

Cash Cows and Fighting Bulls: Redefining Identity, Maintaining Control in Southwestern Peru

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ABSTRACT.

In varying degrees since at least the mid-colonial period, Arequipa (SW Peru) has maintained political economic control over the central Andean space. Since Independence, and particularly in this century, there has been a redefinition, narrowing and intensification of Arequipeno regional identity. This paper explores how intensified regional identity, centering on attributes of a now prosperous local mestizo peasantry, has served as symbolic capital for continued control of this space.

PREFACE.

This paper discusses the main themes in the second part of a larger book project, an anthropological history of regionalism in Arequipa, Peru. The first part, explored in a paper delivered at LASA 97, dealt with the post-Independence transformations in Arequipeno regionalism in the context of the ongoing failure of the Limeno/north coastal oligarchy to construct a convincing model of *peruanidad* around which most Peruvians could rally, especially in the fight against the Chilean invasion. In the wake of that debacle, such Arequipeno writers as J. Polar and Victor Andres Belaunde projected Arequipeno *mestizaje* as an implicit model for developing an authentic national spirit, one that would have to be hybrid to fully represent the Spanish and Indigenous dual heritage of the country. Thus, Arequipeno regional identity was modified after Independence from the colonial Spanish/catholic/urban by emphasizing the mestizo and downplaying the Spanish. To do this required emphasizing the most place-bound, literally indigenous of local elements to counterbalance the Spanish and yield a convincing mestizo model. *Picanterias* (traditional popular eateries) became a principal arena where a rising middle and professional class mixed with local artesans and farmers in traditional districts like Cayma and Yanahuara. [Indeed, as a quote from Francisco Mostajo later in this paper will show, regionalism was seen not just as a provincial antidote to Limeno centralism but as a template for a deepening of authentic Peruvian national sentiment.]

I. INTRODUCTION.

In contrast with other Peruvian regionalisms, especially that of Cusco with its unique legacy of having been the Inka imperial capital, Arequipeno regionalist sentiment was connected to anti-centralist politics to create a modern, credible alternative to Limeno centralism. Arequipeno regionalism has succeeded in avoiding being dismissed as mere provincialism. Critical to the decentralist political effort was drawing on a reservoir of local, place-specific imagery as symbolic capital to validate the material success of regionally-dominant classes. [Of course it doesn't hurt that urban sprawl, massive growth and general living conditions in Lima have so deteriorated in recent decades!]

This paper, then, deals with the ongoing reorganization of these cultural materials in this century. A quasi-indigenist 1920s political/literary movement consolidated and idealized the rural elements in Arequipeno identity, centering on folkloric images associated with rural smallholders in the valley of Arequipa. But this status group of poor Spanish/mestizo farmers has transformed itself since the 1940s into a prosperous class of dairy and other farmers. This transformation was due largely to two developments which expanded the internal market: the establishment of an evaporated milk factory by a Carnation Milk Co. subsidiary, and the completion of the Pan-American highway to Lima (and Puno). However, for geographic, social and other reasons, campina smallholding land tenure has remained little changed even as relations of production shifted from reliance on household labor and labor exchange among households to wage labor by *serrano* immigrants (Love 1983, 1989). Regional identity is now more of economic and less of political importance, and centers more on bullfighting than on the bucolic landscape.

Since Independence, and particularly in this century, there has been a redefinition, narrowing and intensification of Arequipeno regional identity:

- narrowing - with collapse of Peru/Bolivia Confederation and political economic realignments in the central Andes, the space Arequipeno commercial elites claim to dominate shrunk to southern Peru (vid. Flores Galindo 1977);

- redefinition - a quasi-indigenist movement in Arequipa in the 1920s extolled rural life and virtues, idealizing the loncco; with the entrance of the milk plant, key symbols in regional identity were again reconfigured in the 1950s-1970s, when bull-fighting moved to the center stage it currently occupies;

- intensification - though present in the later colonial period, regionalist sentiment intensified after Independence and growing competition of Arequipeno with Limeno elites over political and economic control of the southern highlands area (Gootenberg 1991), particularly with the wool trade (Flores Galindo op cit.). This regional identity became explicitly tied with decentralist politics in Arequipa in the first half of this century. This current peaked in the early 1930s with the coup by and subsequent removal of Sanchez Cerro, and was certainly politically exhausted by the early 1950s (Caravedo 1978). Though not mobilized politically, regionalist sentiment is again intensifying since the early 1980s in response to the perceived threat of Arequipa being engulfed by waves of *serrano* migrants, largely from Puno. Though the political movement utilizing regional identity was exhausted by the early 1950s, this reservoir of potent, place-bound symbols is now utilized as symbolic power in marketing beer and milk.

The inability of the Arequipeno commercial elite to convert wealth generated from the nineteenth century wool trade to industrial purposes meant that, unlike Catalonia in relation to Spain, the whole productive system remained fundamentally agrarian (vid. Flores Galindo op cit.:134ff.). Though the entrance of Leche Gloria (Carnation) in 1940 helped expand the internal market, it did not lead to qualitative changes in the agrarian character of the regional economy because Carnation did not fundamentally reorganize the relations of production in the campina (Love 1983).

Consequently, “traditional” campina smallholders still carry much of the symbolic weight of regional identity. Ongoing regionalism remains place-bound, though the imagery has become more masculinized with the rise of dairying as a principal economic activity in the countryside. Bull-fighting (bull-on-bull) has emerged as one of the central images associated with campina traditionalism.

But the Achilles Heel of such reliance on place-bound imagery for political purposes is that a regionalism so closely identified with local symbols is difficult to cobble together with other decentralist

movements in Puno and Cusco, despite the fact that they all shared significant anti-limeno sentiment. And this refers us back to the distinctiveness of the mestizo (vs. much more indigenous) character of Arequipa. As the title of the book (“Ni chicha ni limonada”) suggests, Arequipeno identity straddles the great cultural divide in Peru between the coast and the sierra, between modernizing Peru and “Peru profundo”.

Finally, of course, in an echo of tensions apparent in the central highlands (Mallon 1983) and throughout the central Andes generally, even the gulf between *lo indigeno* (Puno, Cusco) and *lo mestizo* (Arequipa) has yet to be bridged. Oddly enough, the resurgence of pride in local folklore discussed in this paper is propelled in part by the rich folklore which Puneno migrants have brought with them. The emphasis on bull-fighting can be seen in part as a response to the influx of Punenos and other serranos. Arequipenos own land and are wealthy enough to raise fighting bulls; serranos are poor, don't own land and scramble for whatever gainful employment they can find (despite the fact that the current mayor of Arequipa, Roger Caceres, is of Puneno origin!). (Further analysis of the Puneno “capture” of the 15 August anniversary parade and celebration and its relation to bullfighting is beyond the scope of this paper.)

II. PLACE.

Objectively, there is much to argue for a “natural” region in SW Peru that grounds this regionalist sentiment. Surrounded by deserts, mountains and the ocean, Arequipa has a marked oasis-like quality which strikes all observers and visitors. Arequipa IS a relatively isolated place, and was so especially before the late 1930s completion of the Panamerican Highway and the arrival of regular air service. This objective reality certainly literally grounded the regionalist sentiment said to have prevailed in Arequipa since its Spanish founding on 15 August 1540...and perhaps even during the Inka period as well. Indeed, further research may likely reveal the indigenous, deeply telluric origins of Arequipeno regionalism.

But uncritical use of such “objective” categories hides the regionally-specific social organization and cultural understanding of space. All these elements are woven by Arequipenos into the fabric of regional identity, and constitute the platform on which regionalism is continually reconstructed. In SW Peru, inheritance of a set of administrative units whose layout reaches back to the pre-Inka period in many cases. The outlines of the regional space which I analyze in this paper consists roughly of the Departments of Arequipa, Moquegua and Tacna. This space, in turn, corresponds roughly to the colonial Bishopric of Arequipa (though shorn of the old region of Tarapaca in the War of the Pacific in early 1880s) (vid. Davies 1984). In turn, this region corresponds roughly to Kuntisuyu, one of the four major administrative units which the Inka state imposed on this rugged central Andean geographic space (vid. Galdos R. 1985).

Some etymological background is helpful.

- place: plaza (Sp.) after Latin *plattus* - flat, broad way, open space. This competes with...
- Germanic stead: town or place, proper time or place (from Gr. *statio* = station, position, stand); hence, steadfast - held in position; steady - fixed, immovable, firm in position or movement, regular in operation or force, stable, constant. Also...
- local: pertaining to a place; to locate is to appoint the place of.
- territory: land belonging to a town, ruler or state (Lat. *territorium*).
- region: kingdom, realm; division of the world; (Lat. *direction*, line, boundary, quarter, district, province; from *regere* - direct, guide, rule; hence regent, regime, regiment)

So...people could have a sense of place without being regional; that is, place-sense precedes the rise of states, likely dating back as a part of our food foraging heritage. Regionalism, on the other hand, makes sense only in larger scale, complex (state organized?) societies. Arequipeno regionalism makes sense only

in a state context, with other regionalisms against which its purported differences make a difference. So, to rephrase better the question at hand, to what extent is Arequipeno regionalism place-based, since there are other bases on which regionalist sentiment and political mobilization could be based? Or, are place-based symbols a not-so-subtle code language for status group and class differences, a reorganization of racialist criteria prevalent since the colonial period?

Subtle code or not, place-bound imagery is central to Arequipeno identity. Most of the important symbols are either geographically specific to the area or pertain only to central actors in the regional story. The Misti volcano which broods over the whole valley landscape; Arequipenos feel that their rebellious nature (“the birthplace of revolutions”) is due to the energy from the volcano. Rural smallholders who hold colorful, lively bull-on-bull fights are the central actors in the regional story. Arequipenos are widely considered to be prosperous because they are “hard workers” like these small farmers, and they possess entrepreneurial drive.

The rooted, specific and unsubstitutable quality of local images and symbols makes them powerful as symbolic capital. This reservoir of images and symbols can be drawn upon by various interests for their symbolic power. Such symbolic capital has been especially useful in the ongoing Arequipeno struggle (as Peru’s second largest city) against Lima’s political, economic and cultural dominance of the country. In Peru, *lo arequipeno* remains the major viable alternative to *lo limeno*.

I suggest that a comparison of Trujillo - the “other second city” of Peru - with Arequipa would be especially instructive. Trujillano regionalism never developed as strongly because Trujillo has been so much a part of the Lima/north coast bloc which since the mid-nineteenth century has dominated the country politically, economically and culturally. It is also the case that the place-specific qualities of Trujillo do not differ significantly from those of Lima, so there is less of a distinctive reservoir of symbols upon which interests could draw to create symbolic power. Regionalism in Trujillo should be less place-bound.

Cusqueno regionalism also draws heavily, of course, upon rich symbols and imagery. As the Inka imperial capital Cusco has unique symbolic resources on which to draw. Since the Inka state covered such enormous territory, however, Cusco cannot lay exclusive place-bound claim to all that is Inka. Also, despite its strong indigenist currents, however, these images are inevitably and inextricably tied to the (failed) past. This has dogged efforts to project indigenist elements as the core of *peruanidad*.

Unlike the more mestizo north or mixed center of the Peruvian highlands, southern Peru is the “mancha indigena”, “Peru profundo”. Arequipa, unlike any other major Peruvian city, has stood as a Spanish island in an Indian sea. Arequipeno regionalism was constructed against this backdrop. As a result regional profiles are all the more clearly defined. Arequipa is both a cultural and natural oasis in a powerful landscape. And, ultimately, and perhaps because it became so place-bound, Arequipeno mestizo identity failed to link up with Puno- or Cusco-based anti-limeno currents in some broader, southern Peruvian regional identity.

III. LONCCOS AND REGIONAL HISTORY

As noted above (Love ms.), especially important for the 1920s reformulation of Arequipeno regional identity was/is the most place-bound members of the regional society - the *lonccos*, or poor Spanish/mestizo farmers in the valley - a derogatory quechua term connoting something like “hillbillies” or socially crude, rural illiterates. They were deemed “lonccos” by the landed Spaniards or the prosperous merchants emerging with the wool trade and a reactivated sierra economy in the latter nineteenth century.

Lonccos were not Indians, it should be noted. In fact, as poor Spaniards/mestizos they participated in but were excluded from any control over the life of the city. They responded to their social marginalization with the term *ccalas*, or beardless ones, an equally derogatory term applied to the rich Spaniards of the city.

Important in the colonial period was the sense of honor or virtue, which with Independence was transformed into citizenship (Chambers In press). The sense of disenfranchisement of poor Spaniards, both urban artisans but especially rural small farmers, found voice in the hauntingly sad *yaravies* of Mariano Melgar (Carpio 1976).

But who were these lonccos so idealized by such poets as Percy Gibson and Cesar Atahualpa Rodriguez? A social history of Arequipa has yet to be written. Unlike most other mid-elevation, inter-Andean valleys, no hacienda/community tradition here. This was a result of the emphasis and comparative advantage of wine-growing; estates therefore located in lower, hotter valleys like Majes or Tambo for environmental/production reasons. Other areas in inter-Andean valleys can grow locally what campina smallholders could grow, so there was no market other than local city.

The growth of Arequipeno regional elite, whose control was based on domination of commerce (tied in part to the Spanish mercantilist policies) in southern Peru and adjacent Alto Peru. With periods of expansion and contraction, Arequipeno merchants dominated regional commerce from at least 1780 (Flores Galindo op cit.).

Descendants of the idealized *loncco* minifundista are the typical current inhabitants of the campina of Arequipa (the campina is the traditionally cultivated area surrounding the city in the valley of Arequipa. It is taken as conventional wisdom that smallholder survival throughout the Andes is predicated on access to a variety of ecological zones (vid. Brush 1977). Under the verticality model (Murra 1975) such multi-zone complementarity was seen as the heart of *lo andino*, the Andean way of adapting to the complex tropical highland environmental complexity offered by the Andes. What interzonal exchange there is in southwestern Peru is constituted by highland herders descending to barter for crops produced in the *suní* (potatoes, other tubers, barley), *kichwa* (maize, some fruits) and *yunga* (fruits) ecozones (Pulgar Vidal 1987) - rather than some true complementarity among zones. Herders are more dependent on farmers than vice versa (Love 1988).

But most Arequipa campina smallholders seem to have given up this presumably pan-Andean multizone strategy by the early nineteenth century (vid. Galdos R. 1985), suggesting that its hold is not so much part of some Andean cultural essence (vid. Starn 1994) as much as it is a rational response to prevailing political economic as well as ecological conditions (vid. van Buren 1996). Arequipa is noted for its abundant water supply, particularly relative to the limited land base, and the year-round sunshine which leads to very high agricultural productivity. Though there are problems with inadequate water supply in some campina districts (e.g., Characato), generally there is not a huge problem with access to water for irrigation. Consequently, these descendants of *lonccos* have had less need for access to multiple zones in order to sustain their family farms. Of course they have also had income from urban-related links, both in supplying local households or selling in the local market.

IV. 1920S POLITICAL/LITERARY MOVEMENT

For the better part of the century after Independence, Arequipa was engaged in a losing battle with Limeno centralist control of Peru. While recent historiography argues that this battle was lost as early as the 1840s (Gootenberg 1991), it is clear that a decisive shift in the nature of decentralist rebellion had

occurred before the 1955 rebellion (Caravedo op cit.). The collapse of the 1920s indigenist/decentralist movement in Arequipa with the betrayal by Sanchez Cerro in 1931 marked an important turn.

A small movement in the 1920s combined political decentralism with a quasi-indigenist literary current, particularly in the form of the Grupo Aquelarre. Imagery from the rural landscape and lifestyle of the campina cultivators was idealized in a romantic poetry echoing themes resounding in Cusco's indigenist movement - the real embodiments of such noble virtues as honesty and hard work. The campina and its residents, the lonccos (note that the eradication of the indigenous was by now complete) became solidly identified as the most traditional area, source and foundation of Arequipeno regional identity and virtue.

This movement extolling regional specificity was connected to a resurgence of anti-limeno/anti-centralist sentiment, provoked by the Leguia regime (1920-1931). But this was a movement whose demands were limited to a political decentralization. Uncoupled from demands for social justice and economic reform, including agrarian reform, such decentralist movements - however energetic - ultimately failed (vid Basadre op cit.:138). The economic upheaval of the great Depression brought this particular political movement to an abrupt end.

Percy Gibson was the best known Arequipeno poet of this century. Along with Cesar A. Rodriguez (it was Gibson who christened him Atahualpa, hence the middle A.), his work exemplifies the idealization process described above. Gibson described the Arequipeno landscape in transcendental terms, seeing the most universal in its specifically local features. "There are moments in which one is uncertain if the poet is singing of the mountains and valleys or if these are not rather a pretext to treat much more important themes" (Armaza 1960:26 [my translation]). In "Los Trigales", for example, Gibson treats the campina and its small farmers (he doesn't use the term loncco) in evocative, mystical terms, concluding by treating wheat fields as the very body of Christ.

LOS TRIGALES

!Oh! los atardeceres, !oh! la divina Ceres,
!oh! rusticas mujeres con sus hoces triunfales
entre los siderales oros de los trigales...
Los trigales son misticos y en las tardes elevan
canticos eucaristicos; salmos, rezos, hosanna;
dicen pasajes biblicos y en la *Celeste* y vana
esfera donde flota el Empireo, se juntan
a la solenine nota de la santa campana
que tane lentamente, a la oracion cristiana
de la rustica vieja, que va con su cayado,
y al balar de la oveja ...
Por el viejo camino vuelve de sus labores
el viejo campesino, rejoneando las yuntas
que van boyantes, lentas, resignadas y juntas ...
Descubrese el anciano y alza su ingenua y pura
mirada de aldeano hacia la azul altura,
y su barba, florida de eucaristica albura,
tiembla al rezo de intenso fervor y semeja una
humareda de incienso ...
Los nevados borregos por el sendero marchan
balando; unos labriegos reunen la gavilla
mientras otros chasquean el zurriago en la trilla:
azuzan la carrera de la cobra jadeante

al redor de la era ...
 Se oyen las cristalinas voces de la algazara
 que hacen las campesinas aventando el tesoro
 del trigo, cuya granza, como incienso de oro,
 junto las oraciones de los labriegos sube
 mientras vivan los sonos de la santa campana
 que en La iglesia aldeana da la oracion cristiana ...
 El aire vaga lleno de olor de santidad
 con que lo impregna el heno y nos trae el divino
 aroma de la hostia que es cuerpo del Rabino.
 Las mendicantes viejas encorvadas y de asperas
 blanquecinas guedejas hilan, hilan sus copos
 sentadas en los bordes que demarcan los topos:
 ancianas indigentes temidas de los ninos
 y las rusticas gentes por su rostro siniestro;
 !pobres!, basura humana, rezan el Padre Nuestro
 y a la virgen Maria pidiendo entre los trigos
 el pan de cada dia; fijos sus ojos hondos
 en la rueda que gira mientras los trigos blondos,
 con planidero acento monacal de viejo organo
 de ruinoso convento, murmuran letanias
 vagas y rumorean celicas armonias ...
 Dice el rumor aurino de la mies con la dulce
 voz del triste Rabino;
 "Venid a mi, cansados y los que estais de afanes
 y trabajos cargados, que yo os dare consuelo:
 la verde paz del campo y el bien azul del cielo;
 venid aqui, mendigos, comed, este es mi cuerpo..."
 Asi dicen los trigos...

In "El Cholo", Gibson distills the proud, sad qualities of the Arequipeno mestizo peasant:

EL CHOLO

La chacra, cholo y chola, y olla y tacho
 ella hace chicha, el riega su maiz;
 con sombrero faldon, poncho y caucacho
 vegeta como el hongo en su raiz.

Ramada, y tardecita del poblacho,
 Canta su amor erotico, infeliz,
 entre sentimental y entre borracho,
 con gotas de sudor en la nariz.

Triste cholo lloron, alma doliente,
 quechua andaluz, pesar y frenesi
 la voz ronca y cascada de aguardiente,

gime con su vihuela el yaravi,
 y melancolizado de poniente
 el cree que la vida "es, pues, asi".

In “Arequipay” Gibson distills powerful symbols of Spanish and Inka - the essential *mestizaje* of Arequipa, and personifies the campina landscape itself in speaking of the mountains as peasant women, the terracing on the hills like her multiple skirts:

AREQUEPAY

Cerros con poncho cuidan los maizales
y las papas; las cholos cordilleras
recogen en sus rusticas polleras
de andenes los productos ancestrales.

Nace una nueva Era con las eras
en un rubio Evangelio de trigales,
y una blanca invasion de occidentales
levanta la ciudad de sus canteras.

El Padre Sol autoctono del Inca
recibe en paz a los conquistadores
y al Padre Nuestro, y las rodillas hinca.

Mientras arde la Iglesia en resplandores
del Ccoricancha, el Nazareno finca
la aldea de sillares y pastores.

But this 1920s movement was more than literary. A Central Social Obrero had been founded in Arequipa in 1905 (by Mostajo’s father); speaking on the occasion of its tenth anniversary in 1915, Francisco Mostajo acknowledged the broad base of the movement, with support ranging from poet Percy Gibson, musician Manuel Ballon and educator Jorge Polar to worker Augusto Valdivia Barrientos and intellectual and politician Victor Andres Belaunde. As intellectual leader of this movement, Mostajo sounded a strongly regionalist note in his comments:

“No se extrane que hagamos incapie en la nota arequipenista. Es menester no deslabasar nuestro caracter de pueblo. La decadencia de Arequipa coincide con ese deslabasamiento. Hay que despertar e intensificar el sentimiento de terruno, el sentimiento nacional, sin cuya soflamacion los pueblos quedan destinados a que los arrollen o supediten otros pueblos de mas temple intimo. Cabalmente en el Peru falta el sentimiento hondo y fuerte de la tierra, que tienen para zozobra sobria de nuestro animo, el roto de Maule y el cholo del altiplano. Somos unos mestizos desamorados de los nuestro, sin el orgullo fiero de lo que somos, sin el sentimiento energetico del territorio, la raza, la colectividad, la historia que nos engloba en sus fuerzas determinantes. En cualquier chileno o boliviano se afirma el alma nacional. En el peruano se muestra borrosa. Y esta inferioridad en la fibra colectiva en el temple civico, puede llenarnos de nublos el porvenir y hacer del Peru otro rey chico de Granada. Urge reaccionar nacionalizando la pedagogia, nacionalizando la expresion de nuestros actos, nacionalizando nuestra vida de pueblo...izando nuestra vida de pueblo. Y fiestas como la fiesta obrera [break] estados psicicos, la determinan direcciones y renueven en su inconciencia el buen sedimento radical. Y desde luego nada de esto es provincialismo ni misonerismo. No. El provincialismo rezago es de los trogloditas. El misonerismo fobia es de imbeciles. En tanto el sentimiento de terruno, genesis del sentimiento nacional base del patriotismo que aun es necesario en el estado actual de barbarie internacionalista, enaltecimiento es de la personalidad colectiva o sea su afirmacion viril, no meticulosa, sin egoismos estupidos de aldea, sin retardarismo empedernidos, y mas bien su indole es asimilatriz, amplia, progresista, comprensive. El provincialismo es a modo de instinto animal, inconciencia, el regionalismo por el contrario, es conciencia

de nuestro ser lectivo. De ahí que aplaudimos sin reserva a nuestros coterraneos que tienen el culto de Arequipa, a la que siempre hay que proclamar, como el héroe cervantino de secular silueta, la más hermosa.” (Mostajo 1915 in Ballón 1992:158-59)

The Partido Decentralista was the culmination of a strongly decentralist political current running from 1920 to 1931, opposing Leguía's strong centralism (Ballón 1992:62). It was led by Manuel J. Bustamante de la Fuente [whose foundation has been active in recent years in promoting Arequipeno regionalism through a variety of publications]. Francisco Mostajo was the intellectual leader of this general movement, which was “the expression of the commercial bourgeoisie and large landholders of Arequipa and the Peruvian south” (ibid. 67). Mostajo and poet Rodríguez, among others, joined Bustamante de la Fuente and José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in supporting Sánchez Cerro's 1930/31 campaign against the Leguía government. (However, quickly betrayed by Sánchez Cerro on his arrival in Lima, the group withdrew support only a month later.)

V. EXPANSION OF HOME MARKET, LECHE GLORIA, AND RISE OF LONCCOS AS CLASS

But this status group of poor Spanish/mestizo farmers has transformed itself since the 1940s into a prosperous class of dairy and other farmers. This transformation was due largely to two developments which expanded the home market: the establishment of an evaporated milk factory by a Carnation Milk Co. subsidiary, and the completion of the Pan-American highway to Lima (and Puno) in the late 1930s.

1940 was a big year in the life of Arequipa, for it was the 400th anniversary of the Spanish (re)founding of the city in 1540. It also marked the beginning of a new situation in the countryside; this rural status group began to transform itself into a class with the arrival in the late 1930s of Leche Gloria - a subsidiary of the General Milk Co. (Carnation) which began operating an evaporated milk plant in Arequipa in 1940. (A few) members of some of the most prominent families of the time - Guillermo Bustamante y Rivero (relative of the soon-to-be president of the country), for one - were actively involved in bringing Carnation to Arequipa.

Leche Gloria was key to reviving the *campina*, which had fallen into doldrums with the lack of an external market. Farmers had themselves organized into the Sociedad Agrícola de Arequipa in 1916, searching for ways to stimulate regional agriculture. Along with the highway opening up the Lima market, *campina* farmers for the first time were able to loosen themselves from being tied exclusively to the dynamic of the home market of Arequipa city. Lonccos now began to differentiate, with a class of more prosperous dairy farmers - tied to LG - coming to dominate regionally.

Milk consumption was certainly a typical part of life in the countryside; indeed, a key feature of *campina* folklore was/is *la lechera* - a woman astride a burro bringing two porongos of milk to sell in the city [postcard]. But with the arrival of LG, cash cows came to dominate the rhythm of everyday life in the *campina*. Small farmers quickly shifted from their mixed cropping pattern typical of mid-elevation Andean valleys (maize, potatoes, barley, squash, beans, peppers, etc. - “*productos de panllevar*”) to dairying, given the attraction of twice/month payment and an apparently secure (and growing) market. Some small farmers on the richest soils in the lower part of the *campina* (Tiabaya, etc.) shifted to high-value crops like onions and garlic for trucking to Lima.

Campina farmers became more commercially organized in response to the expansion of the internal market in the southern highlands and to Lima (Love 1983:85ff.). The *campina* is comprised of 11,415 hectares, constituting 35% of the cultivated area of the Quilca and Tambo River drainages. In 1974, 88% of farms controlling 43% of this area were under three hectares in size (Peru: ONERN 1974:752).

Campina smallholders seeking to expand to meet demand for vegetables, fruits and fresh milk for newly-opened Lima and Puno markets as well as the growing urban population of Arequipa, did not have to compete with an entrenched landed oligarchy. Rather, they had to compete with a sea of smallholders generally unwilling to sell lands in a situation of land scarcity. Expansion of the agricultural frontier through state-sponsored irrigation works out on the La Joya and Sta. Rita de Sigwas pampas became a top priority. (Population estimates for 1990 show about as many people in the more recently developed irrigation projects and adjacent valleys (La Joya, Sta. Rita de Sigwas, Vitor, San Juan de Sigwas and Sta. Isabel de Sigwas) west of Arequipa city as in the traditional campina districts (Paucarpata, Sabandia, Characato, Mollebaya, Quequena, Yarabamba, Pocsi, Chiguata, Polobaya, Yura, Tiabaya, Sachaca, Uchumayo and Socabaya).

But for geographic, social and other reasons campina smallholding land tenure has remained little changed even as relations of production shifted from reliance on household labor and labor exchange among households to wage labor by *serrano* immigrants (Love 1983, 1989). The smallholding land tenure system and impressive terracing (Donkin 1979) in the campina constitute objective constraints on the complete rationalization of campina cultivation. So differentiation of smallholder peasantry into larger-scale farmer and rural proletarian classes *in the campina proper* was hindered by terracing (which limited mechanization), by the existing land tenure pattern (most smallholders unwilling to sell lands), and by proximity to the city (smallholders could supplement household incomes with urban employment). Also, the symbolic value of agricultural life meant provided an additional reason why most people were reluctant to sell lands.

In fact differentiation has proceeded (Love 1983, 1989), just hidden in that for these reasons smallholding persists in the campina itself - the symbolic heartland of the region (and the only place where the bull-on-bull fights take place). Expansion taking place mostly on irrigation projects (largely state-sponsored) about 50 miles away. Also, the growth of a rural wage-labor force - composed of sierran immigrants (mostly Puno and Cuzco) - is hidden because they live on the urban fringe in *pueblos juvenes* or squatter settlements. The presence of this multitude of culturally different new migrants also heightens Arequipeno self-identification (Arequipenos own land, serranos work it).

Thus, since the 1920s, but especially since the arrival of Carnation/Leche Gloria in late 1930s, bull-fighting has moved to the symbolic center of regional identity. Prosperous dairymen invest in fighting bulls (and paso horses) as representatives of the general class of campina smallholders (with loncco social origins) *who have emerged as the dominant class in the overall regional economy*. The replacement of the older commercial elite (with some ties to coastal or puna estates) by emerging new wealth in regional politics and economy is illustrated by the decline of certain families and rise of other families, many with loncco roots. Such formerly elite families as Lira, Ricketts, Munoz Najar and Lopez de Romana have been displaced by a host of families such as Diez Cano, Rivas, del Carpio (Pres. of Region Arequipa), Castro, Linares, Valencia Dongo (Banco Sur), Perez Wicht (active in Accion Popular), and Huaco.

The prime example of the emergence of this class is Rodriguez Banda, two brothers who purchased Leche Gloria in 1985 (?). They rose from loncco roots in the traditional campina district of Paucarpata to convert Leche Gloria to Gloria, S.A., which includes not only the milk plant but also such regionally important factories as Cementos Yura and the Cachimayo fertilizer plant outside Cusco. Their 50th anniversary publication (Santistevan de Noriega 1993) draws very heavily on the symbolic capital of campina traditionalism, for example extolling (at length) the industriousness of the traditional campina smallholder.

Though not of loncco origin, the Bustamante name figures prominently in regional political economy. Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero was active in the Partido Decentralista, as noted above, and was elected as the much respected post-WWII President of Peru, overthrown by General Odria in 1948. His brother (noted above) was a key figure in bringing Carnation to Arequipa.

VI. RESURGENCE OF CAMPINA TRADITIONALISM

With Leche Gloria, the life of the campina was being transformed. At a cultural level, one element of rural life - the *peleas de toros*, or bull-on-bull fighting - emerged from the field of symbols. With cash cows came a resurgence of interest in fighting bulls. Bullfighting takes a regionally specific and culturally prominent form in Arequipa. Instead of a *matador* with charging bull, in Arequipa it's bull fighting bull - very colorful and picturesque.

The earliest reference I can find to *peleas de toros* is 10 May 1881 in the Pampa de Miraflores (Carpio M. 1983:60). This form of bullfighting undoubtedly has roots well back into the colonial period, as a status rivalry between/among neighboring freehold minifundista farmers. Though there are references in this century to fighting bulls from as far away as the Tambo and Vitor valleys, the tradition is centered on the campina itself. This is not only because the campina has the largest agricultural area and largest population in the southwestern region, so that there are enough bulls to form the 5-10 matches per event. It is also because raising fighting bulls is expensive; the wealthiest farmers are located near Arequipa city, either directly because of the wealth generated by their agricultural holdings and/or indirectly because of their ready access to other forms of wealth.

In 1986 a new association was formed to protect the tradition of fighting bulls. ACPATPA (Asociacion de Criadores, Proprietarios y Aficionados de Toros de Pelea de Arequipa) has come to form a status group of prosperous cattlemen linked with the class of emerging new wealth in the region - elevated to prominence by association with the Leche Gloria milk company. These dairymen carry much of the symbolic content of the characato. "Ser Arequipeno y Criador de Toros de Pelea, es un gran reto y responsabilidad para el desarrollo del pais" is the motto of the organization, inscribed above the entrance to their expansive, modern locale (built 1995)

Campina farmers (descendants of the idealized *lonccos*) internalized this prominence and turned growing wealth from the shift to dairy farming (Love 1983) toward the cost of maintaining fighting bulls and *caballos de paso*. Bull-fighting defines campina traditionalism, converting (following Bourdieu) symbolic power into the power to make groups - symbolizing and even maintaining the power of the newly emerging class of regional power holders of loncco origins.

A typical *pelea* has several elements: a sponsor, a dedication, a set of judges, an audience, a charitable purpose and of course the bulls, their owners and handlers. Fights are sponsored by the association, each *pelea* dedicated to someone important, e.g. Pres. del Club Huracan, Pres. of Fongalsur (the regional dairymen's cooperative). Names of bulls often mock legendary names - Onasis, Pierola (former Pres. of Peru), Stalin, Hiro Hito, etc.

Leche Gloria/Carnation was hardly blind to this tradition. The legend of Menelik is instructive. Perhaps the best-known bull of "all time" was the legendary Menelik, who launched the current resurgence of campina bull-fighting by winning the championship in 1946. Menelik, born in the traditional campina district of Socabaya, was the offspring of a plow ox and a prize cow. This cow was the Campeona de Cria Chola of the campina, which competition was organized by Leche Gloria on the occasion of the 400th anniversary celebrations in August, 1940 (Lazo 1996). At age one Menelik was taken to the new irrigation

project of Sta. Rita de Sigwas, where he was raised “con toros serranos de inverna, donde seria su escuela. [Al dueno] le agradaba ver que pelee guaguito con los toros serranos.” Menelik gained strength fighting the sierran bulls. They tried to make him work pulling a plow, but “he wasn’t born to work” (ibid.: 16). One gains repute by having owned a champion, which are frequently sold and passed around. Felix Gallegos, elderly gentleman of Sabandia, proudly told me in 1978 how he had once owned Menelik.

The story takes an important, populist turn later that same year. A fair took place in October, 1940, during which a silver cup, donated by Leche Gloria, was awarded for the Best Creole Milk Cow by none other than Manuel Prado, then President of Peru. During the fair a bullfight was held, with Menelik - certain to lose to the then champion Smeling - to be raffled off afterward to the winning ticket. The holder of the winning ticket was a boy whose father had purchased the winning ticket; a ticket of S/. 5.00 had won the boy a bull worth S/. 2,000.00! The boy and his friends tied their belts together to lead the legendary bull back home to Paucarpata.

Arequipenos are now widely known as “Characatos”. The term seems to have originated in the late 1930s as long-distance trucking of onions, garlic and other products began to reach Limeno markets in force (Montalvan pers. comm.). Proudly regionalist, these truckers were disparagingly called hicks or mere provincials by limenos, who seized on the name of one of the most traditional, rural districts of the area (perhaps some of those first truckers were actually from Characato village). The term quickly and proudly became incorporated as a marker for Arequipenos generally, so much so that in the last decade local currency has jokingly been issued which bear the portrait of the “Characato” - the idealized local mestizo farmer.

Consequently, “traditional” campina smallholders still carry much of the symbolic weight of regional identity. Ongoing regionalism remains place-bound, though the imagery has become more masculinized with the rise of dairying as a principal economic activity in the countryside. Bull-fighting (bull-on-bull) has emerged as one of the central images associated with campina traditionalism.

VII. CONCLUSIONS: UTILIZING SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

From this symbolic capital, this reservoir of mostly place-bound symbols and images, various interests over this century have drawn symbolic power to assist in reaching political and/or economic goals. The resurgence of traditionalism, especially bullfighting in the campina, has been supported by a growing range of entities, from District councils and the local brewery to the Instituto Nacional de Cultura. Tourist agencies are drawing increasingly on campina traditionalism to boost interest among national and international tourists en route to Cusco.

- in the 1920s political/literary movement, the Partido Decentralista utilized symbolic capital of in a campaign culminating in the coup de etat of Sanchez Cerro in 1931. Though he was quickly captured by centralist interests in the capital, the movement catapulting him to power was clearly regionalist.

- from its entrance in 1940, Carnation (Leche Gloria) has capitalized on the symbolic capital of the campina to win local support, extend its operations into new areas of Arequipa Department and the adjacent Departments of Moquegua and Tacna.

- but the role of Cervesur, the regional brewery (which owns both Arequipeno and Cuzqueno beers), is especially illustrative of the current utilization of symbolic capital in marketing a product.

- using that identity in television and print advertising to sell their “beer - symbol of Arequipenismo”, with extensive use of picanteria symbols

- major financial support for the restoration in late 70s/early 80s of the rural mansion of the Spanish founder of Arequipa (in 1540)
- a new museum for Juanita, the Inka sacrificemummified Inka sacrificial victim
- support for ACPATPA (Asociacion de Criadores y Propietarios Aficionados de Toros de Pelea de Arequipa) , founded in 1986 and the whole tradition of bullfightingArequipeno
- and, most importantly, major support for staging of bullfights

In sum, we see the emergence of the main point is the irony that the most traditional elements of regional identity have become associated with a previously denigrated status group, which now has emerged as the regionally dominant social class.

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