Swallowing their pride: Indigenous and industrial beer in Peru and Bolivia

BENJAMIN ORLOVE and ELLA SCHMIDT
University of California, Davis

In this article, we examine the relations between food and social identity through an analysis of consumption in Peru and Bolivia, where food and drink are central components of many social gatherings. The key dimensions of social inequality in these countries are well known: a sharply skewed distribution of income and wealth along lines of social class, a separation between more dynamic urban areas and the more static countryside, regional differentials between more developed core areas and poorer interior and frontier zones, ethnic distinctions between national majority populations and indigenous minorities. In these countries, food systems also combine distinct and unequal elements. Indigenous and European crops are both widely consumed, though the latter are usually more prestigious. Moreover, simple peasant technologies of food preparation coexist with higher-status modern industrial technologies of food processing. What connections, then, exist between the sharp class, regional, and ethnic divisions on the one hand, and the composite food systems on the other? Does the patterning of food consumption simply reflect pre-existing social identities, or does food consumption play a more active role in forming and expressing these identities?

To examine these questions, we briefly review two major theoretical perspectives in the study of food and society: macro-structural frameworks, which center on food as diet, and culturalist approaches, which examine food as cuisine.[1] We then discuss data that we gathered on two specific items, *chicha*, an indigenous home-brewed maize beer, and Western bottled beer, an industrial product made from barley and hops. We found a high degree of patterning of the consumption of the two beverages. This patterning does not fit in with either of the two dominant perspectives. Our own explanation, which we term a contex-

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tual account, bears some resemblance to these two perspectives, but differs from both significantly.

Review of approaches to the study of food and society

Macro-structuralist approaches examine food as an economic good with monetary and nutritional value. This work corresponds to the study of food systems as diet. It emphasizes objective measures of the quantities of food that are consumed, and correlates such measures with major demographic and sociological variables. Macro-structuralist studies tend to utilize quantitative methods and to be comparative, examining a number of cases. One such approach is the examination of the globalization of diet, defined as the world-wide shift from the coexistence of many different local and national food consumption patterns to the predominance of a small number of major international diets, as shown since World War II by the tendency of world food production and trade to concentrate on rice, wheat, and a few other major grains and tubers, at the expense of other items. Economic and political variables explain differences within and between societies in the adoption of international diets.[2] A major line of work in this area, derived from political economy, examines the connections among the reorientation of the economies of post-colonial nations towards agricultural exports, the increasingly uneven distribution of land, income, and food in such nations, and their vulnerability to severe famines.[3] Another strand of such macro-structuralist approaches utilizes conventional economic variables. Inter- and intra-societal differences in food consumption levels can be explained by reference to incomes, prices, and elasticities of demand.[4] Confident in their models, these neo-classical economists make predictions on the consequences of policy for the supply of and demand for food.[5]

In contrast, culturalist approaches treat food as a social construct with symbolic meaning. This work corresponds to the study of food systems as cuisine. It emphasizes the culturally-specific criteria that define appropriate food items and meals, and examines the relation of such criteria to other aspects of culture. Culturalist studies tend to utilize qualitative methods and to focus in detail on individual cases. Culturalist research often compares food consumption to other systems of communication, such as language. One line of such research derives from Douglas's key article "Deciphering a meal," which discusses the different principles by which English and French meals are organized.[6]

Another strand, influenced by Geertz's notions of "public symbols" and "thick description,"[7] follows a model of culturalist analysis as translation from one culture to another. Some work in this orientation examines the notions of the human body that influence the appropriateness of certain types of food to mark social identities and relations.[8] The study of ethnic cuisines can be located within this culturalist approach as well. In this view, people use certain food items, meals, or food events to indicate to themselves and to others that they belong to a certain ethnic group.[9]

Some recent research has sought to integrate these two approaches, so that both objective features of inequality and subjective meanings may be included in the study of patternings of food, especially as they change over time. Such research attempts to combine comparative quantitative methods with the intensive study of a small number of particular cases. These efforts, though, seem to land well on the macro-structuralist side of some hypothetical middle point. In her account of a region in Sardinia, for example, Counihan shows that the economic shift from a reliance on small-scale subsistence agriculture to government payments and remittances from migrants has been accompanied by the replacement of a wide variety of local breads made from local wheat (often distributed through gift exchange and feasting) by industrial breads made of imported wheat.[10] This dietary transition signals a shift in cultural orientation from community egalitarianism to individual mobility. However, Counihan presents the cultural transformations as consequences more than as causes of the economic transformations. In another example of such integration, Mennell's comparative study of French and English diets draws on differences in class structure and state formations in the two nations to explain some cultural differences between their food systems, such as the emphasis on elaborate meat dishes with sauces in France and the simple roasts and meat pies in England.[1] The political centralization and courtly traditions in France, associated with the dominance of the aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie, disposed the French toward hierarchical differences in food and towards the elaboration of dishes, while England, with its greater emphasis on the landed gentry and a greater balance of different social classes, tended toward a less complex "country" diet. France developed a tradition of highly prestigious chefs who served sophisticated elites in restaurants; English cooks remained a more proletarian group who were employed in less exclusive institutions such as hotels. This reduction of culture to macro-structural forces appears also in Mennell's historical sections. In tracing these two countries from the Middle Ages to

the present, he emphasizes the parallels in the shifts they undergo in passing from feudal to modern societies. Despite his suggestions that some distinctive features of the diets of these two countries might survive these historical changes, his principal arguments strongly support the views of Norbert Elias that "the civilizing process" – a society-wide domestication of personal and public demeanor and etiquette – shows an internal coherence and uniformity that transcends cultural differences between nations.[12]

Some recent post-structuralist analyses show the tensions within food systems, rather than the coherent order emphasized both by institutional analyses of macro-structuralist approaches and by symbolic analyses of culturalists. Some writers suggest that food can serve as an instrument of hegemony. As Coca-Cola and MacDonald's spread across the globe, elites and middle classes in post-colonial nations identify with an international capitalist order rather than with the peasant masses of their own countries.[13] For others, diet can become an element of resistance. An account of the urban poor in northeastern Brazil shows how the concept of *fome* ("hunger") articulates a sense of injustice and political opposition,[14] while other writers, drawing on political economy, have found a "countercuisine" in the rejection of industrial and highly commodified foods by environmentally concerned consumers within wealthy nations.[15]

Our study of the patterning of chicha and beer consumption in Peru and Bolivia supports neither the macro-structuralist nor the culturalist approaches. We did not find that social and demographic variables, such as urbanism and literacy, correlated with the consumption of these beverages, as the macro-structuralist approaches would suggest. Moreover, the range of significances the two beverages acquired seemed sufficiently broad to lead us away from the straightforward communicative assumptions of these culturalist approaches, in which a community of people who share a single culture use food to mark social identity. No culturalist "deciphering" of consumption seemed possible, or even a translation of the meanings of chicha and beer: too many different and contradictory culinary conversations were going on at once to offer a single account of them. Though we share the post-structuralist concern with looking at food as an arena in which competing identities are expressed and negotiated, we differ from the adherents of this approach in our reliance on quantitative data and our interest in comparative research. Moreover, we see the associations among food, identity, and power as being quite complex, and hence dif-

ficult to reduce to the issues of hegemony and resistance some post-structuralists emphasize.[16]

Instead, our results suggested an explanation that we term "contextual." We chose the term because we see consumption as influenced by two sorts of contexts: spatial contexts (geographical regions) and socio-cultural contexts (the settings in which food and drink are served, such as markets, restaurants, and work parties). Firstly, we found that individuals emphasized different aspects of their social identities in different contexts in a way that did not accord well with the emphasis in macro-structuralist approaches on stable, society-wide dimensions of identity. Secondly, food items have more complex meanings than many culturalists suggest; there are a large number of dimensions of meaning, with different dimensions emphasized in different contexts. Moreover, the links between food items and identity were more varied than these two approaches suggested; in some instances, a food item can serve simply to reflect an established identity, while in others, it can be used purposively to assert an identity that otherwise would be challenged or denied. Our emphasis on the variety of relations between foods and identity is supported by our examination of the multiplicity of contexts in which such relations are expressed.

The dimensions of drinking: Beer and chicha in the Andes

Our examination of historical and contemporary patterns of beer and chicha consumption in Peru and Bolivia suggests the large number of dimensions along which these beverages differ. We note that these beverages, though complex markers of identity, are not free-floating signifiers, since their potential to mark identity is both strengthened and focused by the close connections among production, distribution, and consumption.

A comparison of chicha and beer demonstrates the long history of differences between them. Chicha dates back to pre-Inca times. It played a central role in Inca ritual in the imperial capital of Cusco and in the provinces, and has continued to be of importance during the colonial and republican periods.[17] Beer has a more recent history. It was introduced soon after independence in the early nineteenth century as a luxury item imported form Europe. Its consumption expanded after local capitalists opened breweries in the late nineteenth century.[18]

The two beverages continue to be quite distinct, as can be shown by a review of current practices in the realms of production, distribution, and consumption. Chicha is brewed from maize, often from special brewing varieties, planted in peasant household plots with seed saved from earlier harvests.[19] Chicha-brewing is a small-scale artisanal process, conducted exclusively by women, that involves many complex steps – sprouting, grinding, boiling, mixing, straining – spread out over a number of days; the vessels that the brewers use are locally-made clay pots rather than metal barrels or vats. These steps do not require continuous attention. A brewer will alternate between these tasks and other activities, and occasionally draw in a few of her kin, neighbors, and friends to assist her. The resulting beverage differs from Western beer in its lower alcohol content, its slight murkiness, and its somewhat sour taste. A large batch of chicha, produced for sale or for a large gathering, could reach 500 liters, though smaller batches of a few tens of liters are more common.

Beer is made from imported hops as well as from domestically grown barley. Although the latter crop is raised on peasant fields, breweries provide the seeds of a specific brewing variety to the hundred of peasant cultivators in contract-farming arrangements.[20] The production process in the Andean breweries is similar to that around the world: the barley is sprouted and dried into malt, which is ground, mixed with yeast and hops, and fermented in huge metal vats ranging from about 50,000 to 100,000 liters. The mixture is filtered before it is bottled. Except for some of the office staff, the workers in the breweries are almost all male. They work in large groups on a well-defined schedule.

The links between the brewers and the consumers are quite different for the two beverages. In many instances, chicha is simply one of the foods which women produce and give to the members of their households and their guests. When chicha is sold, in markets or in small restaurants, the artisanal nature of the product continues. It is usually the brewer who sells the chicha that she made, or, in some instances of great demand in larger cities, that a few kinswomen produced. In rural and household contexts, chicha is often served in pottery bowls or gourds of varying size. The people who purchase chicha, especially in towns, buy it either in one-liter jugs or in large glasses, between 750 and 1000 ml in size. Though all the chicha-vendors in any one town ask the same price for these standard volumes, the tie between the vendor and the purchaser is often personalized, since vendors extend credit to their established clients and provide them with more generous free

samples and with gifts of chicha. Customers also associate themselves with specific chicha-vendors because both parties know that the very uniformity of price creates a temptation to dilute chicha by adding sugar and water late in the brewing process, so clients choose vendors whose chicha they know to be of good quality, and vendors, in turn, tend to reserve any lower-grade chicha for customers whom they do not expect to return.

Beer is produced exclusively for sale. A bottle of beer costs more than an equivalent amount of chicha, ranging from two to four times as much. This difference reflects the greater capital investment in equipment associated with the brewing of beer, as well as the higher proportion of purchased ingredients and the higher costs of labor and transport. Uniform in quality as well as in volume, bottles of beer are sold at a fixed price. A vendor may establish personal ties with consumers by extending credit or, in the case of beer consumed away from the point of purchase, by being less fussy than usual in insisting that the empty bottles be returned promptly and without any breakage or chipping. However, these concerns that build long-standing ties are weaker than in the case of chicha.

Peru and Bolivia have patterns of beer sale that are different from those in industrial nations, where competing brands of beer are usually available for sale. These two Andean countries are characterized by regional monopolies of particular brands. The rugged mountain topography, the poor roads, and the expenses of importing spare parts to maintain trucks and trains all contribute to making transport costs very high. As a consequence, beer is rarely sold far from the city where it is produced. Lima, the capital of Peru, is large enough to support two breweries, which also supply the nearby lowland and highland areas; other cities have at most one brewery each, which controls the market of the surrounding provinces. This spatial patterning of sale reinforces a general tendency towards regional identities in Peru and Bolivia, resulting in a great loyalty of beer-drinking to their brand.

Beer and chicha are consumed at a number of social occasions, which we term "settings." These include marketplaces, restaurants, agricultural work, and life-cycle events. Though we may presume that most readers have some familiarity with the bustling weekly markets filled with peasant vendors, with the elite restaurants aspiring to an international style, and so on, there are three settings that are less well known outside the circle of Latin American studies, and hence merit

some discussion. The term *quinta* refers to a kind of urban restaurant.[21] Quintas differ from other such restaurants by their locations, always at some distance from the center of town, and often on the outskirts of town. The food, commonly served out of doors at tables in large patios, includes what are called "*platos típicos*," a term that translates literally as "typical dishes," and refers to regional specialties – roasted guinea pig in Cusco, fried beef jerky in Chuquisaca, a kind of chicken stew or roast duck in Cochabamba. A second setting is the patron-saint festival. These events, often lasting several days, mark the annual celebration of the feast day of a saint, usually the patron of a particular village or town. These festivals usually concentrate around the central square of the village or town, and include a variety of events such as masses, processions, performances by groups of musicians and dancers, and large meals sponsored by ritual office-holders. The third setting, agricultural rituals, includes ceremonies associated with planting, with harvesting, and with the feast days of certain saints linked to the land, crops, domesticated animals, and weather. Agricultural rituals are more typically performed by individual households or small groups of households, and take place in fields and corrals or on hilltops.

Despite the number and diversity of settings for chicha and beer consumption, some uniformities appear in the cultural etiquette that surrounds the drinking itself. Most importantly, chicha and beer are in a fundamental sense comparable to one another and different from all other beverages. They make up what Douglas, in her norm-bound culturalist view, has termed a "class,"[22] a category of goods that must be present at a specific kind of occasion in order to meet local standards of appropriateness. In the more decision-oriented language of neoclassical economists, these two are "substitutes,"[23] that is, there are many occasions on which a mildly fermented beverage made from grain must be served, and chicha and beer are acceptable alternatives for each other in a way that other beverages such as coffee, water, Coca-Cola, or brandy would not be.

Not only are chicha and beer served on similar occasions, they are also served in similar ways. In nearly all circumstances, a server or host invites a number of recipients to a round or rounds of drinks. On some occasions, the members all begin the drinks at the same time. On other occasions, individuals drink one at a time until each member of the group of drinkers has consumed one glass (or bowl, or gourd) and the round is completed. The latter custom is followed when an entire group of beer-drinkers uses only one drinking vessel. In this circumstance, the

drinker selects the individual to follow in sequence, handing the bottle of beer to this person before drinking.

The verbal exchanges associated with drinking vary from brief utterances to flowery toasts or complex sequences of offerings, refusals, repeated offerings, and final acceptances, though the drinker must say "salúd!" or an equivalent phrase immediately before bringing the vessel to his or her lips. This verbal etiquette is only one part of the sociality that surrounds drinking in general. To give someone beer or chicha is, in general, to open or renew a relationship of reciprocity, to create the expectation of some future return, and, even more generally, drinking together creates the sense of solidarity that writers on commensalism have noted since the last century,[24] but that seems in this case to take the culturally specific form of *confianza* ("trust"), which is linked to the *respeto* ("respect") that fellow drinkers show one another.[25]

Research questions and data collection

As this brief review shows, beer and chicha are similar, as local people frequently substitute each for the other, and as the patterns of their use have many elements in common, yet they are also distinct, in that they differ in many basic characteristics. These attributes make them appropriate for an examination of the two sets of approches to the study of food and society. The closely overlapping dimensions of inequality in Peruvian and Bolivian society would seem to determine the social characteristics of the consumers of the two beverages. Since beer, the more expensive of the two, is directly tied to industrial production, impersonal market sale, and international consumption patterns, macro-structuralist views suggest that it would be concentrated among the wealthy and in urban areas; chicha, which differs on all these features, would be the drink of the poor and the rural dwellers. This distribution would accord with a view in which economic commercialization and capitalization would lead to the commodification of diet. A culturalist perspective suggests that the drinks would be ethnic markers. Chicha, made from indigenous crops by ancient techniques, would be a sign of Indian identity,[26] while beer, made from an Old World crop, would show the greater affiliations of mestizos with European culture.[27]

To evaluate thse relations, we established a framework in which we could compare and analyze the extensive ethnographic literature on

the Andes from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, and into which we could incorporate unpublished information that researchers could provide us. We sought to link the many different studies with disparate findings; one researcher showed, for example, that mestizos drank more beer than Indians in one area's markets and restaurants, while another indicated the chicha was the preferred beverage across all social categories at work parties in another area.[28] We decided to prepare a simple coding form rather than a complex one, so that there would be less interference from differences between observers in the field or between coders, and so that we could have a larger data set with fewer instances of missing information. For each of the published studies, we noted the location and time of the research, and whether chicha, beer, or both were reported as having been consumed in each of these contexts. We also sent out copies of the coding forms as questionnaires to sociologists, anthropologists, and historians who had spent long periods of time in different regions. We had hoped to be able to note whether men, women, or both were present, because several studies indicated that beer was associated with exclusively male groups, and chicha with mixed groups. This impression contrasted with some comparative ethnographic research that reported an association of the gender composition of drinking groups with the setting rather than with the beverage,[29] but, to our regret, only a few of our sources gave information on this subject. We scored reports of "beer only" as 2, "chicha only" as 0, and "both chicha and beer" as 1, and averaged the values of data points for the same region and setting.[30] This presence-absence variable seemed relatively unambiguous, since it avoided potentials for error in judgment over such questions as whether one of the beverages was consumed more than the other, or whether it was preferred to the other.

The majority of the data points fit into one of six principal highland regions, listed in Table 1 (see also Map 1). We excluded only the small number of cases that lay outside these regions.[31] These six regions are similar ecologically, in that they contain lower agricultural lands where maize and potatoes are grown as well as higher livestock-producing grasslands. They are also similar sociologically, in that the urban population is heavily concentrated in one large city. Combining the results of the published literature and the questionnaire survey, we had a total of 208 instances of reports on the consumption of chicha and beer in specific contexts. Each of these instances, or data points, consists of a report by a specific person that beer, chicha, or both, were consumed in a particular setting in a specific place during a given period.[32]

Table 1. The six study regions

Name of region	Country	Department	Largest city	Provinces in region
Huaylas	Peru	Ancash	Huaraz	Carhuaz Corongo Huaraz Recuay Yungay
Mantaro	Peru	Junín	Huancayo	Concepción Huancayo Jauja Tarma
Cusco	Peru	Cusco	Cusco	Anta Calca Cusco Urubamba
Arequipa	Peru	Arequipa	Arequipa	Arequipa
Cochabamba	Bolivia	Cochabamba	Cochabamba	Arce Cercado Jordán Punata Quillacollo
Chuquisaca	Bolivia	Chuquisaca	Sucre	Oropesa Yamparaez

These data do not provide direct information on the drinking patterns of individuals, much as one could not draw conclusions about the proportion of monolingual and bilingual individuals in a population from a sociolinguistic study that showed that the indigenous language, Quechua, was spoken much more than Spanish in village assemblies, that the reverse was true of truck repair shops, and that middle-class and poor urban restaurants, markets, and soccer games showed different intermediate levels.[33] A context for which chicha was the only reported beverage could be frequently by two sorts of people: a first type who never drink beer, but only chicha, and to whom we will occasionally refer as "mono-bibulous," following the parallel with sociolinguistics, and a second population of "bi-bibulous" individuals who drink beer and chicha on other occasions, but drink only chicha in this context. Similarly, the people who were observed at a context in which both beer and chicha are always reported could be exclusively bi-bibulous, but there might also be some mono-bibulous ones, or even a mix-

Map 1

ture of some exclusive chicha-drinkers with other exclusive beer-drinkers, and no bi-bibulous individuals at all. We compensate for this lack of direct evidence of individual behavior in several ways: firstly, by noting that a patterning of aggregate behavior is of interest (as in the sociolinguistic example above); secondly, by stating that we can often infer some other attributes of individuals who participate in specific contexts, such as residence and income; and thirdly, by indicating that our informal conversations suggest that only a very few urban adults have never tasted chicha, and that virtually all rural dwellers have had beer on some occasions, so that true mono-bibulosity is infrequent.

Table 2. Mean chicha/beer scores for regions and settings

	All	Arequipa	Mantaro	Huaylas	Chuqui-saca	Cusco	Cocha-bamba
All		1.50	1.46	1.15	0.97	0.73	0.27
Urban: elite parties	1.95	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
Urban: elites restaurants	1.94	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
Urban: non-elite parties	1.47	2.00	2.00	1.33	1.50	1.30	0.50
Urban: non-elite restaurants	1.42	2.00	1.68	1.75	1.33	1.00	0.50
Quintas	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.00	0.33	0.50
Urban markets	0.97	1.50	0.90	1.00	1.50	0.33	1.00
Rural patron-saint festivals	0.91	1.00	1.57	0.80	0.25	1.50	0.25
Rural life cycle celebrations	0.66	1.00	1.36	0.40	0.50	0.33	0.20
Rural markets	0.56	2.00	0.80	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.11
Rural agricultural work groups	0.20	0.00	0.90	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rural agricultural rituals	0.13	No data	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	No data

Research finding and analysis

The average values of scores are indicated in Table 2, which is arranged so that the scores decrease from top to bottom and from left to right. We conducted two sorts of statistical analyses. For the geographical regions, we conducted regressions, treating chicha/beer scores as the dependent variable and taking demographic, economic, and social variables compiled from national census data as independent variables.[34] For the different settings, we used analyses-of-variance (ANOVA) techniques, designed for nominal independent variables, like setting, in which individual cases can be grouped into categories, but in which they cannot be arranged, as ordinal variables can, along some measurable scale. This technique allowed us to define clusters of settings with similar scores.[35]

Social contexts: Clusters of settings

The ANOVA techniques indicate six clusters of settings, depicted in Table 3. The most striking point about these clusters is their large

Table 3. Clusters of settings

Cluster number	Cluster name	Settings in cluster
1	Urban elite entertainment	Elite urban parties Elite urban restaurants
2	Urban non-elite entertainment	Urban non-elite parties Urban non-elite restaurants
3	Popular public eating	Urban non-elite restaurants *quintas* Urban markets
4	Migrant presence	*quintas* Urban markets Rural patron-saint festivals Rural life-cycle celebrations Rural markets
5	Peasant household events	Rural life-cycle celebrations Rural markets Rural agricultural work parties
6	Agricultural events	Rural agricultural work parties Rural agricultural rituals

number.[36] This fact challenges a simple culturalist view of dietary items as ethnic markers, or a simple macro-structural view in which elites and peasants develop different dietary patterns. If chicha and beer were signs of specific identities, then one might expect there to be two clusters of settings that served distinct ethnic clienteles, or at most three, if one takes seriously the claim that *cholos* represent an emergent ethnic identity between Indians and mestizos.[37] It would be impossible, though, to identify six specific ethnic groups in Peru and Bolivia. Moreover, the six clusters cannot be taken as arrayed along (or translated into, in culturalist terms) the continua that move from an Indian pole to a mestizo pole, or from a subsistence to a commercial pole, or from a traditional to a modern pole. As a review of the different clusters shows, there are many dimensions along which they contrast, rather than just one.

Such a review of the clusters can begin with the first two, which we term "urban elite entertainment" and "urban non-elite entertainment." We were struck by the fact that quintas did not occur in either one of these clusters, since they are a kind of urban restaurant. Moreover, they draw both elite and non-elite customers, so that the quinta score might be expected to lie between the scores for elite and non-elite urban restaurants, rather than below them. This position of quintas is especially

problematic for a macro-structuralist view in which the choice between beer and chicha is shaped by the incomes of the potential consumers, since quinta clients, representing the entire spectrum of urban dwellers, have an average income that is higher, rather than lower, than the clients of the non-elite urban restaurants. Quintas are found in the next two clusters, neither of which has a common theme as self-evident as the first two. The third cluster includes non-elite urban restaurants, along with quintas and urban markets. This cluster may be termed "popular public eating," since these are all the non-elite urban settings in which food is available for public sale. Middle-class and poor urban parties, though instances of popular eating, are not public.

The fourth cluster is the only one to straddle the urban/rural split. It includes both urban and rural markets, and it contains two sorts of rural rituals or celebrations – the patron-saint celebrations and life-cycle events. In trying to pin down what these two pairs of settings had in common with each other and with quintas, we first considered the nature of the events. In contrast to most urban restaurants and parties, eating and drinking in these settings take place out of doors, even in the quintas, where customers sit around tables in large patios. Unlike the rural work groups, which also take place out of doors, these settings seemed to involve some tone of display and spending, whether at the celebrations, the markets, or the quintas. These ideas did not fully satisfy us, though, and we returned to the manner in which this group joins urban and rural settings. We adopted "migrant presence" as a term, since these are the settings in which the individuals who move back and forth between the city and countryside play a particularly active role – buying and selling in markets, returning from urban areas to attend village festivals or family events. Such migrants have become an increasingly important sector in Peruvian and Bolivian society, especially since the 1960s. The inclusion of quintas in this cluster, we decided, was not so much that the quintas draw a higher proportion of migrants than urban non-elite parties and restaurants, but rather that the quintas permit city-dwellers to act out a temporary and symbolically constructed migration. Some urban customers recall their own personal experiences of residence in rural zones; others, born in cities, know the countryside only from brief trips, or from images that pervade the national culture and media. Both groups may take a bus to a quinta on the edge of town and spend several hours there eating *platos típicos* in a personalistic and rustic atmosphere where chicha as well as beer is likely to be served. In these quintas, urbanites can believe themselves to have an immediate connection with an imagined countryside.[38]

The fifth cluster contains no urban settings at all. It includes rural life-cycle events, markets, and work parties, though it omits two other rural settings, patron-saint festivals and agricultural rituals. The term "peasant household events" seemed to fit this group, for two reasons. Firstly, nearly all rural households take part in these settings, though many do not sponsor patron-saint festivals. Moreover, these are the economic and social activities in which households take part as households, in contrast to the patron-saint festivals, which are community-wide events,[39] and agricultural rituals, which may involve a number of households at a time. The absence of the patron-saint festivals is noteworthy. It suggests that peasants use beer rather than their primary beverage, chicha, to convey the prestige and power of the saints and their villages in whose squares the festivals are held. Chicha is more appropriate to exclusively peasant affairs, but not to the patron-saint festivals, which involve political and ecclesiastical hierarchies.[40]

The sixth and final cluster is composed only of rural work groups and rural agricultural rituals. We term this cluster "agricultural events," since these two settings are distinguished from all others by their agricultural focus and by their location in fields (rural life-cycle events are celebrated in houses, churches, squares, and cemeteries; rural markets and patron-saint festivals are held largely in village squares). Since the same people take part in peasant household events and agricultural events, this separation of these settings into two clusters cannot be explained by their differential exposure to globalization, by differences in income, or by differences in their ethnic identities. The separation of the fifth and sixth clusters suggests that the participants tend to exclude beer from the latter more than from the former. In the latter, beer might appear less frequently as an acceptable alternative to chicha, because beer lacks the connections that link chicha so directly to a local subsistence crop, to agriculture, to fields, and to the earth. In the former, however, beer is more acceptable because it can join chicha in the array of dietary items served by peasants to their guests and by rural market vendors to their clients. The foods and drinks in these arrays are usually prepared and served fresh, but they typically include some purchased ingredients as well as home-produced ones, so bottled beer can be appropriate.

In summary, the clusters differ on a number of economic, social, and spatial dimensions: income, occupation, location, degree of openness to the public, degree of display of wealth, presence of migrants, agricultural focus. This variability among the social meanings of settings, and

their apparent irreducibility to the dimensions favored by macro-structuralist and culturalist approaches, has led us to term our approach "contextual."

Spatial contexts: Comparisons of the regions

To find out whether the regional contexts influenced consumption in a multidimensional way similar to the settings, we looked for correlations between the regional chicha/beer scores and some demographic, economic, social, and linguistic attributes of the regions, obtained from atlases and national censuses and displayed in Table 4. We were surprised to find no significant correlation between chicha/beer scores and demographic, economic, and social variables; we had anticipated that more commercial and urbanized regions would have higher rates of beer consumption. More specifically, we had expected that the rate of literacy, a measure of education, would be positively correlated with chicha/beer scores, as would the number of telephones per capita, the size of the largest city, and the percentage of the region's population

Table 4. Characteristics of the Six Study Regions

	Arequipa	Mantaro	Huaylas	Chuquisaca	Cusco	Cochabamba
Chicha/beer score	1.50	1.46	1.15	0.97	0.73	0.27
Percentage of literate adults	0.852	0.829	0.514	0.510	0.604	0.762
Telephones per capita	0.032	0.015	0.013	0.019	0.016	0.027
Population of region	739709	683804	236023	184235	445928	552321
Population of largest city in the region	665738	384298	113055	94144	291637	313166
Percentage of regional population in the largest city	0.900	0.562	0.479	0.511	0.654	0.567
Distance (km) of the largest city from national capital	754	197	288	417	566	234
Year in which railroad reached the largest city	1870	1908	n.a.	1936	1907	1917
Elevation of the largest city in meters	2303	3340	3028	2601	3360	2559
Monolingual Spanish-speakers (%)	0.741	0.713	0.538	0.178	0.164	0.230
Monolingual Quechua-speakers (%)	0.026	0.028	0.198	0.375	0.375	0.148
Bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish (%)	0.199	0.213	0.256	0.441	0.440	0.614
Speakers of other language combinations, or no data (%)	0.033	0.044	0.008	0.026	0.019	0.015

that lived in such cities. These variables could be taken as tests of the globalization of diet hypotheses of macro-structuralist approaches, because urban-dwellers, owners and users of telephones, and literate individuals would be more exposed to global influences. These variables could also be seen, in a culturalist perspective, as measures of ethnic identity, since indigenous populations tend to be rural and less educated, and, as such, less likely to use telephones as well. These variables might also be taken as indirect measures of income and therefore of the capacity to substitute the costlier beverage, beer, for the less expensive chicha, since more urban and more educated regions are likely to have more prosperous economies, and since the number of telephones per capita should be correlated with such measures of regional wealth as the density of private enterprises and government office. In accordance with globalization models, we thought that areas that were closer to capital cities or that had had railroads longer would have higher scores than more distant or more isolated regions, but these relations did not hold either. One might expect elevation to correlate negatively with chicha/beer scores, since the higher regions would be more remote (in globalization terms), more indigenous (in ethnic terms), and poorer (in economic terms), because of the shorter growing seasons and greater risks of damaging frosts, in this highland zone where the lowest of the cities is located more than 2,300 meters above sea level.[41]

The only instances of significant correlations linked chicha/beer scores and two of the linguistic variables, though not exactly in the directions that would be suggested by a view of dietary items as ethnic markers, in which the greater presence of Spanish monolinguals should raise chicha/beer scores and the greater presence of Quechua monolinguals should lower them. We did find a positive correlation, significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, between the scores and the percentage of Spanish monolinguals; an increase of 1% in the proportion of these individuals in this population raised the scores by 0.0142. Although there was no significant relationship, even at the $p < 0.10$ level, between the percentage of Quechua monolinguals and the chicha/beer scores, the correlation between the scores and the percentage of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals was stronger than the first correlation (an increase of 1% in the proportion of bilingual speakers in the population reduced the score by 0.0273, nearly double the effect of the Spanish monolinguals), and it showed a greater degree of significance, at the $p < 0.001$ level. To phrase these results differently: since nearly every member of the populations of the six regions can be classified as a Spanish monolingual, a

Quechua monolingual or a Spanish-Quechua bilingual, a positive correlation between chicha/beer scores and the percentage of Spanish monolinguals is virtually the same as a negative correlation between these scores and the percentage of people who speak some Quechua, because this population of Quechua speakers can be broken into its two principal components of Quechua monolinguals and Spanish-Quechua bilinguals. If one compares two different variables, the percentage of all Quechua speakers in a region and the percentage of Quechua monolinguals in a region, it is the first, rather than the second, which has a strong negative correlation with chicha/beer scores. These results are puzzling for those who expect to see chicha consumption as a marker of indigenous ethnic identity: why would chicha consumption be more strongly correlated with those Quechua speakers who also speak Spanish than with those who do not? At least a part of this association lies with migrants: in some regions, migrants are more disposed not to abandon speaking Quechua and drinking chicha in cities, while in others, they shift more strongly to Spanish and beer.

To account for these inter-regional differences, we offer a qualitative comparison of the regions, similar to our discussion of the clusters of settings. Despite their lack of correlation with quantitative variables, the regional scores display a certain coherence. Arequipa, with the highest score, is the most urban region, as well as the one with the highest rates of literacy and the highest number of telephones per capita. Its agriculture is the most market-oriented; vegetables and fodder crops have replaced grains and potatoes to a greater extent than elsewhere. The residents of the region are conscious of its long historical role as an entrepôt for shipping goods from Lima and from foreign countries to the highlands and for bulking highland products for export. The arequipeños emphasize their ties to the more urbanized and commercialized coastal portions of Peru, and tend to underscore the differences that distinguish them from the highlands, with its more rural, peasant, and indigenous character. (Arequipa is, in fact, the city with the lowest elevation in our set of regions.)

We cannot claim, though, that the Arequipa region indicates that commercialization leads to higher levels of beer consumption; the lowest levels, in fact, are found in a region with a highly urban and literate population, with capital-intensive market-oriented agriculture and high levels of urban employment in small-scale industry and commerce. The distinctiveness of Cochabamba, the region with the lowest score, lies in the great economic importance of autonomous peasant freeholders

and the consequent strong rural character, which can also be noted in the large number of peasant vendors in the numerous markets of the region, in the strength of its peasant federations in regional and national politics, and in cultural realms as well: in the frequency with which Quechua is spoken in town and Andean music is played, and, most directly tied to our research questions, in the visibility of the *chicheras*, the women who brew and sell chicha in town and in the countryside. The intermediate cases are understandable as well. The Mantaro and Huaylas regions, with relatively high scores, both have stronger ties with Lima than most other highland areas (through commercial agriculture and wage labor in mines in the former case, urban migration in the latter case, and after the 1970 earthquake, disaster relief as well). The lower scores of Cusco and Chuquisaca also made sense, granted the somewhat closed, archaic character of these regions. Their capitals, major administrative centers in the colonial period (and, in the case of Cusco, during the Inca Empire as well) have become provincial backwaters in comparison to more economically dynamic cities located elsewhere in Peru and Bolivia. These two regions also continue to have large numbers of monolingual Quechua-speakers. As with the setting, then, the regions differ along many dimensions. Their complex identities have developed historically, and cannot be easily reduced to Indian-mestizo, rural-urban, or provincial-cosmopolitan polarities.[42] These cases also confound a simple post-structuralist account that would link beer consumption with hegemonic capitalism, chicha with peasant resistance and autonomy. Though chicha-drinking Cochabamba has a long history of peasant political activism and beer-drinking Arequipa does not, the intermediate pairs do not line up along this dimension. The Cusco and Mantaro regions have established traditions of peasant rebellions, unlike the more quiescent Chuquisaca and Huaylas regions, yet the first case in each pair has lower chicha/beer scores than the second.

This view that food items have many, rather than few, attributes is further supported by the way that different aspects of chicha and beer are emphasized in different regions. Chicha is associated with the distant past in Cusco, the former capital of the Incas, where chicha is often jokingly called "Incaic champagne" ("*champán incaico*"),[43] a phrase that would not register in Arequipa or in Chuquisaca. In Arequipa, chicha is linked to the more recent past of the earlier decades of this century and the last decades of the previous one, when Arequipa was a smaller, more agricultural place and yet one that had a greater weight in national politics.[44] In Cochabamba, it is tied to the peasant villages that

have strongly influenced regional politics in recent decades.[45] Beer also varies in meaning. In Cusco, for example, beer as well as chicha is associated with the Incas; the local brewery takes its water from a source near some Inca ruins, and referred to this fact in one of its most popular advertising slogans, which proclaimed their beer to be "made with Inca spring water" ("*hecha con el agua de los manantiales incaicos*"). For the relatively high-scoring Mantaro and Huaylas regions, beer has an even stronger urban association than elsewhere, since it is imported from Lima rather than being brewed locally, a point of some importance in these regions from which peasants have been migrating to cities in greater numbers and for a longer time than elsewhere. In the other regions, each of which has a brewery in its largest city, beer-drinking suggests a regionalist sentiment. These regionalist sentiments, along with other class and ethnic identifications, have led us to use the term "pride" in the title of this article. It captures the way in which chicha and beer are conceptualized and used to express a sense of the drinkers' home regions and social settings as distinct from, and superior to, other such regions and settings.

Conclusions

We have found a high degree of patterning of the consumption of chicha and beer in eleven different settings in six Andean regions. Granted the numerous dimensions on which chicha and beer can be opposed, it might be supposed that consumption of these beverages would be strongly associated with the lines of social inequality in these regions, whether elements of class and region as macro-structuralist approaches suggest, or the ethnic divisions favored by culturalist approaches; one might also expect commercialization to be accompanied by a replacement of chicha by beer. The data, however, do not support such associations. Beer is more widely consumed in cities, chicha in the countryside, but the divisions among settings cannot be reduced to a simple urban/rural polarity, and there is no correlation between levels of urbanism and regional consumption levels. The weak association between beer-drinking and Spanish monolinguals, who presumably are mestizos, is undercut by the strong association between chicha and Spanish-Quechua bilinguals, suggesting a complex relation between ethnicity and consumption.

We have argued instead for a contextual approach. In both the sociocultural context of the settings and the spatial context of the regions, we

have found an association between the multiple dimensions of social identity on the one hand and the multiple attributes of chicha and beer on the other. Indeed, many individuals shift from one beverage to the other depending on the particular context. Moreover, we have found a variety of ways in which the beverages are used to express identity. At times, chicha and beer seem to make unself-conscious statements about unproblematic social positions, as in the cases of elite parties and agricultural rituals. On other occasions, they offer more heavily constructed expressions of less securely held identities, like the case of the urban dwellers, ordinarily more prone to drink beer, who associate themselves with a rural lifeway by drinking chicha in quintas on the edge of town, or the case of the chicha-drinking peasants who affirm their position within national hierarchies by consuming beer in their village squares during patron-saint festivals.

The irreducibility of these associations among beverage, setting, region, and identity may be of general significance to the study of food and society, because food lends itself to such complexity in a way different from other goods and consumption items. Because food is essential to survival and because it is a visible and omnipresent element of everyday life, it seems uniquely suited to convey such aspects of identity in powerful ways. Through the act of swallowing, food becomes more immediately connected with the body and the self than any other kind of good or consumption item; through the cultural patterning of meals, through the act of commensalism, food becomes as social as the languages to which it is often compared. This complexity seems to work against both a culturalist deciphering and a macro-structuralist reductionism. It may well be that, through a careful examination of the influence of context on social identity, macro-structuralist and culturalist approaches will be modified and that the study of food and society will have a good deal to offer all the social scienes.

Notes

1. We have adopted this distinction between "diet" and "cuisine" from Mary Weismantel, *Food, Gender and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 87–88.
2. Overviews of world food production and trade include David Grigg, *The Agricultural Systems of the World: An Evolutionary Approach* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1974) and Gretel Pelto and Pertti Pelto, "Diet and Delocalization: Dietary Changes since 1750," in Robert Rotberg and Theodore Rabb, editors, *Hunger and History: The Impact of Changing Food Production and Consumption*

Patterns on Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 309–330. Recent reviews of dietary changes have shown an increasing value placed on wheat products, particularly bread, in countries as different from one another as Mexico (Gretel Pelto, "Social Class and Diet in Contemporary Mexico," in Marvin Harris and Eric Ross, editors, *Food and Evolution: Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits* [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987] 517–540), Bangladesh (Shirley Lindenbaum, "Loaves and Fishes in Bangladesh," in Harris and Ross, editors, *Food and Evolution*, 427–443), and Ghana (Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, [Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1982]).

3. Important studies include Roger Burbach and Patricia Flynn, *Agribusiness in the Americas*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980); Susan George, *Ill fares the land: Essays on food, hunger, and power* (Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 1984); and John Bennett, *The hunger machine: The politics of food* (Cambridge: The Polity Press, 1987).
4. Review of this sort of work can be found in Angus Deaton and John Muellbauer, *Economics and Consumer Behavior* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Robert Raunikar and Chung-Liang Huang, editors, *Food Demand Analysis: Problems, Issues and Empirical Evidence* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987).
5. A standard example of such work is C. Peters Timmer, Walter Falcon, and Scott Pearson, *Food Policy Analysis* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
6. Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," in Clifford Geertz, editor, *Myth, Symbol and Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), 61–82. Another case of such Lévi-Straussian culturalist analysis of food can be found in Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
7. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30; for his notion of convergent data, see "Culture and Social Change: The Indonesian Case," *Man* 19 (4), 1984, 511–532.
8. Arjun Appadurai, "Gastro-politics in Hindu South Asia," *American Ethnologist* 8 (3), 1981, 494–511; "How Moral is South Asia's Economy? – A Review Article," *Journal of Asian Studies* 43 (3), 1981, 481–497; Eugene Anderson, *The Food of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
9. Paul Rozin, "Human Food Selection: The Interaction of Biology, Culture and Individual Experience," in L. M. Barker, editor, *The Psychobiology of Human Food Selection* (Westport, Conn.: Avi, 1982) 225–254; Ellen Messer, "Anthropological Perspectives on Diet," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13, 1984, 205–249.
10. Carole Counihan, "Bread as world: food habits and social relations in modernizing Sardinia," *Anthropological Quarterly* 57 (2), 1984, 47–59,.
11. Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 1985).
12. Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); *Power and Civility* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
13. Susan George, "The SNOB Theory of Underdevelopment," in Susan Georgy, *Ill Fares the Land*, 87–93.
14. Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
15. David Goodman and Michael Redclift, *Refashioning Nature; Food, Ecology and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), 239–256.

16. We note that some post-structuralist studies offer more nuanced views of hegemony and resistance. In *Food, gender and poverty,* Weismantel finds themes of internalized racism and of indigenous cultural autonomy in her accounts of the social, cultural, and economic conflicts that arise within Indian households in highland Ecuador as women attempt to construct meals from two inadequate food supplies: the indigenous foods they grow in their fields and the Western foods their male kin, who migrate to work in urban areas, purchase with their earnings.
17. John Murra, "Rite and crop in the Inca State," in Stanley Diamond, editor, *Culture in History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 393–407; Craig Morris, "Maize Beer in the Economics, Politics and Religion of the Inca Empire," in Clifford Castineau, William Darby, and Thomas Turner, editors, *Fermented Food Beverages in Nutrition* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 21–34; Christine Hastorf and Sissel Johannessen, "Pre-Hispanic Political Change and the Role of Maize in the Central Andes of Peru," *American Anthropologist* 95 (1), 1993, 115–138; Catherine Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1088).
18. John Super and Thomas Wright, editors, *Food, Politics and Society in Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).
19. Peasants whose maize harvests are insufficient for the amount of chicha they plan to make will obtain additional supplies from neighbor and kin, either through barter or cash purchase. Some vendors, especially in urban areas, add sugar to chicha to sweeten it.
20. Julia Meyerson, *Tambo: Life in an Andean Village* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 225–229.
21. We list three sorts of urban restaurants: elite restaurants, poor and middle-class restaurants, and the quintas described below. We considered including *chicherías* and *picanterías* as a category separate from the other three, but obtained only about half a dozen reports of these restaurants that serve chicha and local dishes. This number was too small to permit the formation of a separate "setting." In some instances, we were able to assign particular reports of these *chicherías* and *picanterías* to one of the other categories; in others, we had to drop the report.
22. Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal," 62–65.
23. See Deaton and Muellbauer, *Economics and Consumer Behavior,* chapters 1 and 2, for a discussion of substitutes. Soft drinks, such as Coca-Cola, national brands such as Inca-cola in Peru or Quina-cola in Bolivia, might sometimes be served to children and adolescents, especially girls, and some Protestants would substitute soft drinks for beer or chicha, but these cases are clear exceptions involving age or religion.
24. William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York: D. Appleton, 1889).
25. On many occasions, the individual who takes a vessel of chicha or beer spills a few drops out at the beginning, and throws whatever remaining liquid is left on the floor or ground. Some people take these gestures to indicate a reverence for Pachamama, the Andean earth spirit; others describe the latter gesture simply as an impulse to return a completely empty vessel to the host. For still others, these gestures seem mechanical, no more worthy of note than the way that Americans stir their coffee. These spillings are somewhat more common when the drinking takes place out of doors, and when chicha is being consumed, though the beer that accumulates on floors of many houses shows that it extends to other places and beverages. These similarities aside, there are many variations on the patterns of consumption. Food

sometimes, but not always, accompanies drink; men and women sometimes drink together, sometimes not, and mixed-sex groups are sometimes divided into single-sex sections. The ethnographic literature on chicha contains a number of detailed accounts of specific patterns of the etiquette of drinking (e.g., Billie Jean Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978], 9, 117–132; 145–163; Allen, *The Hold Life Has*, 137–141); they discuss such features as the different spatial patternings in which people arrange themselves to drink, the order in which individuals are served, and the involvement of chicha in rituals to spirits of the earth and of mountains. A considerable amount of ritual surrounds beer-drinking as well. Some groups of men insist on particular rules which, if broken, must be compensated for with some *castigo* ("punishment"), such as drinking an extra glass of beer or buying a round: these rules involve such questions as the distance from the edge of the table which the glass must be placed and the direction of rotation of the wrist (toward or away from the pourer body) when the beer is poured.

26. Debates over the appropriate use of ethnic terminology in reference to highland Peru and Bolivia are extensive and highly politicized. The term "indigenous," a near-homonym of the Spanish word *indígena* for which it is a reasonably adequate translation, seemed preferable to the more pejorative Indian (*indio*), to the language-focused term Quechua, which sounds like a holdover from an old-fashioned ethnograpy in which "Indians" were identified by "tribes," and to the Quechua word *runa*, which is used in Quechua conversation at times with a strong ethnic connotation, but at other times without any apparent ethnic referent at all. The word *indígena*, nonetheless, is also a problematic one. It was replaced in official circles by a class-based term *campesino*, "peasant," following agrarian reforms (1953 in Bolivia, 1969 in Peru), so its use in the present might be taken either as a sign of a political conservatism, which would reject a series of programs linked to agrarian reform, or as a token of an ethnic nationalism that, though growing, is still small in scale. The appeal of the term "indigenous" lies in its spatial and temporal elements: it suggests that indigenous people have had a longer history in a place than other, non-indigenous groups, and that this history has been uninterrupted.
27. Linked to longstanding debates on the question of the existence and nature of ethnic distinctiveness on the part of Bolivian and Peruvian peasants are debates over the appropriateness of claiming that the majority, or dominant, sectors of these nations can be said to have a mestizo ethnic identity (Silvia Rivera, *Oprimidos pero no vencidos: luchas del campesinado aymara y qhechwa 1900–1980* [La Paz: Hisbol, 1986]; Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991]).
28. For some representative studies: William Mangin, "Drinking Among Andean Indians," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 18, 1957, 55–66; Edward Nicholson, "Chicha Maize Types and Chicha manufacture in Peru," *Economic Botany*, 14 (3), 1960, 290–299; Ozzie Simons, "Ambivalence and the Learning of Drinking Behavior in a Peruvian Community," *American Anthropologist* 64, 1960, 1018–1027; Dwight Heath, "Peasants, Revolution and Drinking: Interethnic Drinking Patterns in Two Bolivian Communities," *Human Organization* 30 (2), 1971, 179–186; Paul Doughty, "The Social Uses of Alcoholic Beverages in a Peruvian Community," *Human Organization* 30 (2), 1971, 187–197; Allan Holmberg, "The Rhythms of Drinking in a Peruvian Coastal Mestizo Community," *Human Organization* 30 (2), 1971, 199–203; Jorge Flores, "Mistis and Indians: Their Relations in a Micro-region of Cuzco," in Pierre van den Berghe, editor, *Class and Ethnicity in*

Peru (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 62–72; Daniel Gade, *Plants, Man and the Land in the Vilcanota Valley of Peru* (The Hague: D. W. Junk, 1975); Jorge Muelle, "La Chicha en el Distrito de San Sebastián," in Roger Ravines, editor, *Tecnología Andina* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978), 241–251; Diane Perlov, *Women's Work, Power, and Access to Educational Mobility: An Investigation of the Beer-Makers of Highland Bolivia*, 1979, Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles; Bryan Anderson, "Spatial Mobility and Peasant Economy in Bolivia: The Case of the Cochabamba Valley," unpublished manuscript, 1985, Department of Anthroplogy, University of Durham.

29. Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, *Alcohol, Gender and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992).
30. For example, a score of 1.33 indicates either that for each report that had a value of 2 (beer only), two had a score of 1 (both beer and chicha), or that for every two reports with scores of 2, one gave a score of 0 (chicha only).
31. As a result, we may have excluded certain extreme cases, both the highland regions that are close to lowland cities, such as Lima, and the places far from any highland city at all.
32. Some studies reported on only one context, but a number included information on consumption in several contexts. Thus, one data point could consist of an anthropologist telling us that she saw both beer and chicha being sold in the urban markets in the city of Huaraz, Peru, where she conducted field work in the early and middle 1980s; we counted as a second data point her statement that only beer was served in the elite restaurants in that city, and took as a third her report that both chicha and beer were served at the life-cycle events she attended in rural areas in the same region. Each individual data point is thus the result of a number of observations of specific markets and parties, at each of which a number of individuals were drinking chicha, beer, or both. Since the reports came from individuals who had spent months or years in the field, data points represent a number of observations of particular events (ranging from two or three for rural patron-saint festivals to dozens in the case of markets and restaurants) and hundreds of observations of individual acts of drinking. We also recorded the dates when data were observed, ranging from 1962 to 1987, with the bulk concentrated in the period 1975–1985. Since we found no correlations between the dates and other variables, we do not report specific years, but write of an ethnographic present that can be taken to be around 1980.
33. Xavier Albó, *Social Constraints on Cochabamba Quechua* (Cornell University: Cornell University: Latin American Studies Program Dissertation Series, 1970), 108.
34. We used the boundaries of provinces as the limits of our regions, in order to be able to draw on national census data, which is aggregated in this form. We used the 1972 census for Peru and the 1976 census for Bolivia, since these fell closest to the middle of the period for which consumption data were available.
35. If two different settings had different values, in this case of the chicha/beer score, the ANOVA techniques can indicate, firstly, whether or not this difference is significant, and secondly, the level of significance. ANOVA techniques are inapplicable when any combination of variables is missing. Since we had no reports of rural agricultural rituals in the Arequipa and Cochabamba regions, we ran two different two-way ANOVAs, omitting the context, rural agricultural rituals, in one, and the regions, Cochabamba and Arequipa, in the other. We lump here the first ten rows from the first ANOVA with the final row of the second, a move we

deemed acceptable after noting that differences in means between the two were so small. Our alternative would have been to lump rural work parties and agricultural rituals into a new setting that we could term "argicultural activities." We preferred to keep them separate, though, because the explicit ritual focus of the latter seemed important to use. Readers who are more fastidious about statistical matters may disregard the final row of Table 2 and the discussion regarding it.

36. We also note that a number of cases fall into more than one cluster: that is, there may not be a statistically significant difference between the scores of setting A and setting B or between the scores of settings B and C, but A and C may nonetheless have scores that are significantly different.
37. For a discussion of cholos, see Fernando Fuenzalida et al., *El indio y el poder en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1970); Pierre L. van den Berghe and George Primov, *Inequality in the Peruvian Andes: Class and Ethnicity in Cuzco* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977); Aníbal Quijano, *Dominación y cultura: el cholo y el conflicto natural en el Perú* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1980); Carlos Iván Degregori, Cecilia Blondet, and Nicolás Lynch, *Conquistadores de un nuevo mundo: de invasores a ciudadanos en San Martín de Porres* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986).
38. We note that there is relatively little migration between the six regions that we studied. Individuals who leave these regions are more likely to migrate to the capital cities of Lima or La Paz, or to colonization zones in the eastern lowlands of both nations.
39. Readers familiar with the Andes will understand our uncertainties about this second reason: many individuals sponsor the festivals and participate in them as representatives or members of their households, and markets are community-wide institutions to some extent as well. We finally decided the the distinctiveness of festivals lay in the ways that issues of representation appear in them, differently from in other rural contexts. These festivals, which involve churches and saints, demonstrate the connections between rural areas and broader institutions. Though such connections could be found in the case of markets as well, participation in markets seems more connected to the subsistence activities of peasant households, and as such, part of a more exclusively rural world.
40. Several recent ethnographic and historical studies of such festivals have shown these events to be occasions in which villagers can adopt a religious idiom to claim a position for their own local group within wider religious and political hierarchies (rather than the Durkheimian celebrations of community solidarity or the enactments of traditional cosmologies in which the annual agricultural and ritual cycles are intertwined that some earlier interpretation had suggested); see Roger Rasnake, *Domination and Cultural Resistance: Authority and Power among an Andean People* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988); Andrés Guerrero, *La semántica de la dominación: el concertaje de indios* (Quito: Libri Mundi, 1991); Thomas Abercrombie, "La fiesta del carnaval postcolonial en Oruro: Clase, etnicidad y nacionalismo en la danza folklórica," *Revista Andina* 10 (2), 1992, 279–352.
41. In a more complex rendering of this association, one might expect a curvilinear relationship between elevation and chicha/beer scores, with low socres both at low elevations (because of the greater potential for producing maize in these warmer zones) and at higher elevations (because of isolation, ethnic distinctiveness, and poverty), but even this relation does not hold.
42. To offer only one instance of this irreducibility, Cochabamba's low scores cannot be taken as a sign of its provincial character, since its rural areas are particularly well articulated with its large and busy capital city.

43. Elena Llosa Isenrich, "Los caporales del mundo popular: Inventario de las picanterías cusqueñas," *Allpanchis* (Cusco) 23 (38), 1991, 97–112.
44. Matio Paz Soldán, *Geografía del Perú* (Paris: Fermin Didot, 1862), 465–466; Emilio Lopez de Romaña, *Arequipa en el IV Centenario de su fundación española* (Arequipa: Stylo, 1940), pp. 145–146; Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, *Arequipa de mi infancia: memorias* (Lima: Lumen, 1960).
45. Gustavo Rodríguez Ostria and Humberto Solares Serrano, *Sociedad oligárquica, chicha y cultura popular: ensayo histórico sobre la identidad regional* (Cochabamba: Editorial Serrano, 1990).