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## THE MYTH OF THE ISOLATED NATIVE COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY FROM PERU

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### Introduction

This case study is designed to introduce students to the concepts of interdependence and ethnocentrism. Most of us are willing to accept the interdependence of industrial nations, but have a harder time seeing small, rural communities in the Third World as part of that same system. We want to see such communities as primitive and isolated, unaffected by the outside world. Even many anthropologists, although they know better (Steward 1950; Wolf 1982), want to study the "isolated" and remote society. The more isolated the better, for such studies give them professional and public approval. In 1985, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* heralded on their front pages the discovery of a "lost city" in the Andes; that story moved to the back pages when it was revealed that CBS television had done a documentary on the city in 1970 (Allman 1985). Lost? Isolated? Emphasis on concepts of "primitiveness" and "isolation" tell us much about ourselves and little about the real world we are studying. In fact, few truly isolated societies exist. Human history is one of interconnection and contact, of shared cultural and biological characteristics, though the participants in that sharing are unaware of the interconnections (Wolf 1982). Few Americans know, for example, that the tomato in Italian tomato sauce comes from a plant domesticated in South America, while the "Irish" potato was domesticated in the Andes (Lanning 1967).

The emphasis on rural communities as "isolated" or "remote" is a form of ethnocentrism in which the Western World is at the center and all other societies are judged by the extent to which they approximate the West in appearance and behavior (see Surrey, this volume). When we encounter a people who look and behave very differently we say that they are isolated, that they are primitive, or even as some did with the Tasaday of the Philippines, that they are "stone age." Do we describe the Pennsylvania Amish who do not use electricity as pre-electric? Of course not. We say they are a contemporary people who do not use electricity and we want to know why and how this effects their daily lives. The Tasaday are a contemporary people who use stone tools, not some remnant society of a past age.

Just as the steel worker in Pittsburgh is connected to decisions made in Zurich and New York, so is the rural peasant in the Third World. The peasant may be very different from us in life style and language, but he is nonetheless part of the global system. He is connected to

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that system by economics, politics, social institutions and ideology. The case study below illustrates these connections by exploring the relationship of a small village in the Andes to the outside world. On its face an isolated Indian village, this town, Quinua, has been interconnected with the outside world from the prehistoric period to the present. Different areas of the outside world have been important to Quinua at different periods of time, but at no time has Quinua been isolated.

### Case Study

Quinua is a Peruvian district located in the central highlands southeast of Lima. It consists of a central town of 465 people surrounded by 14 rural hamlets containing 5057 additional people (Peru, 1972). The district extends from the floor of the Ayacucho Valley (around 2500 meters), which is very warm and produces subtropical fruits, to the high altitude grasslands (above 4100 meters), which are very cold and used only for grazing animals. Beginning in 1966 I lived in and worked with the people of this community during six visits spread over a period of three years, the last in 1985.

At first glance in 1966 the village and people of Quinua looked isolated, separated from my prior experience by physical appearance and patterns of dress, language, social organization and transportation. The main town surrounded a plaza from which a few dirt streets led to the countryside. A church, police post, and municipal hall suggested the importance of the outside world, but the rest of the picture, the wandering pig, the dust, the few people and their strange dress, created an image of a sleepy town. Houses were of mud brick (*adobe*), none larger than two stories, and there was no hotel nor restaurant, although women sold food on the plaza to travelers. People lit their homes with candles, if at all, and obtained water from an irrigation canal at one end of the town. Except for a few government workers everyone was a farmer. The only industry was part-time, household craft production of such things as ceramics and cloth.

Women dressed in what is often described by outsiders as Indian costume, while many men and women chewed coca leaves and went barefoot and or wore sandals. The sense of remoteness created by the clothing was accentuated by language. Everyone spoke Quechua, a native American language spoken not only in the home, but on the street, in church, at the Sunday market, and in governmental and police offices. Perhaps 10% of the population also spoke Spanish, but few spoke it well as it is a language used primarily in contact with outsiders. In 1966 most people were illiterate; few had attended school, even though there was a school with kindergarten and four additional grades.

Religious differences also marked them as apart. Nominally Roman Catholic, their religion consisted of an amalgam of native and European beliefs, in which worship of the mountain god (*urqu taytacha*) was as important a focus of celebration as various saints and virgin cults. Some of the religious symbols were familiar to me, but most were not. Indeed, the ceremonial calendar was attuned to Andean agricultural rhythms, rather than to those of the northern hemisphere. Christmas was unimportant. The Virgin of Cocharcas, a saint unheard of in the United States, is the patron of the community, her feast celebrated in a week-long ceremony in September, just before the start of the agricultural cycle.

Although Quinua was located on a graded highway, connected by road to the city of Ayacucho since 1924, the light traffic and dirt road surface created a sense of backward-

ness. The road was sometimes impassable in the rainy season (November through April) because of landslides. In the dry season, traffic raised great clouds of dust along the road. Traffic was never heavy and there would be many days where there was none. Sometimes as many as 30 trucks would pass through the town in a day, but they rarely had local business and had little impact on the community. Only three Quinuenos owned trucks in 1966. There was no local bus service. Most people walked short distances (e.g. to the city of Ayacucho, a one-half day trip) to save money although they would take a truck for longer distances, such as to Lima. Once off the highway, moreover, people always walked, using an extensive system of footpaths.

In sum, on the surface the people looked quaint and isolated, different from the outside world in dress, language, education, economy and religion. These initial impressions of the community, however, were incorrect, more an expression of my own feelings of strangeness in a foreign culture than of the culture itself. Difference and strangeness do not mean isolation. In reality, as investigation would reveal, the community of Quinua has been intimately linked with the outside world for a very long time.

### Connections

In the prehistoric period Quinua was bound by cultural, military, economic and political forces to a much larger Andean whole. The entire Andean area has shared forms of farming, housing, dress, village structure, religion and other cultural patterns for several thousand years (Lanning, 1967). Militarily and politically, the Andes have been colonized by conquest states since the first millenium A.D. Indeed, the area in which Quinua is located was the center of the Huari empire (Lanning, 1967: 132-135; Menzel, 1964). The ruins of the capital city of this empire lie in the agricultural fields of Quinua, now chock-a-block with broken pottery shards, testimony to an imperial past when this "isolated" area ruled much of Peru (Menzel, 1964). After the decline of the Huari empire around 800 A.D., small states competed with one another for hegemony, until a new empire was established by the Incas in the 15th century (Row, 1946; Zuidema, 1966). Quinua became part of an Inca administrative system ruled from Cuzco, in which the people were subject to payment of agricultural and labor tribute to ruling elites (Hemming, 1970; Mitchell, 1980; Rowe, 1946). The Incas may also have resettled the area with colonists (*mitimaes*) from the Cuzco region, a technique they used to consolidate their rule (Zuidema, 1966). This Inca colonization was a variation on a widespread and ancient Andean practice in which local communities sent colonists to distant territories to obtain diverse resources (Murra, 1972 and 1975). When I arrived in 1966, Quinua owned lands in jungles (*montana*), a day's journey by truck to the east. Although there was considerable dispute about the tenure of these lands, Quinuenos were cultivating them and it is possible that these lands were remnants of the ancient pattern of Andean colonization. Whatever the case with these contemporary lands, it is probable that Quinua like most communities sent colonists to other areas of the Andes from early times.

Nor was Quinua isolated during the colonial period. Peru was conquered by Spain in 1532. In 1539 the Spanish founded the city of Ayacucho (known at that time as San Juan de la Frontera) in Quinua (Rivera Serna, 1966: 11 and 28-34). Although the city was moved to its present location a year later, its foundation in Quinua demonstrates the close links between the community and the early Spanish empire.

According to the municipal record book of the Spanish settlement in Quinoa in 1539 (Rivera Serna, 1966), the Indians of Quinoa were apportioned among the Spanish residents and had to pay agricultural and labor tribute to their masters. An unspecified number of Indians died while building houses for the Spaniards (Rivera Serna, 1966: 30) and 510 Indians worked daily on the construction of a church (*idem*: 21-22). Corporal punishment was used by the Spanish to ensure compliance with their decrees. Indians, for example, were prohibited from collecting grass and cornhusks from the cornfields that were at one end of town. If they were sent to do so by their owners, their owners were fined. If the "Indian went without order or license of [his] owner..., then for the first time [he] would be given one hundred lashes, and for the second time, [his] ears would be cut off, and for the third time, [he] would be hanged until [he died] naturally" (Rivera Serna, 1966: 17-18; translation mine). While this regulation may not have been enforced in precisely this way, the Indians might well have wished for a little isolation!

Spain's influence on the Andes was profound and lasting. After San Juan de la Frontera moved from Quinoa we have no specific information on the community, but the people undoubtedly were subject to the same demands as the rest of Peru, including a continuation of the mandatory tribute Indians paid to Spaniards throughout the colonial period (Stern, 1982: 28 and 41-44). Many of the crops grown in Quinoa today are of European origin (e.g., wheat, barley, oats) (Mitchell in press) and they may have been introduced to pay Spanish tribute. The labor demands of the Spanish resulted in the massive movement of people to the silver and mercury mines where many of them perished (Kubler, 1946; Stern, 1982: 84-85; Whitaker, 1941), a phenomenon that certainly affected Quinoa. The wealth from Peru and other New World colonies was sent to Spain, where it helped support a flowering of Spanish culture, but ultimately contributed to an inflationary spiral which facilitated the shift of power from Spain to England in the late 16th century. Quinoa has been economically linked with Europe since the 16th century; that link has been only deepened and grown stronger with time.

Spain also resettled Andean peoples into Spanish-type communities known as *reducciones* (Stern, 1982: 76) and imposed Christianity by force (Kubler, 1946). Today the people of Quinoa are nominally Roman Catholic, a tribute to the Spanish heritage, although many have recently converted to pentecostal Protestant sects. The clothing worn in contemporary Quinoa, often characterized as Indian dress, is in fact not indigenous but of Spanish colonial origin. Finally, mention must be made of disease. The European conquest introduced many new diseases to the Americas (Crosby, 1972; Cook, 1981). These diseases, such as smallpox, whooping cough and measles, were virulent and killed millions of people, sometimes spreading in epidemic form to areas well before the Spanish themselves arrived, greatly facilitating the conquest of a people who outnumbered the Spanish.

Peru became independent from Spanish rule in 1824. Independence did not lead to post-colonial isolation. Little information is available on Quinoa during the Republican period, but what we know indicates continuing contact with the outside. The final battle in the war of independence from Spain was fought on a plain above the central town of Quinoa (Miller, 1829), so that Quinoa has been important symbolically to Republican Peru. In 1924, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of that battle, the highway was built to the

community and a monument donated by the government of Argentina was erected on the battlefield. The 150th anniversary of the battle was celebrated with much public construction, funded by outside agencies; the road was paved and an artisan school, also donated by the Argentine government, was constructed.

Contemporary Quinoa is not isolated. In spite of different customs and language it is linked both to Peru and the rest of the world. It is connected to greater Peru politically, economically and culturally. Peru is a unitary political system in which power flows down from the top (Pike, 1967). Even when the mayor of the town is elected by the residents of Quinoa, the community is effectively administered by provincial and departmental officials in the city of Ayacucho and by central governmental officials in Lima. Because of these administrative ties, Quinuenos frequently send official delegations to Ayacucho and Lima. Quinoa simply cannot be understood politically without examining these outside administrative ties.

Quinoa is also linked to the Peruvian nation by shared culture. Although there are regional differences, art and music have common motifs throughout the Andes. The people of Quinoa speak Quechua which, though dialectically different, can be understood by Quechua speakers from Cuzco. Clothing styles are similar, as is communal organization. Concepts such as *ayllu* (family), *varayoc* (political leaders), *barrio* (communal division, Spanish), *tayta urqu* (mountain god) are found in communities throughout the highlands but are not found as frequently on the coast. Indeed, the deepest cultural division in Andean society is between the coast and highlands, but even in Lima where Spanish is spoken by almost everyone it is possible to encounter monolingual speakers of Quechua, especially in the young towns (*pueblos juvenes*) or squatters settlements (see chapter by Rudy in this volume).

Catholicism and the new Protestantism also link Quinoa to Peru and the rest of the world. The central town contains a Roman Catholic church, the largest and most impressive building in Quinoa. In most years, but not lately because of the guerrilla violence, the town is serviced by a resident priest. Several nuns operate a parochial nursery school. All the hamlets have chapels, but do not have resident clergy. Some of the village's most important socio-political positions are posts (called *cargos*) organized to celebrate the fiestas of various Catholic saints (Jaye and Mitchell, 1982). These fiestas, organized in a yearly cycle, are some of the most important events in the village. People usually celebrate them with a Mass, a Novena, and several days of eating, dancing and drinking. In the last 20 years, many people have converted to Protestantism, often with the motive of avoiding the onerous duties of the Catholic fiesta system.

Education is a major means of cultural diffusion. A small school has existed in the community for many years; in 1947 it had 180 students. It was replaced in 1957 by a larger school, covering the first five grades. In 1965 that school had an enrollment of 660 students, an increase of 367 per cent over the 1947 figures. In spite of this increase, many students dropped out of school without learning to read. The distribution of students in 1965 shows that 78% were in kindergarten and first grade, while only 10% were in the third and fourth grades.

Nonetheless, there has been a clear trend towards increased education and today there are many more schools in the community, including nursery schools, a secondary school, an artisan school in Quinua proper, and primary schools in many of the hamlets. The curriculum of these schools is set nationally and most of the teachers come from outside Quinua.

Does this mean that it is only recently that Quinua has been connected by education to the rest of the nation? No. Some Quinuenos have always been educated, at least in this century, but to get that education they had to leave the village and live in the city of Ayacucho. Education was available only to the wealthy and some Quinuenos were trained through the University level long before fourth grade education was provided in the community. The new schools have resulted in a democratization of education, with most children now learning to read and speak Spanish. This recent democratization is having a profound effect on Quinua's social organization, a condition that must be studied and acknowledged, but the community was far from isolated earlier.

Quinua is now linked to the rest of Peru by radio and television. The transistor radio and record player became ubiquitous in the 1960s. One result has been the decline of local music. The music of Huancayo, a prosperous regional center to the north of Quinua, carries great prestige and is played constantly on the radio, driving out local musical production and causing a decline in the number of local musicians. Television is a new phenomenon: the first television station was built in the Ayacucho Valley in the 1970s. It is too soon to assess its impact on Quinua, although I would venture to guess that it will result in a decline in some festivals, which in the past functioned as much for entertainment as for religious reasons (Jaye and Mitchell, 1982).

The introduction of radio and television does not mean that Quinua was previously isolated. Indeed, the so-called traditional music of the Andes owes more to Spanish than indigenous musical instruments. The harp, guitar, and *charrango*, all associated with pre-radio local music in Ayacucho, are European in origin. Even before the spread of radio, the people of Quinua preferred to hire musicians for their festivals from Ayacucho and other regional centers rather than local ones. Radio has obviously added a new dimension to Quinua's contact with the outside world, but the mistake is in the naïve notion that without radio people are isolated. Communication is slower but present.

One might ask, how could contact take place in difficult mountain terrain without modern roads and communication? People used an extensive network of foot roads. Once off the motor road, Quinua is connected by footpaths to the jungles, coast and all other areas of Peru. The roads are kept in excellent repair by means of *corvee* labor which means that each household in the community must contribute a laborer to work on building and repairing the road system. These roads have enabled Quinuenos to participate in trade throughout Peru.

One of the most important commodities traded is the coca leaf. Coca production is very ancient in the Andes and the leaf is chewed throughout the highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Evidence suggests that it functions to make the human gastro-intestinal tract more efficient in extracting calories from carbohydrates (Burchard, 1976). Since the beginning of this century, and probably much earlier, Quinuenos have been involved in complex trade

in which maize from the village is traded for animals and wools from Pampa Cangallo, several hundred miles away. These animal products are in turn traded for coca leaves from the *montana* jungles to the east. This trade has declined since the advent of motor transportation, but it does establish that Quinua was dependent on the outside world for important products prior to motor transportation. This trade in itself, moreover, depended on a larger sphere of political security provided by the Peruvian nation. Such long distance trade is extremely difficult in a context of warring polities.

Some of the clearest evidence of the connections between the local community, the national economy and the world economy is provided by migration data. Migration is an important mechanism for dealing with inadequate local economic resources throughout the central Andes (Dobyns and Vasquez, 1963; Doughty, 1968:22-27; Isbell, 1978; Martinez, 1969; Stein, 1961:66-68). Migrants leave the local community and settle (either permanently or temporarily) on the coast, in another Andean city or in the tropical forest *montana* to the east. Migrants who leave the local community to secure land or wage labor nonetheless maintain frequent contact with their highland communities and organize as separate village groups in the areas to which they have migrated (Isbell, 1974, 1978; Mangin, 1959).

Andean migration is an ancient pattern tracing its roots to the pre-Hispanic *mitimaes* described above. Extensive migration was also found during the colonial period because of the *mita* system of labor tribute, which forced Indians to leave their homes to work in the mines or at other tasks (Stern, 1982). Even after the decline of the *mita*, Indian migration remained a common phenomenon during the colonial period (Stern, 1982).

In the latter half of this century, migration has increased exponentially and has been responsible for the rapid growth of Lima and other cities (Escobar and Beall, 1982; Lloyd, 1980:33; Lowder, 1970). Various studies suggest that people migrate from local communities in the Andes for a number of reasons: the excitement of city life, a better education, the need for cash to purchase manufactured goods or to sponsor fiestas, and an inadequate subsistence base in the home community (cf. Isbell, 1978; Lowder, 1970:23; Martinez, 1969; Stein, 1961:66-68). My own data from Quinua suggest that people migrate primarily to secure land, jobs and education and therefore to improve their economic prospects (Mitchell, 1982a). Underlying these personal reasons for leaving Quinua is an economic system based on inadequate land and other resources.

Quinua has a larger population than can be supported by the local economic system. Since the boundaries of the district have changed over time, comparative census figures must be used with some circumspection. Nonetheless, Table 1 demonstrates that Quinua's population has changed very little since the 17th century, while Peru's population has increased at a much greater rate. This suggests that Quinuenos are living close to the maximum population density possible in the area, given their current technology and social organization, a phenomenon found in other areas of Peru (Morris *et al.*, 1968:5) and throughout the world. (See Rudy, this volume.) At present, the excess population of Quinua migrates to other areas. The population data in Table 1 demonstrates that a similar pattern of migration dates back at least to 1830.

**Table 1**  
**Population Increases in Quinua and Peru**  
**Between 1830 and 1961**  
**Total Population**

	1830 <sup>a</sup>	1876 <sup>b</sup>	1940 <sup>c</sup>	1961 <sup>d</sup>	% Increase 1830-1961
District of Quinua	4,807	3,478	5,649	5,348	11
Republic of Peru	1,373,736	2,699,945	6,207,967	9,906,746	621

<sup>a</sup>Kubler 1952

<sup>b</sup>Peru, Ministerio de Gobierno 1878

<sup>c</sup>Peru, Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio,  
Dirección Nacional de Estadística 1940

<sup>d</sup>Peru, Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos 1966

This local peasant community does not exist in isolation, but is part of a larger community which absorbs excess population. After the migrants leave Quinua, moreover, they continue their relationship with the community. Recent research (1983) conducted on the coast with more than 100 migrants from Quinua and their families demonstrates that migrants maintain a close and continuing relationship with the home community. They return home for visits and frequently return to Quinua to retire. There are several clubs of Quinuenos in Lima which remain in close contact with the home community, helping to secure benefits from the national government for Quinua and intervening in Quinua politics when deemed necessary. The school built in Quinua in 1957 was the result of the economic and political help of Quinua migrants in Lima.

Many migrants retain cultivation rights to lands they own in Quinua. Before 1973 many migrants cultivated those lands in some form of sharecropping arrangement, having the produce shipped to them in Lima. Sometimes kinsmen also shipped food to migrants. Since 1973, however, there has been a significant decline in these remittances. Land reform made it difficult for absentee land owners to retain title to their land, and the energy crisis raised shipping costs to non-competitive levels. Nonetheless, in 1983 12 per cent of my informants in Lima sharecropped their fields in Quinua and 51 per cent of them still received some agricultural produce from Quinua, 31 per cent receiving produce in significant quantities. Many migrants (50 per cent of the cases analyzed to date) reciprocate by sending money, household goods, medicines and clothing to family remaining in Quinua. These percentages are likely to increase when my data are completely analyzed.

The relationship between migrants and village is reciprocal and migrants and migration have serious consequences for the home community (Butterworth and Chance, 1981:81-90; Connell, *et al.*, 1976:90-116; Guillet, 1976; Isbell, 1978; Mitchell, 1982a & b; Philpott, 1973). Returned migrants are often the dominant landholders and merchants in

Quinua. Because of superior education, they also frequently hold political posts. Migration patterns also seriously affect population structure and household composition. In the 20 to 64 year old group in Quinua (the adult, married population), there are 32 per cent fewer men than women (Mitchell, 1982a), a fact explained in large measure by temporary or permanent migration. In some families, women and children living in Quinua are responsible for agricultural production while the males residing in Lima or elsewhere produce cash wages.

Perhaps the clearest links between Quinua and the outside world are found in examining the *Sendero Luminoso* guerilla movement (Americas Watch, 1984; Palmer, 1984). The *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) movement became active in the Ayacucho region in 1980. They describe themselves as Maoist and communist, but provide few other details about themselves. The movement began at the University of Huamanga in the city of Ayacucho. Led by a professor from outside Ayacucho, the movement has obtained popular support by mobilizing the region's discontent with poverty and neglect by the national government. The guerrillas have attacked police posts and other government installations; they have killed people whom they regard as part of the system they are fighting. The government of Fernando Belaunde, in retaliation, made Ayacucho an armed city. This government was accused of massive civil rights violations in its counterinsurgency operation. Amnesty International in a 1985 report lists the names of 1,000 people from the Ayacucho region who came into the hands of government forces and subsequently disappeared. Many graves have been found and there is evidence that many of the victims were tortured before being killed. After the advent of the Alan Garcia presidency in August, 1985, the situation appears to have improved, with the military being held accountable for its actions.

Quinua has been deeply affected. Young men from Quinua have been killed, some have been jailed. Although it is difficult to get information from the community, I am sure cash crop production is down (cf. Baird, 1985). Many young men have migrated to Lima and other areas to seek safety. Quinua is not isolated. It is being affected by a guerilla movement and government response that are in turn connected to world economic events. In the past Peru lacked the resources and wealth to develop the Ayacucho region adequately. This neglect has been exacerbated by the world debt crisis and consequent high interest rates and by low prices for Peruvian exports. However one analyzes the situation, it is not happening in isolation from the rest of the world.

From the foregoing data it is clear that despite an initial impression to the contrary, the inhabitants of Quinua do not live in a vacuum. They are linked to the rest of the world by ties of culture, political organization and economics. Indeed, Quinuenos are directly connected to the world economic system, for many migrants work in factories or plantations producing for export, where the availability of work depends upon world markets. Some may object, however, that I have developed a straw person, that Quinua is, after all, connected to a road and near a city and thus a poor example that there are few places that are truly isolated.

It is true that Quinua has been connected to the city of Ayacucho by a road since 1924 and that many communities in Peru and other areas of the world are further from cities. There is, however, a difference between being remote from us and being isolated. When a

community in the Third World is called isolated, the implication is that it is unaffected by the outside world and would continue to exist as it does even if the rest of the world disappeared. That is simply not the case in Peru nor, I suspect, in most areas of the world. Communities in Peru, no matter how far from a motor road, no matter how remote, are part of a larger cultural and social system. If that system changed or withdrew, such communities would experience radical change in character. Class relations, political and economic organization, religion and even patterns of subsistence would change. Distance does have important social consequences. Communities distant from central power, a national government, often have greater local autonomy. But they are not isolated. They are connected in significant ways to that central power and we must not let preconceptions about isolation fool us into believing that we can ignore these connections and still understand the local community. Neither tribes nor other local communities are sufficient unto themselves. Some communities have fewer connections, but there are always some connections to the outside world. It is our job to understand them. When we do not make the attempt we are responding ethnocentrically.

Ethnocentrism is the judging of other societies by using ones own cultural standards. We are ethnocentric when we think it wrong to wear a lip plug, although we have no compunction about circumcising our males. The goal of the anthropologist is to avoid ethnocentrism, to be morally neutral, as anthropologists, and to see each human society on its own terms. My initial impression of Quinoa as isolated was ethnocentric. My shock at the cultural differences between Quinoa and my own environment (born and raised in New York City) led to the erroneous conclusion that Quinoa was isolated. It was satisfying to think myself in a quaint and remote area of the world. As we have seen, Quinoa may be far from New York City in distance and certain aspects of culture, but the village is tied to decisions made in New York, Tokyo and Moscow as are you and I.

**Teaching Unit: Strategies and Resources**

The case study can be used in the following courses, all of which fulfill general educational requirements for prospective teachers as well as distribution requirements of all students.

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| Global Studies        | Culture and Society of Hispanic America |
| Cultural Anthropology | World History                           |
| World Cultures        | Peasant Society                         |
| Third World Studies   | International Relations                 |
| South America         | Social Problems                         |

It would be useful to introduce the topic by showing a film on the Andes. An excellent one is a Japanese film called "Bride of the Andes," by Susumu Hani. A 35mm print of the film is available from the Toho Company (1510 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036, telephone: (212) 391-9058) for \$175. The film is fictional, but nonetheless an excellent portrayal of life in the Andes. Another useful film is "Julia the Gourdmaker." This film can be used for students in grades 4 - 12 and for adults. It is available from Coronet Films, 108 Wilmont, Deerfield, Ill., telephone: 1-312-940-1260. (Rental \$60; purchase \$495 for print and \$290 for video.) This film portrays many of the connections an Andean community has with the outside world. The data in the article can be used to dispel further notions of isolation, developing the theme that in spite of superficial differences such communities are part of a global system. "Alpaca Breeders of Chimboya" is a film (\$50 rental) depicting the relation-

ship of alpaca herders to the world economy. "Fire in the Andes" is a videotape (\$55 rental) on the Sendero Luminoso guerilla movement. The last two items can be obtained from Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. South, Suite 1319, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 674-3375

An excellent article to use in discussing ethnocentrism is "Body Ritual Among the Nacirema" by Horace Miner (see the paper by David Surrey in this volume).

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