour from a hinterland (i.e. highlands) which benefits minimally from such a development pattern.

Historical Background

Sticklooms were used in Central America as early as 1500 B.C. Fabrics became increasingly fine after the domestication of cotton (600 B.C.) and the subsequent appearance of the wooden spindle and clay whorl. By the Classic Mayan civilization (300-900 A.D.) raw cotton and handwoven textiles were an important part of the tribute that the peoples had to give to the Mayan priestly elite. ⁸ While the masses engaged in subsistence agriculture to feed themselves and their masters, the priestly elite practised their skills in astrology and mathematics. The masses also provided labour to build temples, fought local wars and in some cases, specialized in crafts to -----

⁸ By the time of Spanish Conquest in the sixteenth century A.D. the highland civilization of the Maya was in decline and the locus of culture and political power had shifted to the Yucatán. The Maya peoples of the lowland region of Petén had to pay an average of sixty pounds of cotton per household each year to the Yucatán rulers and the Maya of the western highlands at one time paid an annual tribute of over one million pieces of cloth to the Aztec Emperor to the north.

These records are from the Codex Mendocina, one of the few manuscripts of a once vast collection of Mayan literature composed of drawings and hieroglyphic writing not destroyed by the Spanish, noted in R. Whitlock, The Everyday Life of the Maya, B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1976, p.68.

produce fine jewellery, pottery and textiles for the elite. ⁹

Although there was no single dominant ruler controlling the loose confederation of autonomous city states, long distance traders were able to pass between hostile territories. They would supply such lowland crops as raw cotton, dried fish, salt or mollusc shells which were prized for their purple dye, to highland peoples in exchange for corn or the precious cacao beans which were used as a form of currency. ¹⁰

Bishop de Landa, one of the earliest Spanish arrivals, described a *mercado* (market) at the large ceremonial centre of Chichen Itza in the Yucatán. ¹¹ He noted that an official administered the trading from a position over-looking the open court where men and women squatted under white cotton awnings bartering surplus produce. Products were grouped in sections and the vendors paid a small fee to participate, much the way highland markets operate today in Guatemala. ¹² In 1527 Oviédo wrote that local chiefs wore costumes with personal designs woven in exquisite cottons of many colours. Noble women wore skirts of fine materials but plebian women wore coarse garments made from bark cloth.

⁹ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁰ J. Eric Thompson, The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953, p.159, and, Whitlock, Op.Cit., 1976, p.61.

¹¹ Whitlock, Op.Cit., 1976, p.60.

¹² McBryde, Op.Cit., 1947.

Figure 4. Ixchel, Mayan Goddess of the Moon and Weaving who symbolizes women's fertility and creativity



The Spanish Conquest of the Maya took place over a period of about one hundred and seventy-five years, between 1524 and 1697. The highland Maya of Guatemala were conquered by Alvarado with the aid of the Cakchiquel Maya (of present day Guatemala City and Lake Atitlán area) who were fighting with their neighbors to the northwest, the Quiché.¹³ Following the Spanish conquest the Europeans commanded the Maya peoples to dress according to social rank, prohibiting the indigenous peoples from wearing the clothes of the Spanish colonists. The Spanish

¹³ The Maya indigenous peoples of Guatemala include about twenty different language groups. The Maya of Huehuetenango who are the focus of this thesis border the Quiché to the northwest. M. Dieterich, J. Erickson & E. Younger, Guatemalan Costumes, Heard Museum, Arizona, 1979, p.21.

monarch also demanded that the Mayan people resettle in *reducciones*, indigenous communities separate from the Spanish colonists. *Reducciones* were intended to facilitate the collection of tribute in goods and labour, which now went to Spain as well as to Spanish *conquistadores* as a reward from the Spanish monarch. The Spanish monarchy instituted racial segregation to minimize colonists' power over the indigenous population.

The combination of the new laws requiring more adequate clothing and segregation of indigenous peoples in their own Mayan communities resulted in a multitude of costumes. Each community incorporated various local Spanish elements of dress, such as pleated skirts or lace blouses, with Mayan elements from their own Mayan leaders' dress. Communities adopted their own primary motifs which provided visual symbols of both Catholic and Mayan beliefs. The double-headed Hapsburg eagle of King Charles V doubled as the symbol of the Mayan god *Kablicok*, who looks to good and evil.¹⁴ Likewise, the Christian cross represented their own Mayan cross which symbolized to the indigenous peoples the four corners of the *milpa*, four cardinal points, four winds and the direction of the heavens in Mayan beliefs. The garments acquired great spiritual significance as they were believed to house the owner's animal spirit which is considered part of one's personality and at death becomes the

¹⁴Osborne, *Op.Cit.*, 1965, p.94.

protecting spirit.¹⁵ Thus, while the costume served to identify an indigenous person's community for the Spanish rulers, for the Maya it provided a sense of belonging and religiosity, as well as an indicator of socio-economic status.

Costumes, which are still handwoven on sticklooms and worn today by descendants of the Maya, continue to have a strong social meaning for indigenous Guatemalans living in western highland communities. As an anthropologist noted in 1948:

Chichicastenago men's trousers have a flap on each side which has an embroidered design giving his history, age, rank and physical ability. It might be considered his family tree.¹⁶

Life generally for the Mayan peoples under Spanish rule, portrays a less romantic picture than does a discussion of their elaborate textile designs and techniques. By the mid-seventeenth century intolerable work conditions, famine and diseases such as typhoid and malaria took their toll; as much as six sevenths of the indigenous population died.¹⁷ The best agricultural lands were granted to conquistadores as *encomiendas*. *Encomiendas* gave the Spanish the rights to the land for life, as well as rights to tribute in the form of crops and

¹⁵ C. Pettersen, Maya of Guatemala: Their Life & Their Dress, Ixchel Museum, Guatemala City, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1976, p.51.

¹⁶ Laura E. Start, The McDougall Collection of Indian Textiles from Guatemala and Mexico, Oxford University Press, 1948, p.16.

¹⁷ Eric Wolf, Sons of the Shaking Earth, University of Chicago Press, 1959, p.195.

Figure 5. Chichicastenango elder performing a Mayan ritual for ladino on the steps of the Catholic church in Chichicastenango



labour from all Mayan tenants living on or near their estates.¹⁸

Haciendas, large privately-owned estates, were introduced after the early colonial period to establish more commercial export production of crops such as cacao, and to appease the landless, Guatemalan-born Spanish population. However, many of the haciendas were run by absentee landlords who, like the encomenderos, held their estates as a symbol of prestige, and

¹⁸ However, such grants were not to be sold or passed to one's offspring through inheritance, causing the resentment of an increasing Guatemalan-born Spanish population.

neglected their land contributing to poor productivity. Like the **encomienda**, indigenous tenants were given usufruct rights to **hacienda** lands in exchange for labour and/or goods. **Mita**, a form of slave labour, was enforced to make the highland people work on the humid cotton plantations in the lowland coastal zone. The Spanish concentrated their commercial interests in the drier and less rugged region of the eastern highlands, but absentee landholders also dominated the more fertile valleys of the western region. The introduction of European cattle, sheep and crops such as wheat encroached further on the lands of the indigenous peoples. Animals needed land for grazing. Stray animals and erosion devastated the indigenous peoples' croplands.

Although the indigenous people produced their own clothing on sticklooms, the Spanish proceeded to develop their own profit-oriented textile industry by combining Mayan weaving skills and low paid labour with European woollen and footloom technology. **Encomenderos** would give tenants fifty kilograms of raw cotton to spin into yarn in return for a few cents. ¹⁹ As it was difficult to meet the demands of subsistence on the marginal plots of land, let alone produce some surplus for tribute, tenants were easily forced into situations of "debt peonage" where they had to work in **obrajes** (large textile workshops) that housed up to one thousand footlooms on **haciendas**.

¹⁹Osborne, Op.Cit., 1965, p.24.

Artisans were restricted by the institution of guilds which were set up to regulate production and prices. However, textile production was not an organized or cohesive sector. According to Jonas,

The artisan sector was rent by several cleavages between those who did and those who did not have work, between masters and apprentices, between productive (weavers, etc) and non-productive (barbers, surgeons, etc.); between users of local versus imported raw materials, etc. - such that no common interests among them could possibly develop. ²⁰

The Spanish monarchs began to prohibit competition with Spain's own textile industry. No trade was allowed between Guatemala and neighboring Mexico. However by 1744 limited trade between Guatemala, Mexico, Peru and Chile was permitted.²¹ Flax, which colonists had introduced to produce linen cloth, was also banned. ²²

Religious orders of the Catholic Church controlled the largest number of landholdings and were more productive than the less-disciplined private estates. During the 1700s the religious landlords also organized industries such as flour mills, bakeries, and craft obrajes (textile workshops). They had a monopoly on drugs and medicines and owned five of the colony's eight sugar mills. Although the Church had been encouraged to become established in the Colony to provide an institutional and ideological base to help pacify the Maya peoples by teaching

²⁰Jonas and Tobias, Op.Cit., 1974, p.24.

²¹Ibid., p.56.

²²Ibid., p.57.

them the Spanish language and Catholic beliefs, because of the growing power of the Jesuits, the Crown expelled them in 1767.

Despite the interference of Spanish authorities the textile industry continued to be the principal industry of the Colonial economy, basically for the domestic market.²³ By 1795 the factory of don Francisco Andorraqui in Antigua had grown to include five workshops housing up to one thousand footlooms each. The owner relied primarily on domestic cotton grown on huge tracts and on impressed indigenous labour.²⁴

Independence in 1821 rid the colony of formal Spanish administration of domestic affairs and Spanish monopolies over colonial trade. Although the Republic was founded at a time of "free trade", Guatemalans lacked capital, transportation and port facilities necessary to compete in world trade. By 1939 Guatemala relied on Britain for almost 90% of its imports.²⁵

Independence and liberal ideals of equality, freedom of the individual and private property, meant that Mayan peoples no longer held special rights to communal property. Privatization of land favoured land-hungry Guatemalans as well as the interests of German cafetaleros (coffee growers), who could now purchase land from impoverished indigenous households.

Following a period of civil war, the Republic experienced a brief economic boom as it became the world's largest producer of

²³Ibid., p.23.

²⁴Osborne, Op.Cit., 1965, p.56.

²⁵Jonas and Tobias, Op.Cit., 1974, pp.120-125.

añil (indigo dye). Cochineal insects were also introduced and cultivated for their red dye. The cochineal was primarily farmed by Spanish landowners on the tuna (prickly pear) cacti near the colonial capital of Antigua. Both indigo and cochineal industries collapsed in the 1850's with the introduction of aniline (chemical) dyes. The Guatemalan textile industry, which had supplied the domestic market in colonial times was virtually wiped out by cheaper British imports at this time.²⁶ It was the development of a monocrop as an economic base which accounts for the Colony's susceptibility to extreme boom-bust cycles. The cycles are subject to external demand (or lack thereof) for particular products, and reflect the Colony's dependence on industrial metropolises.

In 1876 the Spanish firm of Sanchez y Hijos established the first power driven textile factory at Cantel, along the Samala River, near Quetzaltenango. They imported 20 cotton spinning machines and four engineers from Britain to begin production. By 1936 they supplied about 10% of the nation's cotton yarn and cloth. By 1950 this increased to 70% and about 1,000 workers were employed.²⁷ Cantel was to be Guatemala's main cotton textile factory. Cantel thread virtually replaced all hand spinning of cotton, to become the main source of material for stickloom weaving. The factory also began producing a plain, unbleached muslin which many communities adopted as a basic

²⁶Ibid., p.129.

²⁷Nash, Op.Cit., 1958, p.21.

blouse material on which they could embroider their motifs. However, many women in western highland communities continued to weave all, or part of, their costume on sticklooms.

Coffee emerged as Guatemala's leading cash crop in the second half of the 19th century. This crop could grow at higher altitudes than its predecessors, indigo, cochineal and cacao, and so it encroached further on the highland lands of the Mayan descendants. By the first world war coffee alone accounted for 90% of the Republic's export earnings. ²⁸ Coffee, tied to world price fluctuations, dropped severely in price in 1929 when the U.S.A. stock market crashed. About the same time the U.S.A. forced Guatemala to nationalize much of its coffee production and so eliminate German interests. Despite the risk of relying on a monocrop that suffered periodic price drops, coffee continued to be the nation's primary export. ²⁹ In 1952 it accounted for 80% of all export revenue.

During the early 20th century the U.S.A. established its own interests in Guatemala. In 1901 the American-owned United Fruit Company was granted a 99 year lease on 170,000 acres of the best agricultural land, as well as tax exemptions on its banana production. The United Fruit Company also established monopolies over railroad building. Rail lines, however, were aimed primarily at servicing lowland banana crops and the growing coffee industry. (See Fig.1 above, Map of Guatemala.)

²⁸Jonas & Tobias, Op.Cit., 1974, p.130.

²⁹Ibid., p.134.

The International Railways of Central America (IRCA), which eventually became nationalized, never provided access to the isolated regions of the western highlands to facilitate domestic trade there.

The world depression brought with it a harsh police state in Guatemala. Ubico, in power from 1931 to 1944, instituted "Vagrancy Laws" that required all indigenous **campesinos** (peasants) to work a minimum of 150 days a year as wage labour. Every indigenous person was required by law to carry a **libreta** (small book) in which their labour records were filed. Anyone without this book could be forced to labour for the **latifundistas** (large landholders) as production of sugar, cotton or coffee required extra work during planting and harvesting times.

Ubico was overthrown by a revolution in 1944. The period following, from 1944 to 1954, was known as the socialist experiment of Arevalo and Arbenz. They instituted Reforms, such as the abolishment of the Vagrancy Laws, Agrarian Reform, organization of unions, and Social Security for wage labourers. The government expropriated unused private lands, particularly those of the United Fruit Company. UFCO by then controlled as much as 460,000 acres and was forced to give up 400,000 acres. A total of 1.5 million acres were redistributed to about 100,000 families by mid 1954. Recipients tended to be farm workers and

to a lesser degree rural indigenous **campesinos**.³⁰

In 1954 a U.S.A.-backed counter-revolution reversed the reforms of the previous decade. By 1956 99.6% of the land was returned to its previous owners (i.e. the United Fruit Company), and the unions dissolved. While some Agrarian Reform measures were reinstated these were largely in the form of colonization in marginal lowland areas such as el Petén, where agricultural practices of highland peoples had failed.³¹

In 1959 an Industrial Promotion Law was passed to stimulate corporate investment and promote import substitution, to encourage more domestic industry. In 1965 Guatemalan manufacturing included a total of 16,500 establishments of which only one hundred employed more than one hundred persons. ³² By 1973 however, only 18% of Guatemala's "economically active" population was involved in industry which focussed primarily on food processing, textiles and tobacco. ³³ Little effort was made to improve the economic base of the highland population, which instead was pushed to the least hospitable regions. In the small Central American Republic of Guatemala national wealth has been traditionally land-based. However, only 1.1% of the population

³⁰Ibid. p.21.

³¹Ibid. p.21.

³²Dombrowski, Op.Cit., 1970, p.21.

³³Jonas & Tobias, Op.Cit., 1974, p.80 "Economically active" refers to only those persons working in salaried jobs that are registered as having taxable incomes and it does not include subsistence farmers (i.e. indigenous **campesinos**).

controlled 65.5% of the agricultural land, while 95.5% of the households had access to only 16.1% of the agricultural land in 1979. ³⁴ 70% of the population averaged \$42 in income in 1973. Only 7% were covered by social security benefits.

The indigenous peoples continued to rely on their subsistence agricultural practice combined with a tradition of handicrafts and interdependent market networks. The introduction of trucking in the twentieth century helped considerably in trade, but at the same time increased peasant participation in the international world market. High oil prices and depressed prices of coffee affected the cost of transportation and wages that *cafetaleros* would pay indigenous labour.

The general tendency of the Guatemalan Government has been to encourage cultivation of cash crops, often as monocrops such as añil (indigo), cotton, bananas and coffee, each subject to world price fluctuations beyond the control of the Republic. This has reflected a relationship of dependency and deteriorating terms of trade for primary exports, as control of production and revenues have benefited Spanish, then British, German and United States' interests. Attempts to develop Guatemala's own industrial base by diversification based on import substitution, the modernization strategy promoted by ECLA, provided little benefit for the highland region and peasant peoples. This has been evident from the lack of rural

³⁴John Early, The Demographic Structure and Evolution of a Peasant System: The Guatemalan Population, Univ. Presses of Florida, 1982, p.70.

industrial projects and domestic facilities such as rail lines to draw the hinterland into such a development plan. Industrial development has continued to be concentrated in the hands of a few capitalist owners and in the metropole of Guatemala City.

Studies of the Western Highlands

The western highland department of Huehuetenango is the fifth largest in size of the twenty two departments which make up the Republic of Guatemala. Each department has an urban centre which serves as the administrative capital. Departments are further divided into *municipios* (municipalities). In the department of Huehuetenango, the main *pueblo* (small town) in each *municipio* which serves as the local administrative centre, is typically a "vacant" town because the majority of the population is dispersed or nestled in smaller outlying *aldeas* (hamlets). However, on the weekly market day rural residents of the *municipio* and traders from other towns gather in the *pueblo's* main plaza to exchange goods, information and other services. In Chichicastengo, tourists, Guatemalan *ladinos* and indigenous *campesinos* also visit the *pueblo* on market day to participate in the market and accompanying Mayan and Catholic rituals performed at the Catholic church. ³⁵

³⁵ See Figure 5. Photo of Chichicastengo elder performing ritual of burning copal (incense) for *ladino*.

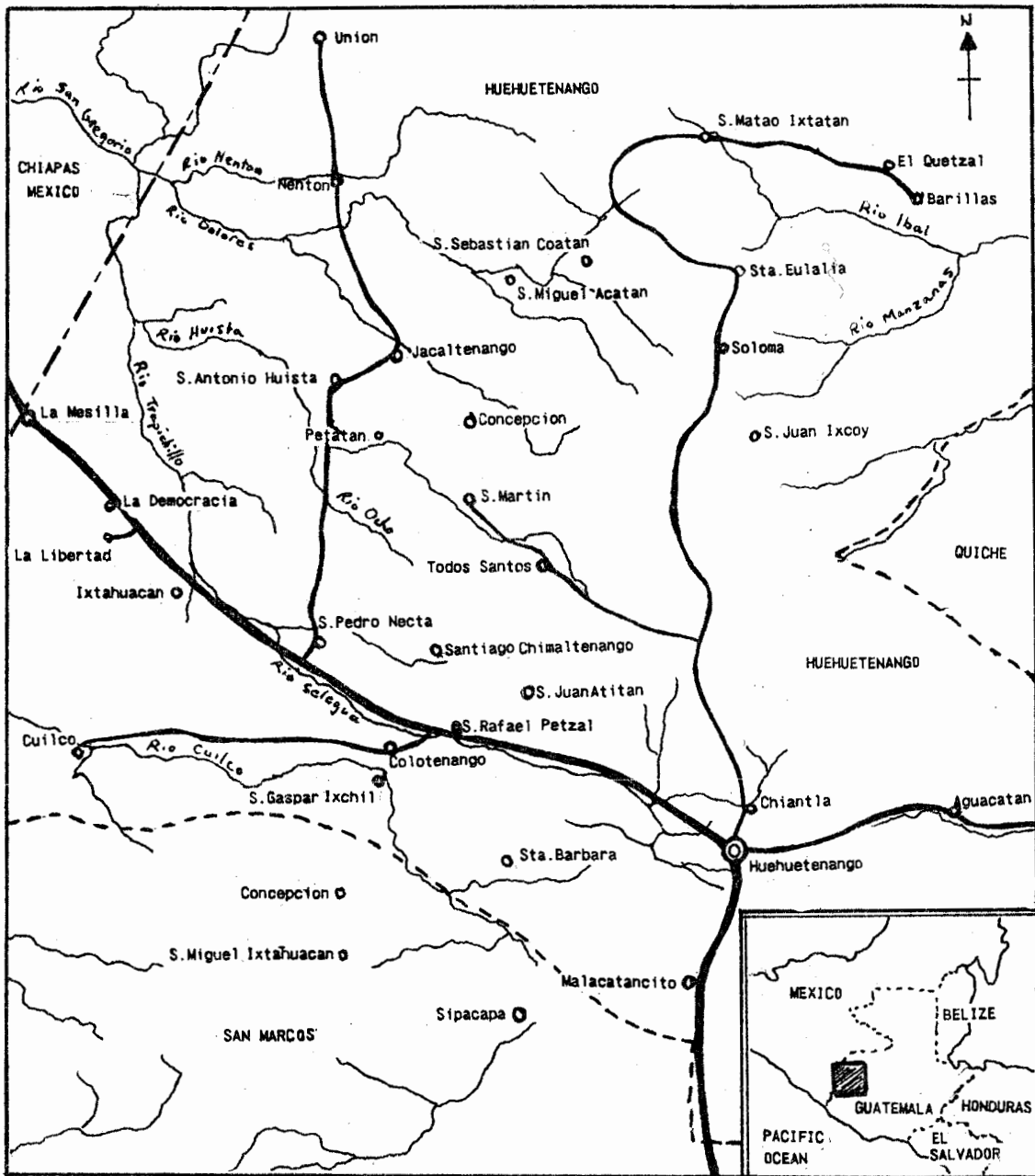
Each *municipio* has its own religious and political organization, a patron saint and a *traje* (costume) that is worn by its people. Formerly communal ownership of land was held by the *municipio* but most communal land tenure was discontinued by 1885 during the Barrios government. According to Raymond Stadelman, no land was held in common in either Colotenango or Todos Santos in the 1930s.³⁶ The *municipio*, also designated an endogamous unit, supports an exclusive social unit in terms of kinship. However, a small number of *ladinos* also reside in the *pueblos* and in some *aldeas*. The *ladinos* are "outsiders" in the indigenous *municipios*, and they hold such positions as teachers, government officials, first aid helpers, shopkeepers, or may have cash crops, such as coffee, which they cultivate with the help of indigenous wage labour. The *ladino* population wear store-bought clothing and speak Spanish.

Stadelman compiled details on variations in elevation, crop yields, patterns of land tenure and agricultural techniques, in a survey of Huehuetenango *municipios* conducted in 1937-1938.³⁷ His study focussed on Todos Santos, providing data on agricultural practices and noting that many households had to rent lands as far away as Chiapas, Mexico in order to meet subsistence needs. The Stadelman report includes little

³⁶Raymond Stadelman, "Maize Cultivation in Northwestern Guatemala" in Contributions to American Anthropology & History, Vol.6, No.33, Carnegie Institution of Washington D.C., 1940, pp.85-215.

³⁷ Ibid. pp.85-215.

Figure 6. Map of Huehuetenango Department



Source: Wagley, "Northwestern Highlands of Guatemala" p.47 and Mapa esquemático para turismo y carreteras, Instituto Geografico Nacional de Guatemala, 1978

KEY:		International Boundary
DEPT.	HUEHUETENANGO	Department Boundary
Dept. Capital	Huehuetenango	Rail lines
Pueblos	Colotenango	Roads
Scale	0 5 10 miles	

information on other household activities such as textile weaving, religious or political organization of the communities.

Maud Oakes published two monographs on the pueblo of Todos Santos, based on her studies of Mayan religious faiths during her two years residence there during the period 1945-1947.³⁸ In Beyond The Windy Place Oakes wrote of her personal experience living in the Guatemalan pueblo, and gave ethnographic data on subsistence agriculture, the hardships of migrant work, disease contracted during this work, and debts incurred by the poor compared to the relatively affluent lives of ladino residents. Oakes' main interest was in the Mayan religious beliefs and enduring practices. The Two Crosses of Todos Santos deals with her findings indepth, but without consideration of the role of Catholicism which was already widespread in the region, and its effect on indigenous rituals which was significant in terms of syncretization.

Oakes interest in Mayan rituals was shared by LaFarge and Byers who conducted one of the earliest formal community studies in the region in Santa Eulalia, about sixty five kilometres northeast of Todos Santos in Huehuetenango department.³⁹ Oakes and LaFarge focussed on Maya religious "survivals" and found that in the 1930s the indigenous peoples of Todos Santos and

³⁸Oakes, Op.Cit., 1951, and M. Oakes, Beyond The Windy Place: Life in the Guatemalan Highlands, Farrar, Straus & Young, New York, 1951.

³⁹Oliver LaFarge & Douglas Byers, The Year Bearers' People. Santa Eulalia, The Religion of a Cuchumatan Indian Town, Tulane University of Louisiana, 1931.

Santa Eulalia continued to follow the understandings of Maya religious men who practised ancient Mayan calendrical rites of central significance to agriculture and health.

While none of the above studies focusses on weaving, some mention is made of indigenous textile arts. Of most interest was LaFarge's observation that women in Santa Eulalia had stopped weaving on sticklooms as early as 1932 and were buying manufactured clothing from the traders. In nearby Todos Santos however, only the ladino population bought and wore store clothing. Only a few women continued to handspin cotton yarn, and machine yarn that was purchased was primarily unbleached, with only a little red in the striped pants. Since that time factory-dyed yarns have become more widespread, and brilliant brocade work on shirt collars and huipiles (blouses) had become highlights of the costume by 1979.

Charles Wagley provided a more integrated community study of Santiago Chimaltenango, including data on agricultural, craft and marketing activities, social organization based on kinship and fictive kin relations, as well as religious and political institutions. ⁴⁰ Wagley noted that the government's formal municipal divisions did not correspond exactly to distinct indigenous social units. In the case of Santiago Chimaltenango residents maintained a separate religious organization, endogamy, costume and social identity, despite a period of ten

⁴⁰Charles Wagley, "The Social & Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village", (Santiago Chimaltenango) in American Anthropologist Vol.51, No.4, Part 2 of Memoir No.71, 1947.

years when their community was fused to San Pedro Necta to form one **municipio**.⁴¹ Neighboring Colotenango had two of its **aldeas** split off to form a separate **municipio**, San Rafael Petzal, but residents of both **municipios** continued to wear the Colotenango costume.

Ethnographic data on Colotenango were published by Leon Valladores in 1957.⁴² Although this work emphasizes psychological aspects of life in the community, it also includes information on land tenure, social, religious and political organization as well as a section on craftwork and textiles. While much of the ethnographic material is dated, it provided an orientation for earlier scholars of this region and emphasized that land shortages in Colotenango meant that a large number of indigenous families relied on seasonal wage labour at coastal plantations.

A longitudinal study of Panajachel, a town in the central highland department of Solola by Robert Hinshaw illustrated the influence of industrial technology on textile production and life generally in a similar period of thirty years.⁴³ Hinshaw's study was based on an earlier ethnography of Panajachel's

⁴¹Charles Wagley, "The Maya of Northwestern Guatemala" in Handbook of Middle American Indians, R. Wauchope, (ed.), University of Texas Press, Austin, Vol.6, 1967, pp.46-68.

⁴²Leon A. Valladores, El Hombre y el Maíz, Etnografía y Etnopsicología de Colotenango, Guatemala C.A., 1957.

⁴³Hinshaw, Op.Cit., 1975.

indigenous community by his teacher Sol Tax in the 1940s. ⁴⁴ Tax focussed on household subsistence activities which included agricultural, crafts, marketing and wage labour possibilities. His study reflected the "substantivist" argument, that indigenous peasants were not irrational, but made decisions about agricultural activities based on their need and desire to reap maximum yields and fair prices in markets that were highly competitive. ⁴⁵ Tax was misleading to call peasants "penny capitalists" rather than "simple commodity producers", because they continued to rely on family labour, creating a "surplus" aimed at meeting household consumption needs. A "capitalist" producer has been more accurately defined by a mode of production approach, as one who hires wage labour from whom a "surplus value" can be extracted, over and above consumption requirements, which is reinvested as "capital" into an expanding enterprise. ⁴⁶

Both Tax and Hinshaw provided substantial data regarding changes in dress, increasing wage work and Spanish language use (which Hinshaw conceptualized as "ladinoization"), each of these significant in the context of this study. They noted that in

⁴⁴Tax, Op.Cit., 1963.

⁴⁵Cook, Op.Cit., 1973, for a discussion of the substantivist-formalist debate within anthropological micro-economic studies, pp.795-860.

⁴⁶Littlefield, Op.Cit., 1979, pp.471-488; Long & Richardson, Op.Cit., 1978; and, Jacques Chevalier, "There is Nothing Simple About Simple Commodity Production" in Studies in Political Economy, 1982, pp. 89-124 (a discussion of capitalist and simple commodity production).

1936, 92% of the indigenous population wore the Panajachel costume and only 8% of the women had adopted footloom textiles, such as the more generalized corte (skirt). By 1964 however, 60% of the indigenous women had begun to purchase generalized costumes or factory clothing, which was the cheapest way to dress. Hinshaw explained this trend towards store-bought clothing as a result of more indigenous employment in wage labour positions in tourist services at hotels and construction, where employees adopted ladino dress. He saw also the decline in the costume as due to the high cost of stickloom weaving activities in terms of both materials and time, which indigenous households could not afford, particularly with the change from male-dominated subsistence agriculture to cash cropping of green vegetables which requires both men's and women's labour. However, while stickloom weaving has declined in the lakeshore resort of Panajachel, women in other communities around Lake Atitlán (particularly in Santiago Atitlán) are producing textiles to sell to tourists. Traders from Guatemala City are also encouraging weavers to revive techniques of handspinning raw natural brown cotton to produce the finest of their traditional ceremonial pieces for sale to collectors. ⁴⁷

In the mid-twentieth century more than 500 different costumes were produced and worn by the peoples of the western

⁴⁷Hinshaw, Op.Cit., 1975, p.28.

highlands. ⁴⁸ Although stickloom weaving is now rare in areas such as Totonicapán, a department south of Huehuetenango, footlooms and even electric looms are used there by indigenous specialists to weave cloth for the more generalized huipil, corte and manta (blouse, skirt and carrycloth). Near the tourist centres of Chichicastenango, Panajachel, and San Antonio Aguas Calientes, near the colonial capital of Antigua, women have acted on their realization that they can sell their stickloomed textiles for relatively high prices. Although textile collectors and retail merchants have encouraged a few to create elaborate ceremonial pieces, many other weavers have continued to weave and sell pieces woven with minimal design work. As Lila O'Neale pointed out about full-time specialists in San Pedro Sacatepequez making small cocktail napkins:

"Nothing about the piece examined was good, an estimate to be explained only by the stress under which the woman was working. The next day the tourists would arrive." ⁴⁹

Nash studied the town of Cantel and influences of the textile factory on the indigenous community there. ⁵⁰ This study of social change was influenced by modernization theory emphasizing problems of integration due to diversification. Nash concentrated on the attempts of the factory management to fit into local customs, such as scheduling of pay day on the day

⁴⁸Osborne, Op.Cit., 1965, p.9.

⁴⁹Lila O'Neale, Textiles of Highland Guatemala, Carnegie Institution of Washington D.C., 1945, p.227.

⁵⁰Nash, Op.Cit., 1958.

before the weekly market and holidays to coincide with fiestas. He noted how the factory offered a "sure penny" due to its monopoly within the Guatemalan textile manufacturing sector, but did not note the negative effects such monopoly might have on smaller, independent textile producers.

While Cantel yarns have virtually replaced handspinning and hand-dyeing, footloom weavers in Totonicapán have specialized in jaspe, an intricate process of tie-dyeing their commercially-spun yarn before it is put on the loom and woven into yardage for cortes (skirts). The Mayan peoples also adopted the European woollen technology and specialists in Momostenango are the main footloom weavers of woollen blankets. Full-time traders travel to the Momostenango market to purchase blankets at wholesale prices, and sheep herders come with raw fleece or with finely handspun wool to sell to the blanket weavers.

The town of Huehuetenango has attracted a large number of craft specialists. Compared to the intense craft specialization in the central highland towns of Totonicapán and Momostenango, the rural communities in the department of Huehuetenango have relatively less craft specialization and fewer full-time traders. ⁵¹ However, despite the difficulty of meeting subsistence needs in the western highlands, women in the small rural communities of Huehuetenango continue to produce intricate cotton textiles decorated far beyond functional considerations, on their simple sticklooms. The variety of textiles involving

⁵¹Wagley, Op.Cit., 1967, p.61.

sticklooms and footlooms, produced by women and men throughout the western highlands, is a striking symbol of the intense interest in textile arts held by indigenous Guatemalans.

CHAPTER FOUR
COMMERCIAL TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS OF
GUATEMALA

This chapter begins with a discussion of the urban provincial town of Huehuetenango and a view of a factory where textiles are produced on power- and hand-operated looms. ¹ A case study of a household involved in the commercial production of textiles using hand operated footlooms is then examined in depth to illustrate how Señor Guerrero has organized his craft activities in a mode which accords with capitalist production. The chapter which follows will then concentrate on the community of Colotenango and a household where women produce textiles for their own use, on sticklooms. Finally, a second rural community is considered to illustrate how, despite their relatively more isolated situation, women in Todos Santos are more involved in producing stickloom weavings for sale than the Colotecos.

Huehuetenango, An Urban Centre of Footloom Weaving

Travelling from Mexico, Huehuetenango is the first major Guatemalan town along the Pan American Highway after the border crossing. Huehuetenango lies in the midst of the more isolated

¹This chapter is written in the ethnographic present (1979).

indigenous communities where the women weave exceptionally fine, colourful textiles on their sticklooms. In contrast to this, **Huehuetecos** dress in less colourful apparel. Further, many male residents engage in textile weaving of both **tejidos típicos** (traditional indigenous textiles), or more modern tablecloths and bedspreads on large footlooms.

Huehuetenango serves as the administrative capital and major commercial centre for the western highland department of Huehuetenango and is linked directly to the capital by air and the Pan American Highway. The central **plaza** features a large Catholic church, municipal buildings and a bandstand overlooking the park where residents participate in **paseo** (an evening informal gathering) on Sundays. With a population of almost 20,000 the town can support a small hospital, primary and secondary schooling, postal and telephone services. The streets nearest the centre are paved, and lined with the major accommodation establishments, banks, pharmacies, law and medical offices, as well as one supermarket and a movie theatre.

Private residences nearest the centre have access to electricity and running water. The two storied homes of the **profesionales** (for example, doctors, lawyers), have walls topped with broken glass as protection from others. The affluent residential suburb lies on one side of town. The other side, which tends to be more commercially oriented, features a large covered market that operates daily. Vendors sell a variety of food and dry goods. A myriad of transport companies, **pensiones**,

bars and small eating places, dominate the neighborhood.

Huehuetenango serves as the central redistribution centre that links outlying communities and their smaller markets into a system of rotating markets.² Bus companies are independently run with licences for a particular route. As many as four or five buses, all with different fares to one town, can be found loading and unloading twenty four hours each day. Cargo and passenger services to various towns peak according to different weekly market days. Professional traders follow the market circuit, selling and buying goods, exchanging business and personal gossip from town to town. The smaller market centres specialize in local crops and crafts. San Pedro Necta specializes in coffee and straw hats, Colotenango in oranges, peanuts and roof tiles, Todos Santos in potatoes and wheat, Aguacatán in garlic and onions, and Huehuetenango in limestone and footloomed corte (skirt) material.

Huehuetenango's bi-weekly markets are on Sundays and Wednesdays. On these days an open-air marketplace attracts town merchants as well as Huehuetecos. Local domestic helpers can be seen dressed in their aprons with a basket or carrycloth full of groceries for their employer's larder. The market place is arranged in sections keeping textiles and household utensils in one area, meat in its own area, fruits and vegetables in

²Nash, Op.Cit., 1971, pp.161-177.

another. ³ Vegetables such as carrots and potatoes are washed and carefully laid out on carrycloths in a most attractive manner. Customers can identify particular items and qualities by the costume of the seller, in the case of indigenous merchants, which adds further to the complexities and refinements of the marketing system.

Leaving Huehuetenango, the shops and houses are smaller. Tiendas (small shops) carry no more than a few canned foods, soft drinks, cigarettes, chewing gum and candies. Outlying streets are not paved except for the main transport routes. Along the main roads independent craftsmen have shops, particularly mechanical services relating to the transport sector. The suburbs also house a variety of carpenters, tailors, leather and textile workers. Many footloom weavers are located in the suburb of Zaculeu, near the Mayan ruins. ⁴

Huehuetenango has several fábricas (factories). One is a flour mill on the road to Chiantla, with its antiquated machinery. Less obvious to the visitor are the textile factories. The largest is located in the suburb of Minerva, on a hill behind the outdoor market. It employs twenty seven weavers to produce bedspreads and towels on electric- and hand-powered

³For detailed description of various highland markets see McBryde, Op.Cit., 1947.

⁴ Zaculeu was the main ceremonial centre for the Mam-speaking group of Mayans whose descendents continue to live in the highland region of present day departments of Huehuetenango (which includes the communities of Colotenango and Todos Santos) and San Marcos to the south.

Figure 7. Huehuetenango street on market day, 1979



jacquard looms. A second factory also specializes in bedspreads. Its workshops are located in the more affluent part of town, hidden behind the adobe walls that line Huehuetenango streets in shades of pink, green and blue.

There is a small door from the street into a court yard encircling the main building. Here are rows of cotton yarn, drying in the sun, sinks and dye-pots are next to the workshop entrance. Three workshops house twenty footlooms on the ground floor. All the looms are 45 inch, four harness jacquard looms. The owner has six different sets of cards to produce an equal

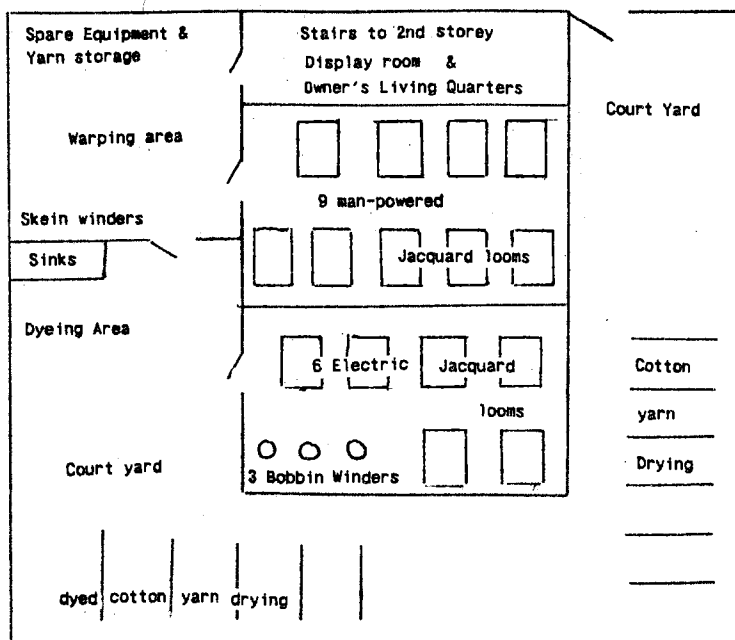
number of different designs. Once the cards are set up, all the textiles on a particular warp will have the same repetitive designs. Only colour combinations differ, depending on the request of the owner, materials available and choice of a particular weaver.

The first workshop has six looms all run by electric power. A flying-shuttle automatically throws the weft back and forth at a constant rate of two beats per second, the metal cards clanging overhead as they automatically rotate to change the sequence of the threads that are raised to make each new shed. The weaver interrupts the rhythm only to replace an empty bobbin, mend a broken warp, or once a week to replace the emptied warp beam and cut off the completed textile. Warping takes only two hours of the weaver's production time. He needs only to tie on the new warp threads to the previous warp ends, which are left threaded through the heddles. An assistant is employed to prepare replacement beams with warp, as well as to wind bobbins on electric winders. One weaver may be expected to supervise as many as two or three electric looms at once. This is the preferred job, according to weavers, because operators are paid a constant hourly wage. For a 44 hour week (eight hours Monday through Friday and four hours Saturday) this pay is about U.S.\$25. ⁵

The hand-operated looms located in the other two workshops are worked by younger men. Here weavers can work only one loom

⁵U.S.\$1=Quetzal \$1.

Figure 8. Factory floor plan



at a time. For each new shed they must press the treadles with their feet and set the flying shuttle in motion by pulling on a cord. Weaving proceeds at about one beat per second, varying according to the speed of the weaver. The men are paid piece rates to encourage maximum output and to ensure that the weavers will be paid only for their productive time. The weavers indicate they make about \$3 per day if they make an average of nine to twelve bed-spreads per day. This number varies according to the size of the bedspreads and the speed of the worker.

The owner explains that his wife does the yarn dying. However, much of the yarn is already dyed when he buys it in bulk from the factory at Cantel. This fine cotton yarn is machine spun and chemically dyed. The first step in the Huehuetenango factory is to wind skeins from the Cantel cones and then simmer the skeins in a bath of corn starch and water to

strengthen the yarn to be used as warp. Weft can be wound directly from cones on to bobbins.

Most sales are aimed at the domestic market. Bedspreads are also sold to other Central American countries, especially Honduras which has no factories producing bedspreads. Other factories in Huehuetenango specialize in woollen textiles or tejidos típicos such as indigo blue cotton cloth used as a standard corte (skirt), and white cotton for huipiles (blouses) for rural communities, where women no longer weave all parts of their traje on sticklooms.

Case Study One: The Guerrero Household

The Guerrero household is also involved in large weaving operations, but provides a different picture of textile production than the more centralized factory discussed above. According to other weavers in town, the Guerrero business is about the third largest in Huehuetenango. The family owns 15 large wooden floor looms which are used to produce mantas para las mesas (tablecloths), and tapetes (place mats or runners). They also have three sales shops.

The main Guerrero workshop contains only three of the large 45 inch looms. This workshop is in the main courtyard of their private home, located on the main road that leads into Huehuetenango from the Pan American Highway. This building also serves as a wholesale shop. The Guerreros have two additional

retail shops in the town centre, a ten minute walk from the family's residence. The other twelve looms have been placed in the homes of Guerrero employees, most of whom live in the *aldea* (suburb) of Zaculeu.

The Guerrero household consists of Señor and Señora Guerrero, both in their mid-fifties. Four of their seven children live at home. The eldest three have left the household to live in the capital city. Two married sons are doctors and one daughter is a wife and mother in her own household. The four younger Guerreros at home all work in the family business. Marta, aged twenty eight, is an unmarried mother with one child. She runs the shop located in the main plaza. Sonia, aged twenty, is also an unmarried mother of one child and in charge of the second smaller shop, two blocks from the other on the road to the covered market. Each of the women brings her child with her to the shop during business hours from 8 a.m. to noon, reopening from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m., six days a week. They close their shops whenever they are needed at one of the other shops, or to help at home. The wholesale shop that is connected to the family residence is managed by Señora Guerrero. She explains that this shop is her responsibility because it fits into her main work which is to attend to the household meals and supervise her domestic help. She pays two women to clean, do laundry, shop and help with meal preparation and the dishes.

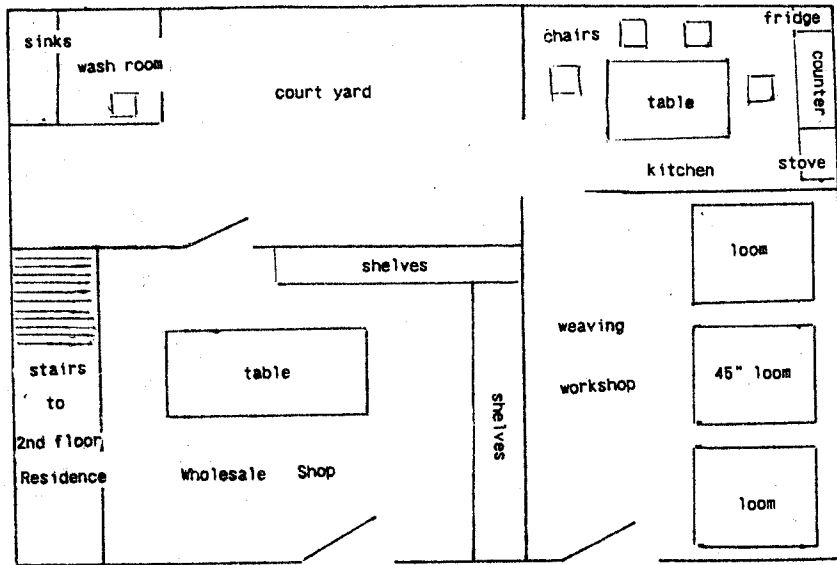
The young women are given training and authority in a sales capacity. None of the women weave. Only the sons are learning

the production aspect of their textile business. The younger son Pablo helps in the shops and with some weaving but is more interested in studying law. He wants to attend an American university rather than continue in the family business. This is also what his father would like, but he expects Pablo to attend the university in the Guatemalan capital. The other son, Victor, is eighteen. He has completed secondary school and is now involved in the business full-time. Victor is practising to become a skilled weaver of the Guerrero tablecloths.

Victor works alongside two of their employees in their main workshop. The older employee, a man aged about fifty, says he has been weaving since childhood. The other weaver is a younger man aged twenty four who has learned to weave at the Centro de Formación, a trade school in nearby Chiantla. ⁶ He is from the town of Concepción but says he did not return there because jobs are possible in Huehuetenango. Although the government school trains students to weave, run an independent business, and includes loan arrangements, he says that it is too risky to set up one's own workshop. Initial costs for the equipment, the space required to house a loom and the need to have supplemental income while one finds a market for one's textiles make it

⁶ The Chiantla school is one of five government schools that are part of a project to revitalize crafts as well as train individuals in trades such as carpentry, textile weaving and new horticultural techniques. Only one of the five, the San Marcos school, is devoted to female education in domestic skills such as cooking and sewing. Admission to the ten month program is competitive meaning only one boy from a village is likely to be admitted each year.

Figure 9. Guerrero workshop floor plan



difficult to support a family as well as pay the interest on loans. Here he receives a piece rate, which according to Señor Guerrero, comes to as much as \$25 in one week. The weavers say they average \$3 per day. The weavers work in the spacious and electrically-lit surroundings of the Guerrero workshop. They have no overhead other than their room and board in a nearby *pensión*. However, the younger employee hopes that one day he will be able to have his own workshop.

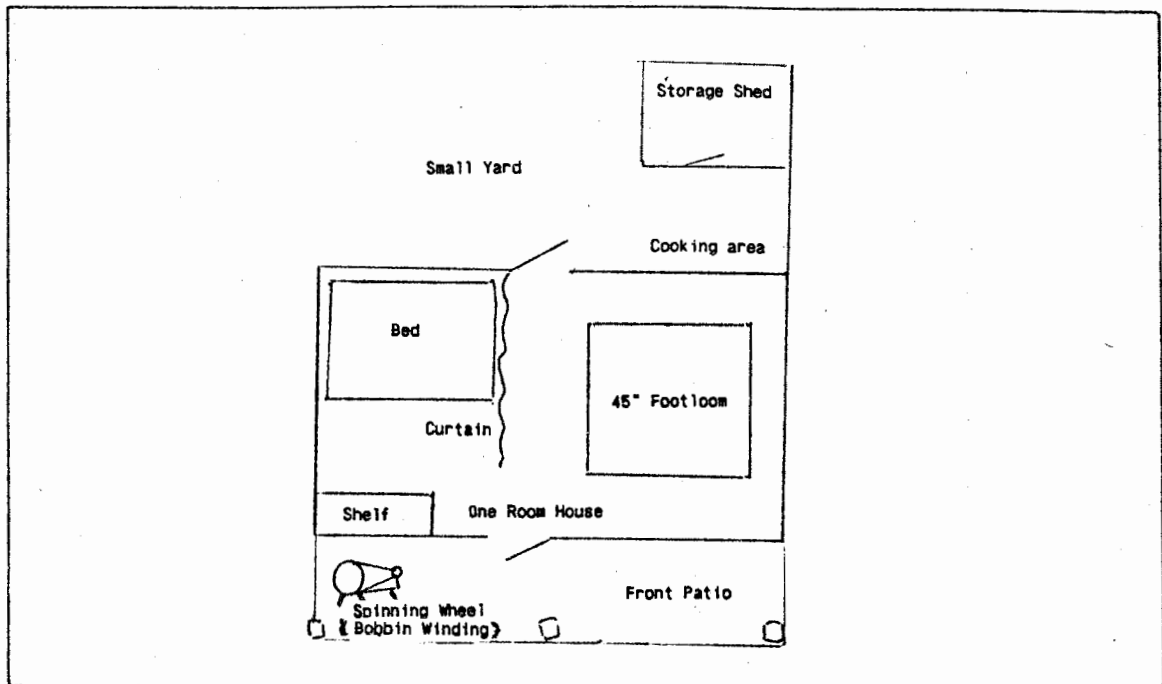
A typical household workshop of the other twelve weavers who work in their own homes is small. The footloom takes up most of the one room adobe house which doubles as a sleeping area. If there is a second room, this is used as a cooking area which otherwise is outside. The weaver is generally the male head of the household, or the eldest son. He is in charge of the loom and does all the weaving. He warps the loom with help from the

family members, allocating chores according to age and sex. Children are responsible for simple tasks of winding bobbins. Women and older children are responsible for helping with the starching of warp, plying weft on a spinning wheel, as well as winding bobbins. Although the weavers working in the Guerrero workshop may receive some assistance from each other, they do not have access to their own family members for such assistance.

While factory looms are out of production for only two to three hours out of a regular work week when a replacement beam is loaded, the Guerrero looms are down for one or even two full days. This is because the weaver is responsible for winding off the 3,000 to 4,000 warp ends from skeins on to the empty beam, as well as tying each thread on to the previous warp threads that have been left threaded through the heddles.

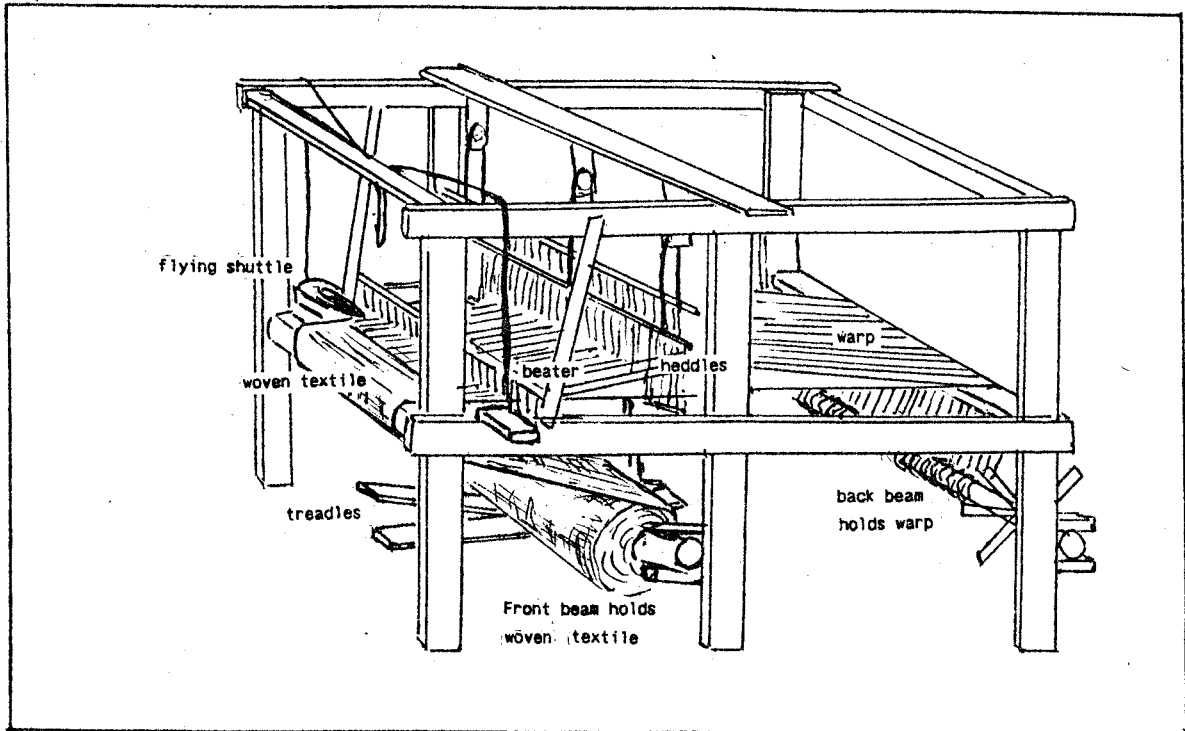
Each weaver prepares sufficient warp, say a fifty yard length, to last for two weeks of continuous weaving. When the last textile is completed, and the front beam is filled, this must be removed. There may be twenty to forty table cloths on this beam, varying according to whether they are producing the smallest six place-setting cloths or the eight or twelve place-setting sizes. The cloth produced is warp-faced with approximately seventy five warps per inch, and only about twenty wefts per inch. They must be cut apart so that each piece has two selvedges (edges) and two raw edges, which must be hemmed by hand-stitching, or left with a fringe, especially in the case of the tapetes (place mats).

Figure 10. Guerrero employee's home workspace



A weaver can produce about three cloths in a day. While none of the looms are powered by electricity, they do have a flying shuttle. None of the Guerrero looms have jacquard cards and so all design work is a la mano (by hand). Since finger work is considerably slower than plain weaving, designs are limited to periodic rows of small figures such as birds, poinsettas or lettering such as the name of the local Mam ruins Zaculeu. These designs are brocaded, a technique that is similar to embroidery, the difference being that the coloured threads are added at the time of weaving and so are built into the main web of the textile, rather than applied with a needle afterwards. The employees are proud of their time-saving techniques and the number of manteles (tablecloths) they can produce. Although they lack the conveniences of electricity and indoor plumbing

Figure 11. Footloom



facilities of the Guerrero workshop or larger factories, production is facilitated by the extra help they can demand from family helpers. The weaver can also attend household chores such as house repairs or a small milpa, in some cases.

Although they are not under the constant supervision of their employer, Señor Guerrero does visit each employee once a week. At this time he will carefully inspect each piece to ensure that the work has been carried out properly, before he pays the weaver. He also supplies more cotton yarn and tells the weaver what textiles he requires based on demand, and whether he wants them to increase production to supply him with more textiles. Thus, what appears to be a suburb of independent weavers in fact are employees of a cottage industry which is based on a "putting out" system and piece rates. These weavers

do not own their own equipment, or control the weaving process or the products of their hands, any more than the employee who weaves in factories or the Guerrero workshop.

Once a month Señor Guerrero loads his pickup truck with *manteles* and *tapetes* and, with his wife, goes on a *gran paseo*. This is an eight day trip to places as far away as Guatemala City in order to wholesale his textiles to *tiendas*. He says that he does not wish to maintain his own shops in these larger centres because the overhead of rent and wages is too high. On such trips Señor Guerrero buys bulk cotton yarn from the factory at Cantel, a variety of other products such as pottery and wooden souvenirs, as well as machine-made goods such as leather shoes, fashion jewellery and factory clothing, to cater to the needs of local *Huehuetecos*. He also likes to visit the *pueblos* of Totonacapan, known for its *jaspe* (tie-dyed) textiles, Momostenango, a woollen centre known for handwoven blankets, and Zunil, Aguacatán, Todos Santos and Colotenango, several of the communities producing superior stickloom garments.

In Huehuetenango on a typical day, the women are in their shops early and the sons are weaving, or in school, in the case of the youngest son. Señor Guerrero spends his mornings alternating between the shops. Although the women manage the shops, the father controls the business, auditing their books and assessing current stock. When Señor Guerrero is present, the girls defer to his direction in all matters. He respects their judgement in their sales work and all family members speak their

minds regarding business decisions.

Family members all return home for the main midday meal, using part of this two hour period to relax, or more often, run errands to a neighbor, do some personal shopping or make health care visits. After lunch, the girls re-open their shops, Victor resumes weaving and Pablo attends to school work. Señor Guerrero spends his afternoons visiting the homes of various employees but his wife accompanies him on days when he goes to visit nearby communities such as Colotenango. She attends to most of the domestic chores in the mornings and in the afternoons Victor takes over the supervision of the quiet wholesale shop, which serves essentially as a storehouse for their manteles and tapetes.

Sonia's shop was stocked primarily with souvenirs and their manteles to sell to tourists. On one occasion, after she exclaimed how boring the days were, the shop suddenly filled with eight American tourists. I was quickly put to work translating and helping the enthusiastic customers with selections. Sonia concentrated on pricing. She sent her son, aged four, to play outside and requested another friend to find change elsewhere. After everyone departed Sonia listed each item by description into a small notebook, noting the price of each in a column on the right. She accounted for everything from memory, putting the sales under a daily entry.

All the family members agreed that most profit comes from the manteles (tablecloths) that they produce. The Guerrero

family would not reveal sales figures and costs of production. Señora Guerrero quoted Quetzales \$7, \$9, and \$12 as the wholesale prices for their six, eight and twelve place-setting tablecloths. ⁷ These prices would not pertain to all wholesalers however, as each individual transaction was negotiable and the hardest bargain usually would win the best price. Sonia said she paid \$2.90 a pound for cotton yarn. She would then retail it for \$3.50 a pound. This was substantially higher than other shop prices. When I suggested that with their large number of weavers, surely she could buy it at a lower bulk price, she agreed, saying perhaps \$2.50 was more accurate.

Using rough estimates, the following figures show the extent to which the Guerrero family profits from their textile production. For example, if in one week a weaver produces seventeen medium-size cloths:

Wholesale Price (approximately)	\$153
Less Materials Used, (17 lbs cotton @ 2.50/lb)	-36
Less Total Piece Rates Paid (maximum rates)	-25
Gross Profit (approximately)	\$ 90

The Guerrero family must also take into account their expenses for gasoline, the maintenance of their vehicle and other costs of running three shops. However, they also retail the same cloths at prices that are higher than the \$9 price. Compared to the actual weaver who makes only \$25 per week, the Guerreros make considerably more through appropriation of profits from the work of fourteen weavers.

⁷Quetzal \$1=U.S.\$1.

There was considerably less talk about the artistic development and skills of the weavers than about business concerns of efficiency and profits. Señora Guerrero said that as long as poinsetta designs continued to sell at Christmas and the cloths monographed with the words HUEHUETENANGO or ZACULEU, and symbols of the Quetzal bird, and Mayan temples appeal to tourists, she sees no reason to explore other designs or products. Likewise, the weavers employed by Guerrero also emphasized quantitative aspects of their work and ways to meet subsistence needs, rather than exploration of new designs, which they could not choose to apply anyway. This attitude towards efficiency provided a striking contrast to the stickloom weavers, examples of whose work appear for sale in the Guerrero shops.

The Guerrero study illustrates a household involved in the production and sales of textiles as a full-time activity. Señor Guerrero has based his weaving activities on capitalist relations of production. He owns the means of production (the footloom equipment and cotton materials) but is not an actual producer himself. Although he relies on family labour to run his shops and one son is learning to weave, perhaps more as management training than as a full-time weaver, the family relies primarily on wage labour to produce their main products (the tablecloths). Señor Guerrero invests money as "capital" through the purchase of yarn to be transformed by labour power through the production process into finished products,

commodities which Guerrero owns and sells for an increased value. Although the weavers work in their own homes and not in a centralized workshop or factory, Señor Guerrero controls the production process, dictating what quantity, size and colour the cloths should be and rejecting poor quality. The workers are paid only minimal piece rates that will cover the daily subsistence needs of the weaver and his family. Thus, the wage represents only a portion of the total value that is added to the textiles by their labour. The other part of the total value added goes to Señor Guerrero to cover the costs of production, such as rent, materials, and transportation, for his investment in more equipment and materials to expand production, as well as his family's living expenses. Guerrero not only benefits from his own labour but also from the labour of fourteen employees who work only part of the day as "necessary labour" and a remaining part to produce "surplus value" to be appropriated by the owner of the means of production.

Guerrero is also a wholesale/retail merchant who deals in manufactured goods which he purchases in Guatemala City and other indigenous crafts which he purchases in rural peasant communities. As a trader he attempts to buy goods at low wholesale prices and resell them in his urban retail shops at higher prices. As a middleman he not only provides a market for rural craft producers but also acts as a cultural broker, since he transfers both information and products between Guatemala City and the rural highland regions. The following chapter

examines Colotenango and Todos Santos, two of the rural communities to which Guerrero travels to acquire fine stickloom weavings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES FOR HOUSEHOLD USE IN TWO WESTERN HIGHLAND COMMUNITIES OF GUATEMALA

The example of commercial footloom weaving described above is a household which specializes in the production and sales of craft products as a full-time activity. The following discussion concerns a rural agrarian situation where women weave as a part-time activity with the intention of providing part of their own immediate family needs. However, with the shortage of land and inability to survive by agriculture alone, rural persons increasingly are turning to wage work on coastal plantations as well as to local and urban work on road and building projects. In this context stickloom weavers are examined to view the ways in which these producers adapt craft activities within the constraints of household subsistence requirements.

Colotenango: A Rural Stickloom Weaving Community

Colotenango is one of many communities of the western highland region where, in 1979, women continue to weave their traje (traditional costumes) on the indigenous stickloom. Colotenango women wear a red and white pin-striped huipil (blouse) and a red, maroon and navy striped corte (skirt). Both are decorated with a variety of small brocaded symbols. A long

rose-coloured cinta winds long black hair into a band around their heads, and a servietta (carrycloth) holds an infant, food or laundry on their backs. The men of the village are less often seen in the white shirt and white trousers that was worn by all males thirty years earlier. ¹ Today, the men of Colotenango wear machine-made trousers and shirts in various subdued colours of brown, navy and black, which they purchase in the market or shops in Huehuetenango.

The first bus to leave Huehuetenango for Colotenango is a first class bus destined for the Mexican border. A forty minute ride brings the passengers to Las Naranjales, the Pan American stop nearest Colotenango. At dawn a few men and women squat behind small piles of oranges, lemons and peanuts, ready to greet passengers. Two small tiendas are also open, ready to sell cigarettes, potato chips, chewing gum or a bottle of coke. A steep path winds up the mountainside to the small valley above where the pueblo of Colotenango lies hidden from view. Later in the day, other buses carry passengers and cargo directly to the main plaza by an alternative road.

The plaza is a miniature model of the larger Spanish colonial towns. There is no resident priest, but a large white Catholic church built in 1940 dominates the square. The municipal buildings and a hotel line two other sides of the plaza. The largest of the town's tiendas and a well are located at the far end of the square. On a street behind the church a

¹Valladores, Op.Cit., pp.73-84.

Figure 12. A Colotenango woman dressed in her finest traje.



small health department office is opened once a week by a visiting first-aid officer. There is one elementary school with grades one through six for students who are predominantly boys. About five small *tiendas* are stocked with a modest range of canned foods. Only one sells a wider selection of dry goods such as fabric, thread, buttons, rope, kerosene, pots and various utensils.

The town is quiet during the week and the residential area appears smaller than the plaza size would suggest. This is

Figure 13. Vendors selling Cantel yarn at the weekly market in Colotenango's main plaza



because the 750 households that make up the main **pueblo** are not in a cluster, but are dispersed along adjacent hillsides. The **plaza** becomes a scene of activity on Saturdays however, as traders and residents from the eight outlying **aldeas** that make up the **municipio** of Colotenango, (total population of 8,000), come to participate in the weekly market. The **aldeas** have no markets, shops or municipal buildings of their own. There is no church. In some cases there is a school with grades one through three.

Case Study Two: The Mendoza Household

The Mendoza home comprises two small adobe houses along the path to Colotenango, just five minutes from the main plaza. The Mendoza household is run by Maria's mother, an attractive widow in her fifties. She has one daughter and two sons living at home with their spouses and eight children. Her eldest daughter now lives with her husband's family, a few minutes walk from her mother's house. Comuneros (indigenous residents of the community) generally marry within the municipio. Married children usually live with their husband's parents until they are able to establish their own households. Maria explains that she and her husband arranged to stay with her mother, an exception due to a more convenient situation.

At an elevation of 1,675 metres (5,490 feet) Colotecos can grow the main staples of corn, squash and beans, as well as the local specialization in citrus fruits which many of the neighboring areas cannot grow due to higher elevations there. Households rely on family labour for subsistence agriculture. Landholdings are partible and an inheritance is shared equally between offspring. As a result land is becoming more inadequate for the needs of each succeeding generation. ² In Maria's household both her brothers and her husband have to rent

²See Valladores, Op.Cit., 1957, and Stadelman, Op.Cit., 1940, for studies of land distribution in and Todos Santos; or for a more macro level study of land tenure in Guatemala, see Jonas & Tobias, Op.Cit., 1974.

additional fields to produce sufficient food to support their extended family. One of these fields is near San Pedro Necta which is more than an hour's travel from Colotenango. The young men help Maria's mother with the planting, weeding and harvesting of her milpa and citrus trees which grow on the fields adjacent to their residence. Lands are privately owned but cannot be alienated outside of the community.

A study of 27 households in 1950 illustrated the shortage of land as well as inequality of land holding size a generation earlier:



Figure 14. Colotenango house

20 households averaged	2 acres per person
2 households averaged	2-4 acres per person
5 households averaged	4-5 acres per person

Only 11 of the 27 households produced sufficient crops to meet subsistence needs. ³

In 1979 about 80% of Colotenango's residents migrated to the coast to work on the plantations from November to January or February. Migrant work is disliked because it means absence from home, and the humidity, type of work and crowded living quarters are real threats to the highlander's health. The pay was minimal (\$1.50 to \$2 per day) out of which room and food must be paid. Some managed to find employment on nearby highland coffee **fincas**.

Maria's husband supplements their income by working as a bus attendant two days a week. Maria says they need the cash to purchase kerosene, sugar, salt or a turkey if there is a special occasion. She also needs five centavos every few days to grind corn at the local mill. In addition there are substantial costs for **fiestas** and the rental of land but this is covered in part by their surplus citrus crops. Other families exchange part of their **milpa** crop or services for the use of land.

Generally, local marketing is done by the indigenous women. Men participate in both selling and buying, particularly for products involving long distance trade. Professional traders sell factory yarns, machine-made clothing and various household

³Valladores, Op.Cit., 1957, p.64.

utensils. Huehuetecos bring lime and stone metates, and potters from Ixtahuacán their clay pots and clay to trade for citrus fruits at the Colotenango market. Four butchers market meats while several women sell hot soup and tortillas previously prepared in nearby homes.

The houses have only one small window at the back and a small doorway in front. The roofs are of red tiles which cost more than a thatched roof. Maria says they prefer the tiles as this reduces the number of insects. As one's eyes become accustomed to the dark and smoke, the room becomes more hospitable. Wooden platforms that encompass three sides of the room double as beds and seating for the large family. The fourth wall is used to hang cooking pots and a shelf where the stone metate and water pot are used when preparing meals. Clothing, blankets, and other tools are stored in the roof rafters where the smoke and warm air keep them dry. There are a couple of small stools and a few broken toys, a truck and a doll, on the earth floor.

The men of the Mendoza household have already left for their fields by 7:00 a.m. and are busy with the last of the corn harvest. The women are busy preparing tortillas for the day's meals. They have already served the last of yesterday's tortillas and beans at breakfast. Later they take clothes to the river to wash and then spread them out on shrubs and on a line strung between the main residence and the second house that is used as storage room for their crops. The men and oldest

grandson, aged seven, return to the house several times during the day, carrying heavy loads of corn on their backs with the aid of a tumpline (strap across their foreheads). They stop for lunch with the women and children. This is usually atol (cereal broth), which they drink from enamel mugs, together with tortillas.

After the midday meal the women weave on their looms, plying thread on a spindle and chatting with passers-by from time to time. The women tie their looms to a house-post where the earth porch provides shade. Maria keeps her infant on her back, stopping only briefly to move her on to her breast for feeding. Her second daughter, aged two, plays quietly at her side or with the other children of the household, seldom demanding her mother's attention. By 4:00 p.m. the men have finished their field work for the day and they too turn their attention to household chores such as chopping firewood, mending ropes, and leisurely talk as they rest before and after the evening meal of tortillas and beans.

The women explain that when harvest is complete they go with their husbands to the coast. Once at the coast there is no time to weave as they must purchase food to cook and wash clothing, as well as work at the plantation either as domestic help or in the fields. Returning to Colotenango in February, men begin to prepare their own fields for planting which begins around March, just before the rainy season. At the end of the dry season men do such craft work as house building and repairs,

Figure 15. Guatemalan agricultural cycle

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
dry	dry	dry	dry	wet	wet	wet	dry	wet	wet	dry	dry
	prepare land	early plant		weed	last plant	weed	early fresh corn harvest	bend corn stalks	main corn harvest ↓ early fresh winter harvest	bend corn stalks	winter corn harvest
				early plant Beans		Bean harvest + last plant					bean harvest
		plant white potatoes				red potato harvest		white potato harvest			plant red potatoes
migrant	work	house-building/repairs			short migrant work						migrant work
cotton harvest (4 pickings)					plant cotton						cotton harvest
sugar harvest									coffee	harvest	

Compiled from Stadelman *Op.Cit.* 1940; Oakes, *Op.Cit.* 1951; and Dombrowski, *Op.Cit.* 1970.

and the women do some weaving. For agriculture, April and May are time-consuming months. At times, women help with planting, as well as the subsequent weeding, although generally field work is considered men's work.

The women were all intent on completing new huipiles and cortes for the annual fiesta at the end of October. On November the first, residents of the municipio would come to the pueblo to attend the festivities connected with el Día de las Animas (Day of the Dead). The main textiles woven in Colotenango are:

1. Huipil: blouse made in two or three pieces, made of fine machine-spun and chemically-dyed cotton from Cantel factory; approximately 80-92 warp per inch and 22-30 weft per inch.

2. Corte, skirt made in one piece as a wrap around, also of Cantel cotton; warp 80-92 per inch, and weft 22-30 per inch.

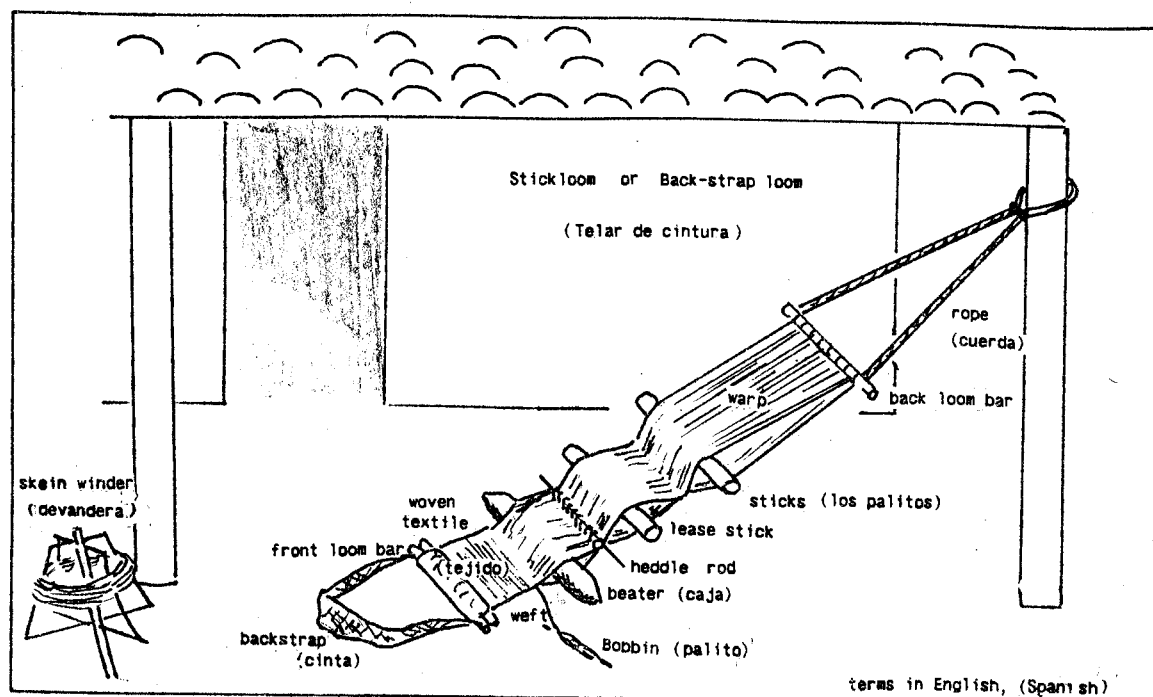
Although weaving activities generally were restricted to one or two days when free time was available, Maria was prepared

to devote full days to my instruction in use of a stickloom, a decision based on our payment agreement of two dollars per day. Her mother and her sisters-in-law agreed to do her share of the household chores on days spent weaving with me. In the days that followed, Maria and I assembled a stickloom so that I could experience all the steps involved in producing a textile.

The first step was to decide what nature of textile to make. Maria consented to make the traditional red and white pin-striped huipil but noted that she preferred to make something different. She said everyone wears the striped traje (traditional costume), and other women in the village liked to wear different huipiles too. Maria owned a variety of huipiles, a plain "everyday" one in the traditional red and white stripes, a very elaborate ceremonial one, as well as two non-traditional types, a maroon huipil with large flowers in a rya (knotted pile) technique, and one in process on her loom in bright yellow, with more traditional dibujas (symbols) brocaded on it. She also had plain, as well as ceremonial cortes which she had made for herself.

As do the other women in the village, Maria decides what garments to make for herself and her daughters. She uses some of the money earned from their citrus fruits which she and her mother take to the market. She also gets money for materials from her husband. She prefers to buy the strongest grade of cotton yarn for the main body of a textile because this must be duro (strong). She buys less expensive yarn for the brocade

Figure 16. The backstrap or stickloom



work. If she does not have the money for the more expensive yarn, she said she uses the finer thread and plies this on a spindle. The yarn for one huipil included two one pound skeins of red and white cotton as well as a madeza (several ounces) each of green, blue, yellow, orange and purple. The yarn which Maria purchased from her padrino (godfather) for about \$2.50 a pound at the Colotenango market came to less than \$7. Her purchase would help reinforce the relationship of trust and honour so that she might call on her padrino at some later time if she needed his assistance.

The first day we spent winding the very fine cotton thread from a wooden skein winder onto small stones. It took half an hour to wind one ball, both working rapidly from one turno (skein winder). Next Maria used a thread to measure the length

required for the first of the two pieces of fabric that drape to the hip from the back over each shoulder to the front. She used this thread to work out the correct placement of the five sticks which she pounded into the ground to serve as a warping frame. The next step was to wind the balls of thread into a double-cross pattern of alternating red and white stripes, highlighted intermittently by the other colours. Maria completed the warp the following day. She then tied string about the warp on either side of the cross so that she could remove the sticks without disturbing the sequence of the threads. Maria placed the warped skein into a tin can filled with water and fresh corn pulp which she had ground on the metate. The corn starch would strengthen the thread as well as reduce the tendency to curl up or tangle.

Maria could prepare the warp and assemble a loom in two days if she worked full-time at her craft. She thought it would be possible to weave a plain huipil in three weeks but she generally spent two or three months to produce one.⁴ As mentioned above, a huipil may be made in two or three pieces. Each piece requires the preparation of a warp and construction of the loom and new heddles. Each piece will have four selvages, rather than only two selvages and two raw edges that result from cutting one long piece into three. The final inch or so of weaving is completed with a needle. This creates a much

⁴Time was discussed in qualitative terms of fiestas, domestic planting, harvesting, wet and dry seasons and migratory work.



Figure 17. Preparing the warp for a huipil. (Note the "modern" designs on Maria's own huipil and the yellow textile in the bottom left corner as nontraditional in appearance)



Figure 18. Constructing heddles on a stickloom. (Note the simplicity of Maria's everyday huipil compared to the huipil in Figure 12. above)

looser section compared to the rest of the fabric, which has been woven with the aid of a hardwood beater to pack the weft firmly into place.

Maria carries out all the steps herself in the creation of a new textile, the selection of materials, the loom preparation, weaving and finishing of a garment. She says she has received help only when there has been a problem with broken heddles or warp strings. Maria has been weaving since she was about eight years old. Young girls generally begin to weave between the ages of seven to ten, depending on individual curiosity and ability to manipulate the fine threads. A child learns by studying the weaving activities of her mother and older sister, and when a child asks for her own loom, practice will begin with a simple cinta (ribbon) or plain manta (carrycloth). A child's first traje is usually provided at baptism by her baptismal godparent who sponsors the celebration to acknowledge the establishment of the new ritual kinship bond. ⁵

Although I had paid Maria \$15, sufficient money to buy all the supplies that we would require, she did not purchase everything we needed ahead of time. Periodically our work would come to a stand-still because she needed an additional string that was más duro (stronger) for the heddles, or a length of rope to tie the sticks to the house post. These were essential

⁵This gift by the godparent puts into motion an ongoing relationship based on reciprocal obligations relating to gifts, between godparent and godchild, and between co-parents (blood-parents and ritual-parents).

items in any weaving process and not accidentally forgotten. Her way of acquiring weaving materials at the moment they were needed, suggested that the purchase of weaving materials was not a financial priority in more usual domestic circumstances.

Materials that Maria could not get from family members could be purchased from a tienda in the pueblo. On one occasion when I paid Maria for her instruction and materials, (additional sticks and rope), she gave two of seven dollars to her mother and to a sister-in-law, explaining to me that this was for the caja (hardwood beater) and palos (sticks) that each had contributed. Her sister-in-law immediately gave the single dollar to her husband. Maria said she too would give her money to her husband, but would keep three of the remaining five dollars to buy rope and la cintura (the jute harness or back-strap) for our work. This financial transaction illustrated the kind of interdependence of smaller nuclear units within the extended family. Each woman, man and child controlled their own personal possessions such as clothing and tools. However, there was cooperation between them, as the young married women within the extended family of the household unit helped each other with domestic chores, and cooked and ate together. The men and women each had their own plots of land but the men did the field work, reciprocating help with planting, harvesting and house building, as well as sharing domestic chores such as wood chopping. The men and women maintained their respective authorities over their clearly defined responsibilities.

As the time drew near for their trip to the cotton plantation near Mazaltenango, clearly Maria and her husband began to delay their departure. Maria encouraged me to continue the instruction with enthusiasm such that I understood more clearly the significance of the two dollar per day payment. Although they said together they would earn as much as \$5 per day at the coast, there were travel expenses. Difficult and unhealthy living conditions made the work expensive in another sense. At home they had her husband's part-time job on the bus, together with Maria's weaving money and a more comfortable standard of living.

When asked whether she does any weaving of textiles to sell or trade to other persons in the community, Maria replied that there were a few older women who weave for their sons or neighbors' families, in exchange for help with field work they could no longer do themselves. No one in the community was weaving textiles to sell. However, sometimes they would sell an old huipil or corte in order to buy more thread. Shop-keepers came from Huehuetenango to Colotenango looking for textiles, but only an occasional tourist visited the pueblo, despite its relative proximity to Huehuetenango and the Pan American Highway.

Despite my interest in textiles, no one in the family took the opportunity of my visits to try and sell old or new garments, to make money which they obviously could use for clothing. Their husbands' clothing had many holes and the children, also dressed in store-bought clothes, badly needed

better protection from the cold. When I asked whether they would sell huipiles or cortes after the fiesta (for which they were intended), Maria and her sister-in-law were hesitant. They finally suggested prices of \$28 for a huipil, and \$40 for a corte. It was clear they understood the market value of their work in that store owners sold similar items at these prices. Yet there was a reluctance to sell garments.

In summary, Maria exemplifies a weaver who produces textiles primarily for her immediate use or that of her family. Maria owns her means of production which includes a small relatively inexpensive stickloom. Maria purchases her cotton materials from money she obtains by selling oranges or from her husband's income. Maria decides what garments to make and does all the steps of production. Maria's craft activities are constrained by the priority of her domestic work, such as food preparation, marketing activities, and especially by trips to the coast to work as a wage labourer on cotton plantations. However, as a member of an extended family, Maria is able to share many domestic chores, compared to households where there is only one woman resident.

Maria is motivated to weave textiles as these provide a visible symbol of her skills and socio-economic status, in terms of the number and complexity of her textile possessions. Although middlemen such as Guerrero visit her community to purchase second-hand textiles, it is Maria's opinion that no one produced new textiles for sales. Neither do the women take their

textiles to Huehuetenango to sell direct to tourists, although women from more distant communities such as Aguacatán have begun to do so.

This reluctance to sell stickloom weavings, which the high asking price suggested, was not a consistent finding from family to family, or from community to community. One contrasting example was in the much more remote community of Todos Santos de Cuchumatanes. Many children approach visitors there to persuade them to view textiles in their homes, reflecting the commercialization of stickloom weaving which is discussed further in the next section.

Todos Santos, A Rural Stickloom Community Compared to Colotenango

Todos Santos has one of the most colourful *trajes* worn by men in the western highland region. This is one of the few *municipios* where women continue to weave mens' clothing on sticklooms. Although women weave their own *huipiles*, they now purchase their *cortes* from footloom specialists in Chiantla, near Huehuetenango.

From Huehuetenango a steep road leads to the high *paramo*, a cold flat *altiplano* in the Cuchumatanes Mountains that resembles the high Andean *puna* of Peru. At 3,000 metres, barren sod and bunch grass are broken only occasionally by stone walls serving as wind breaks, or a small adobe and stone house. The road

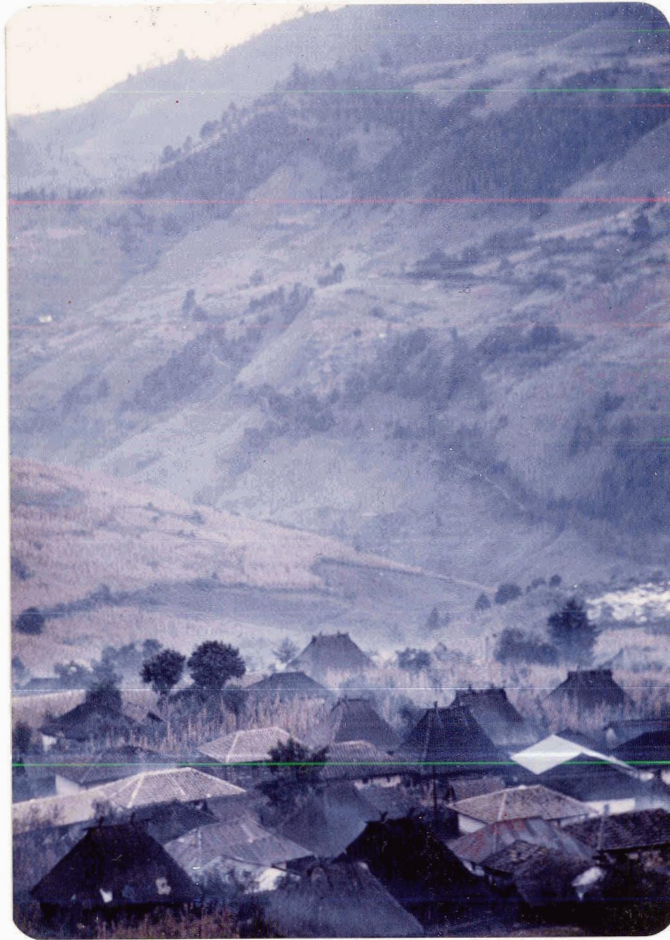
Figure 19. The Alcalde (Mayor) of Todos Santos with his family



descends through a small forest of stunted juniper trees to the valley of Todos Santos, situated at about 2,500 metres (8,200 feet). The forty eight kilometre journey takes about four to five hours in the old, heavily-burdened buses, compared to two and a half hours in a four wheel drive vehicle. The bus fare of \$1 each way from Huehuetenango is a considerable expense to Todos Santos, and the service is frequently withdrawn due to breakdowns or impassable roads during the rainy season.

Approximately 10,000 persons live in the municipio of Todos Santos. This includes the main pueblo and seven smaller aldeas. Most households are dispersed throughout adjacent valleys and hillsides. The pueblo has a more pronounced residential core than Colotenango however. This is due, in part, to the concentration of the best crop land for corn, squash and beans

Figure 20. Todos Santos



along the Río Canjon valley, where the pueblo is situated. Outlying fields are suitable for tubers and animal grazing because of the higher altitudes there.

The main plaza is dominated by a large white Catholic church that replaced a smaller one twenty five years ago. ⁶

⁶The resident priest (in 1979) estimates that as much as 75% of the population follows the Catholic religion but a good portion of the Catholics retain some faith in the Mayan *costumbre*. The priest explains that the Maryknoll generally tolerate Mayan rituals. However, an earlier Catholic priest had destroyed the two Mayan crosses that once stood in the main plaza. Three small crosses still mark another site of Mayan ritual behind the town at the unexcavated Mayan ruins. *Chimanes* (Mayan priest-healers) perform rituals involving the sacrifice of a chicken, candle-lighting, incense-burning and use of cane alcohol, on occasions such as the twentieth day of a baby's life (one month

Two comedores (eating places) and a tienda also line the plaza. Steps lead up to a smaller, more landscaped garden square where the municipal buildings and a now-empty school are situated. A new school has just been completed on a street off the main plaza. It has seven classrooms, one for each of the teachers who offer instruction to approximately two hundred students. They teach Spanish language skills as well as math and history, for grades one through six. Although schooling is mandatory, attendance is sporadic. Studies are frequently interrupted by subsistence activities as well as migrant work at coastal plantations. The priest suggests that school attendance is "free", but few individuals can actually afford the time. Only 20-30% of the pueblo's children, mostly boys, actually attend the school.

Facilities such as the school, the *posta de salud* (health office) which is run by a medical student, telegraph office, electricity for a few main buildings, and municipal administration are indirectly paid for by government taxes. Indirect taxation, which includes import/export duties, accounts for 50% of Guatemala's tax revenue. ⁷ Taxes that affect *Todos Santos* include taxes on alcohol, cigarettes, transport fares, salt and kerosene. They must also pay the government to register

⁶(cont'd) per a Mayan calendar). The charred remains of a table, violin, and other articles which we noted lying within the mound of the ruins, were the remains of a *chimane's* paraphernalia, burned in a ritual ceremony following his death.

⁷Dombrowski, Op.Cit., 1970, p.230.

titles to their land holdings and animals, such as sheep, chickens, pigs or horses. Direct taxing through income tax has been enforced since 1963. The **alcalde municipio** (mayor) who is an indigenous resident elected for a four year term, as well as the other top positions, of secretary, civil registrar, treasurer and telegraphist, which are all held by **ladinos**, are a few of the salaried jobs that are subject to such income tax. Others include the teaching staff and visiting medical staff. ⁸ Such income tax is estimated to affect only about one percent of the population of Guatemala, however. ⁹ Business firms account for close to 90% but they can pass on such costs to the consumer by raising prices. ¹⁰

Todos Santos has both a new covered market where vendors sell a variety of household utensils, dry goods and canned foods daily, and an open air market where traders come to exchange agricultural surplus once a week. Each vendor pays a few centavos to the municipal government for the right to sell in either market.

The street behind the covered market runs past several butchers' shops, comedores and the church, before it ends at the plaza. On market day this street is lined with vendors selling

⁸ As discussed above in Chapter 1., **ladino** is a term used to describe towns' persons, usually of mixed Spanish-indigenous blood, who speak Spanish as their primary language, and wear store-bought clothes, who in addition, give up both residence and traditional ways related to community life.

⁹Dombrowski, Op.Cit., 1970, p.230.

¹⁰Ibid. p.230.

small bundles of fruit, woollen blankets, ropes, mingled with the butchers who display large carcasses strung overhead in front of their shops. Steps behind the meat section open into the main outdoor market. Todos Santos men selling potatoes predominate in the entrance area of the outdoor market. Next to them are rows of men and women selling oranges from Colotenango, a few men selling coffee, and others surplus corn. Under a metal awning, women display a variety of herbs, chili peppers and



Figure 21. Todos Santos indigenous man buying rope from a ladino merchant

aspirin. Under another awning ladino men from Zaculeu sell limestone which is ground into the corn meal to enrich tortillas, and in front several persons sell dark crude sugar.

Although the **municipio** has a total of 23,895 hectares, compared to Colotenango which has 700 hectares, the inhospitable terrain makes agriculture more difficult and less arable land is available. ¹¹ In addition to relying on local and long distance trade of their main cash crop of potatoes, households in Todos Santos also rent land in neighboring districts to grow more subsistence crops. Many families have members travel as far away as Concepción at 2,400 metres (7,870 feet), Jacaltenango at 1,400 metres (9,600 feet), and the Mexican border, about fifty kilometres from Todos Santos. Varying altitudes and soil types result in varying yields from one half bushel per hectare to 13.5 bushels per hectare from better lands. Land holdings in Todos Santos, as in Colotenango, ranged from the landless to households with as much as eight hectares.

The mayor estimates that in 1979 about 90% of all households sent some family members to the coast to supplement subsistence agriculture. **Contratistas** (contractor/recruiters of migrant labour for plantations/estates) come to Todos Santos during fiesta time and offer cash loans to men who, intoxicated often by both the emotion of the annual celebration and the cane liquor, are easily persuaded to accept. The agreement is that they sign up to work on the **fincas** after the fiesta is over.

¹¹Stadelman, Op.Cit., 1940, pp.85-215.

Figure 22. Todos Santos weekly outdoor market



This sets up a situation of indebted labour, and contracts cannot be broken. The town is virtually evacuated the following week, as men, boys and women gather beside the church waiting for the plantation trucks to pick them up.

There are two major migration periods. The first is in November for about three months, then again in June or July. During the interval, men return to prepare the ground for planting, leaving the women and children and elderly to do the weeding, but returning home again for the main harvest work.

The women of Todos Santos recognized and acted on the possibility of an income from their weaving. Many households in town had gathered together all of their old textiles in order to show them to tourists and middlemen who came to town for the

annual **fiesta** in November. ¹² The women explained that they hoped to make some extra money to help pay for the expenses of the **fiesta** such as food, drink, and contributions to fireworks, and music from **marimba** bands. They also hoped they could reduce the number of days that their menfolk would have to be away at the coast. The migrant workers often were ill from the heat and poor living conditions. Highland coffee **fincas** required workers but paid less than coastal plantations: about \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day, compared to \$2.50 at the coast. The coffee **fincas** were far enough away that they too require the men to live away from home.

Indications of weavers' commercial stickloom interests are the development of two formal co-operatives and a third retail store along the main street. One of the co-operatives is run by the national organization ARTEXCO, which has outlets in Guatemala City, Quetzaltenango, and Huehuetenango, as well as smaller communities, such as San Pedro Necta and San Juan Atitán. The Todos Santos branch has about 40 members who benefit

¹²Todos Santos is also renowned for its exceptionally colourful and traditional **fiesta** at the end of October. **El Día de Todos los Santos** (All Saints' Day) has a special significance for the **pueblo** whose patron saint is not one, but all (**todos los Santos**). Weeks of preparation climax with two days of horse races, followed by **el Día de las Animas** (Day of the Dead), when the people congregate in the cemetery to offer food and drink, dance and sing to **marimba** music, and make offerings at the graves of departed loved ones, much as is the custom in Colotenango and other towns throughout Central America. The women and men from outlying **aldeas** come to the **pueblo** of Todos Santos. Everyone is dressed in their finest **traje**, a symbol of prestige for the persons weaving the many elaborate textiles, as well as a credit to the weaver and the household that can afford the time and material for new clothing.

Figure 23. Todos Santeros at their fiesta



from the markets in each of the other locations. In addition each shop receives a small reduction for members in yarn prices, which ARTEXCO buys from Cantel.

The ARTEXCO co-operative engaged the help of a Peace Corps representative who said that his motive was to make the co-operative a more profitable organization. He thought the textiles would sell well in the U.S.A. However, he suggested that the shirts would be improved if the open armpits were stitched closed and the collars did not have brocade work, and similarly, that the trouser material would be more appropriate as shirts. His proposals devalued the aesthetics of the womens' work which they had developed with the introduction of the

multi-coloured factory threads. His other projects involved fund-raising for a footloom and a treadle sewing machine, to increase productivity. Not all women would have access to the new machine, however, with probable unproductive effects for those having to compete with advantaged co-operative members.

The shops were filled with used garments ranging from huipiles, mens' shirts, bags, belts to shirt collars. New textiles were mostly smaller items such as bags and belts.¹³ Textile sales were not aimed at local Todos Santos. They were intended for tourists and traders such as Señor Guerrero. The Todos Santos weave any textiles they need themselves. Sales of old garments help finance materials for new textiles. When they place their textiles in the shops on consignment they receive no money until their piece sells. Women selling textiles from their homes realized they might sell pieces faster themselves during fiesta time and also avoid paying the shop to sell it.

Comparing the two highland communities, it has been shown that in Todos Santos, where both men and women dress in the traditional costume of their community, the women were eager to sell their new and used textiles. In Colotenango, however, where men had given up their traje for store-bought clothing, the women hesitated to sell garments. Used huipiles from Colotenango were sold and could be found in shops in Huehuetenango, but had not been collected and made ready for sale as had those in Todos Santos. The women in Todos Santos, like the women in

¹³Bag are crocheted by men, not by women on sticklooms.

Colotenango; were involved in stickloom textile production primarily for utility. Money from the sale of a textile may be used to purchase materials for a new garment to be worn by a family member (especially during fiesta), or may be used to supplement other household needs. Such sales do not generate "surplus value" in the way of capitalist surplus value accumulation, because the weavers do not hire wage labour to help with the production process. Thus, even those households that are increasingly involved in the sale of old and new textiles are limited to "simple commodity production" based on family labour, where commodities (textiles) are sold for money in order to produce more commodities (textiles, food or fiesta funds) to meet household needs. This is in contrast to the



Figure 24. Todos Santeros in new shirts during the Fiesta (showing finely brocaded collars)

capitalist formula of investment of money to produce commodities to sell for monetary gains in order to expand future production and profits.

In the case of the footloom weavers, production involved hand-operated looms and a cottage industry resembling a putting-out system where weavers received a piece rate for each textile produced in their own homes. In a "putting out" system weavers generally have their own equipment and are contracted to produce textiles from materials supplied by the contractor. Señor Guerrero, however, has supplied both the equipment and the materials which give him considerably more control over the weavers' textile activities. While this differs from a centralized factory organization, with power-driven machinery, Señor Guerrero and the factory owner both represent capitalist owners whose aims are accumulation of "surplus value" through the employment of wage labour, which in both cases is calculated as piece rates.

The difference between the weavers of Colotenango and Todos Santos is less clear from an analysis of their mode of production. Both communities have weavers who own their own means of production, produce textiles through their own labour, and weave primarily for their own use. Those who sell old or new textiles do so for household needs, and on a scale limited to the availability of old pieces and stickloom production time. In Colotenango, although middlemen have requested textiles and householders travel long distances to work as wage labourers in

the inhospitable coastal zone, the women are evidently hesitant to sell their work. Their weaving is amongst the finest (in terms of warp threads per inch) and their prices for a huipil much higher (at \$18-28 compared to \$12-20 for a comparable Todos Santos piece in 1979). However, in Todos Santos a market for their textiles has been developed locally by government co-operatives, tourists and middlemen. The women are encouraged to consign their textiles to the co-operatives, and so have acted on the realization that they can gain from selling textiles directly to tourists who in recent years have arrived for widely-known fiesta events.

Summary of Guatemalan Textile Producer Activities

Textile production in Guatemala ranges from a large mechanized factory at Cantel to small rural households where women weave on sticklooms to produce family clothing needs. A study of households which have become involved in footloom weaving as a full-time specialization (in Huehuetenango) describes the problems in establishing footloom weaving activities as independent petty commodity producers in relation to the high costs of equipment and materials. The Guerrero household illustrates how these footloom weavers have been organized into a cottage industry through the finance and control of the Guerreros, and so have become wage labourers.

There is also a recognition by stickloom weavers that, alternatively, their textiles can be sold to traders and tourists. Although many women are selling their old textiles, few have begun to produce new textiles for the market in the Huehuetenango area. The women of rural households who struggle to meet subsistence needs are often prepared to devote long hours to produce intricate brocaded garments which are worn as a symbol of community membership and prestige, as their weaving designates social and economic status as well as personal skills. However, weavers involved in sales have concentrated on small pieces or more simple and relatively poorly-woven pieces, in order to reduce the time devoted to a cash "reward".

CHAPTER SIX

PERU - THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The following three chapters focus on Peru where fieldwork of footloom and stickloom weaving activities took place in 1981. The discussion begins with a geographical orientation focussing on the different vertical zones, followed by a brief historical sketch of the national wool and textile industries to demonstrate the disparity between coastal and highland developments. The chapter ends with a discussion of the southern highland departments of Ayacucho and Cuzco as areas of fieldwork.

Chapters Six and Seven comprise fieldwork data on specific weavers, describing how they organized their craft activities within their household units. The highland locations of a footloom weaver living in the provincial town of Ayacucho (30,000 population in 1981) and a stickloom weaver living in a small isolated rural community (500 population) are examined to illustrate local market and transport facilities, access to raw materials and alternative work possibilities that affect weaving activities and subsistence generally.

The Land and its Resources

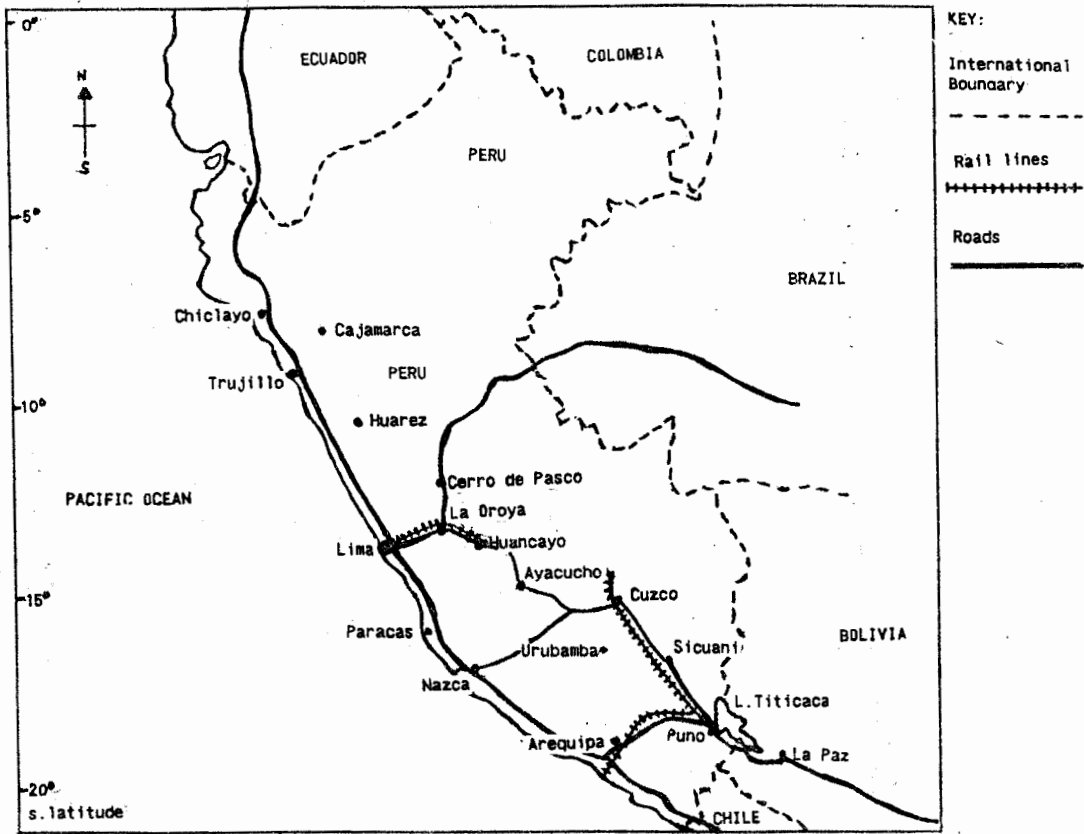
The Republic of Peru is the third largest country in South America after Brazil and Argentina. It has a total area of 1,294,923 square kilometres and lies between the equator and eighteen degrees south. Like Guatemala, the land is categorized by two extremes: (1) the lowland *tierra caliente* (hot land), which includes the *costa* (coast) and the *selva* (jungle); and (2) *la sierra* (highland), which includes *tierra andina* (high barren grassland), *tierra fría* (cold land) and *tierra templada* (temperate land).

The *costa* makes up eleven percent of the total land. This long narrow strip of arid desert is more hospitable than the humid Guatemalan coast. Agriculture is possible with irrigation and so is concentrated along rivers crosscutting the coastal strip. About 45% of the total population live at *la costa*. All the largest cities, as well as 80% of Peru's industries and 50% of Peru's export production are also concentrated in this region. ¹

The *selva* (jungle) lies on the eastern side of the Andes, where prevailing winds account for the predominantly thick tropical rain forest of this region. The *selva*, which makes up 63% of the total land area, supports only six percent of the total population. Historically it has been a hunting and gathering region supporting only a very little slash and burn

¹Brooks, Op.Cit., 1983, p.688.

Figure 25. Map of Peru



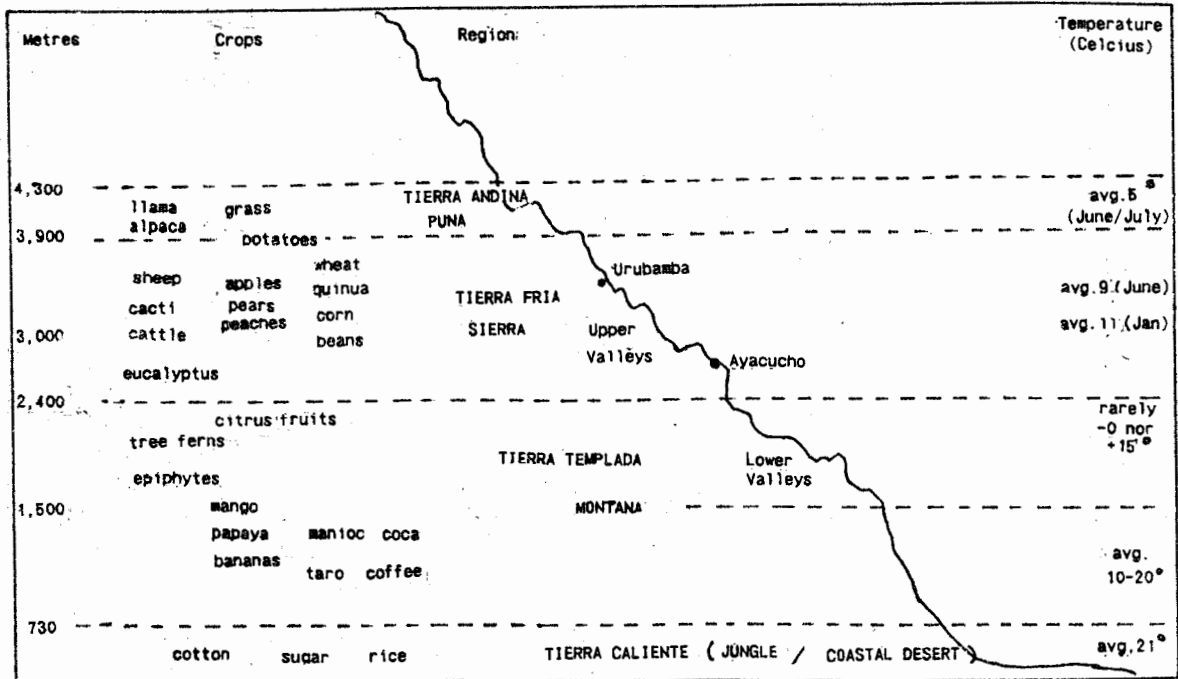
Source: National Geographic Atlas of the World, Wgtn D.C., 4th Edition, 1975, p.74

agriculture. The selva is a reserve for timber and petroleum, which is only now beginning to be exploited. ²

The sierra (highland) makes up 26% of the land and supports 50% of the population. Although most of this land is too rugged for agriculture, most highland peoples are rural cultivators living on small subsistence plots. 30.6% of the sierra population is urban compared to 78.6% at la costa, and 10.9% at

² More than 18 new contracts have been signed with foreign oil companies between the time of the 1968 revolution and 1972 in order to develop this industry. A.F. Lowenthal, (ed.), The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule, Princeton University Press, N.J., 1975, p.13.

Figure 26. Vertical Zones in Peru



Compiled from Brush, *Op.Cit.*, 1977 & Gade, *Op.Cit.*, 1975

the selva. As in Guatemala, there are a multitude of micro-environments within the sierra. Many of the plateaus lie above 3,800 metres (14,000 feet), and are suitable only as pasture. The tierra andina is generally referred to as the puna and is characteristic of the most southern departments of Cuzco and Puno. The most arable land lies in the tierra fría (cold zone) in the intermontane valleys, between 2,400 - 3,400 metres (7,874 - 11,154 feet). On the higher cropland agriculture is restricted to hardy tubers and cereals. The tierra templada (temperate zone) corresponds to the lower valleys of the montaña (eastern slopes), which do not support subsistence farming of staples such as corn, beans and potatoes, as does the tierra templada zone in Guatemala. The Peruvian montaña supports citrus and tropical fruits, coca and coffee crops, and at lower

Figure 27. Agricultural extremes in the Andes



elevations, root crops such as manioc and taro.

Only about 7% of the total land is under cultivation, 21.3% is pasture land, 0.5% lay fallow, 67.7% is in forest (mostly selva) and a further 8.8% was considered unproductive. A mere 1.2% of the population controls 75.2% of the land while 84.5% of the population have access to only 14% of the land. ³ A typical small land holding was between 1-5 hectares in size. Subsistence staples such as the potato, cereals (wheat and barley) and corn are cultivated on the small family plot generally referred to as -----

³H.F. Dobyns & P.L. Doughty, Peru, A Cultural History, Oxford Univ. Press, N.Y., 1976, Appendix.

Table 3. Peruvian Exports showing Percentage of Total Export Value (1977)

<u>Product</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>%</u>
Copper	23.09	Coffee	11.54
Silver	10.54	Fishmeal	10.54
Zinc	9.13	Sugar	4.77
Iron	5.71	Cotton	2.95
Lead	5.12	Wool	1.06
Petrol	2.54	Other	13.01

Source: R. Thorp, "The Evolution of Peru's Economy", in C. McClintock & A. Lowenthal (eds), The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered, Princeton Univ. Press, N.J., 1983, p.51.

the **chakra**. These are fields so small and rugged they would be considered non-productive in North America. Flat areas, particularly the rich alluvial land at the coast, are controlled by plantation owners whose large landholdings are concentrated in cash crops, sugar and cotton, aimed at the export market. Cattle and wool, the leading exports produced in the highland region, are also land extensive. ⁴

Mining has traditionally relied on highland indigenous labour. While mineral products made up about 50% of Peru's exports, they contributed only 20,977 million soles (7.12% GDP) and employed as little as 1.38% of the labour force. Increases in world prices for minerals, large fish catches and the initiation of oil exports all contributed to an export boom

⁴Anuario Estadístico de America Latina, United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America, 1976. Note: In 1981 U.S.\$1=soles 400, (rate fluctuated from 370-450 during five month period).

during 1979-1980. A fall in world market prices in copper and silver in 1981, however, resulted in a decline in export revenue, trade deficits and rising foreign debt. During this period oil bypassed copper as the leading export, and by 1982 accounted for 20% of Peru's export earnings. ⁵

Manufacturing employs about 13% of Peru's "economically active" population, as well as countless peasants who engage in craft production to supplement their subsistence. The most efficient manufacturing firms are those geared to coastal industries which are primarily involved in food related processing, such as sugar refining or fishmeal products. However, there are over 400 registered firms and many artisans involved in household textile production which places it second to food related industries in importance. ⁶ Factories and households engaged in handicraft production of textiles are aimed at the domestic market. The textile industry, which does not contribute significantly to export figures, is secondary to the production and export of raw woollen materials.

⁵Brooks, Op.Cit., 1983, pp.823-824.

⁶T. Weil et. al., Handbook for Peru, Washington D.C. 1972.

Historical Background

The arid climate of the Peruvian coast preserved a rich collection of textiles, some dating as far back as 8,000 B.C.⁷ The earliest pieces were crude netting made by off-loom twining of vegetable fibres. Spinning and weaving using the basic tools the whorl and the stickloom were developed during the Chavin culture in northern Peru, between 1200-800 B.C. By 100-500 B.C. (Paracas Period), textile weaving reached aesthetic and technical heights. These coastal weavers worked with the finest cotton thread and used almost every weaving technique known in present day weaving.⁸ According to Crawford, handloom weaving of the French Gobelin tapestries at the zenith (1700 A.D) did not reach the technical development achieved in Peru.⁹

The Spanish arrived in South America in 1532 at the time of the great Incan Empire. This Empire stretched from present day Ecuador and Peru to northern parts of Chile and Bolivia and incorporated hundreds of tribal groups and smaller city states. The Inca ruled by divine authority and by military force, demanding tribute in the form of food, textiles and labour. They

⁷ Ferdinand Anton, The Art of Ancient Peru, G.P. Putnam & Sons, N.Y., 1972.

⁸ L. O'Neale & A.L. Kroeber, Textile Periods in Ancient Peru, Univ. of Calif. Berkeley Press, Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XXV111, 1930, pp. 23-56.

⁹ M.D.C. Crawford, "Peruvian Fabrics", in Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol.X11, Part 4, N.Y., 1916, pp.109-191.

organized the construction of a vast network of roads and **tambos** (storage houses) to facilitate a centralized redistribution system to supply foods to the large number of craft specialists, army and **yanacona** (personal retainers) of the Inca. They had no wheel in practical terms, but had domesticated the native llama and alpaca which served both as pack animals and as sources of woollen fibres.

The Spanish were most interested in the fortune in gold and silver. They overthrew the Inca rulers and set up a system of indirect rule in Peru as they did in Central America. The Spanish monarchy forbade any further use of the precious metals by the Incan craft specialists. This ended the production of an intricately fine **kumbi** cloth, which was previously made from threads of silver and gold, worn by the Incan nobility.

Both the **curaca** (local chiefs) and the Spanish **conquistadores** were granted **encomiendas** as a reward and assurance of loyalty to Spain. The **curaca** were to continue to collect tribute from the masses. Tribute in labour was aimed at the extraction of mineral wealth for the Spanish Crown and not primarily for agricultural work to cultivate export crops which was the focus of the Spanish in colonial Guatemala. **Haciendas** (large privately-owned estates) were also introduced after the early colonial period, to establish commercial interests in export production of wool and meat in the Andean highlands. The Spanish colonial institution was of similar significance in Central America, a region which lacked the rich mineral

resources of the Andes.

Intolerable conditions in the Andean mines resulted in an enormous death toll just as the workers on tropical plantations had suffered in Guatemala. Like the Maya, the Andean peoples also found it difficult to meet subsistence needs, let alone the demands of tribute. The Spanish institution of segregation of indigenous peoples in *reducciones* (indigenous communities) resulted in the grouping of unrelated *ayllus* (bilateral kin groups). They also cut off *ayllus* that were spatially distant due to the indigenous system of dispersed landholdings in lower and higher climatic zones, essential to the subsistence of an *ayllu*. Although there had been long distance movement of goods between spatially-distant lineage members as well as the Incan system of redistribution, they had not developed an indigenous "market system", as had the Mayan peoples who also suffered from re-grouping due to Spanish *reducciones*.¹⁰ Indigenous agriculture was further devastated as Incan roads and irrigation networks were neglected by the new Spanish rulers. *Encomenderos* (persons holding grants to *encomiendas*) and *hacendados* (estate owners) reserved the best lands for their own crops, such as wheat and for sheep and cattle which were introduced from Europe.

Indigenous stickloom weaving for domestic use continued however, much as it had before the Spanish. The Spanish dress code ("cover-up") added to the indigenous peoples' need to

¹⁰Lalone, Op.Cit., 1976, p.40.

weave, as it had for the Maya in Central America. Alpaca and llama continued to provide a major source of wool in the Andes, and complemented the newer source of sheep's wool. However, most independent household production of cloth for commercial sales was eliminated by *encomenderos* and *corregidores* (Spanish government officials). Textile *obrajes* (workshops), similar to those in Guatemala, were set up on many *encomiendas* and *haciendas* where footloom production was geared to growing demands of Spanish colonists and the mines. *Encomenderos* and *hacendados* used the system of debt peonage to exploit their *colonos* (estate tenants) as labour. *Corregidores* monopolized access to materials and trade so that urban artisans were forced to seek employment in *obrajes*.

The Spanish monarchy intervened however, by discouraging all industry in the Central and South American colonies that would compete with goods produced in Spain. This ruling confined colonial industry to manufacturing/processing of perishables and non-transportable goods for local use. David Chaplin noted that the textile industry was particularly hard hit as:

Even under this system [forced labour] these textile mills were so productive that Spain, in the late 18th century forced them to close in order to give Spanish factories control of the Peruvian market. Thus the mestizo artisan weaver began to disappear even before Independence. ¹¹

The textile *obrajes* were the first industry in Peru, apart from mining. By the mid-seventeenth century there were more than

¹¹David Chaplin, Peruvian Industrial Labour Force, Princeton Univ. Press, N.Y., 1967, p.60.

three hundred mills but by the end of the following century none were in operation. ¹² The increasing number of Peruvian-born Spanish and mestizos, who, like their Guatemalan counterparts, were alienated by the restriction on industry and development of domestic cash crops and brought on the war and Independence from Spain in 1825.

Here, as in Guatemala, the new Republic was founded on the liberal ideology of the time: equality, individual's rights and private property. Once again, power really only shifted from Peninsular to Peruvian Spanish, resulting in more concentration of power in the hands of fewer people, not equality. This concentration of power was primarily instituted through the development of new patterns of private land ownership and laws that abolished communal property and church lands. ¹³ The indigenous population in Peru, like the Maya of Guatemala, lost the protection of the Crown which had registered indigenous titles to community lands. Land grabbers began making loans to impoverished peasant households only to foreclose on such loans by taking possession of the now alienable indigenous land. Encomiendas, by now formally institutionalized as privately owned haciendas, could also be bought, sold and inherited.

Highland haciendas were generally owned and run by absentee landlords who continued to rely on colonos (tenants). Coastal

¹²Ibid. p.60.

¹³ As in Guatemala, the Catholic Church became a major power in Peru, since it controlled large landholdings, schools, and commercial activities such as textile obrajes.

plantations were worked primarily by African slave labour. Emancipation of the slaves in the nineteenth century meant the plantations had to turn to sharecropping of cotton and wage labour for the sugar fields. Repatriation of Spanish capital and declining trade due to the break with Spain was coupled with an inability to compete with the Atlantic port of Buenos Aires, reducing mercantile revenue needed to develop domestic industry. Six attempts to open textile factories all failed in the 1850s due to the depressed Peruvian economy which was dependent on the world market for export of its raw resources. ¹⁴

The Republic's mining industry was near collapse as the Potosí silver mine that had accounted for three fifths of Peru's production was lost to Bolivia. Discovery of guano and nitrate resources bolstered national revenue in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1859 alone Peru's revenue totalled \$22 million, of which \$16 million came from guano alone. ¹⁵ However, the War of the Pacific in 1879 resulted in the loss of a large part of the guano resources to Chile as well as expenditures of over half the national revenue in military expenses, plunging the Republic into further debt. ¹⁶

It was British capital that bailed Peru out of bankruptcy, in return for a mortgage on the remaining guano deposits and a long lease on railroad building of the two lines that were to

¹⁴Chaplin, Op.Cit., 1967, p.74.

¹⁵R. Marett, Peru, Praeger Pub., N.Y., 1969, p.95.

¹⁶Ibid. p.95.

link the coast with the mining district of Cerro de Pasco, northeast of Lima, and with the major wool producing region of Puno and Cuzco to the southeast. The new Panama canal was also central to opening the Pacific coast to European markets. Between 1876 and 1915 the number of large landholdings in the Cuzco area alone increased from 705 to 3,219 due to increased interest in sheep and cattle, and access to and exports of wool and meat products could be more readily achieved. ¹⁷ Wool production (sheep and alpaca) increased from 350 million tons in the 1830's to 3,171 million tons by the 1890's. ¹⁸

The first major boost in the textile manufacturing sector came in the 1890's. The Banco Italiano, established in 1889, provided the financial basis for a number of small Italian-owned ventures in textiles and stimulated the revival of artisan manufacturing. ¹⁹ Due to the insignificant weight loss from the raw material stage to the finished product, textile mills could be established in coastal cities of Lima, Ica and Arequipa, close to a large urban labour force. Owners of these urban factories did not have to utilize coercive tactics to obtain and hold a labour force as had their pre-industrial fore-runners, the obrajes. ²⁰

¹⁷Lalone, Op.Cit., 1976, p.165.

¹⁸R. Thorp & G. Bertram, Peru 1890-1977: Growth & Policy in an Open Economy, Macmillan Press, London, 1978, p.64.

¹⁹Ibid. p.34.

²⁰Chaplin, Op.Cit., 1967, p.92.

The textile industry became a major employer as it emerged as the leading manufacturing sector behind only the food and beverage sector. ²¹ By 1933 the food and beverage sector included 144 and 94 factories respectively in domestic production compared to 39 textile factories and 40 tanneries. ²² The employment figures indicated that 3,050 persons were formally employed in the cotton textile industry and a further 1,838 in the woollen textile industry. There were only 690 workers employed by the tanneries. ²³ The high employment in the textile industry was due, in part, to the antiquated machinery, purchased second-hand from British mills where production had peaked and was already on the decline. ²⁴ The textile industry was dominated by import/export merchants dealing in raw materials of cotton and wool, as well as finished textile products. Vertical diversification enabled mills to be set up as fully-integrated operations, incorporating all stages of production, from the raising of sheep in the case of sierra operations, to processing the raw materials, dying, spinning, weaving and finishing products at one location. ²⁵

²¹ The food and beverage sector developed due to a lack of trade restrictions imposed on perishable goods, and to a mining population as well as to a growing domestic urban market that could not produce its own food needs.

²²Thorp & Bertram, Op.Cit., 1978, pp.121-122.

²³Ibid. pp.121-122.

²⁴Ibid. p.92.

²⁵ Vertical diversification refers to the expansion of a company's interests in other levels of its particular industry to include control of various raw resources, production

Production relied heavily on administrative control as the small, highly-integrated mills suffered the impracticalities of scheduling a wide variety of types of yarn and cloth at the same time, while trying to keep all sections in co-ordination. ²⁶ Workers, relying on piece work pay, were often left idle in one section as bottlenecks meant that other workers in the overloaded departments had to put in long hours of overtime. While the obreros (textile labourers) were Peruvian, the foremen and empleados (foremen and white collar workers) were foreign and received the highest wages. ²⁷

These urban textile obreros were amongst the earliest workers to become organized. In 1912 textile workers called their first general strike, that led to unionization by 1919, winning minimum wage controls, protection against lay-offs and health benefits. However, despite this seemingly "progressive" development in the textile industry, there was only an initial burst in production. The industry quickly stagnated, which David Chaplin suggests was due to overworked machinery and a "shortsighted mercantile view" by owners who tended to shift their interests from sector to sector, (i.e. from manufacturing

²⁵(cont'd) processes and sales outlets. In contrast is horizontal diversification, where a company spreads its risks by expanding to include other different interests (textiles, oil and hotels, for example).

²⁶Ibid. p.92.

²⁷Ibid. p.92.

to import/export interests) to minimize overall risk. ²⁸ For example, mercantile interests opposed tariffs which would protect local textile manufacturing from increasing competition of Japanese imports.

In the sierra, textile production was virtually the only industry, other than mining. The highland textile industry fell far behind the coastal industry as a source of employment. Of 89 factories surveyed by Chaplin in 1954, 72 were in Lima, 5 in Arequipa and 12 in the highland towns of Cuzco and Huancayo. ²⁹ Lima factories employed 1,529 *empleados* (white collar workers), with average annual wages of \$1,054 compared to 414 *empleados* averaging only \$825 in the rural sierra factories. Lima factories employed 13,261 *obreros* with an annual wage of \$442, compared to a total of 5,671 rural *obreros* who were paid only about \$250 per annum in the sierra. ³⁰

The few mills that were established in the sierra were on haciendas. Owners relied on their *colonos* (tenants) for labour in exchange for use of hacienda land. As in Guatemala highland regions, "debt peonage" was institutionalized by Peruvian landowners to recruit extra labour from *colonos* who defaulted on payments in goods. ³¹ Mill owners also relied on local

²⁸Chaplin, Op.Cit., 1967, p.92; and Bertram & Thorp, Op.Cit., 1978, p.62.

²⁹Chaplin, Op.Cit., 1967, p.279.

³⁰Ibid. p.209.

³¹Ibid. p.66.

campesinos (subsistence farmers) as part-time labour. They were unreliable though and absenteeism became critical during planting and harvesting. Water-power, which was used up to 1950, also meant up to five or six months shutdown annually due to drought, the period when seasonal agricultural work dropped off and help was most available.

Trade in the highlands increased with the advent of rail lines, the extension of roads, and subsequent introduction of trucking by the 1940's. Weekly markets began to take place throughout the highland provinces.

Traders would buy fleece in small quantities from the highland campesinos and then resell it in the larger markets in Sicuani and Juliaca.³² This wool was considered *lana corriente* (ordinary) because the better animals were not separated from lesser breeds. Many campesinos also relied on *waqcho*, the right to graze their animals on unused hacienda lands which were the least hospitable lands.³³ The hacendados on the other hand bred their sheep to produce the finest grades of wool *lana de finca*. They would bypass provincial markets and traders to sell directly to bulking agencies in Arequipa.³⁴

³² Sicuani and Juliapa are major commercial centres located in the Vilcanota Valley, the main trade route between highland regions of Cuzco and Puno and the southern Peruvian coast.

³³ Benjamin Orlove, Alpacas, Sheep & Men: The Wool Economy & Regional Social Structure in Peru, Univ. of Cal. Berkeley Press, 1975, p.48.

³⁴ Ibid. p.48.

The lowest grade of wool, pull wool, comes from the hides of butchered sheep. This provides the main source of material for household textile producers who have begun to produce a coarse woollen yardage, bayeta, on footlooms. Bayeta is produced for domestic use as well as for sale to other local highland peoples to supplement subsistence. Bayeta replaces much of the stickloom weaving of such textiles as men's shirts, pants and women's polleras (full skirts).

Despite the low grade of this pull wool, it can account for 75-90% of the cost of producing bayeta, compared to production costs of a similar "shirting" textile, which may be as low as 45% for the mechanized factory at Marangani (near Sicuani).³⁵ Bayeteros (bayeta weavers), whose production is supplementary to subsistence agriculture, may wait for a more favourable price in the fluctuating wool market. Bayeteros usually own their own looms but in many cases they rely on wool supplies from provincial traders.

Some traders also weave bayeta, others may have their wife and children spin wool or may pay other campesinos to spin wool which the trader will then supply to bayeteros. The community of Hercca, near Sicuani, specializes in buying and transporting bayeta from the main production areas in Espinar and Canas, southern provinces in Cuzco department. The Hercca traders proceed to dye the bayeta with aniline dyes and then resell it

³⁵Ibid. p.98.

throughout the southern highlands. ³⁶

Most of the alpaca and llama herds are concentrated in the high punas of southern Cuzco and Puno, at altitudes from 4,000 to 5,200 metres. Sheep, by contrast, develop respiratory problems at altitudes over 4,000 metres. Alpaca and llama herds were herded by the indigenous peoples throughout the colonial era, because the high altitudes discouraged Spanish interference. The soft lustrous fleece began to attract the attention of the wool exporting firms in the twentieth century.

Between 1959 and 1964 campesinos began invading sierra haciendas because of increasing pressure on land due to expanding commercial herding and an increasing indigenous population. The 1968 military coup which brought Velasco to power promised "land to the tiller". The immediate policy implemented was the Agrarian Reform. Both private and commercial highland haciendas and coastal plantations were appropriated and maximum holdings were set at 150 hectares at the coast, and from 15-55 hectares irrigated, or up to 1,500 hectares non-irrigated pastureland in the sierra. ³⁷ By 1974 only five million hectares had been redistributed to 196,523 families, with plans to transfer a total of eleven million hectares to 340,000 families by 1976. ³⁸ The plan included the creation of 79,916 family

³⁶Ibid. p.106.

³⁷Clifford T. Smith, "Agrarian Reform & Regional Development in Peru" in Miller, Smith & Fisher (eds), Op.Cit., 1974, p.89.

³⁸Colin Harding, "Land Reform & Social Conflict in Peru" in Lowenthal, Op.Cit., 1975, p.221.

farms for 171,000 families at the coast, but 69,622 family farms for 681,000 families in the highlands. ³⁹ Far more families were to share less land in the highlands where the land was poorer for agriculture and where most of the landless indigenous peoples live.

Another thrust of the Agrarian Reform was to consolidate small and medium-sized properties into commercial co-operatives. Beneficiaries of the co-operatives were largely sharecropping tenants and landless wage labourers of appropriated haciendas. An ineffective effort was made to benefit the comuneros, while priority was given to share-croppers, for as few as nine percent of eligible indigenous families were recipients. ⁴⁰

Reforms were also aimed at the manufacturing sector. A new Comunidad Industrial Law in 1968 required firms with more than ten workers to put aside part of the profits into an employees' fund until workers owned one half of the company. ⁴¹ Although this law was intended to improve the position of workers it actually led to the closure of many medium-sized companies. It devastated the large-scale textile manufacturing sector, as illustrated by the case of Huancayo. That city had employed 80% of its labour force in textile mills in 1953, (i.e. 40% of the city's population). After the Reform, all but one mill closed

³⁹Ibid. p.244.

⁴⁰Smith, Op.Cit., 1974, p.93.

⁴¹Bryan Roberts, "The Social History of a Provincial Town: Huancayo (1970-1972)", in Miller, Smith & Fisher, Op.Cit., 1974, p.176.

down. ⁴²

Textile mills continued to run in the coastal area but by 1970 they had dropped to only 40% of their capacity. ⁴³ However, the industrial law promoted small-scale enterprise, as workers who were laid-off during factory shutdowns were recompensed with machinery. ⁴⁴ Additional stimulus came through the Banco Industrial del Peru, set up to provide credit to new enterprises. In 1973, eighty new workshops were established. Many of these were to produce woven or knitted products. ⁴⁵

Large co-operatives such as the SAIS Marangani have begun to raise large herds of alpaca and today most of this fleece is aimed at the export market. ⁴⁶ However, many individual households continue to keep small herds and use the wool themselves either to make a fine, tightly-spun yarn for mantas (carrycloths) and ponchos, which are woven on sticklooms, or to be spun into a soft yarn and knit into sweaters aimed at

⁴²Ibid. p.137 & p.176.

⁴³Anibal Quijano, Nationalism & Capitalism in Peru: A Study on Neo-Imperialism, Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1971, p.30.

⁴⁴Roberts, Op.Cit., 1974, pp.154-177.

⁴⁵Orlove, Op.Cit., 1975, p.100.

⁴⁶ Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (SAIS) were instituted through the Agrarian Reform program as semi-cooperative organizations which include peasant comuneros and former tenants of appropriated haciendas, and production administered by appointees of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Agrarian Reform also instituted Cooperativas Agrarias de Producción (CAPS) which are state-owned and worked by wage labourers. A. Quijano, "Imperialism & the Peasantry: the Current Situation in Peru" in Latin American Perspectives Vol.1X No.3., 1982, p.53.

commercial sales to tourists.

While the post-second world war period has been characterized by industrial development which emphasizes desarrollo hacia adentro (inward-looking development) involving ECLA's recommendation of "import substitution", exploitation of a broader range of resources and more American investment, Peru continues to have a large marginal indigenous population in the sierra that relies primarily on agricultural subsistence with the household as the basic unit of production and consumption. According to The Area Handbook For Peru: "Unemployment is low in the sierra, but it is in this primarily agricultural region that underemployment is chronically the most severe".⁴⁷ As much as 80% of manufacturing and industry continues to be concentrated at the coast. Urban migration, largely from the sierra has increased the population of Lima from 562,885 in 1940, to triple that size by 1961, to 1,632,370, and triple again by 1972, to 3,002,043.

Limited employment in the highlands for unskilled campesinos is evident from the Cuzco example. The city's population (approximately 140,000 in 1981) is made up of a small professional economic elite that represents about two or three

⁴⁷Weil, Op.Cit., 1972, p.306. See also Thorp, Op.Cit., 1983, p.110. Thorp noted that fishing and mining were the sectors which grew during the 1975-78 period, but they employed only four percent of the population, compared to manufacturing and its thirteen percent of Peru's "economically active" population. The manufacturing sector expanded at an average annual rate of 7.1% during the post-Reform period of 1970-75. However, in 1976 the expansion in manufacturing dropped to 4.2%, in 1977 to -6.5% and in 1978 was an average annual rate of -2.1%.

percent of the people, civil servants and white collar workers (20%), self-employed artisans and small shop owners (25%), and unskilled wage labourers, including domestic workers (50%).⁴⁸ The only large employers in the city of Cuzco are a brewery, an explosives factory and a fertilizer plant. The other main employers are the government, the university and a university experimental farm which require skilled or professional labour.

Unlike Guatemala where reforms instituted by the Arbenz Government were immediately reversed by the next administration (which came to power through a CIA-backed coup), subsequent administrations in Peru have not reversed Velasco's industrial and land Reforms. However in Peru, as in Guatemala, industrial development has concentrated near the capital city and domestic projects such as rail lines have been built to facilitate the extraction of raw materials, rather than draw the hinterland into such development plans. Foreign and Peruvian interests have continued to concentrate on the export of wool, minerals and cash crops such as sugar and cotton. While the Reforms of the 1968 revolution were instituted to draw the peasant population into co-operative agricultural and industrial enterprises, thousands of eligible recipients did not receive land. As in Guatemala, the highland campesino continues to struggle to cultivate sufficient crops to meet household subsistence needs from insufficient land, with simple hand tools and family

⁴⁸P. van den Berghe & G. Primov, Inequality in the Peruvian Andes: Class & Ethnicity in Cuzco, Univ. of Missouri Press, 1977, p.108.

labour. Many others who are landless are forced to migrate to coastal cities and plantations to seek work alternatives, often resorting to the shanty town existence in the poorest barrios of Guatemala City and Lima. According to dependency theory, underdevelopment in the hinterlands of Guatemala and Peru cannot simply be explained as due to peasant conservatism, but rather as due to the unequal access that highland indigenous peoples have to resources and the products of their labour.⁴⁹

Studies of the Southern Highlands

The southern highland region includes four of Peru's 24 departments: Ayacucho, Apurimac, Cuzco and Puno.⁵⁰ Although stickloom weavers continue to weave a variety of textiles such as mantas and cintas (carrycloths and ribbons), throughout the southern highland region the most intricate and significant pieces continue to be produced in the departments of Cuzco and Puno. Women from communities such as Chinchero, Pisac, Ollantaytambo, Paucartambo and Q'eros dress in colourful costumes, each with their own styles of hat and carrycloth.

The city of Cuzco, once the capital of the Incan Empire, is today the main centre of Peruvian tourism. Tourists travel there

⁴⁹Chilcote & Edelstein, Op.Cit., 1974.

⁵⁰Departments are divided into provinces which are further divided into districts, administered through the provincial capitals, which come under the central administration of the departmental capital.

Figure 28. The southern highlands, Peru

to see the Incan ruins and Spanish colonial architecture of the city and Macchu Pichu, the nearby "lost city of the Inca". Demand for the indigenous stickloom weavings has stimulated merchants to search the countryside for the older and finer textiles which can now be seen stockpiled in several stores in Cuzco. It is also common to find ceremonial llicllas (ceremonial carrycloths) cut up and sewn into vests which bring higher prices from tourists than do the original, historically valuable, thread-bare pieces.

Sticklooms generally are used to produce textiles for the weaver's own use, although old textiles may be sold to raise money for various household needs. However, as women find their craftwork can bring a significant contribution to household subsistence, many have also begun to produce commercially-oriented textiles for the tourists. Such new pieces tend to be small, narrow ribbons and belts which require less time and less materials to produce. Ribbons, priced at two or three dollars sell faster as souvenirs than much higher priced mantas (\$50-300).⁵¹ Women from Chinchero, a community near Cuzco, can be seen in the main Plaza de Armas in Cuzco dressed in their especially striking costume, selling ribbons to tourists while demonstrating their work on their small portable sticklooms. There is also a co-operative in Chinchero which has been organized to help the people promote their textiles and other crafts as a group. In Cuzco, during Inti Raymi, the Incan

⁵¹In 1981 U.S.\$1= c.400 soles.

Festival of the Sun, the co-operative organized a two-week display next to the cathedral in the main plaza.

Community studies by Mishkin and Montalvo provide ethnographic accounts of kinship, political and religious organization and land tenure.⁵² The highland indigenous community is made up of independent households which serve as the basic unit of production and consumption. A system of bilateral kinship and partible inheritance means male and female offspring are each provided with some of their parents' land. Marriage within the community is preferred and most couples live with the husband's parents for two or three years until they are able to set up their own nuclear family as a separate household.

Although communal land tenure and indigenous communities were abolished at Independence, legislation in 1920 was passed to provide legal recognition to *comunidades indígenas*, renamed *comunidades campesinas* under Velasco's administration.⁵³ The community, as a group, shares a bounded territory which includes individually- and privately-owned plots as well as usufruct of communal holdings. Elected officials resolve local conflicts and interact with government agencies. The community protects land

⁵²B. Mishkin, "The Contemporary Quechua" (Kauri, Quispicanchis 1937-8) in Handbook of South American Indians, Smithsonian Inst. Vol. II, 1946; A. Montalvo, Chincho Social Structure: A Mestizo - Indian Community of South Peru, Cornell Univ. Press, 1965.

⁵³The indigenous Quechua language was also designated an official Peruvian language at about the same time as communities were renamed *comunidades campesinas* during Velasco's post-1968 Reform period.

from alienation and regulates crop and field rotation, organizes communal work teams to maintain irrigation streams, trails, chapel and school buildings.

However, as Orlove and Custred point out through their studies of the more southern regions of Cuzco province, not all peasant households are organized as communities. Orlove found strong community organization in the province of Canas but weak and often absent community organization in the high puna region of Espinar, where households were dispersed over great distances.⁵⁴ Custred explains that in this dispersed settlement pattern, peasant activities are organized by kin-based lineage groups of households, not territorially-based communities. The political distinction is made according to the "district" into which each province is divided, but the dispersed households lack the representation of a community council.

Custred has focussed on a small community near Santo Tomás, the provincial capital of Chumbivilcas, where the community of this thesis study (Urubamba) is located. Custred's work provides information about local Andean rituals, festivals and the importance of reciprocal exchange for households that do not solely rely on regional markets and cash sales. However, he also notes the importance of truckers who maintain market links between the province of Chumbivilcas and the rest of the

⁵⁴B. Orlove, "The Alternative Model of Agrarian Society in the Andes: Households, Networks & Corporate Groups" in B. Orlove & G. Custred (eds), Land & Power in Latin America: Agrarian Economies & Social Processes in the Andes, Holmes & Meier Pub., N.Y. 1981, pp.32-35.

highlands. ⁵⁵

An understanding of the dependent relationship of trade in the region of Cuzco on the world markets and political economy of Peru is elaborated on by Orlove who has focussed on the wool trade and related processes of household craft production of bayeta and furs. ⁵⁶ M. Villasante, who is currently conducting a three year study of the impact of the Agrarian Reform on land tenure in communities in the provinces of Chumbivilcas, Yauri and Checca, has also written on household production of crafts for use and for sales. His analysis concentrates on production at the level of the household and how these production units are integrated into the national economy through the regional market system and commercial traders. ⁵⁷

The Vilcanota Valley which runs from Lake Titicaca, Puno, (in the southeast) to Cuzco and beyond to Quillabamba and the jungle region to the northwest, is the key trade route and an important agricultural zone for the department. Lalone provides an historical study of trade in this region, but concentrates on the level of exchange and not processes of production (which

⁵⁵G. Custred, "The Place of Ritual in Andean Rural Society" in Orlove & Custred, Op.Cit., 1981, p.207. Truckers may be asked to become a godfather for a child and so establish fictive-kin relationships with members of a community, and, in Santo Tomás, they may be asked also to sponsor annual fiestas.

⁵⁶Orlove, Op.Cit., 1975.

⁵⁷"Economía Campesina e Industria Domestica en las Provincias Altas" (unpublished), 1981; and "El problema mercantil simple y la economía campesina de Espinar" en Critica Andina, Cuzco, No.1, 1978, pp.77-111.

indicate how trade and markets have adapted to historical trends in the political economy). ⁵⁸ Both Stephen Brush and Daniel Gade have examined variations in elevation and land use, stressing the physical environment and how man has adapted to the region by utilizing land in various vertical zones or by trade between puna (high altiplano), valley and jungle lands. ⁵⁹

The department of Ayacucho, which is the location of the footloom weavers highlighted in these pages, is also in the Quechua speaking region, in contrast to parts of Puno to the south, which includes Aymara speakers. However, Ayacucho was the centre of the pre-Incan state of the Huari (Wari) and it is with this cultural group that Ayacuchueno indigenous descendants identify.

Community studies of Quinoa and Chuschi by Mitchell and Isbell provide ethnographic data on kinship, political and religious organizations, and so offer a comparison to communities of the department of Cuzco. ⁶⁰ Huertas and Davalos have written an historical account of Ayacucho's relation to the central Andean mines at Huancavelica and its importance as a major centre on the colonial trade route from Lima to Huancayo,

⁵⁸Lalone, Op.Cit., 1976.

⁵⁹S. Brush, Mountain, Field & Family, The Economy & Ecology of an Andean Valley, Univ. of Penn. Press, 1977; and D. Gade, Plants, Man & Land: The Vilcanota Valley of Peru, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1975.

⁶⁰W. Mitchell, "Irrigation & Community in the Central Peruvian Highlands" in American Anthropologist, No.78, 1976; and B. Isbell, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village, Univ. of Texas Press, 1978.

to Ayacucho, Cuzco and Potosí. ⁶¹ Huertas notes Ayacucho's later decline as mines were shut-down and as new rail lines to the south and north of the province divert trade away from Ayacucho. Davalos concentrates on the **barrios** (suburbs) of Ayacucho, noting that the older crafts of weaving, hat making, stone sculpting and **retablo** carving (wooden religious scenes), are done principally in the original **barrios** of Santa Ana, Belen, Andamarca and La Teneria, compared to new **barrios** where migrants have been employed as wage labourers (mechanics, carpenters or bakers). Davalos' study is concerned with different kinds of occupations but does not include an analysis of the production process, patterns of ownership and control over craft resources, or the distribution and marketing of the craft products. A study of the gourd-carving artisans in the Huancayo region by Dubrow contributes ethnographic data on small commodity production, focussing on systems of production and distribution. Dubrow's approach to social change employs articulation of modes of production to show how development of petty-capitalism is dependent on both external capital and local conditions relating to non-capitalist modes of production. ⁶²

⁶¹L. Huertas, "Investigaciones Históricas en Ayacucho" and O. Davalos, "Asentamientos Periféricos de la Ciudad de Ayacucho" en 1V Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Cultura Andina, Ayacucho, 1979.

⁶²S. Dubrow, The Development of Petty-Capitalism in Cochac, Peru: A Craft Community in the Central Andean Highlands, Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980.

Like the western highlands of Guatemala, the southern highlands of Peru are characterized by rugged terrain and an indigenous population of rural agriculturalists who struggle to meet subsistence needs from small household plots of land. The marginal position of the highlands is apparent from the lack of roads and industrial projects that would provide local work to supplement subsistence. Provincial towns in both countries also lack industries to employ the landless urban population. Other than government bureaucrats, teachers and medical staff, most urban employment is in craft specialization, merchant trading or domestic help. The following case studies demonstrate the variation in social organization of textile production, by comparing an urban footloom weaver's commercial activities to those within a rural community, where products from stickloom weaving are intended for household use.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMMERCIAL TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS OF PERU

This chapter focusses on the provincial town of Ayacucho and a household involved in the commercial production of textiles using hand-operated footlooms as a comparison to the commercial footloom weavers of Huehuetenango discussed above. The following case study in Chapter Seven will then concentrate on an isolated rural community, Urubamba, located in the southern Cuzco province of Chumbivilcas as a comparison to the urban example. Stickloom weaving activities in Urubamba are analysed in relation to the apparent lack of market facilities and lack of demand or cash sales of Urubamba textiles. In contrast to Urubamba is Ayacucho, where tourists and commercial traders provide weavers with retail and wholesale possibilities for their textile products. Unlike rural peasants however, urban artisans are dependent on cash sales to survive as they do not produce any of their own subsistence needs through cultivation of the land. ¹

¹This chapter is written in the ethnographic present (1981).

Ayacucho: An Urban Centre of Footloom Weaving

The highland city of Ayacucho, which is about 564 kilometres from Lima by road, can be reached in about two hours by air. The ruggedness and size of the Andean mountains is more apparent however by the overland route from Lima to Ayacucho, via Huancayo. The first part of the journey can be made by rail or road. In a distance of only 142 kilometres one has climbed 4,600 metres above sea-level at the pass at Morococha. ²

After passing one of Peru's largest mines at La Oroya, the route continues along the less rugged Mantaro River valley. After ten hours the bus comes to Huancayo, the major redistribution centre for coast-highland trade. The journey south to Ayacucho continues by road, taking a further ten hours or more, depending on the condition of the road and vehicle. As one approaches Ayacucho, in May, the terrain is dry and barren except for the tuna (prickly pear) cacti.

Ayacucho can be described as consisting of three main agricultural zones. The highest of the zones, the puna, (in Ayacucho at 3,500 metres), is lower than areas to the south and the north and so is not an alpaca or llama grazing region. (See Figure 26. above, Vertical Zones in Peru). Today the department of Ayacucho is important as a cattle and sheep grazing region.

² Oxygen tanks are available on the train but bus passengers rely on plenty of mineral water and physical stamina to adjust to the rapid change in altitude and accompanying threat of hypoxia (altitude sickness), caused by the drop in oxygen pressure.

The main valley lands which extend from 3,500 metres to 3,000 metres are where the main agricultural crops, such as wheat, barley, rye and quinoa (native Andean cereal) are grown. Potatoes are planted on the higher slopes while some corn, squash and other vegetables grow at lower levels nearer irrigation. Most of the corn and green vegetables, such as lettuce, onions, tomatoes, herbs and fruits, such as oranges, apples and lemons, are concentrated along the river bottom, the zone below 3,000 metres.

Towns are located near small valleys that are fed by irrigation streams or rivers. Families living in small towns, such as Quinoa, thirty one kilometres from Ayacucho, rely on cultivation of a *chakra* (small subsistence plot). Eighty five percent of Quinoa's population has access to less than five hectares per household. Because of this insufficient land access, persons often travel several hours to fields which they rent in other communities. Local clay deposits have enabled Quinoa residents to specialize in handcrafted pottery to supplement their agricultural produce. Men also travel as far away as Huancayo or Lima to seek migrant work for two to three months in the dry season, between June and August, following harvest. The city of Ayacucho however offers few opportunities for their unskilled labour.

Unlike Huehuetenango, Guatemala, the city of Ayacucho is not the department's main regional market centre, despite its

similar position as provincial and departmental capital.³ Huanta, about forty kilometres nearer the central highland commercial hub of Huancayo, has a much larger weekly market.

The city of Ayacucho is best known for its colonial architecture, especially preserved in its thirty two colonial churches. The National University of San Cristobal de Huamanga, built in 1677, stands next to the main cathedral along one side of the grand Plaza de Armas. Opposite are the municipal buildings and on the two remaining sides of the square are a variety of shops, restaurants, hotels and the Bellas Artes, (the regional school of fine arts). Restaurants and peñas (folk cafés) are focal points for admirers of paintings, tapestries and folk music. Streets nearest the centre house the major retailers, banks, post office and library, as well as professional offices and homes of dentists, doctors and academics. Additional university buildings and a new Cultural Institute with a museum and archives have been built on the outskirts of the town.

The urban population is largely made up of civil servants and white collar workers. Teachers are employed at the university, the arts, trades, primary and secondary schools. Artisans practise activities ranging from textile weaving, sewing and leather work, to folk arts in ceramics, silver and

³As discussed in the previous chapter, since the building of the coast-highland rail lines much of the previous north-south highland trade now bypasses Ayacucho as goods are channelled from Lima through Huancayo to the north, or from Lima and Arequipa through Puno in the south.

wood. The 1972 census records 171 registered weavers in the department: 111 lived in the city of Ayacucho alone. ⁴ Artisans make up about 17% of the "economically active" population of the department, but census figures do not include numerous other households that do not register as full-time artisans, nor households engaging in craftwork simply as a supplementary activity. In Quinua hardly a household can be found that is not involved in one or another of the handicrafts to some extent, for their own immediate use or for sales to Ayacucho merchants.

Most household craft production of textiles in Ayacucho is concentrated in the city suburbs, such as Santa Ana, Barrio de Libertadores and San Juan Bautista. Most weavers work and sell from their workshops which are located within their own homes. They retail pieces directly to tourists in Ayacucho or wholesale their work to traders who take the work to other cities, such as Cuzco, Arequipa and Lima. There are several co-operatives that have been set up in Ayacucho, such as the **Co-operativo de Servicios Artesanal, Textil de Ayacucho Ltda.** This is an independent organization with about 130 contributing members. Co-operative members buy their own materials from rural pastoralists but are relieved of the time and work involved in trying to sell their pieces in a marketplace that is increasingly competitive. The shop is a retail outlet as well as a bulking store for export to Lima and international retailers.

⁴The 1982 census was not available at the time of writing.

Case Study Three: The Martinez Household

The Martinez family is one of the most exceptional of the Ayacucho weavers. It is this family which has been central to the revival of the Huari (Wari) weaving tradition. ⁵

The eldest Martinez was the son of a craftsman involved in the production of felted sombreros. Through an opportunity to work with Professor Julio C. Tello on the archaeological excavation at Paracas, Señor Martinez began to focus on the analysis of the weaves and dyes of pre-Incan textiles and with this knowledge he began to develop his own textile weaving skills.

Señor Martinez has three sons who have all learned to weave from their father. Each of the sons has married and already set up a separate household. Their aging father, a widower, lives with his son Tomás, Tomás' wife and their children, all under ten years old. They live in a large, two storey, concrete house on the main plaza of their barrio. Next door is the home of the eldest son who recently died. A teenage son continues to produce textiles in his late father's workshop while his mother runs a small tienda. ⁶ Señor Martinez' third, and youngest, son Juan

⁵ Tapestry weavings similar to those designed by this family are made by artisans in Ayacucho and in recent years production has spread to the larger tourist centre of Cuzco.

⁶The son of the recently deceased brother who was continuing his father's work said he began to weave at the age of ten. His sister began to weave at age eight and she was extremely talented, in his opinion. However, she did not have the necessary time, since she was a student, busy with domestic chores and in the tienda, as well as aiding textile finishing.

lives with his wife and small children in a large three storey concrete house on the street behind his father and Tomás. Tomás and Juan both own pick-up trucks, have the conveniences of electricity and running water in their homes, and television for entertainment.

The studio of Tomás is situated on the second storey above his family residence. He has a total of nine footlooms, three are 45 inches wide and six are 36 inches wide. He is in the process of adding a third floor to the house which will provide more space to display finished pieces. His brother Juan has a studio on the ground floor and living quarters on the second and a display room on the top floor.

Tomás and Juan each train their own apprentices to use the looms in the two men's workshops. The apprentices work alongside their maestro (master weaver) who also weaves at one of the looms. Tomás explains that although they grew up by their father's loom, it was their formal studies in anthropology,

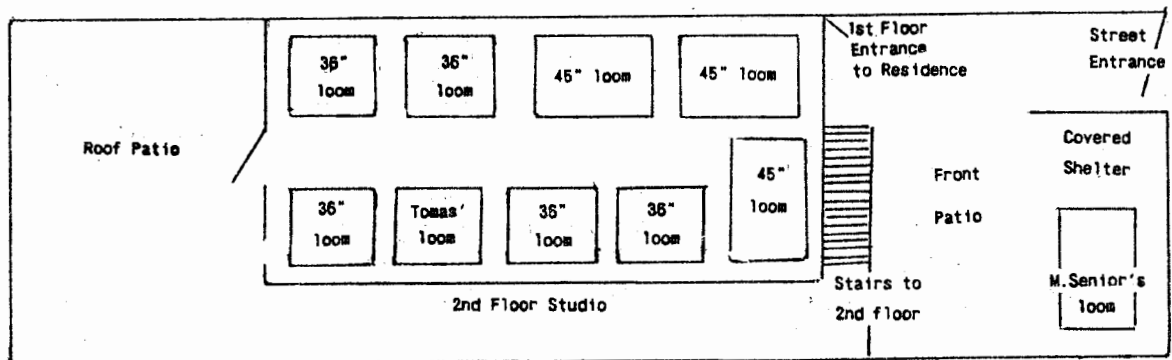


Figure 29. Martinez floor plan

archaeology and fine arts in Ayacucho, and exploration of settlements in remote Andean regions that helped them understand textile weaving as a cultural legacy, transmitted from Huari ancestors. Although they have studied other art forms such as painting and sculpture, they say they have chosen to continue to weave to make the Peruvian textile arts known internationally.

Tomás and Juan pay their apprentices to weave the "commercial" tapestries which they, as maestros, have developed. They specialize in the production of tapestries which they make in two sizes. The smaller 20x30 inch tapestries are woven in one piece, while the larger 40x60 inch pieces are woven in two pieces that must be joined at the centre. They use machine-spun cotton as the warp which they buy in bulk at wholesale prices, and sett at twelve threads per inch. The weft is a handspun sheeps' wool which they buy in small quantities from a variety of rural households engaged in sheep grazing in outlying highland areas. Tomás says it is too time-consuming to spin their own wool. The more lustrous alpaca wool is not available locally and so, he explains, it is too difficult and costly to obtain.

Tomás and Juan provide their apprentices with photographs of their various tapestries so they can learn to weave the Martinez pieces through imitation. The Martinez men are proud of their designs which they have developed from their studies of the pre-Incan textiles, calendars and particularly from their own ancestral group, the Huari culture. Their symbols are not

exact replicas of the calendars, however, since they add their own contemporary interpretations. The designs are geometric and have special significance in many cases. A series of different symbols may be woven in rows of squares with different background shades, representing los calendarios (calendars), or diagonal lines of interlocking heads of fish or birds may represent the union of ayllus (lineages) through marriage.

The Martínez men are especially interested in natural dying techniques. They are continuing their research of native dyes and mordants because, they indicated, they have not yet realized the colour-fastness nor brilliance of the pre-Incan weavers. Their wives and children help collect the various herbs and minerals from February through May. The men prepare the dye baths but their wives assist with the actual dying and mordanting processes. This requires the stove and sinks located in the kitchen, and a large area of the patio in order to dry the skeins of yarn. Since herb collection and dyeing are tied to the wet growing season and dry season respectively, supplies must be adequate to last through a year's production.

Tomás and Juan encourage their apprentices to experiment with colour combinations from the yarn that they have dyed. The Martínez men have developed sophisticated use of colours by using "op art" techniques of subtle gradations and contrasting light and dark areas, to produce perspective in their geometric designs. This effect varies with the skill of their apprentices, however, so that no two textiles are ever identical. Even when a

customer specifically requests a duplicate piece, different hand-spinning, fleece and dye-lot add to the differences resulting from the handwork of the weavers.

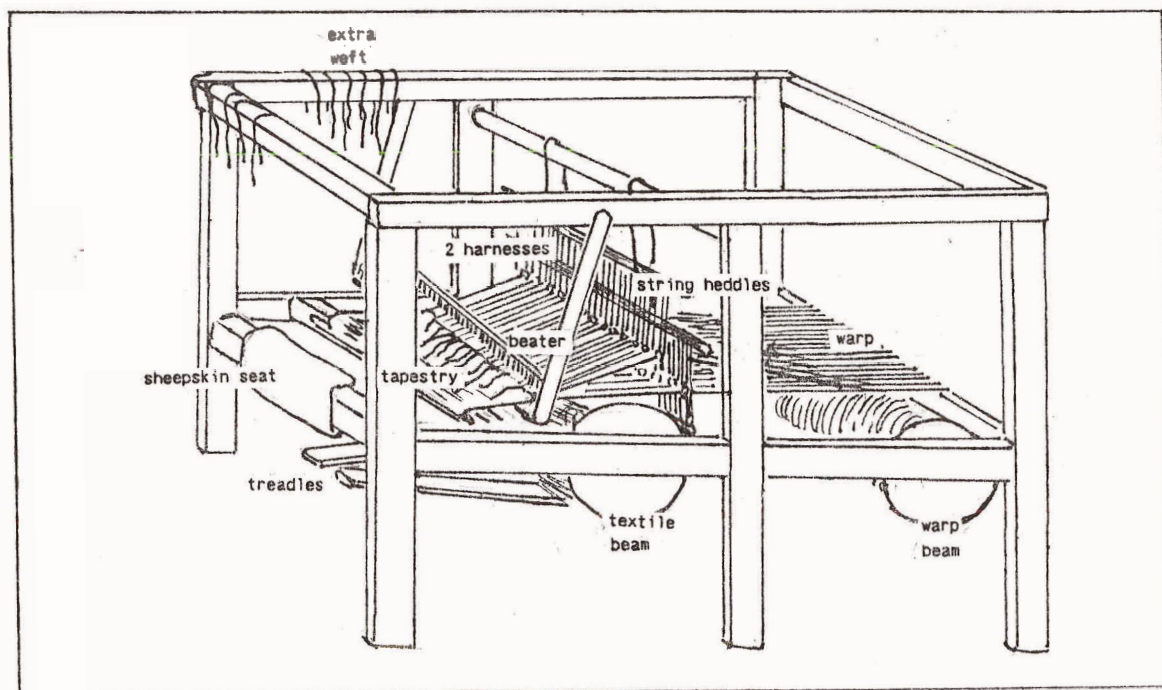
The men do all the weaving. Two men work together to dress a loom. One warp may provide a month's continuous weaving, or longer, depending on the width and complexity of the tapestries and on the skill of the weaver. The men work five days a week in the studio, from eight to ten a.m. and again from two to five p.m. They work with two-harness, counter-balance footlooms that are much the same as the Guerreros' looms in Guatemala. The Martinez weavers do not use a flying shuttle however. Rather than using one shuttle to throw a weft across the full width of the textile, as many as thirty five or forty separate threads are involved in building up one horizontal weft before beating it into the web and changing shed for the next row. The tapestry is weft-faced but they tend to pack the weft just firmly enough to cover the warp, using approximately eighteen to twenty weft for one inch of weaving. This minimizes the number of beats in an inch as well as the amount of wool that must go into one textile. The result is a light, soft, blanket-like textile compared to a heavier and firmer rug quality tapestry.

Tomás explained that their family used to practise a weaving technique called cadena to interlock all the weft yarns between the warp threads. They changed to an arwi technique of turning the weft on common warp strings because it was faster. However a drawback was that twice the number of threads would

Figure 30. A Martinez tapestry



Figure 31. Martinez footloom



build up on one spot if a vertical line continued on one warp, and could form a bulge. A particularly thick or thin weft thread would also produce such irregularities. They overcame this problem by adding extra weft in areas that did not build up as quickly.

The tapestries that apprentices weave may take anywhere from one week to several weeks to make, depending on experience. The tapestries that Tomás is currently weaving take much longer than the more repetitive work of his commercial weavers. He is attempting to present a sense of realism in Andean scenes of rural pastoralists which he weaves from a cartoon that he first sketches. Each tapestry portrays a different scene and may take him 45 to 60 days to complete. This does not include the time involved in preparing the materials. His fingers move rapidly and he rarely stops to count, or stand back, to check on the shapes of the figures that he builds thread by thread. After twenty five years of weaving his eyes and hands move almost automatically.

Many young men apply to apprentice to the Martinez men, in order to gain two or three years' training. They work away from their own homes under the supervision of the master weaver. They are paid a piece rate which means the youngest apprentices who are just learning make substantially less than the more experienced weavers. Moreover, if one of the apprentices becomes ill, there is no assurance that they will have earned enough to meet subsistence needs.

Tomás admits that most often the more talented weavers leave him once they have developed their weaving skills and set up their own independent household craft production. Compared to the spacious studios of the Martinez men, other independent household textile producers often have their looms in tiny rooms with no electricity, or else outside in their inner courtyard. Many of the smaller household textile producers rely only on family labour and do not hire wage labour. Others who are established as skilled weavers pay apprentice workers, especially if they do not yet have sons who can help with production.

Tomás dislikes, he said, the tendency of other households to imitate his designs. His own products, whether woven by himself or by his apprentices, are signed with his name, to identify them as original and authentic Martinez designs. His signed pieces bring him prices that are two or three times higher than non-Martinez textiles. Although he controls the quality of his apprentices' work, he admitted that some of his workers' pieces are of inferior quality. In fact, some of the small independent households, possibly former apprentices, produce as good or better quality pieces than the poorer quality Martinez-signed tapestries. Other weavers are also beginning to sign their pieces.

In Ayacucho, in 1981, Martinez could sell a 20x30 inch tapestry for 15,000-18,000 soles (U.S.\$35-45) compared to non-Martinez pieces priced between 5,000 and 8,000 soles

(U.S.\$12-20). A larger Martinez tapestry (40x60 inch) would sell for 35,000-45,000 soles (U.S.\$85-110), compared to non-Martinez pieces for 20,000-25,000 soles (U.S.\$50-62). ⁷

The brothers share the Martinez signature, weave similar pieces and often display their work together at special textile exhibitions, although they keep separate households. Tomás and Juan interrupt their work at their looms frequently in order to deliver textiles to various customers, to attend special exhibitions of their textiles or to purchase more materials. They sell most of their textiles to foreign tourists and textile collectors, either through their exhibitions or their workshops in Ayacucho. They travel to North America and Europe to exhibit their work in galleries. Tomás plans a trip to Germany for a month as his next exhibition. He considers he might sell his pastoral tapestry scenes for as much as U.S.\$1,000 in Germany, but plans to establish prices after his arrival.

Juan recently opened his own retail shop in Lima. He placed a footloom in the front of the shop with information about the textile arts of the family. Juan's own tapestries were exhibited in a second spacious, well-lit room. A third gallery displayed a variety of hand-crafted products from all over Peru.

Juan explained that a textile that would retail for U.S.\$85-110 in Ayacucho would sell for as much as U.S.\$160-225

⁷At that time U.S.\$1=c.400 soles. Inflation has not been less than 60% since 1978, and in 1978 it was 72.9%. In a period of two years, from August 1981 to August 1983, the exchange rate for the Sol changed from 410 to 1,750 for U.S.\$1. Brooks, Op.Cit., 1983, p.824.

in Lima (1981). He preferred to quote prices in American dollars due to the high inflation rate in Peru. His customers are generally European or North American tourists he explained.

Tomás does not sell his tapestries in Juan's shop. Tomás disclaimed the remarks of his younger brother concerning the excellence of their techniques and dyes, and commented negatively on the time Juan spends marketing textiles compared to weaving. These and other indications of an adversarial relationship relate to their respective profit-making strategies within an increasingly competitive regional tapestry market, which is grounded in the dictates of the international market. The same kind of friction was not apparent in the less competitive regional circumstances of the Guerrero footloom specialists who live as one household in Huehuetenango, Guatemala, which operates as a single unit of production and consumption, and in which general benefits are shared equally.

This study of the Martinez family illustrates how two brothers, who have set up their own households as independent units of production and consumption, organize their footloom weaving craft as a full-time activity based on capitalist relations of production. Both Tomás and Juan own their own means of production (footloom equipment and materials) and hire wage labour to produce their commercially-oriented textiles. Like Guerrero (the Guatemalan footloom specialist) the Martinez men pay their weavers piece rates, paying them only for products which are acceptably crafted. Unlike Guerrero, the weavers all

work in the Martinez studio, and not from their own homes. Another difference is that the Martinez men are not only the owners and directors of their workshop but they too are involved as artist-producers. Although one of the Guerrero sons was also involved as a producer, he was not yet the owner nor the director of his father's business.

As master weavers, Juan and Tomás not only determine the supply of yarns needed, appropriate sett and time-saving techniques to be used in their workshop, they are also dedicated to research and development of more brilliant and fast vegetable dyes, and new one-of-a-kind designs. According to Juan and Tomás, it is creativity and innovation which sets them apart from the artisans who simply devote their lives to repetitive copy work. However, it is their artisan weavers who weave most of the Martinez products. Although the Martinez men insist that each reproduction of a particular design be unique in its colour combinations, it is wage labour, together with this repetitive textile line, which they rely on to expand their textile enterprise. The Martinez promote their textiles as one-of-a-kind pieces made in the Huari tradition. The relatively high prices they receive place their products in an art-collectors' market and not in direct competition with machine-made textiles. Although the men have adopted the European footloom, their emphasis is on hand-work and the tapestry technique, which requires multiple weft ends and eliminates the additional mechanical choices, such as a flying shuttle.

The Guerrero products, on the other hand, are not one-of-a-kind, but are mass-produced with the aid of a flying shuttle. While the products are promoted as handwoven due to the finger work in the brocade and manual operation of the flying shuttle and foot treadles, the tablecloths are determined by Huehuetecos' standards and in competition with other household textiles such as bedspreads that are made on electric-powered jacquard looms.

Both the Martinez men and Guerrero, as owners of relatively large weaving operations, must spend much of their time in the administration of their production and sales activities. They must purchase new materials, hire, supervise and pay their workers, promote the sales of their products and keep account of expenditures and earnings relating to future production and exhibition expenses.

Guerrero has opened retail shops in his home town and relies on family labour to run the shops; further, there appears to be little competition between members of his family. They are all living at home and will eventually share the family assets. In the case of the Martinez men, they have already set up separate households. Although their wives help with sales from their Ayacucho homes, their children are still too young to be involved in the weaving activities. ⁸ Juan, who has decided he needed his own sales outlet in Lima to gain access to the larger

⁸Martinez Senior was no longer considered a fully-productive member of Tomás' household, although he continued to weave primarily for his own enjoyment.

tourist market there, pays hourly wages to a manager and a sales clerk to run the shop.

Both the Martinez men and the Guerreros have adopted a capitalist approach to their weaving, in that they are the owners of the means of production, and by hiring wage labour they are able to appropriate surplus value to reinvest as capital and so expand production. However, each household has adopted different strategies regarding the market (either local or foreign). While Guerrero relies on family labour to sell his products, the Martinez men have only the help of their wives. To overcome this Juan has begun to hire wage labour as sales representatives in his shop in distant Lima. According to Chayanov's "labour-consumer ratio", the difference in number of the members who contribute to these respective households is explained by the fact that the two families are at a different stage in the development cycle. ⁹

⁹Thorner, Kerblay & Smith, Op.Cit., 1966, p.xvi.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES FOR HOUSEHOLD USE IN A SOUTHERN HIGHLAND COMMUNITY OF PERU

In contrast to the urban situation of the Martinez household, the stickloom weavers of Urubamba live in an especially isolated community. ¹ Although the comuneros are aware of the tourist interest in handcrafts, and especially stickloom textiles, few residents of Cuzco are familiar with the southwestern province of Chumbivilcas, and have not heard of the small community of Urubamba. The following discussion will provide an outline of the environment and subsistence activities of the community, and an analysis of the stickloom weaving activities as a comparison to the rural situation of stickloom weavers in Guatemala.

Urubamba: An Isolated Andean Community

Public bus transport from the city of Cuzco to Colquamarca, the town nearest Urubamba, takes two days and is available only one day a week. Travelling by truck can take two or three days depending on the number of changes in carriers at such

¹Urubamba is a registered *comunidad campesina* in the province of Chumbivilcas, and not to be confused with the larger provincial capital of the same name, near Pisac and Cuzco.

crossroads as Sicuani, Yauri and Velille. (Refer to Figure 28. above, Map of southern highlands of Peru). The first part of the journey follows the main Cuzco-Puno trade route along the Vilcanota valley. The road branches at Sicuani, the capital of Canchis province and main commercial centre serving the southern province of Cuzco. Yauri, another major market and trucking centre and the capital of Espinar, is in the puna (altiplano region) and the road is almost non-existent in parts. Beyond Huayllapacheta Pass (at 4,660 metres) is Velille, in Chumbivilcas. Here the road branches to the provincial capital of Santo Tomás and to Colquemarca, both virtually at the end of the road. However, the entire region is criss-crossed by mule tracks which serve as the main routes between the small isolated indigenous communities.

Colquemarca appears deserted except on weekends when the shop owners come to town from their rural farms to open their *tiendas* for the Sunday market. In colonial times this region was important for cattle and mules which *haciendas* would supply to traders travelling between Cuzco and the Bolivian mines. With the development of trucking and railways, new market towns grew along the Vilcanota valley, drawing the population away from the Colquemarca area. In 1876 Colquemarca had an urban population of about 1,000 but by 1972 this figure dropped to about 520.² The Agrarian Reform has meant that many *haciendas* were transformed into co-operative holdings. Although cattle continue to be

² Orlove, Op.Cit., 1975, Appendix.

important, potatoes which grow at high altitudes have been promoted by the government as a cash crop for export to Arequipa and the coastal cities.

A four hour walk isolates Colquemarca from the community of Urubamba. Deep in a *quebrada* (gorge) of the Santo Tomás River, Urubamba is protected from the more severe frosts and winds of the *puna*. The *puna* is 4,000 metres above sea-level, about 600 metres above the gorge.

Urubamba is surrounded on three sides by the winding river so that the small stone and *adobe* houses are nestled close together amongst the *tuna* cacti that serve both as hedges and source of fruit when ripe in December. The community has about 90 households. Across the river another similar-sized community of Charamuray is situated. Neither community has a market nor shops. ³

Two small dirt clearings serve as the *plazas* for the *Hanan Saya* and *Urin Saya* (upper and lower *barrios*). The second, or upper *plaza*, is larger and features the small white church, a chapel no longer used and a one-room school. There is no resident priest. The priest in Colquemarca visits about once a year to perform marriage and baptismal ceremonies. The school teacher is the daughter of a Colquemarca rancher who rents a small house in the community but returns home on weekends. There

³ There is one household in Charamuray which sometimes had a supply of matches, soft drinks, bread or a few eggs. During this four week study period the household did not have any supplies for sale however.

Figure 32. Potato fields in the high altiplano, Chumbivilcas province



are no municipal buildings, so when the mayor calls a meeting, residents gather in the plaza in front of the church, men in one line and the women off to the side.

There is no electricity nor plumbing. The river is the main source of water for drinking, bathing and washing clothes. Houses have no windows and the small four foot doorways let in little light so that most work is done outside. In August daylight hours are few however, as the sun does not appear from behind the steep mountain sides until about 10 a.m. and disappears again as early as 3:30 p.m.

The basic diet of the comuneros (registered community members) is potatoes, wheat and barley, which they grow on small household plots. The best land is along the river adjacent to



Figure 33. Mule tracks along gorge to Urubamba



Figure 34. Urubamba, showing the main plaza, river and adjacent fields

the community where corn, beans, onions and other green vegetables as well as apples and peaches grow. This land is privately owned, although it cannot be alienated outside the village. The hardier tubers and cereals are cultivated on the more rugged terrain at higher altitudes above the community. The village has received three fields on the puna as a result of the Agrarian Reform. These fields are rotated every five years so that only one is used for agriculture (potatoes) and two are left fallow to be used as communal grazing land. The comuneros are allocated usufruct rights to plots in the field currently under cultivation.

Despite this addition of new lands, there is still a shortage of land. Young adults are beginning to migrate to Arequipa and as far away as Lima to take employment for two or three years, or until land becomes available either through inheritance or rental opportunities. Inheritance is bilateral and theoretically all children will receive equal shares. This is not possible in reality as many households already have less than adequate land which cannot be parted into smaller plots. According to the resident anthropologist engaged in a two-year study of post-Agrarian Reform economic conditions in the area, only about 5% of the population have access to five or more hectares, 10% have about one hectare, and 75% have only about 1/2 hectare. About 5% have no land and rely on sharecropping and rented lands for subsistence. Only about 35 households own sheep and these flocks may be as small as two or three animals. Fewer

families have cattle, horses, goats, chickens or oxen. Meat is a rare part of their diet, as are milk and eggs. The ragged clothing of the comuneros is a visible reminder of the struggle to meet subsistence needs in this harsh environment.

Case Study Four: The Vargas Household

Anna, aged eighteen, lives with her father, mother and two sisters, aged ten and six. Their small one-room house is part of one large building divided into three separate households belonging to Anna's father, his sister's family and his brother's family. A small shed between the Vargas entrance and their neighbor's entrance provides a private front yard where the family spends much of their time preparing meals or engaging in household crafts such as weaving and pottery.

Anna learned to weave only two years earlier at the age of sixteen. She said that at one time everyone in the village was expected to weave but today few girls are learning the craft because the main part of their clothing, such as the womens' skirts and mens' trousers, was now made from bayeta which they purchased through the market. They also purchased machine-made shirts, pants and blouses. Only forty one households claimed to have one or more members who continued to weave. Many men and boys in the community also knitted sweaters from lana industrial (acrylic yarns) which they purchased in Colquemarca.

Figure 35. Young girl weaves a blanket as her mother grinds barley with river stones in front of their house in Urubamba



There are five main textiles that the women continue to produce on the stickloom. From the coarser to the finest weaves, these are:

1. Frazada, a heavy blanket made from thick handspun sheeps' wool, includes two pieces 32x60 inch with approximately 28 warp per inch, 3 weft per inch.
2. Poncho, a man's garment, made from fine tightly-spun sheeps' wool or from lana industrial. It includes two pieces, about 36x68 inch, with approximately 28-36 warp per inch and 7-8 weft per inch.
3. Cintillo, a decorative ribbon for hats or belts, made from fine spun sheeps' wool or lana industrial, 2-4 inches in width with about 28 warp per inch and 8 weft per inch.
4. Manta, a carrycloth, (in Quechua a geparina, or lliclla for the finer ceremonial cloth). Made in two pieces, about 24x48 inch with anywhere from 28-50 warp per inch and 10-16 weft per inch. Once made from overspun alpaca, today generally from tightly-spun sheeps' wool.

5. Alforja, a saddlebag, made from fine tightly-spun sheeps' wool or lana industrial. Made in one piece, 30x54 inch with about 40-46 warp per inch and 14-18 weft per inch.

The stickloom is basically the same as the Guatemalan loom. However weavers tend to vary the number of kalluas (hardwood beaters) that they may use. This was true in Guatemala but in the village of Colotenango the women tended to rely on one. The Colotenango weavers changed the shed between each pick of weft inserted, rather than doing this after each series of three or four picks (when the kalluas are removed one by one) before changing the shed.

The textiles are warp-faced. Designs are created by floating various warp threads using a roque (llama bone) to pick up the appropriate warp threads for a particular design and so, interrupt the regular over-under-over-under sequence of the plain weave. ⁴ Designs are arranged in bands which have been warped with alternating coloured threads. In a section of alternating purple and white warp, for example, by repeatedly picking up a series of purple threads to eliminate the white on the top surface, the purple is likewise eliminated on the underside. The result is a two-sided design in reverse colours (see Fig.38). By comparison, the Guatemalan technique of floating additional weft to create brocade designs produces

⁴See A. Rowe, Warp-Patterned Weaves of the Andes, Textile Museum, Washington D.C., 1977.



Figure 36. Examples of Urubamba pottery and mantas (carrycloths) Figure 37. Peruvian stickloom

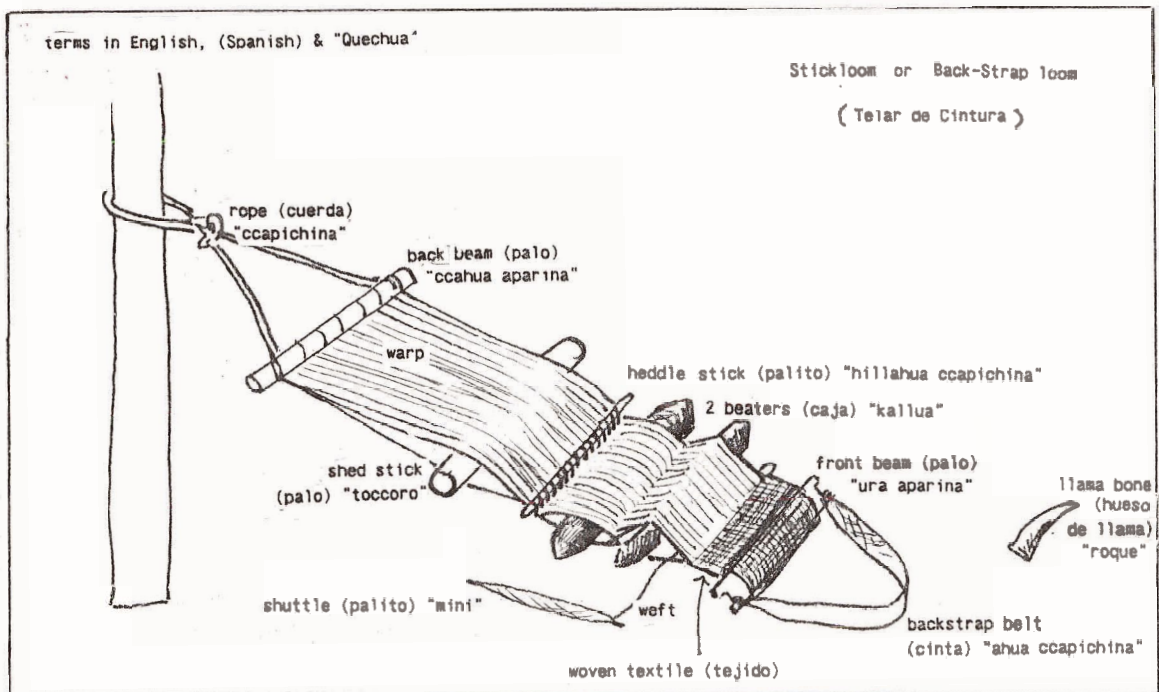


Figure 38. Stickloom with woven textile unwound from front end stick to show warp-faced designs



one-sided designs on the Colotenango and Todos Santos textiles.⁵

However, both the Guatemalan and this Peruvian technique involve finger work and counting of threads to produce the designs.

Textile weaving is predominantly a women's craft in this particular community. As do the other women, Anna carries out all the steps of the weaving process, which includes dressing the loom, weaving and finishing of hand stitches for such textiles as ponchos and mantas which are made in two pieces. Her mother, and sometimes her father, will help spin the sheeps'

⁵In other Guatemalan areas, e.g. S. Antonio Aguas Calientes, a two-sided design is produced, identical both sides and not colour reversed like the Urubamban floating warp technique.

wool on a drop spindle. They do not own sheep however, and have to obtain fleece from neighbors in trade. She purchases polvo (chemical dye powder) at the market in Colquemarca. Her mother tints the yarn as Anna has not learned this process. Anna explained that a poncho may involve about two weeks of full-time weaving, but the actual duration might be from four to six months.

Unlike Maria Mendoza of Colotenango, Guatemala, who weaves most days because the women of her extended family are able to share domestic chores, Anna has little time to devote to textile production since she must help her mother with domestic chores as well as her father with agricultural work. Anna's weaving activity is interrupted by other work such as field work, food preparation and tending her youngest sister. For those families with animals, much time is spent watching over herds to guard against theft.

A typical day begins for Anna with a walk to the river to carry water for the morning chores. Anna starts a fire in a small lean-to at the end of the house, using fire-wood her father has carried from the wooded area above the community, or with animal dung which she and her sisters have collected. After a breakfast of chicha and some dried beans, Anna's father goes to work in their small family chakra (field).⁶ Anna and her mother often accompany him to assist with planting, weeding and harvest. They take with them a jar of chicha, beans or potatoes,

⁶A drink made from barley and/or corn.

as well as coca leaves for stamina and warding-off hunger. During peak agricultural periods they will erect a temporary lean-to shelter in their most distant field and stay there for two or three weeks.

During the month of August, however, most of the harvest has been completed and household activities are increasingly concentrated on the community. It is the end of the dry season and families are busy preparing *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes) and grains for storage over the winter wet season. In Urubamba, residents are also busy preparing for their annual August festival. This is the single occasion each year that the community has its own *feria* (market) and is also the time when households re-establish trading arrangements with their personal trading partners for the coming year. Outstanding trading commitments from the previous year will be fulfilled or re-negotiated as part of one's obligations in the next year's arrangements, which link particular households to others through promises to exchange portions of their next harvest.⁷ Exchange offerings include pottery, the specialization for which Urubamba is renowned, and crop surplus such as potatoes, barley or apples, in return for individual household needs. These needs

⁷With the increasing cultivation of potatoes as a cash crop in the province, Urubamba residents are aware that prices for that crop are controlled by wholesale buyers in Arequipa and that the cash value of the crop fluctuates. However, individuals do not necessarily decide to accept cash for their potato surplus or other more scarce products such as eggs, since they may be goods that a particular trading partner will accept in exchange for *bayeta* or coca, but will not trade for cash.

Figure 39. Agricultural cycle, Peru

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
wet	wet	wet	wet	dry	dry	dry	dry	dry	wet	wet	wet
	weed	early fresh corn harvest		harvest lower fields grains corn		harvest higher fields grains potatoes		plough	plant	(disperse to distant fields)	weed
Bayeta		collect herbs		slaughter sheep		dry meat (charki)	freeze-dry potatoes (chuno)			sheep born	shear sheep
		Bayeta		textile dyeing		Most Home Crafts Pottery Bayeta	adobe	Pottery Bayeta			Bayeta

Compiled from Gade (1975) Brush (1977), & Villesante (1981) & Orlove (1977)

include eggs, vegetables, coca or basic staples of potatoes and barley, for those who cannot produce sufficient on their own land. Share-cropping arrangements may also be renewed at this time.

The community has a cargo system that requires sponsors to provide food, drink and music for their relatives, neighbors and visitors from more distant communities.⁸

⁸ The cargo system involves a hierarchy of civil-religious offices in which male comuneros are required to participate. A similar system also operates in the Guatemalan highland communities of Colotenango and Todos Santos. Each year the male heads of household, who have worked their way through all levels of office and over the years prospered from relatively good crop harvests, are asked to hold the highest offices, an invitation that demands acceptance. This system functions thus as a wealth-levelling mechanism. In addition, sponsors call on their family kin and compadres to help with the preparations. Thus the cargo system also reinforces personal ties through the extension of services, and benefits sponsors who gain social prestige and political power through their ability to hold office and organize fiesta events. See F. Cancian, "Political and Religious Organizations" in R. Wauchope, (ed.), Handbook of Middle American Indians, Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, Vol.6, 1967, p.290.

The sponsors gain prestige and honour through their efforts to organize processions and dancing to honour their patron saint, and a bullfight in the plaza in which young and old men participate to demonstrate the prowess of the Chumbivilcas male.⁹

Anna's father is one of the Ayarachi who play the pan flute and so will require extra money to help with his contribution to the fiesta, such as the food and chicha he will share with the other officials of the cargo. Like the other sponsors, he concentrates his efforts to produce clay pots which he takes for sale to the weekly market in Colquamarca.¹⁰ The cash will enable the family to purchase items that they cannot produce themselves, such as salt, sugar and matches.

Anna says she helps her father sell the pots. She can carry only about six medium-size pots in her manta, which if sold will bring about seven or eight U.S. dollars. Her father mixes the clay and does all the coil construction of the pots. Anna and her sisters help grind the clay and finer porcelain glaze, as

⁹The bullfight is a local provincial event, not celebrated in other parts of the department. Participants are not trained bullfighters and there are no formal rules. The fight begins with a crowd of men teasing one bull at a time, but ends with the release of all the animals into the plaza, amidst men who are intoxicated by then and often unable to escape injury.

¹⁰ More than half the households of Urubamba make ceramic pots for their own use, for trade with other communities, but only occasionally for sale in Colquamarca. Pottery is produced to meet household needs as few metal or plastic dishes are used in the community compared to machine-made clothing on which most families now rely.

well as prepare the open fire and place the pots between the layers of animal dung. Her father oversees the firing and removes the pots when he sees from the glow that they are ready. Children as young as six years carry the fragile pots and help sand rough edges before the male head of the household paints on the glaze and fires the pots a second time.

Although Anna was intent on finishing the poncho that she was making for her father for the fiesta, most women in the community said their weaving was not a priority and that the manta, cintillo or queparina on their loom would remain to one side until after the fiesta. Food preparation seemed to be everyone's main concern, as the last of the cereals were threshed and the grain separated from the chaff, then ground into a flour for chicha or bread for the fiesta.

Anna explained that, unlike pottery, textiles generally were not an important trade item in Urubamba. However, most of the older weavers agreed that they have made a textile or two for a relative, neighbor or compadre, in exchange for some other service or goods.

An exceptional case was the one male weaver in the community, a man aged eighteen whose priority was textile production. Marco Lopez lived with his brother and mother. Marco began weaving a year ago because he saw the activity could help supplement his family's subsistence. Although he also tended to the household chakra, he was not responsible for the preparation of chicha and other foods for the fiesta. Although his father

Figure 40. Sunday market at Colquemarca. Note the women in full skirts made from bayeta and vendors selling striped acrylic textiles and machine-made shirts.



Figure 41. Urubamba couple selling pots at Colquemarca market. Note the men's grey pants and jacket in foreground made from bayeta.



was deceased, as an unmarried young man, Marco was not head of the household nor old enough to be expected to be a sponsor of the fiesta. He did not make pottery and so he devoted his energy to weaving. Unlike the women weavers who appeared to treat their textile craft as a leisurely activity which they performed in spare moments, Marco worked with quick, sharp movements to complete a textile as soon as possible. During a four week period he completed an alforja, a poncho and had prepared a warp for a manta ready to be assembled on his loom.

Marco explained that he did not weave textiles to take to the market in Colquamarca. Materials cost too much, he did not have any sheep, and besides, individuals came to him to solicit a particular garment. The persons who usually contracted a textile were either relatives, a neighbor or *compadre*. However, as he became known as a weaver, a few persons from other nearby communities had also requested his services. The solicitor usually provided the necessary materials and would reimburse Marco for his handwork in crops or occasionally in cash. Marco said a poncho involving two weeks' work would be about 4,800 soles (approximately \$12) for services, but the actual weaving time and price would vary according to the fineness of the yarn and intricacy of the designs.

Marco was concerned about the time it takes to make various textile pieces. He had adapted a wire in place of the usual stick used as a bobbin and replaced the llama bone with a finer wooden pick to facilitate weaving with finer yarns. Best of all,

he said, he liked to work with lana industrial (industrial yarns), because the colours are brilliant and the yarn is easy to manage compared to the tightly-handspun sheeps' wool. Most of the persons in the region whom I questioned also preferred the new acrylic yarns which they admired for their warmth and water-repellent characteristic as well as their colours.

Although Marco produced textiles as a part-time activity to supplement his agricultural produce, he hoped he might become a full-time specialist one day. He thought the new road that the comuneros were helping build as part of a recent government project to facilitate communications and transportation beyond Colquemarca to the smaller communities would contribute to increased demand for his textile work.

Generally however, weaving in the community of Urubamba is a part-time activity that is aimed at personal use, and not as a craft specialization aimed at products for sale. The women own their tools which are basically a few sticks, a llama bone and one or two steel needles. Some weavers own their sheep and others must exchange foodstuffs or services to obtain woollen fleece or acrylic yarns sold at the weekly market in Colquemarca. Weaving for others is performed as a personal favour for relatives or neighbors in exchange for some other goods or service. No one was producing new or old textiles as commodities to sell to traders or to local persons in the market place in Colquemarca. However, simple commodity production of pottery is evident in Urubamba as a community specialization to supplement agricultural work.

Summary of Peruvian Textile Producer Activities

Textile production in Peru, as in Guatemala, includes capitalist relations of production involving wage labour in mechanized factories and in small handcraft workshops. Simple commodity production involving family labour to weave commercial textiles such as bayeta on footlooms, or small ribbons on sticklooms, as well as non-commercial production of stickloom textiles aimed at household use also continue extensively in the Andean highlands. The examples of full-time commercial footloom weaving selected from urban provincial towns emphasize differences in market facilities and transportation available to stickloom weavers who typify textile production in more isolated rural situations. In the final chapter, the examples of footloom and stickloom weaving in the urban and rural communities of highland Guatemala and Peru are compared to evaluate the possibilities for, and constraints on handcraft activities generally, in the context of industrialization and expansion of modern capitalism in rural areas.

CHAPTER NINE

HOUSEHOLD TEXTILE CRAFT PRODUCTION IN GUATEMALA AND PERU: CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES

Ethnographic data have been presented for four case studies of household craft production of textiles: in Guatemala, the Guerrero footloom specialists of Huehuetenango and the Mendoza stickloom specialists of Colotenango; and in Peru, the Martinez footloom specialists of Ayacucho and the stickloom weavers of Urubamba. A mode of production approach has provided the thesis with a framework to identify and compare the means and the social relations of production involved in particular units of production, which indicate ownership and control over the means of production, the production process and the products of the artisans' labour.

Comparison of the production processes of the four households studied in this thesis (see Table 4. below) indicates that both Guerrero and Martinez, who are involved in commercial production of textiles on footloom equipment as a full-time activity, base their craftwork on capitalist relations of production. In contrast to this capitalist mode of production, where the actual producers do not own their means of production and are employed as wage labour, the Mendoza and Vargas households are engaged in non-capitalist production of textiles for household use as a part-time activity and with family labour

where help is required. In the case of the Urubamba weavers in Peru who produce an occasional textile for a relative or friend, they do so as a personal reciprocal exchange of textile skills and services. This Urubamba textile service represents a non-capitalist goal of exchanging commodities for other commodities aimed at household consumption needs (C-C or C-M-C), and not the capitalist goal of investing money in production of commodities in order to accumulate more money (M-C-M+).¹

In this chapter the variations in social organization of handcraft production of textiles that have been identified in the highlands of Guatemala and Peru are discussed in relation to theoretical implications regarding the articulation of non-capitalist modes to the dominant capitalist mode of production. Of particular interest here is how household craft production is being perpetuated, not dissolved, by the capitalist mode of production and the influence of a capitalist world market system. Focus has been on how each household has adapted or accommodated their handcraft activities in response to various subsistence requirements within urban and rural situations. Regional resources such as market facilities, raw materials and work alternatives available to the respective households have provided information regarding the possibilities for and constraints on continuing handcraft production in the context of countries where an array of imported and domestic machine-made goods are already extensive in local shops and

¹Marx, Op.Cit., 1967, 1867, pp.111-112.

marketplaces.

Although Guatemala and Peru are in the process of developing an industrial base involving capital-intensive technology and capitalist relations of production (i.e. wage labour), both these countries are shown in this thesis to have histories of foreign capital concentrated in the development of export economies based on the extraction of a few principal raw resources. In Guatemala the national economy has been concentrated in the cultivation of monocultures such as indigo, cochineal, (both of which collapsed with the introduction of aniline dyes), cotton, sugar, bananas and coffee. All these have been subject to boom-bust cycles according to fluctuation in the world market demand and price, and to continuing interests of foreign capital. In Peru concentration has been in the extraction of minerals and more recently wool and meat from the Andean region, and crops such as cotton and sugar from the coastal region. In Peru, as in Guatemala, emphasis on monocrops has limited development of labour opportunities to the few large capitalist owners. Their large estates have encroached on peasant lands and resulted in a large population of landless, unemployed or underemployed persons who are largely highland peasants. Analysis at the level of the household, the community and the national economy follows, to view how artisans have adopted various strategies in their involvement in craftwork.

At the level of the household, which is considered to be the basic unit of production and consumption, possibilities for

Table 4. Summary of Textile Production in Four Household Studies

HOUSEHOLD	EQUIPMENT AND OWNERSHIP	MATERIALS	LABOUR	PRODUCTS	PRODUCT DISTRIBUTION
GUERRERO HUEHUETENANGO GUATEMALA	owns 15 footlooms (flying shuttle)	purchases machine spun factory dyed cotton yarn	6 family 14 wage labour work in own homes paid piece rates	Tablecloths placemats	owns, cash sales wholesale and retail to local and foreign customers
MARTINEZ AYACUCHO PERU	owns 9 footlooms	purchases factory spun cotton warp and undyed handspun sheeps' wool	Martinez wife helps 6 wage labour in M. Workshop paid piece rates	tapestry wall-hangings	owns, cash sales wholesale and retail primarily to foreign customers and art collectors
MENDOZA COLOTENANGO GUATEMALA	owns 1 stickloom	purchase machine spun factory dyed cotton yarn	Maria-all steps	huipil (blouse) corte (skirt)	owns, personal use or as gift if sponsoring baptism
VARGAS URUBAMBA PERU	owns 1 stickloom	attains raw sheeps' fleece through trade purchases acrylic yarn	Anna weaves mother/father help spin/dye	poncho carrycloth saddlebags blanket ribbons	owns, family use occasionally exchange weaving service for other service/goods

and constraints on textile craft activities are defined according to parameters of subsistence and demographic composition of a particular household. In the case of the Guerrero and Martinez households, textile-related activities (i.e. purchasing, production and sales of products) are given priority because as full-time craft specialization, these activities provide the families' main source of income that is necessary for subsistence needs. In contrast, both Maria Mendoza and Anna Vargas, who produce textiles for household use, must give priority to agricultural activities and migrant labour at coastal plantations which are these families' means of meeting subsistence needs. Rugged fields, simple hand tools and land shortages mean intensive labour during planting and harvest

periods in order to meet subsistence needs, and leave little spare time to weave.

Periods of labour intensity required to meet subsistence needs vary according to household demographic composition, which also affects the availability of time for textile production. For example, the extended family situation of the Mendoza household in Colotenango enables Maria to share domestic chores with her sisters-in-law, and the male residents to share the burden of intensive periods of fieldwork during planting and harvest time. Thus the Mendoza women can find time to weave unlike women in households where there are fewer productive members, females and/or males, to accomplish domestic and agricultural work, as in the case of the Vargas household in Urubamba, Peru. According to Chayanov's "developmental cycle", the Vargas family are at a relatively early stage where two of their three children are not yet considered fully-productive members and where the eldest daughter has not married. At a later stage the family labour-consumer ratio may turn in favour of the labourers as the children mature and either continue to live at home or marry and live with their husband's family. In some cases a young married couple may live with the woman's family as part of an extended family until they are able to establish their independent nuclear unit. The Mendoza family is at a later developmental stage as the children are all married and three (two sons, one daughter) live with their spouses in the Mendoza household. While Maria Mendoza can find time to

weave during this period, in another year or two she and her husband will have moved to their separate household and Maria will have to spend more time with domestic chores until her own children mature and contribute to the household as fully-productive members. ²

Although the Guerrero and Martinez households rely on wage labour to produce most of their footloom products, both of these households also rely on family labour to different extents, which again, can be understood in terms of Chayanov's cycle of development. The Guerrero family has four mature children at home who have not married and so contribute to the household textile activities. The Martinez households are in an earlier stage, however, and the families are composed of young children who are not yet fully-productive members.

Possibilities for and constraints on household craft production have also been analyzed at the level of the community. The commercial footloom weaving activities of the Guerrero and Martinez households, both of which are situated in departmental capitals in the highlands, benefit from a large local consumer population, as well as commercial traders and tourists who pass through these towns. They also have access to a large labour force because of insufficient land and lack of alternative employment possibilities in the region for the local rural population. Guerrero and Martinez gain social prestige as well as economic benefits by having created opportunities for -----

²Chayanov, in Thorner, Kerblay & Smith, Op.Cit., 1966, p.xvi.

local labour. Although Guerrero and Martinez must pay relatively high overheads in the forms of rent and taxes for urban property which has facilities such as electricity and plumbing, business and personal income taxes, the household's financial contribution to their town also brings the respective family recognition and prestige amongst the municipal government and business sectors.

In the rural community situation of Colotenango, Guatemala, there is no demand by local households for weaving services since all women learn to weave and wear the traditional handwoven costume of their community. Their costumes are a visible symbol of their personal weaving skills as well as a symbol of their family's economic status and personal social status which are evident from the number of textiles and the elaborate brocade work in each piece. Despite the need for cash to supplement household subsistence needs, the women of Colotenango are reluctant to sell their new textiles into which they have invested much time and money for materials. However, the same women spend much time on a ceremonial textile which they are obliged to give as a gift to a child whom they have been asked to sponsor as ritual godparents in a baptism ceremony.

Compared to Colotenango which is only an hour from the commercial centre of Huehuetenango, residents in the more isolated community of Urubamba, Peru do not have access to a major tourist market or commercial traders interested in

purchasing textiles. However there is some local demand for weaving services as less than half the households in the community have a family member who can weave blankets, ponchos, carrycloths or saddlebags from the wool they get from local flocks of sheep. There are no full-time textile specialists however, and services are usually commissioned by kin or *compadres* (fictive kin) as a personal favour in reciprocal exchange.

In all the examples of textile craft production, from the urban to the most isolated situation, households are integrated into the national economy through the market system and, in many cases, through the need to work as wage labourers to supplement subsistence needs. In the case of Urubamba, although residents are generally reliant on personal trading networks that are reinforced by *compadrazgo* (fictive kinship relations) and based on barter, households do purchase a few items such as salt, sugar and matches with cash. Several households also engage in simple commodity production of pottery to sell in the nearby market in Colquamarca. While a few households own sheep, they do not have enough animals to supply materials for many textiles. Compared to clay and glazes required for pottery, weaving materials such as chemical dye powders and sheep's wool attained through trade are a considerable expense for a peasant family.

Not far from Urubamba, in the rural regions of Espinar in southern Cuzco department, households are involved in commercial production of *bayeta* using footlooms. As simple commodity

producers the weavers own their means of production and rely on family labour, not wage labour, to produce the textiles for sales as well as for their own use. However, as Orlove has noted, bayeta producers tend to rely on professional wool traders in order to gain access to the spatially-distant and -dispersed market and in many cases they may also rely on the traders for wool. ³ Other independent textile producers, who have sufficient sheep to supply their own material needs, are also subordinated to the demands of traders, since they are offered prices for their bayeta dictated by the world market price for wool (which is one of Peru's major exports). ⁴ However, many bayeta producers can actually hold back on sales until the price of wool increases because their craftwork is supplementary to their main means of subsistence which comes from agriculture and animal husbandry. Thus, as a part-time activity they are able to maintain their interest in craft production compared to full-time specialists in urban centres where artisans cannot survive without sales.

In the urban centre of Huehuetenango, what appears to be the case of independent simple commodity producers of textiles are, in fact, textile artisans involved in a cottage industry

³Orlove, Op.Cit., 1975.

⁴Although Orlove remarks that it is uncommon for commercial traders to extend credit or advance materials to weavers in the Peruvian highlands due to lack of cash flow, Littlefield comments that this is a common way by which middlemen (traders) in Mexico gain more control over the production process, and the money the artisan producer will earn based on piece rates. Littlefield, Op.Cit., 1979, p.476.

where producers have been subsumed as wage labour through a putting-out system. The weavers' craftwork is controlled by middlemen who supply materials (and in the case of Guerrero the footloom equipment as well), and so control the production process. The middlemen appropriate the products, reimbursing the artisans' labours with minimal piece rates. As a Guatemalan employee in the Guerrero's workshop in Huehuetenango has explained, few families there can survive the initial period of establishing an independent workshop due to the costs of materials, equipment, space for the large looms and sales competition with the established shops.

The established workshop owned by Guerrero and run with the help of wage labour is not without its competition however. Although the tablecloths that his employees weave on footlooms are marketed as handwoven textiles, his products are mass-produced with the aid of a mechanical flying shuttle and priced for the same local market for which other more mechanized factories also produce textiles. Guerrero's strategy is to diversify by including the buying and selling of other Guatemalan handcrafts, such as stickloomed textiles, pottery and wooden carvings as well as jewellery, hats, shoes and machine-made clothing.

The most pronounced difference between the Guerrero and Martinez approach to their craft activities is apparent from the products that they have developed. (See Figure 5. below). The Guerrero cloths are both a utilitarian item and a souvenir of

Huehuetenango priced low enough to appeal to both local and foreign customers. The Martinez textiles are non-utilitarian and aimed at a small, specialized market, composed of art collectors and foreign tourists who will pay high prices for products which are valued for their handwork and aesthetic appeal. Thus Martinez textiles are not in direct competition with textiles produced with the aid of machinery. However, Juan Martinez too has diversified his interests to include the purchase and sale of less expensive indigenous handcrafts, to help cover the costs of running a retail shop in the capital city of Lima, where overheads are higher than in the provincial town of Ayacucho.

The articulation of modes of production approach addresses the influence of the political superstructure, for example, government policies concerning tariff controls, tax benefits, or in the case of Peru, the Industrial Reform Act which limits private industries to the employment of less than ten wage labourers. However, this thesis supports the argument for further emphasis on the ideological superstructure which includes cultural aspects.⁵ This need is indicated by the Martinez study in Ayacucho, Peru, where local ethnic identity and priority of aesthetic criteria influence Martinez' decisions regarding the production process; and in the case of Guatemala, by the symbolism of indigenous stickloomed costumes which implicates aesthetic as well as utilitarian values. Although there is a specialized market of collectors for handmade

⁵Clammer, Op.Cit., 1975, p.223.

Table 5. Comparison of Textile Products of Four Household Studies

HOUSEHOLD	PRODUCT	SIZE (Approx.)	MATERIALS	SETT/INCH		EQUIPMENT	TECHNIQUE	DESIGNS	PRODUCTION TIME (weaving)	PRICE \$U.S. (approx.)
				WARP	WEFT					
GUERRERO HUEHUETENANGO GUATEMALA	tablecloth	6,8,12 place- setting	factory machine spun, chemical dyed, cotton yarns	75	20	2-harness 45" wide footloom, flying shuttle.	plain weave warp faced, +20 cloths on 1 warp	brocaded geometric symbols, 4-6 rows of 3-4 symbols	2-3 cloths per day, 1-2 days/mo. preparing warp/loom	\$7,\$9,\$12
MARTINEZ AYACUCHO PERU	wallhanging	20"x30" and 40"x60" (made in 2 pieces)	factory cotton yarn for warp, handspun veg. dyed, sheeps' wool	12	20	2-harness, 36" and 45" width footloom,	weft faced tapestry 10-20 pieces on 1 warp	geometric or realism over entire textile,	2-3 days 45-60 days pieces in realism designs	\$35-\$75 (small) \$85-\$225 (large) \$1,000 (special pieces)
MENDOZA COLOTENANGO GUATEMALA	huipil (blouse) corte (skirt)	34"x44" (made in 2-3pieces) 22"x60"	factory machine spun chemical dyed cotton yarns	92	30	stickloom	plain weave warp faced, 1 piece per warp, 4 selvages	brocade geometric symbols, in rows & solid sections	2-3 months, weaving in spare time.	\$28 ceremonial huipil, \$40 ceremonial corte
VARGAS URUBAMBA PERU	frazada (blanket) manta (carrycloth) also produce cintas (ribbons) alforjas (saddlebags)	2 pieces 32"x60" 2 pieces 24"x46"	thick handspun veg. chem. dyed sheeps' wool, fine, tightly handspun. veg. or chem. dyed sheeps' wool or acrylic yarns	28	3	stickloom	plain weave warp faced, 1 piece per warp, 4 selvages	geometric symbols by floating warp, in stripes	2-4 wks part-time 2-3 mos weaving in spare time	n.a. n.a.

textiles and art pieces such as the Martinez tapestries, this is small and supports only a fraction of the individuals currently involved in craft production. There is a relatively larger tourist market for handmade souvenirs but this market demands relatively inexpensive products, which means minimizing material costs, a strategy which is more suited to other crafts such as pottery, than to textiles for which material costs are much higher.

Of the two communities in Guatemala where stickloom weaving is examined, Colotenango is nearer a large commercial centre

than the more isolated Todos Santos. Persons in both communities rely on migrant wage labour to supplement agricultural subsistence activities, and both have a crop which persons trade or sell for cash (oranges or potatoes). Commercial interest in textiles is greater in Todos Santos than in the less-isolated Colotenango. Formal institutions such as the government ARTEXCO co-operative, the influences of documentary films and a travellers' handbook, promote Todos Santos as one of the best locations for traditional textiles woven on sticklooms. ⁶

The "articulation" concept emphasizes the relationship between the differing modes as an approach to understanding how a particular mode of production might be sustained and reproduced over time. This thesis identifies various ways that textile production is articulated with the capitalist mode through relations of production such as:

- wage labour employed at workshops as apprentices,
- piece rates paid to artisans working from private homes as a "putting out" system controlled by middlemen supplying materials and/or credit;

and with the capitalist market through middlemen or direct participation in a local marketplace, involving:

⁶See for examples: the film Todos Santos Cuchumatan: Report from Guatemala, 1982, distributed by Idera Films; and Brooks Op.Cit., 1983, p.1153. Brooks promotes a visit to the Todos Santos co-operative and also to particular homes where textile collectors can find "the finest Guatemalan weavings", and locates a person willing to teach stickloom weaving.

- purchase of factory yarns/dyes,
- sale of craft and food products,
- use of one's own sheeps' wool, which price is dictated by world export markets,
- purchase of cheap machine-made clothing,
- transportation costs,
- food and shelter costs,
- government taxes.

Although Guerrero is identified as a middleman both through his relationship as an employer for local artisans, and a buyer who travels to outlying communities in search of indigenous crafts, in short term field work the relevant data could not be collected concerning how he establishes and maintains trade relations with craft producers over time. The thesis illustrates how one widespread method of securing and maintaining favourable trade relations continues to be through the fictive kinship institution of *compadrazgo* which involves a relationship of trust and exchange of favours. Further information is required to understand how Guerrero acts as an economic broker and how his services affect (and are affected by) individual households, the community and relationships between community members over time.

At the level of the household, inheritance patterns for both the Guatemalan and Peruvian examples are explained in the thesis as based on bilateral rules where (theoretically) all children will receive equal shares. In the case of Guerrero, three children are married and have engaged in non-textile related occupations, while another son has suggested he too would prefer a different occupation. The remaining son and two

daughters at home are actively engaged in the family craftwork as producer and sales persons respectively. As in the case of personal networks with external brokers, accurate personal family information on the distribution of finances within a household is not forthcoming in most cases during short term field work. However as Long and Richardson have pointed out, it is this area which demands more intensive study to understand "interactional networks and cultural devices for the organisation of production and for the working-out of livelihood strategies".⁷

Future complementary studies to this thesis, involving at least a full year in one region where textile production includes a variety of independent simple commodity producers, co-operatives and artisans employed as wage labourers, would provide further data in explanation of the complexities and discontinuities of transpersonal relationships and individual strategies. Although case histories are a way to increase understanding of changes over time, research would benefit from longitudinal studies. A further project which would contribute to completed work, would comprise an indepth account of the production and distribution of textiles through government and private co-operatives; and in Peru, a study of prisoners whose use of the light and portable stickloom provides detained

⁷Long & Richardson, Op.Cit., 1978, p.177.

persons with a means of support. ⁸

Speculation is not feasible beyond the time-frame of the actual study, because since the time of fieldwork and this subsequent analysis, guerilla warfare is the principal intervening factor in the lives of households in both Guatemala and Peru. In Guatemala anti-government activities in the department of Huehuetenango have become increasingly intense since the time of fieldwork. This together with government reaction have resulted in restricted mobility for local residents and traders, withdrawal of foreign investment and subsequent closure of resource projects, such as the INCO nickel mine at Exmibal. Many villagers have been killed, their villages burnt and crops destroyed, and refugees have fled to Mexican border areas. This has increased problems of food shortage and families, whose men have joined revolutionary forces, or been conscripted by government forces, need the available women to tend the fields. Accordingly, textile work becomes a minor priority.

In Ayacucho, warfare extended by the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) has mobilized the peasantry against the government of Belaunde, and resulted in a state of emergency in the department of Ayacucho with curfews and airport closure. Tourism has declined and commercial air links have been restricted.

⁸The Peruvian Government does not cover the cost of food which means that prisoners without a craft or money often have to rely on family and friends for food in provincial jails.

The significance of the thesis is grounded in its description of how textile producers have adopted various strategies for engaging in handcraft production according to the parameters of household subsistence, which historically have been subject to political economic conditions. The general pattern in the two regions, Guatemala and Peru, is for footloom weavers to produce textiles for commercial sales, either to supplement household subsistence or as a full-time activity, and for stickloom weavers to be concentrated in the production of textiles for their own immediate use, or to a small extent, for sales to tourists and art collectors. In each case study, the analysis shows that variations in the social relations of production provide more insight into the heterogeneity and economic implications of approaches to handcraft production than is evident from a more general characterization of a product as being woven on a footloom or a stickloom. However, as indicated above, there is a need for more intensive, long-term studies focussing on how finances are redistributed within households. Further studies of brokerage can be productive also. As Long has argued these studies will complement an articulation of modes of production approach by clarifying how production systems are connected to the social economy.

Studies of the Industrial Revolution note the disappearance of household craft production in Britain due to the expansion of capital and wage labour relations of production in the factory system. More recent analyses of the impact of industrialization

in third world countries, however, suggest that the demise of traditional domestic production is not inevitable under the specific conditions of dependent capitalism. This study confirms that simple commodity production not only persists but is encouraged by capitalist producers in Guatemala and Peru. Nevertheless, craft producers not directly subsumed as wage labourers are indirectly constrained by participation in a world market dominated by capitalism, as is the case in the examples from Guatemala and Peru discussed in this thesis.

GLOSSARY

The Glossary is divided into three subsections. Weaving terms are presented in the first three sections, with English followed by foreign terms. The final section includes other miscellaneous terms that appear in the text, foreign and English.

Weaving Terms (English)

Acrylic fibre. Synthetic fibres, lightweight compared to sheeps' wool and relatively resistant to weather.

Alpaca. South American cameloid animal that thrives at high altitudes (4,000-5,200 metres), and yields soft, lustrous, fine fleece which is less greasy than sheeps' wool and has less kemp (hair) than sheep or llama fleece. Alpaca wool is often blended with a little llama or sheeps' wool to make it more durable. Alpaca average 90 kilos, smaller than the llama (avg. 115 kilos).

Añil. Indigo plant or the blue dye obtained from it.

Aniline dye. Any of numerous synthetic dyes.

Artisan. Craftsperson manually skilled in making particular products.

Backstrap loom. See Stickloom.

Bayeta. Coarse woollen textile produced in southern highlands of Peru on footlooms, usually in plain or twill weaves. Used to make pants, jackets and polleras (full skirts) in rural areas.

Beam. Front and back roller of footloom on which woven cloth and warp threads are wound and held under tension for weaving.

Beater (or batten). On footloom this is a wooden frame that holds metal reed (comb-like piece which is threaded, separating warp ends) which together are used to beat the horizontal (weft) threads together to form web (textile). On sticklooms a smooth heavy hardwood stick is used to pack weft down into the web. There is no rigid reed separating warp.

Bobbin. A spool or stick on which weft threads are wound to be inserted between warp during weaving process.

Brocade. Fabric decoration applied during the weaving process. Patterns are created through the use of additional threads that float across one or more warp end(s) to make a design that may be visible on only one or both side(s) of the textile. Often confused with embroidery which differs in that this technique (embroidery) involves application of design threads to textile after weaving process is completed and so may be applied to form curved and angular shapes compared to the more regular geometric lines of brocade threads which follow consecutive warp and weft.

Cochineal. Brilliant red dye made by drying, pulverizing and simmering in water the bodies of a tropical Central and South American insect, *Dactylopius coccus* that feeds on the prickly pear cacti, *Opuntia*.

Fleece. The yield of wool shorn from a sheep, alpaca or other wool-bearing animal.

Float. Weaving technique of skipping multiple warp or weft threads to create surface texture/coloured pattern. Also called overshoot threads.

Flying Shuttle. A mechanical device with springs that (when hand- or electrically-released) throws the shuttle carrying weft back and forth the warp on footloom during the weaving process, producing regulated tension for each pick of weft.

Footloom or floorloom. In Spanish: telar. European type loom worked by feet and hands. Wooden structure for hand-weaving fabric which has two or more wooden harnesses to hold string or metal heddles which can be raised by pressing foot treadles during weaving process. Generally built to hold textile of 24", 36", 45" and 60" widths. By comparison, a table loom usually requires hand operation to raise/lower harnesses while a stickloom also requires hand operation to raise/lower warp threads. A stickloom also requires a new set of string heddles to be made by looping string alternatively around a heddle stick and individual warp at time each new warp for a weaving is tied on stickloom.

Gobelin. Finely hand-woven tapestries of 17th century France noted for rich pictorial designs.

Harness. Part of a footloom, being the long narrow frames that hold heddles. Footlooms in highland Guatemala and Peru generally have two or four harnesses which are raised/lowered by foot treadles during the weaving process.

Heddle Stick. See heddles below.

Heddles. On a footloom, strings or wires with holes (eyes) in centre through which warp ends (threads) are inserted. On a stickloom, a continuous string forms heddles by looping it over/under alternate warp and a slender stick (heddle stick) which is pulled by hand to raise/lower the warp during the weaving process (see harness).

Ikat. An Indonesian word ("to knot, to bind, to tie around"). A term referring to a method of tie-dyeing warp and/or weft prior to weaving the yarn into fabric. When threaded on the loom or woven into warp, a distinctive pattern is created, characterized by blurred linear effect. In Guatemala elaborate designs such as doll figures (muñeca are produced by this method, called jaspe in Spanish.

Indigo. A blue dye obtained from indigo plant (genus: indigofera). In Guatemala plant is called jiquilite or cuajatinta. See also añil.

Jacquard loom. Mechanized footloom developed by Josph Marie Jacquard (1753-1834) in France to simplify the handwork by use of cards punched with holes set to program series of warp to be raised, to produce fancy figured textiles such as bedspreads and curtain fabrics.

Lease Stick. Small stick(s) kept near top of warp setup on stickloom to preserve exact order of individual yarns.

Llama. South American cameloid animal that thrives at high altitudes (4,000-5,200 metres). Llama wool is coarser than alpaca wool and so is more durable and often used by Andean persons to weave sacking, or blended with alpaca wool. The llama is primarily a pack animal, carrying up to 35 kilograms. In size the animals average 115 kilograms compared to the smaller alpaca (90 kilograms average).

Mordant. Any substance such as metallic salts of alum, chrome, iron and tin, various acids or ammonia, used before or during the dyeing process to fix the colour in the yarns, making the dyes permanent and colour-enriched.

Pattern Weave. A single- or double-face fabric with design created by floating various series of warp (warp-patterned weave is widespread in Peru stickloom weaving) or basic weft threads (weft-patterned weave). In contrast to brocade, no decorative yarns are introduced.

Pick. A single shot of weft thread inserted through the shed opening of stretched warp threads that is then packed or beaten into the web being woven. As a verb, means "to insert".

Plain Weave or tabby weave. Plain cloth produced by inserting

weft over-one, under-one, over-one, under-one warp.

Ply. To twist two or more threads together to form one thicker stronger thread.

Rya. A weaving technique of knotting and cutting weft to produce a raised-pile rug effect (of Persian carpets), in contrast to flat (tapestry) weaves.

Selvedge. The finished edge of a fabric. Footlooms produce only side selvedges, sticklooms can produce selvedges on all four sides of the web.

Sett. Refers to the number of warp threads in a width of one inch of a woven textile.

Shed stick or shed roll. Round stick or length of bamboo placed behind heddle stick on stickloom to divide warp into upper/lower parts and used to push down onto, to help change shed when pulling up on heddlestick.

Shuttle. Instrument, usually wooden boat-shaped, that holds a bobbin wound with weft and which facilitates passing (or throwing) the weft through the shed opening from one to the other side of warp.

Skein. Yarn wound in a loose elongated coil.

Spindle. A smooth slender stick with a weight whorl near lower end which is used for spinning fibres into thread by hand.

Stickloom, (Backstrap or Belt loom). A hand-operated loom supported by two end sticks (one tied to a post and the other attached to a strap around one's waist). In Spanish called *telar de cintura*. In Guatemala, highland weavers often refer to their sticklooms simply as *palitos* (sticks). The disadvantage of the term **belt loom** is that it suggests a loom on which only belts are woven.

Tapestry. A weft-faced weave produced by beating weft together so closely as to conceal the warp. Designs are woven across the warp, as discontinuous wefts are inserted so that when one colour ends, another is started with a separate thread.

Textile beam. See **Beam**.

Treadles. Foot pedals used to raise/lower harnesses on footlooms in order to change sequence of warp in shed opening during weaving process.

Twill. Weave characterized by diagonal lines formed by sequence of interlacing warp and weft. An example of the weaving sequence involves repetition of groups of four warp where

warp sequence changes with each pick of weft from 1 up/2 down/1 up, to 2 up/2 down, to 1 down/2 up/2 down, to 2 down/2 up. Next to plain over-under-over-under weave, twill is one of the most extensively practised weaves (used for example in jeans weave). Twill is more lustrous, softer and more pliable than plain weave textiles.

Vicuña. South American cameloid prized for its exceptionally fine, silky fleece. Unlike the alpaca and llama the vicuña was never domesticated and today is protected by the Peruvian Government.

Warp. Series of threads running lengthwise on loom across which horizontal weft threads are passed (woven) to form web or cloth.

Warping. Process of winding out appropriate number and length of thread onto a frame or pegs set in the ground, which is put on the loom to serve as the foundation warp for subsequent weaving process.

Warping Frame. A frame or set of pegs set in the ground used to measure out warp to be put on loom.

Warp Beam. See Beam above.

Warp-faced. A woven fabric showing only the warp which has been sett so close on the loom that the weft, when inserted, is completely concealed.

Web. The woven fabric or cloth made by interlacing of two sets of threads, horizontal and vertical, in such a way that the interlacing is permanent.

Weft (or woof). Weaving threads passed over and under the warp threads in varying patterns to create the web or cloth.

Weft-faced. A woven fabric showing only the weft because the weft threads are packed together closely so as to conceal warp.

Whorl. Weight attached to spindle used for spinning fibres into thread by hand.

Weaving Terms (Foreign)

Alforja. Spanish for saddlebag, widespread use in southern Peruvian Andes.

Algodon. Spanish for cotton.

- Arwi.** Quechua weaving term for tapestry technique of turning the weft on common warp strings where designs meet.
- Cadena.** Spanish for chain, used in text to refer to Peruvian tapestry technique of interlocking adjoining weft in space between warp threads. Cadena is also a brocade pattern used in Guatemala that resembles a chain.
- Caja.** Spanish term for the hardwood beater used in stickloom weaving.
- Cinta.** Spanish for ribbon or narrow band.
- Cintillo.** Diminutive of cinta.
- Corte.** Spanish for skirt, often refers to a standard length of fabric used as wrap-around skirt.
- Dibujas.** Spanish for drawings. In text refers to brocade or embroidery designs.
- Frazada.** Spanish for blanket, usually handwoven from woollen yarn.
- Hilo.** Spanish for thread.
- Huipil.** Guatemalan and Mexican (Spanish) term for indigenous women's cotton blouse which is traditionally handwoven on a stickloom (backstrap loom).
- Jaspe.** Spanish term for ikat, (see above).
- Kallua.** Quechua term for hardwood beater of the stickloom (telar de cintura).
- Kumbi.** Finest cloth handwoven by Incan specialists of high social standing, the *kumbi-camayog* who produced the *kumbi* cloth from the finest spun threads of cotton, wool as well as gold and silver. The more widespread cloths which were much coarser were called *awaska*.
- Lana.** Spanish for wool. In Peru, *lana corriente* is the ordinary or least fine/clean fleece, while *lana de finca* is the finer fleece from sheep bred on large estates, and *lana industrial* is actually synthetic (acrylic) yarn.
- Lliclla (lliclla).** Quechua term for the most elaborate ceremonial carrycloths (*mantas* in Spanish) which are handwoven by Andean persons on sticklooms (backstrap looms).
- Madeza.** Spanish term for smallest skein of cotton yarn (about two ounces) regularly sold in Guatemalan marketplaces.

Maestro. Spanish term for master. In text refers to the master craftspersons under whom apprentices learn a craft.

Manta para las mesas. Spanish for tablecloth.

Pollera. Term used in Peru and Bolivia to refer to highland women's full skirts, today generally made from bayeta, a plain woollen textile woven on footlooms.

Polvo. Spanish for powder, dust. In the text refers to ground-up chemical dye powder.

Poncho. Spanish for garment worn in Peru by men. Woven from sheep, or alpaca wool, or acrylic yarn, resembling a blanket with an opening in the centre for one's head.

Redil. Spanish for spinning wheel.

Roque. Peruvian term for the llama bone that stickloom weavers in the southern highland region use to pick up warp threads and to pack weft down into the textile web.

Servietta. Spanish term for all-purpose cloth used in Guatemala to wrap and carry goods of all descriptions but most commonly used to wrap or cover tortillas and other foods.

Tapeta. Spanish for table runner (place mat).

Tejido. Spanish for textile.

Típico. Spanish for typical. In text refers to tejidos típicos (typical textiles, such as huipiles, cortes, etc.) in Guatemala. Made in traditional fashion on indigenous sticklooms.

Traje. Spanish word for traditional costumes handwoven on sticklooms and worn by indigenous persons of highland Guatemala.

Turno. Spanish word for a wooden frame or wheel around which skeins of yarn are wound.

Tzute. Carrycloth used by highland indigenous men in Guatemala.

Vara. 33 inches. Standard measure for yard goods in Guatemala.

General Terms (English and Foreign)

Adobe. Spanish word for sun-baked clay bricks, the most usual house building material in highland communities in Guatemala and Peru.

Alcalde. Spanish for mayor.

Alcalde Municipio. Spanish for **Municipal Mayor**, a civil officer.

Alcalde Rezador. Spanish for the **Chief Prayer-Maker**, a Mayan religious officer.

Aldea. Hamlet community.

Altiplano. High plateaus of Andean mountain region of Bolivia, Peru and Argentina.

Atol. Guatemalan cereal broth or gruel usually made from corn meal.

Ayacucheño. Native-born resident of Ayacucho.

Ayarachi. Name given to persons who play the pan flute in festivals, southern highland region of Peru.

Ayllu. Quechua indigenous bilateral kindred group.

Aymara. Language and indigenous person of Lake Titicaca region of Peru and Bolivia.

Cafetelero. Spanish for coffee grower.

Calendario. Spanish for calendar.

Camisa. Spanish for shirt.

Campesino. Spanish term refers to indigenous peasants (or subsistence farmers).

Cargo system. Civil-religious hierarchical system of offices involving sponsorship obligations for elected household heads during annual fiesta in addition to other duties.

Centavos. Spanish for cents (one hundredth part of currency unit).

Chakra. Quechua term refers to small peasant family's subsistence plot of land in highland Peru. In Guatemala, similar meaning is given to **milpa**.

Chicha. Peruvian Andean drink made from barley and corn, mildly

alcoholic when fermented.

Chimanes. In text refers to Mayan healer-priests.

Cholo. Peruvian term for *ladino*, (see below).

Chuño. Freeze-dried potatoes, a widespread method of preserving potato crops in Highland Peru.

Coca. South American tree (*erythroxylon coca*), from which leaves are dried for chewing by Andean persons for its stimulating effect. Known to release body sugars and so ward off hunger.

Colono. Spanish for tenants living on haciendas (coffee estates or other large landholding), who work as labour for the estate owner in exchange for use of some of the estate land.

Comedor. Spanish for a small public eating place or restaurant.

Comerciántes. Spanish for full-time commercial traders.

Commodity. Crops or goods produced for commercial trade.

Compadrazgo. Spanish term for fictive co-parenthood, a Catholic institution of establishing ritual kin through the assignment of godparents (*padrinos*) at such ceremonies as baptism, marriage, first hair cutting, confirmation and a variety of other occasions. Widespread throughout Latin American countries such as Guatemala and Peru. The relationship between co-parents (blood parents and ritual godparents) or *compadres* is often more binding than the relationship between godparent and godchild.

Compadre. Spanish for co-parent, to refer to fictive kin relationship between blood parents and godparents of a child. See *compadrazgo* above.

Comunero. Spanish for resident member of a small rural community (*comunidad*).

Comunidad. Spanish for community.

Contratista. Spanish for contractor, in text refers to men employed by plantation or coffee estate who travels to outlying regions/communities to sign-up migrant workers. In Guatemala *contratistas* are known to visit communities during *fiestas* (major religious celebrations) and to offer cash loans to men who are then induced to sign contracts to work during the forth-coming harvest, setting up a situation of indebted labour.

Curacas or caciques. Local indigenous chiefs of Maya (Guatemala) and Incan (Peru) peoples during pre-colonial and early

Spanish colonial period. Served as provincial representatives responsible to colonial government for collection of tribute from indigenous persons.

Corregidores. Spanish colonial officers appointed to replace curacas as provincial representatives to the colonial government and tribute (tax) collectors.

Costa. Spanish for coast.

Costumbre. Spanish for custom.

Debt peonage. Indebted labour situation common in Guatemala and Peru in colonial and present times where loans to impoverished individuals involve promise (contract) to work off debt in factory or plantations.

Día de las Animas. Spanish name of Catholic festival Day of the Dead (All Souls' Day) on November first, which centres in the cemetery where individuals perform rituals to contact the spirits of their departed ones.

Duro. Spanish for strong, durable, used in text in connection with well-woven textiles.

Empleado. Spanish for employee. In text refers to Peruvian white collar employees while weavers and other factory workers/labourers are termed obreros (factory workers).

Encomendero. Spanish colonial term for holder of title to encomienda (land grant).

Encomienda. Spanish colonial land grant, given to Spanish conquerors as reward to entice settlement in the New World (for example in Guatemala and Peru). Encomiendas gave the Spanish holder the right to the land for life, rights to tribute in crops and labour from indigenous tenants, but such a grant could be neither sold nor passed to offspring through inheritance.

Endogamy. Marriage rules prescribing marriage between persons who both have membership within a defined group (for example, lineage, community), compared to exogamy where marriage must be to a person outside of the defined group.

Epiphyte. A plant, such as certain orchids or ferns, that grows on another plant or object upon which it depends for mechanical support but not a source of nutrients, which it gets from the air. Also called air plant.

Fábrica. Spanish for factory, generally employing as few as five to fourteen persons in both Guatemala and Peru.

Feria. Spanish for fair, in text refers to Peruvian markets, once an annual occasion but today held daily or weekly in various urban centres. In Guatemala a similar term used is **mercado**.

Fiesta. Spanish for festival.

Finca. Spanish for ranch, estate.

Finquero. Spanish for ranch owner.

Gran paseo. Spanish for a long trip, refers in the text to regular monthly business trips of up to one week in duration.

Hectare. A metric unit of are equal to 2.471 acres.

Huari (Wari). Pre-Incan highland peoples whose State, centred in the location of present day Peruvian department of Ayacucho, dominated this central Andean region during the sixth to tenth century A.D.

Inca. An indigenous group of Quechua-speaking peoples centred in the Cuzco region of the Andean Highlands, who established control of a vast South American Empire, stretching from Bolivia to Peru and Bolivia in the 1400s up to the Spanish Conquest in the 1530s.

Indígenas. Spanish for indigenous peoples, in the text refers to the peoples of Guatemala who descend from the Maya, and in Peru to those descendants of the Inca and other highland Andean natives of the Incan Empire who today are Quechua speakers (or in parts of Puno and Bolivia may speak Aymara).

Inti Raymi. Incan festival to the Great Sun God. The festival has been revived and is performed annually on 24 June at the ruins of the Incan fortress of **Sacsahuaman**, in the hills about two kilometres above Cuzco city. The festival is highlighted by rural dance groups that come to perform in traditional costumes.

Ladino. Guatemalan term to refer to persons who identify themselves as non-indigenous, usually (but not always) **mestizo** (mixed indigenous-Spanish offspring). **Ladino** identity is based primarily on social-cultural criteria: that is, persons who give up traditional customs and dress, agricultural life and indigenous language for European model of urban life, machine-made clothing and Spanish language.

Latifundistas. Spanish term for large land holders.

Libreta. Spanish for small note book, in the text refers to the small book which all Guatemalan indigenous persons were

required to carry as a record of the number of days they had laboured for other parties, as required by the Vagrancy Laws passed by Ubico in the 1930s.

Manos. Spanish for hands, in the text relates to artisanry.

Más duro. Spanish for stronger, more durable, in the text this relates to textile standards.

Maya. Indigenous peoples of southern Mexico (Chiapas and Yucatán) and Guatemala whose civilization reached its height between 600-900 A.D. The Maya make up about 60% of Guatemala's population and includes speakers of about twenty different Mayan languages. The Maya of Colotenango and Todos Santos are members of the Mam language group.

Mercado. Spanish for marketplace

Mestizo. Spanish term for persons of mixed indigenous-Spanish descent.

Metate. Spanish for stone on which maize and other grains are ground. Compare metate y mano to mortar and pestle.

Milpa. Spanish term used in Guatemala to refer to peasants' small household subsistence plot usually planted with staples of corn, beans and squash.

Misti. Peruvian term for mestizo, (see above).

Mita. Form of slave labour, enforced by Spanish colonial government representatives on highland peoples of Guatemala and Peru as means to recruit labour for coastal cotton plantations and Andean mines.

Montaña. Spanish term to refer to Peruvian highland zone lying between 730-2,400 metres where lower valleys and slopes support a tropical vegetation. Generally refers to eastern slopes of Andes that drop down to Amazonian jungle floor.

Municipio. Spanish for municipality. In Guatemala, a territorial administrative subdivision of the department, each municipio having a town centre (pueblo with plaza lined by government buildings, church and shops).

Naranjales. Spanish for place of oranges.

Obraje. Spanish term for the large textile workshops established in Guatemala and Peru by Spanish persons such as large land-holders who recruited low paid labour, often through situations of debt peonage.

Obrero. Spanish for labourers.

Padrino. Spanish for godfather. See **compadrazgo**.

Paracas. Coastal town in Peru (230 kilometres south of Lima). Site of the Pre-Incan peoples who lived between 100-500 B.C., renowned for artisanry and in particular, during the period that South American textile weaving reached its zenith. Paracas weavers produced elaborate textiles with finely-spun cotton using almost every technique known today.

Paramo. A bleak treeless plain in the Andes. Also describes the region above Todos Santos, in the Cuchumatanes Mountains, Guatemala.

Paseo. Spanish for stroll, walk. In Guatemala and Peru the reference is to the evening informal gathering on Sunday evenings around the main plaza.

Peasant. Rural persons who engage in agricultural production on small landholdings primarily for subsistence needs, not as a cash crop to be sold for profits in the marketplace.

Peña. Spanish term used in Peru to refer to small folk cafés.

Posta de Salud. Spanish to refer to government medical centres in Guatemala and Peru, where medical officers attend to minor ailments, such as infections, cuts, broken bones. Major surgery generally performed in hospitals in larger urban centres.

Presidente. Spanish for president. In the text **el presidente** in Urubamba, Peru is name given to local government office of mayor of community.

Pueblo. Spanish for small town.

Puna. High treeless plateau in the Andes lying above 3,900 metres. Zone is characterized by extremes of temperatures, where llama and alpaca graze on bunch grass, about the only form of vegetation other than tubers, such as potatoes, which are cultivated by indigenous persons.

Quebrada. Spanish for gorge.

Quechua. Language of the Inca and the descendants of their empire. Became the language of Peru along with Spanish during the government of Velasco in 1968.

Quetzal. Guatemalan currency which in 1979 (time of fieldwork) was tied to the American dollar. Also refers to a rare Central American bird, **pharomacrus mocino**, of brilliant bronze-green and red plumage, and in the case of the male with long tail feathers. Prized by the Maya it formed their currency prior to Conquest. Today it is the national emblem

of Guatemala.

Reducciones. Spanish for colonial institution to resettle indigenous peoples of Guatemala and Peru into communities separate from Spanish colonists. **Reducciones** facilitated collection of tribute in goods and labour by the Spanish.

Selva. Spanish for jungle.

Sierra. Spanish for highlands.

Soles. Peruvian currency, about 400 soles to one U.S. dollar (1981). Spanish word **sol** means sun.

Tambo. Incan storage house for goods collected in tribute to be redistributed to non-producers of food, such as Inca army and craft specialists.

Tienda. Spanish for small shop.

Tierra Andina. Spanish ecological term referring to cold barren highland zone. Guatemalan land lying above 3,000 metres. In Peru, **puna** lands lying above 3,900 metres are comparable.

Tierra Caliente. Spanish ecological term for hot lands lying below 750 metres.

Tierra Fría. Spanish ecological term for cold lands, in Guatemala being highlands lying between 1,500-3,000 metres, and in Peru lying between 2,400-3,900 metres.

Tierra Templada. Spanish ecological term for temperate lands which in Guatemala lie between 750-1,500 metres, and in Peru between 730-2,400 metres.

Todos los Santos. Spanish for All of the Saints.

Tortilla. Unleavened corn or wheat flour bread.

Tumpline. Strap worn across one's forehead to help support heavy load carried in one's back. Method dating back to pre-colonial period in Guatemala.

Wari. See **Huari** above.

Waqcho. Peruvian term for the right of **campesinos** to graze their animals on unused **hacienda** lands.

Yanacona. Life-long personal retainers of the Inca of pre-colonial Peru, similar to slaves but with higher social status, especially those devoted to highly specialized crafts such as textile weaving.

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