

tural crisis of the late colonial period (when social and racial unrest, coupled with the commercial dislocation caused by Upper Peru's separation from the old viceroyalty and the independence wars, put a brake on the expansion of estates at the expense of communities). The second is the rising international demand for wool from the 1850s on (which provoked some semicapitalist development, characterized by the more rigorous appropriation of Indian land and labor by Hispanized landowners and officials). Third is the post-World War I commercial and social crisis, sparked by the collapse of international wool prices and characterized by the decline of sheep-raising estates and the rise of rural unrest. The unrest, in turn, although particularly serious in the 1920s, unleashed conflicts that would remain unresolved until the post-1968 agrarian reform.

At one level, this monograph makes a major contribution to the debate, particularly fashionable in the 1980s, about the relationship between the existence of "feudal" estates and underdevelopment: it shows that in Azangaro, clientelism, paternalism, and other "colonial" vestiges not only survived independence but intensified during the late nineteenth-century period of relative prosperity. The relationships between landowners and dispossessed community dwellers, however, which often stemmed from a variety of leasehold arrangements, were more subtle and complex than simplistic models often suggest. Moreover, kinship networks could be more important than communities for the collective defense of Indian rights.

Readers looking for a simple, all-embracing conclusion might be disappointed by this rich, detailed analysis, which tends to qualify and elaborate its arguments rather than reduce them to easily digestible pieces. Its essential finding is that the creeping introduction of market forces, instead of transforming older social relationships, tended to reinforce them, primarily because the particular economic features of Azangaro restricted and qualified the province's transition to capitalism. The extent to which this northern altiplano experience was typical of Peru as a whole, let alone other parts of Spanish America, is not explored in any depth. What is certain is that this particular study is essential reading for any serious student of Andean social and economic history of the last two hundred years.

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Autonomy and Power: The Dynamics of Class and Culture in Rural Bolivia. By MARÍA L. LAGOS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xv, 206 pp. Cloth, \$38.95. Paper, \$14.95.

María Lagos' monograph gives a detailed account of economic relations in Tiraque and its hinterland since the Bolivian Revolution of 1952. Tiraque is a highland pueblo east of the city of Cochabamba, which since pre-Inca times has been economically and geographically important as the gateway to the tropical *yungas* and today offers access to the cocaine-producing Chapare region.

Taking the revolution—especially the redistribution of land and the disappear-

ance of the former hacendados after the 1953 agrarian reform—as her historical baseline, Lagos explores the complementary processes of accumulation and indebtedness. Some peasants managed to become extremely rich; others sought loans from them and entered into sharecropping arrangements to prosper or to survive.

The strength of the book lies in its detailed account of the diversification of economic activity and the many strands linking the rich, the middling, and the poor: kinship, *compadrazgo*, sharecropping arrangements, reciprocities, and shared political loyalties, as well as debt, credit, and unequal exchange. The descriptions of *chicheras* (women who brew and sell corn beer), traders, truckers, and those competing to dominate the peasant *sindicato* are revealing and sensitively done.

Lagos argues that the concept of class is insufficient for understanding this complex emergent reality. Instead she chooses the concept of autonomy, although why she gives it such prominence is not clear. On the contrary, all her empirical evidence suggests that Tiraqueños attach great value to maintaining and extending as wide a range as possible of binding social relations. If the people she studied really did aspire to self-sufficiency, then we need to be told so, and why.

There is, by now, extensive evidence that neither Chayanovian nor Leninist models can be applied directly to the Andean peasantry, and Lagos herself makes clear that peasants' political affiliations to Left or Right have more to do with local loyalties and factional disputes than to ideological commitment. And yet, viewed historically, the concept of class undoubtedly continues to have salience. In the everyday context of Tiraque, class may be an "experience-far" concept, but within a generation or two, those wealthy truck owners who still wear sandals and ponchos and work the land themselves will have migrated to the city (if not to Argentina or the United States), cutting the ties with their poorer kin and neighbors and transforming their social and cultural identity in line with their changed economic position.

Lagos is strictly detached in her writing style, virtually never describing the look or feel of the places and people she discusses, let alone quoting them directly. Nevertheless, her material is good. One might wish for a more sustained discussion of some of the themes that emerge briefly, such as the personalized nature of local political culture, the ambiguities of ethnic identification, or the dynamics of conversion to Protestantism. Still, to date few ethnographies of commercial pueblos in the Andes have appeared, and this text makes a valuable contribution.

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Business Interest Groups in Nineteenth-Century Brazil. By EUGENE RIDINGS. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 377 pp. Cloth. \$59.95.

For more than a quarter-century, Eugene Ridings, now professor emeritus at Winona State University, has studied the activities of vested economic interest groups in im-