HIDDEN PEOPLE, HIDDEN IDENTITY: SOCIO-CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE
AMONG QUECHUA MIGRANTS IN LOWLAND BOLIVIA

By

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To my late
grandmother
Clara Gómez de Acchini,
to my parents,
and to all
the significant persons
who have imprinted
valuable teachings in my life

Resende, and Kevin Ratkus were also great contributors to the completion of this project. Alfredo Ríos and María Morera were particularly supportive with statistical tools and analysis.

I cannot finish without thanking my family on whose constant love and encouragement I have relied throughout all these years at the University of Florida. I am grateful to Clementina Acchini, my mother, who as a social scientist played a key role in shaping my career in anthropology. I am grateful to my father, Miguel Martínez, for the tenacity and discipline he taught me over the years. My brothers Enrique and Ernesto were responsible for all good childhood memories that came back to my mind when I most needed them, besides providing me with never-ending support. My aunts, cousins, sisters-in-law, nephews and nieces in Uruguay and Bolivia were also encouragers of this project. To all of them, to all of you, my deepest gratitude.

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This research is about cultural and linguistic change among western Bolivian highland

and valley peasants who have been migrating to the country's eastern lowlands in the recent

years, a very widespread phenomenon in developing economies of the Andean neo-tropics today.

In particular, I want to know how Quechua-speaking people from the highlands and valleys

adapt to lowland culture; which ethnic traits and linguistic resources they keep, and which ones

they abandon; and which strategies they utilize to ease the process of adaptation.

The results indicate that highland migrants who settled in the lowland community of

Cuatro Cañadas (department of Santa Cruz) speak less Quechua among themselves, and

especially with their children, although they assign great importance to the maintenance of this

language. Four specific cultural practices that were selected as indicators of Quechua mode of

life were measured and analyzed. The results indicate that there is a substantial reduction of these

practices in the lowlands. Also, inter-ethnic marriage (highlanders seeking lowlanders), thought

to be an important strategy of adaptation, was found to be a preference for a reduced proportion

of both the single migrant population and the married population. Therefore, migrants in Cuatro

Cañadas are reducing their traditional linguistic behavior and the practice of specific cultural

traditions, but their alliance patterns are still somewhat conservative.

In spite of this process of acculturation, the theoretical framework used in this research argues that highland migrants do not fully *own* Cuatro Cañadas: they are trapped between traditional, modern and globalizing codes, and just embrace the hybrid nature of their identities, which makes them speak and behave in certain ways depending on which ethnic identity they want to activate.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Internal Migration in Developing Countries

During the last fifty years, Latin American cities like Lima, Quito, La Paz and Mexico City filled up with millions of highland migrants, who also settled in several colonization rural areas and peripheral urban sites (Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997; Collins 1988; Chávez et al. 1995; Golte 2001; Painter 1995; Regalsky 2003). In the central Andean countries (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia), this process was particularly marked by the abandonment of highland rural areas that started to shrink as more resources were available for capitalist expansion in economically more prosperous regions (Arizpe 1980; Collins 1988; Lagos 1994). These new regions are undoubtedly the Amazon or lowlands, where economic activities like cattle ranching, sugar cane plantation, and industrial agriculture attracted thousands of highlanders (Toranzo 1999; Albó 1997; Albó 2004).

These migrants are bringing with them their own culture, language, worldview, and socio-political organization, thus creating a multi-syncretism with lowland culture. Nonetheless, this encounter has not been easy. Many migrants have faced social and linguistic discrimination by Spanish-speaking lowlanders, as Aymara and Quechua are considered low-prestige and oppressed languages by the dominant culture (Placencia 2001). For this reason, Aymara and Quechua native speakers make conscious and sometimes unconscious efforts to speak Spanish, either to be socially accepted or to attain some upward mobility (Chiswick et al. 2000).

Looking at highland migrants in the lowlands of Santa Cruz, Stearman (1985) has found that second generation migrants tend to engage in interethnic marriages with lowlanders, which in turn makes them speak less Quechua. This statement alone becomes one of the points of departure for my research. A few decades later, to what extent do they abandon Quechua and

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embrace Spanish? Do they become bilinguals with equal command of both languages? Are they already bilinguals before coming to the lowlands? What are these features telling us about lowland and highland culture? Among those who engage in inter-ethnic marriages, which combination prevails and why: male highlander seeking a female lowlander or the opposite?

Bolivia has one of the highest rates in Latin America regarding native language usage, with Quechua as the second most spoken language after Spanish. Thirty four percent of the population of the country considers Quechua to be their first language (Albó 1999). Also, about 90% of those who migrate to both urban and rural areas of the department of Santa Cruz are Quechua and Aymara peasants; therefore the number of speakers of Andean languages in the lowlands is pretty high.

My research is about cultural and linguistic change among highland and valley Quechua-speaking peasants who migrate to agricultural colonization settlements in the lowlands. Language is given special attention, as in Andean countries it is a strong cultural determinant that sometimes defines ethnic belonging more than other indicators like race, belief systems, or political organization (Skar 1993; Albó 1999). The broader goal of this study is to understand how ethnic identity is constructed in an area heavily subjected to agro-industrial expansion and demographic growth. The municipality of Cuatro Cañadas in the department of Santa Cruz, with about 90% of highland population, is the chosen location for my research.

Adaptive Strategies, Emerging Identities

Some researchers say that in order to better adapt to a new place, permanent migrants go through a process of acculturation and assimilation, which allows them to function according to cultural codes of the host place –acculturation- and also be socially accepted by the locals -assimilation (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Alba and Nee 1997; Zhou 1997). However, some others say that migrants retain a good amount of their ethnic traits –a

process known as ethnic retention– with which they can even make an impact on the local culture (Albó 1997; Gans 1997; Brettell 2003). My study contests the rigid grounds confronted by these two arguments. Rather than adjusting to either of these models, I propose that migrants develop a variety of adaptive strategies and negotiating mechanisms through which they either preserve or abandon specific ethnic traits such as language, marriage patterns, religious beliefs, and certain cultural practices.

This research also argues that the influences of globalization are also felt by internal migrants, as they also go through similar ambiguities and hybridities experienced by transnational migrants, only that at different intensities. In addition, this research is innovative in that it deviates from the rural-to-urban migratory model that prevailed in the developing world and discusses the emerging paradigm of rural-to-rural migration, as global forces are pushing for new capitalist developments in many rural areas (Kearney 2004).

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is divided in seven chapters. Chapter 2 reflects the process of selecting my research topic and the fieldwork sites, and then underlines all the methods that were used throughout the conduct and the writing of this dissertation. As I tried to achieve a balance between a humanistic and a scientific approach in anthropological research, I utilized techniques that were both quantitative and qualitative. Participant observation (and its corresponding ethnographic description) was the strongest methodological tool. Fieldnotes, open interviews, a structured questionnaire (refer to appendix), and some narratives, and archival research, completed the set of methods that I used in this dissertation. Basic statistical frequencies were applied to analyze the questionnaire results.

Chapter 2 also introduces the concept of proxy sending community, which relied on identifying a Quechua-speaking community in the highlands with experience of migration to the

lowlands of Santa Cruz, where I stayed before going to the actual settlement in the lowlands. The purpose of this stay is to familiarize the researcher with Quechua culture and to have a better understanding of migration dynamics. Not all migrants in the receiving community come from the proxy sending community and also not all migrants from the proxy sending community go only to the receiving community. This chapter closes with an extensive theoretical discussion on hybridity and native vs. non-native anthropology that serves two purposes: one, it describes and analyses the role I played as a researcher; and two: it sheds some light on the importance of hybrid and ambiguous identities, a current discourse in anthropology and cultural studies that I use to frame the ethnography and the results of this research.

Chapter 3, Setting, is a thorough description of both the proxy highland community of San Lucas and the actual receiving lowland settlement of Cuatro Cañadas. It provides the historical, political, and economic context of both areas, with an emphasis on the history of migratory dynamics between the highlands and the lowlands, including detailed accounts of the first government-sponsored migration plans carried out in the early 1950s. Finally, this chapter provides a thorough analysis of how soy industrial agriculture regulates most of the economy of the region and also influences population dynamics and human relationships in Cuatro Cañadas.

Chapter 4, Theory, reviews the main theoretical models that tackle the phenomenon of migration and cultural and linguistic change. It includes a detailed description of the current understanding of Andean studies and a revision of the historic and contemporary links between highlands and lowlands. The migratory models of assimilation, adaptation and ethnic retention are also explained here, as well as a description of how globalization studies impact the understanding of internal migration in developing countries. This chapter also talks about the differences between migration as a collective experience and as an individual experience, and

how migrants have the capacity to filter down differently all the major forces that cause mobility of people. The last sections of this chapter deal with the notion of constructing and negotiating identity, and also review the insider/outsider dichotomy and the concept of native anthropology that nowadays occupies the minds of many social researchers.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the main body of this dissertation as they include the ethnography and the corresponding analysis of the data collected. The main activity in the proxy sending community of San Lucas has been the observation and documentation of bilingual behavior, whereas in Cuatro Cañadas more data were collected and analyzed. A structured questionnaire that was answered by 83 individuals provides critical analysis about language use, some specific cultural practices and inter-ethnic marriages in Cuatro Cañadas. Chapter 6 also introduces in detail the significance of the relationships between cambas (lowlanders) and collas (highlanders). The final section of chapter 6 includes an analysis of politically-charged terms such as cholo/a, indio/a, mestizo/a. Understanding the several meanings and implications of usage of these words helps us to understand processes of identity formation in Cuatro Cañadas.

Chapter 7, Conclusions, includes my final remarks about this study. It describes and analyses how much highlanders are changing: they do not speak Quechua as much as they did back in the highlands and they talk with their children more in Spanish than in Quechua. They also stopped practicing most of the ethnic traits selected in this research. Interestingly enough, migrants' preference to marry lowlanders as a means of adaptation to the new place is moderate, as most of them are married to another highlander, and half of the single ones still prefer to marry another highland migrant. This chapter presents a section on redefining ethnic identity in areas of rapid growth and cultural contact and discusses the contributions this research makes to

anthropology, to Andean studies, to communities of migrants, and to practitioners and policy

makers. The final section introduces some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used during data collection and data analysis for my research. Fieldwork was conducted during the second half of 2005 and the first half of 2006. I stayed four months in San Lucas, from December 2005 to March 2006, and four months in Cuatro Cañadas, from April 2006 to July 2006. The analysis and writing lasted from January 2007 to July 2009. The opening section of this chapter introduces the research questions and talks extensively about how life events and personal factors ignited intellectual curiosity in me and prompted the scientific justification for the selection of the research topic and the fieldwork sites. The middle section discusses all the actual fieldwork techniques. Participant observation (and its corresponding ethnographic description) was the strongest methodological tool. Fieldnotes, survey interviews, some narratives, and archival research, completed the set of methods that were used in this research project. The third and final section contains some of the logistical and ethical difficulties and challenges I experienced during my fieldwork and the adjustments I needed to do. This last section also provides a rich description and analysis of the struggles I went through due to the diverse thoughts and emotions that people had in regards to the new government of Evo Morales, who had taken office during my fieldwork season, in January 2006. This chapter closes with an extensive theoretical discussion on hybridity and native vs. non-native anthropology that serves two purposes: one, it describes and analyses the role I played as a researcher; and two: it sheds some light on the importance of hybrid and ambiguous identities, a current discourse in anthropology and cultural studies that I use to frame the ethnography and the results of this research.

Guiding Research Questions

- RQ1.   In spite of having settled in the lowlands, highland migrants continue to communicate in Quechua among themselves and with their children

- RQ2.   In spite of having settled in the lowlands, highland migrants continue to practice a set of traditions that are distinctive of Quechua culture

- RQ3.   Highland migrants in the lowlands seek inter-ethnic marriages with lowlanders as a means of easing the process of adaptation to the new place

Selecting My Research Topic and the Fieldwork Sites

When I did my bachelor's thesis back in the early 1990s, my topic was identity formation during Carnival celebrations in Bolivia. I chose Camargo –my father's native town in the Department of Chuquisaca– for several reasons: a) I wanted to know if communal drinking associated with festivities could diffuse cultural and social differences in favor of a broader regional identity; b) doing this study in Camargo –an important wine and s*ingani*[1] producing-region of Bolivia– would deliver even more significant results; c) back then –and even to these days– I barely drink, so I was really fascinated by the fact that festive and communal drunkenness was a truly social lubricator; and, d) it was a way of getting to know a bit more about my father's cultural heritage and consequently mine as well.

Even before carrying out my fieldwork, my links with Camargo were solid and long lasting, as I used to vacation there frequently with my parents and brothers or by myself. But it was through my thesis that I became aware of a particular characteristic that otherwise would have remained hidden and non-relevant to me: Quechua was not and still is practically not spoken in the municipality of Camargo, except in a few elevated locations. Thus, all the peasants that I informally interviewed and interacted with back then spoke only Spanish, something that sparked my curiosity about finding Quechua-speaking people in the vicinity of Camargo. Later I

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[1] Singani is a distilled alcoholic beverage obtained from grapes considered to be the national liquor of Bolivia.

learned that although Quechua was widely spoken during pre-colonial times in present-day

Chuquisaca, the valley of Camargo was a buffer zone, an inter-ethnic frontier contested by

different ethnic groups like quillacas, caracara, chichas and inca, that later was wiped out of

indigenous inhabitants by the Spaniards who in the sixteenth century began cultivating grapes for

wine production (Langer 1984, Saignes 1986). Back then, little did I know that years later I

would pursue a doctoral degree that would make me come back to this very region looking for

Quechua-speaking peasants who migrate to the lowlands. The topic of identity would call my

attention once again.

A few years had passed and before starting graduate school in the United States, I had

lived and worked in Santa Cruz for three years, becoming myself one of thousands of migrants

who left the highlands of Bolivia and contributed to the formation of a new economic and

cultural landscape in the lowlands of the country. I had worked as an applied anthropologist in

community forestry in the lowlands during those years, and at some point realized that highland-

to-lowland migration was dramatically changing the economic, political and cultural landscape

of Bolivia, that I decided it was important to engage myself in doctoral research, as a way to

understand better this phenomenon and make a contribution in the field of anthropology of

internal migration in Bolivia.

After the first year of my Ph.D. class work, the central research question of this thesis

became clear: I would identify a Quechua-speaking sending community close to Camargo

(which would give certain continuity to my BA research), and then a receiving settlement in

Santa Cruz where Quechua was heavily spoken (almost one quarter of the population of the

department of Santa Cruz sees themselves as being Quechua or having Quechua background).

And that is what I did: I chose the town of San Lucas (50 miles east from Camargo) as the proxy

sending community (refer to Figure 2-1) and the town of Cuatro Cañadas (also about 50 miles

from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra) as the actual receiving community (refer to Figure 2-2).

Cuatro Cañadas was a good location to answer my research questions: I wanted to know how

Quechua-speaking people from the valleys adapt culturally and linguistically to lowland culture;

which ethnic traits they keep, which ones they abandon, and why; and which strategies they
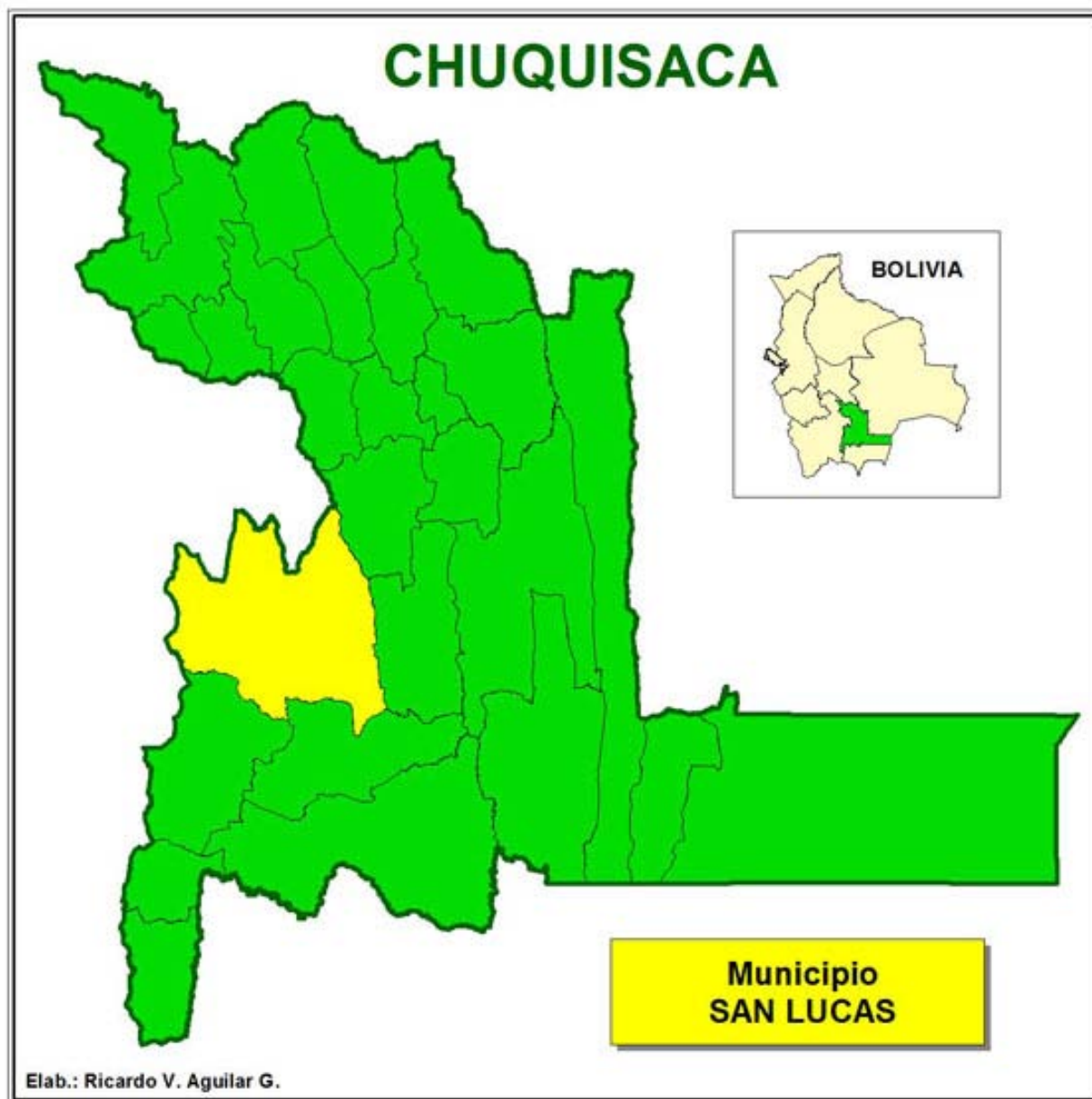
Figure 2-1. Municipality of San Lucas, Chuquisaca
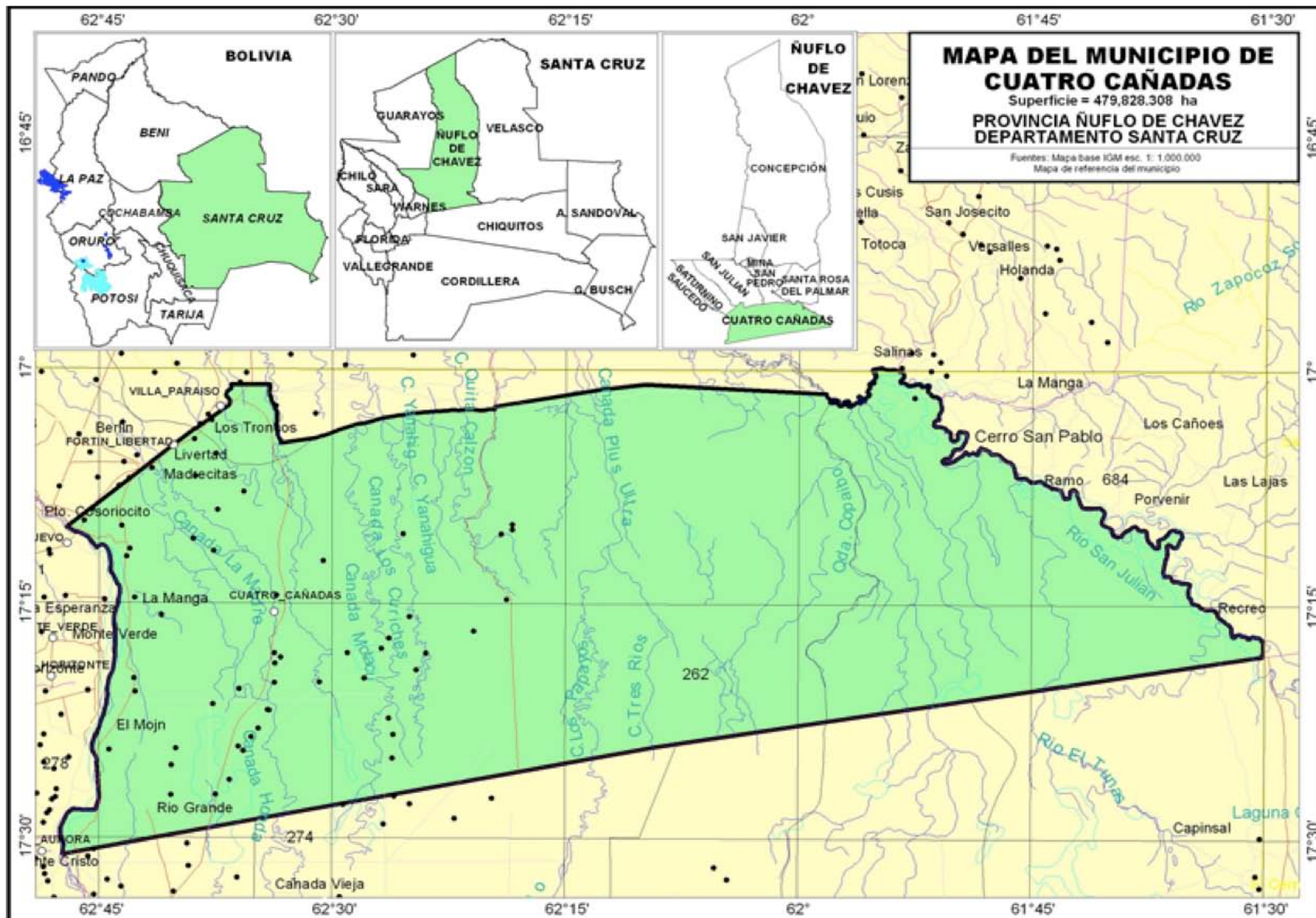
Figure 2-2. Municipality of Cuatro Cañadas, Santa Cruz

utilize to ease the process of adaptation. Ultimately, all these questions would lead me to understand the process of ethnic identity formation in areas subjected to heavy migration in the neo-tropics.

Sending Community, Receiving Community

The concepts of area of origin and area of destination are core elements to understand any migratory phenomenon. There are, however, several methodological tools to approach the idea of people leaving one place and going to a different one. At first, I truly wanted to literally follow migrants from point A to point B, and have a few of them as genuine and vivid narrators of what it means to abandon home and create a new one in a distant place. I would have also stayed in point A for a certain time that would have allowed me to witness and better understand the preparation of the migratory process, especially for those who would be first-timers. By the same token, I would have been able to observe the newcomers, as they would arrive in the receiving areas.

While it would have been a more personalized and detailed study, it would have required more time and more resources to carry out. Instead, I took an alternative path that was anyway methodologically appropriate: I used the concept of proxy sending community, which relies on identifying a Quechua-speaking community in the highlands with experience of migration to the lowlands of Santa Cruz, where I stayed before going to the actual settlement in the lowlands. The purpose of this stay is to familiarize the researcher with Quechua culture and to have a better understanding of migration dynamics. I thus chose San Lucas as the *proxy sending community* in my study and spent four months there observing, documenting and analyzing life in a Quechua-speaking municipality heavily subjected to emigration to Santa Cruz and Argentina. Many of the individuals that I interviewed had been to Santa Cruz at least once, many were getting ready to go back, and several mentioned that they were considering going to Santa Cruz for the first time,

given that economic conditions were very limiting in San Lucas. On one hand, a basic double condition was therefore met: San Lucas was certainly a sending community and Santa Cruz was an important point of destination for its migrants. On the other hand, San Lucas was a genuine model of Quechua peasant life in the valleys with a defined set of institutions, cultural practices, linguistic resources, and a distinctive worldview held by its inhabitants. Spending some time in San Lucas would allow me to understand and compare how Quechua peasant life was lived and modified by those who migrated to the lowlands regardless of not studying the very same people who left location A and went to location B.

I selected Cuatro Cañadas for the following reasons: a) eighty percent of its population is composed of Quechua peasants who migrated mainly from the highland valleys or southwestern Bolivia; b) many migrants come from Quechua-speaking municipalities within the department of Chuquisaca that are culturally similar to San Lucas; c) Cuatro Cañadas is one of the closest municipalities to the city of Santa Cruz (50 miles) and as such is the "main gate" to the agricultural expansion zone in the department, an area that is flooded every year with thousands of temporary and permanent migrant laborers; d) it recently branched off from the municipality of San Julián to decentralize administrative resources, a situation in itself that reflects the growing migratory boom in the region.

Participant Observation

Out of all the ethnographic methods, participant observation is no doubt the most common and to this day is at the core of anthropological research. It is intrinsically associated with fieldnotes, as writing about what has been observed becomes a truly ethnographic dialogue (O'Reilly 2009). Participant observation is also a powerful technique of ethnographic validation given that it corroborates results found through other research tools, especially surveys and questionnaires (Gal 1984; Bernard 2002). It must be said that *observing while participating* is

considered by some to be the Achilles' heel of the technique in itself, as a subjective involvement can obscure objectivity in the study. I think, however, that subjectivity is always present and that researchers learn to incorporate it into their projects; what varies is the degree of involvement depending upon the group of people, the context, and the scope of the research. As a primary technique, I used participant observation in both of my sites but my involvement was rather minimal especially in Cuatro Cañadas for reasons that I explain below.

San Lucas

In 2003 I had visited San Lucas as part of my preliminary fieldwork, something that was remembered by some municipality officers when I started my long fieldwork in December 2005. When I introduced myself to the Mayor, to indigenous leaders, and to some NGO officers, overall I felt welcome in the area. My father was born nearby –in Camargo– and some people knew him, a situation that was certainly beneficial for my study, as this may have influenced an open attitude in some of my respondents. As part of my visits to several institutions I once went to the municipal hospital and made bonds with a few doctors and nurses who in turn introduced me to some CARE officers who worked with several communities with public health programs. After a few weeks, CARE and the hospital kindly allowed me to accompany their staff when they did scheduled visits to the communities. This transportation logistic was a key factor for me to be able to run interviews in San Lucas rather than just gathering data in the municipal capital.

Cuatro Cañadas

In Cuatro Cañadas I remained more distant in many regards. It was difficult for me to feel at home and in general making rapport with people was not an easy thing, as I will explain further ahead in this chapter. As soon as I got there I introduced myself to municipality officers

including the Mayor, leaders of the *Federación Sindical de Colonizadores de Cuatro Cañadas,*[1]
and officers of OASI (Office of Social Church Assistance), a local NGO that runs some public
health programs and provides technical support to small farmers. Municipality leaders did not
show much interest in my study but provided me with valuable archival documentation. OASI on
the other hand, was the institution that informally sponsored my study; some of its staff helped
me find a place to live and gave me valuable insights about the region and its people.

Fieldnotes

During my entire fieldwork I kept a notebook that I usually updated and computer-typed in
the evenings after returning home from a day of work. My fieldnotes included jottings, activities
planned for the next day or week, non-structured personal impressions, and also more systematic
writings that included some "on the road" analysis. My notes, therefore, combined
methodological, descriptive, and analytical writing, which are the three basic categories of notes
identified by Bernard (2002). As personal and subjective as they might be, field notes are the
source data for any research, and as such, they should be valued:

> Despite what has been said about the selectivity and essential bias inherent in the act of
> fieldnote construction, good fieldnotes can illuminate the interconnected process of
> observation, data collection, theorizing, and analysis (O'Reilly 2009:76).

My notebook thus, was a complex collection of raw data and thoughts about theory, combined
with random thoughts that are used to build the analytical body of this dissertation. Like many
ethnographers in the field, some days were more productive than others in terms of number of
people that I talked to, and also in terms of the flow of ideas and data captured. I pretty much left
my field book as it is, but, as I typed my notes in my computer, I would add some missing

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[1] The *Federación Sindical de Colonizadores de Cuatro Cañadas* "Cuatro Cañadas Colonizers Union Federation" is
a unionized organization that gathers all new settlers in the area and mainly represents their interests, especially
when dealing with the government about land issues, and with large agricultural companies regarding working
conditions and price negotiations for their products.

elements and edit the text. Therefore, there is a substantial difference between my field notebook and the computer files. The latter also include coded material that I used later on to work with the questionnaire and the open-ended interviews. I mention all this here because it is important to consider that field notes can be used as audit trail for those interested in knowing how notes were used in conjunction with theory and other inputs used to establish the validity of the text.

Open Interviews and the Main Questionnaire

In addition to participant observation, interviews were an important technique used to gather data. Three interviewing methods were used: an open-ended questionnaire, some narratives, and interviews. When administering the questionnaire and the interviews, if I noticed that tape recording was making the interviewee uncomfortable, I would take notes instead of recording the interview.

San Lucas

I conducted 13 open-ended/semi-structured interviews in San Lucas. Some of them were very short, while others were longer and provided richer data. Some interviewees extensively talked about their migratory experience either to Argentina or to Santa Cruz, or talked about stories of migration pertaining to close relatives. Out of these13 interviews, three are extended narratives. Finally, in both San Lucas and Cuatro Cañadas, I was able to identify several key informants with whom I carried out extended and repeated interviews.

Cuatro Cañadas.

Cuatro Cañadas was the place where I observed and analyzed cultural and linguistic change, therefore it required more specialized fieldwork techniques. I developed a closed questionnaire designed to yield a complete set of information about migrants. I asked questions about linguistic behavior, especially how well people spoke Quechua and if they spoke it with their children. The central part of the questionnaire was devoted to questions on Andean cultural

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practices and whether they are still held in the new lowland settlement. The questionnaire also had questions on self-identity and perceptions between highlanders and lowlanders. I interviewed 83 respondents, all from the town of Cuatro Cañadas.

My sampling technique in Cuatro Cañadas was mixed: On one hand it was quota sampling in that I only selected individuals from the municipal capital, but on the other hand it was random sampling because two randomly selected households per block were interviewed, considering the house I was renting as the starting point. This technique allowed me to survey a representative sample of the population in terms of socio-economics, and their migratory experience. As having an equal number of men and women was important in order to not produce a gender-biased study, I chose a man in the next house if my last interviewee happened to be a woman. This technique worked fairly well as a sample of 38 women and 45 men was generated. I was able to hire an assistant who exclusively helped me to administer and collect the interviews. She was a middle school teacher who knew many people in town and ended up doing a fair job, completing about one third of the questionnaires.

Archival Research

I conducted archival research in Cuatro Cañadas in order to identify the volume of marriages officially registered in municipal Notary records. I visited the Civil Registry Office where the Notary let me browse through all the public documents that I needed. Thanks to this, I obtained concrete information on the number and percentages of inter-ethnic marriages in Cuatro Cañadas, which is one important indicator of change and assimilation among the migrant population. Unfortunately, not all public records from 1999 to 2006 were available due to the following reasons: first, the previous Notary carelessly handled them, so many certificates went

missing; and second, due to the proximity of the National Presidential Elections, some certificates were sent to the city of Santa Cruz for counting purposes.[2]

My Personal Migratory History and the Meaning of Doing Native Anthropology

> I believe one can complement the weakness of being an insider or an outsider through awareness of the shortcomings of each vantage point and through conscientious effort. Some talented researchers can distance themselves from their own people, and many perceptive outsiders can understand the "innards" of the alien cultures (Kim 1987: 944).

The concept and the experience of migration is deeply embedded in the history of my family as well as in my own personal history. My mother is Uruguayan, her mother was a Spaniard, and her father was Italo-Argentinan. My father, on the other hand, is probably the least influenced by these transnational combinations, as he is southern Bolivian, like at least four generations of his immediate ancestry. Both of my parents live in La Paz –a city that was foreign to both of them when they arrived 40 years ago. I was born in La Paz, lived there for 27 years, then moved to the lowlands of Santa Cruz where I lived for 3 years, and finally landed in Gainesville, Florida, where I have been living for the last nine years.

While I admit that today this transnational cocktail is fairly common for many people in this globalized, ever-growing cross-cultural world, I have to say that in my case it played a crucial role in shaping my understanding of what it means to be a migrant. Even more so, it propelled my desire to study and understand highland-to-lowland migration, as I myself was part of this socio-cultural phenomenon that started to re-shape Bolivia in the 1950s and reached an important peak of migration in the 1980s and 1990s.

My move from La Paz to Santa Cruz was an important personal landmark, as I was somewhat scared to leave a city that I had conquered and owned for myself with so much ease.

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[2] It is important to mention here that the Sistema de Empadronamiento Nacional (National Voting Registry) is a very precarious and poorly computerized system, and usually does not match with the Departmental Voting Registry, which explains why public files and records sometimes have to be physically transported from one place to another.

That feeling alone – *owning* or *appropriating* a city, a town, a place – is in itself a comfortable indicator of human adaptation. Surprisingly, I *owned* Santa Cruz sooner than I expected, but *to own* Gainesville took me a bit longer. This personal process unavoidably makes me think about those thousands and thousands of voiceless migrants that engage in a challenging process of personal discovery and growth when they arrive in new and unknown places. The final aim (conscious or unconscious) when adapting to a new place is ultimately *to own it*, or to naturally be part of it. However, the obstacles and limitations can be countless, as will be explained in the following pages.

Now, not only did I come to study migration as a migrant myself, but also I came to study it in my own country. Does this make me unconsciously and automatically a native anthropologist? If so, does it mean that my field site is not as conventionally exotic and remote as it is for other anthropologists who are not culturally and historically related to the regions and peoples they study? Considering the current debate on native anthropology, I think that a discussion on this matter is worth the following paragraphs.

Let us start with a few ideas about the field. An important rite of passage, the field is traditionally conceptualized as a place in the anthropological imagination that needs to be connected to remote and exotic places, "there," so that the idea of home, "here," can prevail (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). And of course, the assumption is that as long as remote and exotic places exist, the anthropologist will have an audience at home to which to report his/her stories and findings (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). The notion of home and field also brings to the discussion the alleged Western superiority:

> How can "we" anthropologists presume to speak for "them," our informants? Is not "our" knowledge of "them" inevitably shaped by colonial and neocolonial power relations that render the whole enterprise subject? How can "our" anthropological mission of understanding "others" proceed without falling into the familiar traps of exoticization,

primitivism, and orientalism? However, by no means all anthropologists today occupy the white, Western "we" position that this discourse ascribes to them […] The "we" versus "they" that frames much contemporary debate on the location of "the" anthropologist ignores this fact and rests on an unproblematized assumption of a Western "we", located "here," and a Third World "they" located "there" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 24).

Two situations contribute to neutralize this ethnocentric and colonial legacy: first, the important presence of non-Western, non-white anthropologists who today practice anthropology all over the world and contribute to a more even dialogue between cultures; and second, the fact that in many cases that "exotic" place has become home: the anthropologist not only resides there but is also fully part of the community he or she studies. Then, in my view, we will be truly talking about native anthropology: when the researcher *belongs* to the place and to the people –I might add– that have inspired him/her to embark in an anthropological study, *and* when the researcher gets those results back to those very people. Now, no matter how native the anthropologist is, he/she still has the capacity to personalize or accommodate the field, so it can be studied with proper anthropological methodology and praxis:

> When part of home is the field, the researchers strenuously work to differentiate that part of home by constructing a field by means of the narrative conventions of anthropology. […] Understanding the relationship between home and field requires reflexivity about what we do and why we do it: an exercise which places the social investigator back in the research frame. The field has many dimensions. It pinpoints a set of intellectual pursuits which may not have an obvious relationship to the researcher's life (Knowles 2000: 55-56).

Let's exemplify two possible scenarios where the field can actually be *home*. One, the researcher is a Third World scholar doing research in his-her own culture or country; and two, the researcher is a Westerner (in the amplest sense of the word) investigating crime in the outskirts of a Western city in which he/she lives. In either case, the researcher negotiates all the meanings that the field has for his/her personal and intellectual life. Once aware of these meanings, the researcher also distances himself or herself from the field, as a way of defining an objective place, time, and subject to study:

> In everyday discourse home and field assume and reinforce each other. Home is the life from which we venture forth and ply our trade, the interpretation of that which is not home – the field – a domain of work which in practice we distinguish from the rest of life by means of various devices. Home and field invoke the duality of belonging and alienation, familiarity and investigation, which implicitly function as fieldwork strategies (Knowles 2000:54).

In my case, that process of self-distance was not a very difficult one (I would like to think) as the field (or my fieldwork site in particular) was already distant, as it did not have an obvious, linear, and intrinsic connection to my life. San Lucas and Cuatro Cañadas are certainly towns located in my home country, but I did not grow up there, I did not develop a network of friends and family members, nor did I engage in educational, economic, religious, or social activities for a significant part of my life in either of these two communities. On another note, Quechua is fairly spoken in these places, so linguistically speaking this is another parameter of distance, as I did not grow up speaking Quechua, neither did I learn to speak it properly at an adult age. But, let me pose the following question: in spite of these observed personal disconnections with my field site, am I as foreign to San Lucas and Cuatro Cañadas as is, for example, an Italian anthropologist doing research in the same sites? How much of an insider and how much of an outsider was I when I conducted my fieldwork? How do we define those boundaries? But maybe the discussion is not about being inside or outside of a culture (or the degree of *insiderness* or *outsiderness* for that matter); the debate on this issue seems to be going on another direction, as Narayan puts it:

> I argue against the fixity of distinction between "native" and "non-native" anthropologists. Instead of the paradigm emphasizing a dichotomy between outsider/insider or observer/observed, I propose that at this historical moment we might more profitably view each anthropologist in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations. […] Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status (Narayan 1993:672).

The concept of shifting identifications seems to explain pretty well my own struggles about my so-called *native* condition with regards to my field sites. While in San Lucas I was seen as somehow from the region, as my father's home town was 50 miles away; in Cuatro Cañadas most people viewed me as a foreigner, and some of them even told me *tú eres un gringo enviado por la CIA* "you are an American sent here by the CIA" to spy on how rural peoples of the tropics were reacting to Evo Morales' policies. Therefore, in San Lucas I was able to capitalize the connection with my father –a connection that was not known by many people especially in the communities I visited. But the fact that some authorities and key informants knew about it opened doors and eased my adjustment process a lot.

On the other hand, in Cuatro Cañadas there was something associated with my appearance (in terms of clothing and physical features) that led many people to believe that I was definitely not Bolivian: *Qué cosa serás pues, medio gringo pareces… porque Boliviano no eres*. "Who or what the heck are you? You look kind of like a gringo, you don't look Bolivian." This was a common reaction when I would ask people if they could fill out the questionnaire I had, and help me with my research. Thus, in Cuatro Cañadas I was trapped inside this prescribed identity that in the end was not beneficial in terms of creating a network of trust. To complicate things a bit more, my association with a US university made me even more suspicious. There were some obvious reasons for this distrust in the region: I conducted fieldwork in Cuatro Cañadas just four months after Evo Morales took office as president of the country. Sentiments of distrust were very common in colonization areas in the department of Santa Cruz (Yapacaní, San Julián, Cuatro Cañadas). These settlements have a reputation for being pro-Morales spots located inside Santa Cruz, one of the most anti-Morales departments of the country.

Only a few times was I seen as a pro-Morales delegate, who was supposedly sent to Cuatro Cañadas to monitor the behavior of anti-Morales individuals and organizations that could possibly exist in this town. As several Venezuelan and Cuban doctors and schoolteachers were on educational and medical missions all over Bolivia, I was also sometimes regarded as a citizen of one of these two countries. *Cubano eres, qué vas a ser Boliviano vos!* "You are Cuban, you surely don't look Bolivian!" This was another common reaction from my potential informants. Surprisingly, I did not get any of these comments in San Lucas, again, a town located 50 miles away from my father's native town Camargo. The explanation seems simple to me: my physical appearance was probably equally suspicious but just the fact that I was related by blood to somebody relatively close to the area automatically opened doors and gave me a privileged sense of familiarity and belonging, although I never considered myself to be part of the San Lucas society. Once again, we face here the never-ending native vs. non-native discussion. For example, while Ohnuki-Tierney recognizes that being native has its pros, she also warns us about the dangers of romanticizing the benefits of participant observation:

> Native anthropologists have a definite advantage in being part of the society from the start. […] It is unfortunate that "participant observation," the traditional and much-heralded field method of anthropologists, implies an illusion that the anthropologist either becomes a member of the society or immediately gains the inside "feel" of the culture (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:585).

Today, I would like to believe that most anthropologists are not that naïve to believe in this illusion. I think that with the exception of those who spent several years living with a particular human group and spoke the language fluently, it is really difficult to get a full inside feel of the culture. I think –however– that anthropologists can gain a good understanding of a culture through participant observation and other techniques, but keeping some distance seems to be unavoidable:

> I had been told that the longer an individual stays in an alien society, the more likely he will be assimilated into it. Believing this, I tried to forcibly immerse myself into the culture of the American South. At times, I came to believe that I was genuinely immersing myself in the culture of the American South. Now I realize that this belief was an illusion. I have found that the longer I stay in the American South, the more definite my sense of non-immersion in its culture becomes (Kim 1987:945).

This distance and this non-immersion in the host culture have some benefits: it provides the researcher with some sort of anonymity that allows him/her to not influence (or influence the least) the host culture, thus avoiding the observation of a "performed behavior:"

> All foreigners, especially Westerners, usually receive the red-carpet treatment from the Japanese, who go out of their way to accommodate their visitors. To some extent, this happens (or used to happen) for Western anthropologists in many Third World countries. Unfortunately, the drawback of this favorable treatment is that the host people "perform" for them; the anthropologist's presence becomes an important factor in the way the host people act and react. The ethnographic observation tends to become the "negotiated reality" between the informants and the anthropologist, at least until the anthropologist's presence becomes less conspicuous (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:585).

In all the preceding paragraphs, I showed some of the current discussion on the debate about native anthropology, and I also presented a few paths to where this debate seems to be going. It seems that soon this fixity between "native" and "non-native" will become obsolete because not only the observed ones –the studied– display in this globalized world diverse levels of hybridity; anthropologists themselves have "shifting identifications" as Narayan puts it, and as I have showed about my own experience, as an individual and as a researcher.

CHAPTER 3
SETTING

Migration, Colonies, Indigenous Languages and Identity

The Construction of a National Project

In the late 1950s –a few years after the National Revolution– the Bolivian government

started colonization projects to the lowlands with financial aid from international donors

(Stearman 1985; Moscoso 1987; Pacheco 1998; Urquiola 1999; Sandoval et al. 2003). The main

goal was to expand the Bolivian nation and to alleviate demographic pressures in the highlands,

and to provide landless and unemployed population new opportunities and better life conditions:

> The implementation of Bolivia's resettlement and colonization program was directly
> related to the National Revolution, which began in April 1952 […]. The ultimate objective
> of the revolutionary regime was to recast the social, economic, and political structure of the
> nation. Included was a massive redistribution of land, which it was anticipated would lead
> to the establishment of a modern agricultural system. But given the population density of
> the Altiplano and upland valleys, where 93% of the population occupied 41% of the
> nation's territory, insufficient cultivable land existed for distribution into economically
> self-sufficient farmsteads. The apparent solution was to promote resettlement of the
> highland population in the east-facing valleys and the eastern plains (Tigner 1982: 498).

However, the lowlands had remained largely isolated and disconnected from the highlands as the

Bolivia's Western rail system –built largely between 1890 and 1917– prioritized linking the

major mining and urban centers with Pacific ports in Chile and Peru (Tigner 1982). Therefore,

the main and first task of this ambitious resettlement project was to build a highway to link the

Altiplano with the Llanos of the Oriente:

> The opening in 1954 of the paved, 500-km Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway began a
> dramatic period of growth and mobility, one of the turning points in the country's long
> struggle to put frontier theory into practice. By the end of the 1960s, three virtually new
> areas of agricultural colonization had emerged, two of which (the Alto Beni and the
> Chapare) formed part of the 1905 'ring' around the Oriente with the third zone located on
> the plains around the city of Santa Cruz. This 'Bolivianization' policy as applied to the

frontier was part of the Social Revolution's wider programme of land reform, increased food production, redistribution of population, and universal suffrage (Fifer 1982: 411).

The colonies around the city of Santa Cruz were the ones that displayed the most exchange of people and products between the two major regions (Tigner 1982; Moscoso 1987). The first settlement in this region was located near the town of Cotoca, 25 km east of Santa Cruz de la Sierra:

> This carefully planned and highly directed colony was established by the United Nations in 1954 as part of its Andean Indian Programme and was the only one of the U.N.'s four 'action bases' in Bolivia to concentrate on a new settlement. Cotoca was to be a model colony, designed to demonstrate how migration from the high Andes to the eastern plains could be made to succeed provided the authorities removed most of the difficulties and solved most of the problems in advance (Fifer 1982: 412).

There were many obstacles in the execution of this government-sponsored migration program. First, it probed difficult "to persuade these people, whose forebears have lived for millennia in the highlands, to move to the lowlands" (Tigner 1982: 499). Second, the program itself was very paternalistic and assumed that migrants were simply incapable of organizing themselves. Later, it turned out that many technical personnel did not know the area well enough, which was one of the many factors that caused the failure of this program:

> The intention was to resettle one hundred families from the Departments of Potosí and Oruro, all supposedly with farming experience, and, over a period of time, to sub-divide communal holdings. In the first place, families were allotted about 10 hectares. Housing, drinking-water and sanitation were provided for the new arrivals, as well as a community centre, clinic, school, training workshop, brick kilns, additional dormitories, storage sheds, and so on. Money, food rations, tools, equipment, seed, draft animals, and instruction as to what to do, and where and how to do it were also supplied. The periodic shortage of technical advisers, their own often inadequate knowledge of the area, and a lack of continuity in certain key senior posts, however, led to difficulties in a project that relied so heavily on external direction and decision-making. Although the U.N. personnel supported the principle of 'helping the Indians to help themselves', and selected 'social promoters' to act as leaders in their communities, the official view at the time was that colonists entering the unfamiliar environment of the lowland tropics would not be happy or prosperous without firm control, coupled with generous outside assistance (Fifer 1982: 412).

In spite of the bad experience of Cotoca, many other colonies were established soon after, like San Julián, Brecha Casarave, and Antofagasta, among others. All these colonies corresponded to the 1950s first wave of migrants to the Oriente. In the 1970s thousands of spontaneous highland migrants started to arrive in the region, and almost 40 years later these agricultural colonies of the department of Santa Cruz were composed of government-sponsored and spontaneous migrants who learned through different means to adapt to lowland culture.

Language and Identity in Colonization Areas of Santa Cruz

The vast majority of migrants in these colonies are Quechua peasants, and in lesser proportions Aymara peasants, Spanish-speaking mestizo lowlanders, and Guaraní and Chiquitano-speaking indigenous lowlanders (Albó 1999).[3] According to the 2001 national census, in the department of Santa Cruz 17% (almost one fifth) of the population fifteen years and older identify themselves as Quechuas[4] (Mendoza Fernández 2005). Only 4% considered themselves to be Aymara, in contrast with 17% who have declared to be part of one of the lowland ethnic groups of the department: Guaraní, Mojeño, Chiquitano or Ayoreo (Mendoza Fernández 2005). Those who do not associate themselves with any of the above-mentioned groups count for 62% of the inhabitants of this lowland department and correspond mostly to the white, mestizo, urban, non-indigenous or European-descent population of the department. The 2001 immigration net rate for Santa Cruz was 21.41%, the highest in the country, whereas Potosí had the highest emigration net rate (-37.50%) becoming the department that expelled the largest quantity of people into other departments in 2001 (Mendoza Fernández 2005).

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[3] Guaraní and Chiquitano people came from remote areas within the department of Santa Cruz.

[4] Even though some indigenous peoples in Bolivia do not speak an indigenous language, they nonetheless consider themselves members of that group.

It is estimated that today 30% of Bolivians currently live in the lowlands compared to only 15% in 1950,[5] Quechua-speaking highlanders being the ones leading this contemporary peopling of what is the largest rapidly growing area in the whole country (Albó 1999; Urquiola 1999). About 90% of those who migrate to both urban and rural areas of the department of Santa Cruz are Quechua and Aymara peasants. This massive mobilization of highlanders to the lowlands has created an encounter with lowland culture that is changing the linguistic setting in the region. Migrants' linguistic loyalty seems to be high, at least in the first generation. The appearance of radio stations broadcasting in Quechua and Aymara –in both colonization areas and in the city of Santa Cruz– a strong display of Andean identity and political mobilization (García-Tornell et al. 1984; Mendoza Fernández 2005). However, linguistic discrimination was and still is another problem faced by highland migrants in Santa Cruz, as their popular, diglossic Spanish annoys lowlanders who expect to hear either a neutral-accented Spanish or lowland Spanish as a basic acceptance means to enter their culture (Blanes et al. 1978; Stearman 1985).

These colonization areas in Santa Cruz became symbolic and concrete places where highlanders were able to negotiate their mobility to gain social integration, while at the same time they struggled to keep their own cultural identity alive (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994; Chávez et al. 1995; Medina 1999; Roca 2001). In these colonies people speak predominantly Quechua, as 70% of dwellers come from rural areas of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Potosí (Chávez et al. 1995; Albó 1999). The level of bilingualism (be it Quechua/Spanish or Aymara/Spanish) varies greatly from settlement to settlement, and it is precisely research like this that sheds light over the specific situation in each place. However, it is remarkable that throughout the last fifty years Bolivia has maintained its linguistic diversity with no considerable

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[5] This percentage includes rural and urban areas of the lowland departments of Santa Cruz, Beni and Pando.

changes. For example, in 1950, 36.5% of the population were counted as Quechua-speaking people, whereas in 1992 that number had only slightly dropped to 34.3% (Albó 1999). These numbers suggest that in spite of capitalist and modernizing trends, and in spite of the massive internal migration taking place in Bolivia for the last years, indigenous peoples are maintaining their language as one strong indicator of cultural identity, no matter where they live.

As the official language of the country, Spanish is spoken in second place in the colonies to such an extent that some highland colonizers are exposed to it for the first time, as for many of them Quechua was the only language spoken back in their home communities. However, Soria (1996) estimates that at least 90% of the whole colonies' population speaks Spanish with varying degrees of proficiency, as the array from semi-bilingualism to true-bilingualism is ample but unknown in the area (Chávez et al. 1995; Soria 1996). Soria (1996) also argues that Quechua-Spanish bilingualism is weaker among adult newcomers, in particular women.

Stearman (1985) has noted that first generation highland migrants in the colonies engage in endogamous marriage, choosing their spouses among other highland migrants or finding them back in their home communities, therefore keeping Quechua as their common language. In turn, second and third generation migrants tend to seek spouses among native inhabitants of Santa Cruz, thus converting Spanish into their first language (Stearman 1985). This linguistic change also reflects social change and the desire to receive more acceptance from the host community.

These findings show how language and speech behavior play an important role of expressing social structure as well as mediating cultural change and upper mobility (Hymes 1986). This can also be seen in Gal's (1984) study on language choices, where women in the Austrian town of Oberwart decided to speak German over Hungarian as a conscious step towards

social mobility, given that Hungarian –although native to the area- was looked down upon by newcomers.

More recently, some researchers have also reported that Quechua colonizers in Santa Cruz tend to speak more and more Spanish, particularly with a lowland accent, as they want to be recognized as locals (Chávez et al. 1995; Soria 1996). Although this behavior initially can be considered as part of a subsistence strategy, in the long run this becomes part of the new identity, particularly with second-generation settlers (Chávez et al. 1995; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). However, in cases of recent migration, language maintenance has become an important instrument of ethnic reaffirmation and strengthened cultural consciousness (Stearman 1985; Albó 1997; Tosi 1998).

San Lucas: A Quechua Community in the Central Valleys of Chuquisaca
General Information

The municipality of San Lucas is the Second Municipal Section of the Nor Cinti province of the department of Chuquisaca in Bolivia. It is located in the central valleys of the department and it is one of the largest and most populated municipalities of the country. Its 36,447 inhabitants are distributed in 9 districts, which in turn include 105 communities (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003). Given that it is highly populated, this municipality receives a good amount of money from the central government through the Popular Participation Law that since 1995 has been re-distributing financial resources to all the municipalities of Bolivia. In spite of the comparatively high monetary influx coming into San Lucas, it still remains a poor municipality with about 80% of the population living below the poverty level, 10 points above the poverty national index, which is 70% (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003).

The 1992 National Census (INE 1993) showed that San Lucas had an illiteracy rate of 52% –one of the highest of the country at the time– but after the implementation of a vast

National Literacy Campaign carried out in 2007, the government has officially declared Bolivia as a fully literate country. The main critics say, however, that now that many people can read and write more needs to be done to prevent them from remaining as passive readers. With high pre-Campaign illiteracy rates, San Lucas seems to be a municipality that will need that type of attention in the near future. About 15% of the municipality corresponds to fertile soils apt for agriculture, 35% is a combination of forested land and pastures, and about 50% corresponds to towns and communities, bodies of water, roads, and rocky and mountainous areas (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003). Every farmer owns an average of 3 Has. of arable land, and has access to 20 Has. of communal pasture for his animals; an area that is traditionally shared by all the neighbors who live close by (per. comm., Toribio Areli, March 16, 1996). The fact that only a small portion of the land is good for agriculture counts as one of the reasons why out-migration rates are quite high in this municipality.

According to Albó (1995) 80% of the population of San Lucas speaks Quechua and 64% speaks Spanish, but those who are considered fully Quechua-Spanish bilinguals count only for 50% of the population. Although some people think that Quechua will be less and less spoken in San Lucas in the years to come (Carlos Arancibia, *pers. comm.* April 7, 2006), this municipality maintains a strong Quechua signature that is even being revitalized due to two main factors: the government of Evo Morales that praises indigenous pride all over Bolivia, and the active role played by the *Consejo de Ayllus de San Lucas* in bringing this into practice by promoting Quechua culture and its institutions in the municipality. The nature of *ayllus* and that of the *Consejo de Ayllus* is explained in the following paragraph.

Political Organization

In addition to the conventional political division of San Lucas that includes districts and communities, San Lucas is also divided in *ayllus*, which are traditional self-governing kinship

groups in the Andes that occupy and own communal portions of land. Ayllus are internally divided in partialities, and in some cases, an ayllu can coincidentally correspond with one municipality, but not necessarily, as sometimes one ayllu can occupy two or three municipalities and even be part of different provinces. There is some discrepancy as to how many ayllus there are in San Lucas and what are their limits and divisions, but the general agreement is that the three major ayllus are Jatun Qhellaja, Asanake, and Llaqta Yukasa (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003, Adolfo Otondo Sandy, *pers. comm.* February 17, 2006).

Some people consider the ayllu Yukasa to be divided in three *ayllus menores* (minor ayllus), which are: Cantu Yucasa, Llajta Yucasa (which includes the town of San Lucas), and Pampa Yucasa. The three major ayllus are represented by the *Consejo de Ayllus de San Lucas*, a traditional, non-unionized organization that represents all the ayllus of the municipality. In 2003, this *Consejo* called for an Annual Meeting of Ayllus, an event that reinforced the presence and validity that ayllus and their leaders have in San Lucas. In contrast with this organization, the *Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Campesinos de San Lucas*, "Peasant Workers' Union of San Lucas," is a much more modern, vocal, and political organization that emerged as a result of the 1953 Agrarian Reform that allocated individual plots of land to peasants and dismantled the hacienda system. Before 1953, San Lucas had a strong presence of *terratenientes* "large landholders" who owned and controlled most of the land of the municipality. A reminiscence of this is that today 70 communities of San Lucas are *ex-haciendas*, and only 35 communities are considered *originarias,* "native communities" (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003).

Another important characteristic of San Lucas, and of the rural Andes in general, is the complexity of political organization within the communities. Each villager can spend up to 12 years occupying different *cargos* or authority posts that are supposed to be held yearly by

different individuals. There are three main authority systems that are intermingled with one another: the ayllu, the Sindicato Campesino,[6] and the *Junta Escolar* or School Board.[7] These are the following *cargos* that correspond to the ayllu:

- *Cacique Mayor*; highest authority of the Consejo de Ayllus
- *Cacique*; highest authority of the local ayllu
- *Curaca*; community judge
- *Alcalde Mayor*; main assistant of the *Curaca*
- *Alcalde Menor*; substitutes for the *Alcalde Mayor*
- *Caminero*; maintenance and construction of community roads

Both the *Sindicato* and the *Junta Escolar* have each, the following *cargos*: Executive Secretary, Treasurer, and several representatives, a more Westernized structure of hierarchical power. Whereas the ayllu is a traditional institution, the *Sindicato* and the *Junta Escolar* are more contemporary organizations that deal with issues related to agricultural production and to all aspects of educational needs for the children of the community. When asked about *pasar cargo*, several persons in the town of San Lucas and in some communities were not precisely thrilled about this political institution. They told me that it puts an extra load on every individual's back that is not easy to carry because of two main reasons: one, usually, each person has to take care of the expenses related to every particular post; and two, having to hold different posts for up to 12 years leaves villagers with no much freedom to take care of individuals and family needs. In some cases, if a person has not held all his assigned cargos and wants to permanently migrate and leave the community, he might lose rights to his land. *Pasar cargo* is probably the maximum representation of communitarian life in the Andes, but at the same time might be the most contested institution by individual members of the community.

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[6] Apart from the *Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia*, each community has its own Sindicato.

[7] The layout of these political institutions was created based on information provided by San Lucas Notary don Adolfo Otondo, and on Abercrombie's (1997) understanding of political organization in the Andes.

Migration

Inhabitants of San Lucas have an old tradition of migration that can be traced back to the early 1960s when many started to migrate to northern Argentina, where they used to seasonally engage in sugar cane harvest (Vargas 1998; Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003). In the early 1980s the economic boom that emerged in the agro-industrial sector of Santa Cruz attracted many people and became an alternative to Argentina, as the cost of living in the neighboring country raised to unbearable levels for sanluqueños (Grimson and Paz Soldán 2000). Throughout the years, migration to Santa Cruz has not ceased; on the contrary, both permanent and seasonal migration have increased dramatically in the last decade. However, Argentina continues to be a popular destination, and lately Buenos Aires has become the preferred city for many as small and medium textile factories have multiplied in the Argentinean capital. Some entrepreneurial migrants were even able to set up their own businesses. Interestingly enough, one of my informants told me that when the owners of these factories are Bolivian themselves, they usually treat their co-national workers pretty bad, as opposed to what happens when the owners are Koreans (Celia Aramayo, *per. comm*. February 16, 2006).

Almost 40% of the economically active inhabitants of the municipality engages in temporary migration at least once in their lives; 27% are men and 10% are women (Municipio de San Lucas et al. 2003). Argentina is still the preferred destination and Santa Cruz occupies the second place, while Cochabamba, Tarija, La Paz and Sucre are among the less popular destinations. Those who have migrated permanently count for 10% of the population and their favorite destination is the department of Santa Cruz; 6% are men and 4% are women (Municipio

de San Lucas et al. 2003).[8] The preference for Santa Cruz gives some validity for having chosen San Lucas as the model of a sending community.

In some cases, community peasants first move to San Lucas town as a transitional step towards permanent migration outside the municipality. If it is expensive for the entire family to live in town, at least they put their children in boarding school or send them to live with relatives. However, some peasants settle in town permanently, which is a strong phenomenon going on for the last 20 years. While rich mestizos leave town and go to big capital cities like La Paz, Sucre, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz, peasants abandon their communities and become pseudo-urban dwellers in San Lucas town. This seems to bother a lot those mestizos who could not manage to leave and stayed in town: *La gente bien se ha ido y ahora el pueblo se está llenando de indios… qué le vamos a hacer.* "Good people just left San Lucas and now this town is full of Indians… there is nothing we can do about it." This comment exemplifies the complexity of interethnic relations in this municipality and shows one of many consequences of out-migration.

Cuatro Cañadas: A Frontier Settlement in the Lowlands of Santa Cruz

Location, Natural Resources, Economics.

Cuatro Cañadas is the sixth municipal section of the Ñuflo de Chávez province, in the tropical department of Santa Cruz. It is one of the youngest municipalities in Bolivia, created in 2002 during the presidency of Eduardo Quiroga Ramírez as a way to decongest population concentration in the nearby municipality of San Julián, from which Cuatro Cañadas was separated (Alvarez 2005). Cuatro Cañadas, along with the municipalities of San Julián, Los Troncos, Yapacaní and Brecha correspond to the area of agricultural expansion in the rural lowlands of the department of Santa Cruz that has attracted thousands of highlanders in the

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[8] It is hard to identify clear borders between those who migrate seasonally and those who migrate permanently, as many have double residence and spend a few years in one place and then the next few years in the other place.

recent years. The main agro-industrial products cultivated in this area are soybean, sugarcane, rice, sesame, sorghum, sunflower, cotton, and wheat. Out of these products, especially soybean, sunflower, and sorghum are processed as vegetable oil and animal feed, mainly targeted to international markets. In particular, Cuatro Cañadas is said to have the most productive soils in the entire country (Alvarez 2005). Regardless of size of land and operations, all the producers are affiliated with the National Association of Vegetable Oil and Wheat Producers (ANAPO, in Spanish), an organization that represents this sector and its interests when negotiating with departmental and national authorities. However, those who have more influence inside the organization and whose interests are best represented are the largest and richest agro-industrial companies.

For many years now, soybean has become a crucial product in sustaining the Bolivian economy, ranking second in exports for the last years. In the year 2004 for example, Bolivia exported $408 million in soybean and soybean byproducts, second only in a list led by $1.2 billion in hydrocarbons (CADEX 2005). That year, Cuatro Cañadas contributed with one fifth ($80 million) of the entire soybean harvested in Bolivia, thus gaining a reputation as one of the largest soybean-producing municipalities of the country (Alvarez 2005; CADEX 2005). It is important to take into account that land tenure in Cuatro Cañadas is very unequal. Big agro-industrial companies own between 3,000 and 21,000 hectares, whereas small *campesino* producers have an average of 2.5 to 8 hectares (Alvarez 2005).

It is important to mention that land titling is still in the process and small, medium, and big-scale producers are all interested in this to be completed. Many communities have land disputes with each other and others have disputes with large companies. There is a long history of overlapping and conflict, and everybody hopes that the National Institute for Agrarian Reform

(INRA in Spanish) can carry out the *saneamiento* or land titling process as fair as possible. Land tenure and land titling is an important and complex issue in Bolivia, as it is in most developing countries.

In Cuatro Cañadas there is a big concern for deforestation and environmental degradation. Unfortunately, poor soil management techniques, and mainly mono-cultivation are causing less rainfall each year, periods of drought, and ironically, loss of harvests. These practices combined keep expanding the agriculture frontier further and further, causing continuous soil erosion and potentially converting Cuatro Cañadas into a deserted land that could force many people to abandon the municipality (Alvarez 2005). From a broader perspective, both big companies and small producers share responsibility for this current situation:

> The current *cruceño* model of development based on soybean agro-industrial production is not sustainable. It depends on foreign capital that nowadays is the main factor responsible for degradation of tropical rainforests. Having several dispersed small producers is not the solution either. It is important to foster cooperative production among small farmers, who should also diversify their production, in such a way that they could minimize their operating costs but also secure a food supply for themselves and for national consumption (Alvarez 2005:8). [My translation]

Recently, these tensions came to light in a very sad and dramatic way. In January and February 2006, just four months before I started my data collection, heavy rains lashed the Bolivian Amazon basin and many areas got severely affected in the departments of La Paz, Santa Cruz and Beni. The municipality of Cuatro Cañadas was among the most affected, where the floodwaters of the Río Grande damaged houses, roads, crops, livestock, and other infrastructure. This natural disaster severely flooded 10 of 39 communities in the municipality, with the course of the Río Grande running through the crop fields of these communities, leaving most of their inhabitants with no hope of returning to cultivate the affected areas. According to official reports, 15 persons died and approximately 35,000 families were affected in this municipality, of which about 10,000 were evacuated and temporarily placed in refuge tents in the capital town of Cuatro

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Cañadas (ACTI 2006). As a matter of fact, a few persons that I interviewed had recently left the temporary relief camp and settled in Cuatro Cañadas town, without any hope of returning to their original communities.

Local and national authorities along with the international cooperation joined forces and executed a relief and re-settlement program for those most affected. When I left the area in July 2006, most of the tents were still there with about half of the people who got there right after the disaster. Many things needed to be done to prevent something like this from happening again. The Emergency Appeal Report presented by the NGO ACTI clearly stated:

> The national government and the Prefecture [departmental government], in addition to the Municipality [of Cuatro Cañadas], have promised to provide regular maintenance to the Rio Grande watershed, through reforestation and rehabilitation of a thousand meters of vegetation planted on both sides of the river, and will establish a Soil Conservation Plan for Santa Cruz (ACTI 2006:6).

Unfortunately, at the local level, not much of this was executed when I left the area. The Investigation Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), the Office of Social Church Assistance (OASI), the Assistance Service for Agricultural Cooperatives (SACOA), and the Integrated Health Project of Nuevo Palmar (PROSINPA) are non-governmental institutions that work in the area and that had committed to work with the authorities mentioned above. At the time I left Cuatro Cañadas, the Río Grande riverbanks were still very vulnerable and susceptible to future damage.

Population Characteristics

The municipality of Cuatro Cañadas has a capital town also called Cuatro Cañadas –with approximately 6,000 people– and 39 communities that all together total around 17,000 inhabitants (INE 2002). Of these, 33 are *comunidades de colonos*, 4 are Mennonite colonies, and 2 are Ayoreo communities (Alvarez 2005). There are also some Brazilians who live in this municipality, but I would not call it a cohesive Brazilian community as they are dispersed

throughout Cuatro Cañadas and some of them are rich agro-business individuals whereas many others are agricultural workers. About 90% of the people who live in this municipality are Quechua and Aymara immigrants who came from the highlands and valleys (Alvarez 2005; GMCC 2005).

***Comunidades de Colonos* or Andean migrants.** There are clearly two groups that correspond to two different migratory waves and times. The first one encompasses all of those (and their descendants) who arrived in the late 1950s and early 1960s to San Julián and that until 1986 formed the first settlements in what is today Cuatro Cañadas (Soria 1996). This was a government-led migratory movement that granted 50 hectares of land per family, a huge official initiative towards the *marcha hacia el Oriente* or the advancement of the agricultural frontier:

> The Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC) granted 76% of all land and the 23% remaining was bought at market price. Others say that most of these were spontaneous settlements, that settlers bought the land themselves, and that the INC only granted 10% of these lots (Chávez et al. 1995: 20).

The second group of immigrants corresponds to all the new arrivals that came from 1986 onwards and who bought plots of land in the free market. The average size of plots bought was also 50 hectares per family. Today, only a few of these immigrants keep and work their land, whereas most of them have sold their plots to big agro-industrial companies for whom they now work as agricultural laborers, thus creating a rural proletariat in Cuatro Cañadas (Alvarez 2005).

Most of these companies are large exporting soybean and sunflower processing plants that emerged as part of the boom of the soybean economy. A small number of migrants however, kept a reduced portion of their land, and now divide their time, working for the companies but also taking care of their own plots. Each of these *comunidades de colonos* has its own producers' union, which is affiliated to one of the three main *Centrales de Productores*, which in turn are affiliated to the *Federación Sindical de Comunidades de Productores de Cuatro Cañadas*

Alvarez 2005). The presence of this unionized structure is an adaptation of the agricultural and political organization that prevails in the Andes, as was seen and described in San Lucas.

Mennonite Colonies. There are four Mennonite colonies in the municipality of Cuatro Cañadas: Valle Esperanza, Colonia del Norte, Nueva Holanda, and Chihuahua. Valle Esperanza is the second most populated community in the entire municipality –after the capital town– with 2,300 people (Alvarez 2005). The total population of these colonies is 4,000 people, about 25% of the entire municipality. It is important to note that not only in numbers but also in terms of their particular culture and their farming technology, the presence of Mennonites is deeply felt in Cuatro Cañadas.

Most of these settlers arrived in Bolivia during the late 1960s and early 1970s, mainly from Canada, Mexico and Belize, and especially the young ones that arrived in the last 10 years were born in Belize and Mexico. Those who got there first came from Canada, as a reaction to the Canadian government that made it mandatory for Mennonites' children to attend school (Enrique Janzen, *pers. comm.*, June 28, 2006). Used to homeschooling, many of them just fled the country and settled in Belize, Paraguay and mainly Bolivia, where they got a homestead agreement with the Bolivian government that gave them several thousands of hectares in the department of Santa Cruz. During the Bánzer administration (1971-1979), several Mennonites were given the opportunity to buy land, at $10 per hectare, something that motivated many more to come. Today, almost half the entire Mennonite population of Bolivia is settled in the municipality of Cuatro Cañadas. Some are small producers with landholdings of 30-60 hectares per family, whereas some others are large producers with landholdings of 70 to 200 hectares (Alvarez 2005).

The Mennonites speak flat German, a dialect of German with heavy Dutch influence, and some also speak English, especially the old ones who came from Canada. Most men have an operational command of Spanish, but certainly not natively, whereas women practically do not speak Spanish as they are firmly restrained from interacting with Bolivians. Not owning a car, a TV or even a radio are among the strict rules for the conservative ones, who live in the colonies of Valle Esperanza, Colonia del Norte, and Nueva Holanda, whereas Chihuahua is known for being more progressive and open to outside influences, like allowing rubber tires in their *buggies*, which are animal-propelled transportation vehicles that usually have metallic wheels.

Very close to Valle Esperanza, don Enrique Janzen –a progressive Mennonite that I met towards the end of my study– recently founded a new colony for dissident Mennonites who do not fully obey the traditional rules but still want to keep agriculture and Mennonite Christianity as their way of life. As a preacher, he even founded a new dissident Church. He firmly believes that Bible studies are not only meant to take place inside each family, but should also be discussed in community, so that is what he does in his Church with about 25 dissident families. Don Enrique has rubber tires in his *buggy*, and he also owns an SUV, as he became a successful agro-business man who not only does big-scale soybean, corn and sorghum production but also rents out his agricultural equipment for planting and harvesting needs of other producers.

Ayoreo indigenous communities. The two Ayoreo communities in Cuatro Cañadas are Nueva Esperanza and El Porvenir, with around 250 people, which roughly represents 1.5% of the population of the municipality. These titled communities or TCOs are located further east from where I conducted this study. During all my stay, I did not run into any Ayoreo, not surprising at all when I found that they don't really spend much time in the town of Cuatro Cañadas.

Brazilians. It is not easy to know with accuracy the number of Brazilian citizens living in this municipality. As I mentioned before, there is not a cohesive Brazilian community per se, as the socioeconomic conditions of these individuals vary greatly. Some of them own (or have assets in) big agro-business companies and either live in the city of Santa Cruz or in Brazil itself, making shorts visits to their land and companies, but without being residents of Cuatro Cañadas. A few others have adopted a *colono* type of life. Most of these Brazilians live in Cuatro Cañadas town and a very few of them live in some of the 33 Andean immigrant communities of the municipality and cultivate their land like the others. However, their language and their culture make them visibly different from both highlanders and lowlanders.

CHAPTER 4
THEORY

Language, Cultural Change and Upper Mobility

> Even for the earliest times of our species, we must think of human communities not as independent bands, but as collections of families or bands held together through a shared language. Home-language community and local genetic community began at much the same magnitude, always bigger than bands. Migration and intermarriage enabled some families to stretch across language boundaries (Manning 2005:3).

Simply put, language is a means of transportation of ideas, behavior, and feelings. Humans rely on language and all its communicative resources (spoken or signed word, writing, singing, etc) to convey messages to others about how they feel, how they think, what they need, etc. For many people, these three elements (ideas, behavior, and feelings) are the core components of culture. Therefore, language transports culture.

With thousands of languages spoken around the world, it is no surprise that different languages name and carve the world differently, to such an extent that some languages have words for things that others do not. Given this panorama, the questions that arise are: During this process of "transportation," does language <u>determine</u> culture, thus modifying our ideas, behavior and feelings? By the same token, does language shape our social and cultural identity? Or does language just play a mild role and only <u>influence</u> culture?

Those who believe that language determines culture adhere themselves to the hard version of what came to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.[1] The weak or soft version of it states that people's behavior will tend to be influenced and guided by the linguistic categories of the language they speak, and under certain circumstances. The hard version has been widely criticized and pretty much discarded as not valid and scientific, and while the soft version has

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[1] This famous postulate combines contributions to the field of linguistics made by Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf in the 1950s. The rationale behind this idea was that "[…] the language people spoke shaped the way they were inclined to think about the world" (Welsch and Endicott 2003:91).

some respected followers (Stephen Levinson and John Gumperz, to name a few), a group of neuropsychologists mostly led by Steve Pinker just rejected it all together and argued that what really happens is quite the opposite: culture (our ideas, feelings and behavior) determines how we speak, sign and write. Pinker (2000) argues that speakers of different languages have to pay attention to different aspects of reality simply to put words together into grammatical sentences.

While I reject the deterministic version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, I find myself leaning towards Pinker's postulate. I see, however, how language influences culture or in other words, how speech patterns can partially shape our social roles (Hymes 1986). Situations of contact between two or more languages are particularly revealing of this, as the usage of both languages contributes to the production of a new cultural paradigm and a new identity. Languages can also be socially and politically charged, as we know that:

> […] linguistic innovation is a function of speakers' differential involvement in, and evaluation of, social change [and, therefore, newer social identity]. [Thus,] changes in language choice can be used by speakers to symbolize changes in their own social status or in their attitudes towards the activities the languages symbolize (Gal 1984: 293-294).

In other words, the linguistic code, the dialect or the language people choose to speak may contribute to the desires of upper mobility on one hand, and the rejection of certain cultural adscription, on the other. <u>Therefore, language plays an important role in processes of social change and cultural adaptation</u>. Migration is particularly one of those processes where individuals are exposed to voluntary and involuntary change. For example, school children of immigrant parents to the United States, feel the pressure to change their language or at least to speak unaccented and Standard English when interacting with their peers. If their attachment to their parents' culture is somehow weak, there is a higher likelihood of easier adaptation to the dominant language:

> Having learned [their home country language] only through "folk" usage at home and without extensive formal exposure to the home country's culture, kids are not likely to preserve the mother tongue. This is especially the case when immigrant children see its use denigrated by their native-born peers (Portes and Rumbaut 1996: 225).

Additionally, if there are negative parental attitudes towards the mother tongue in a bilingual situation and towards early child bilingualism in general, chances are that there will be no basis for the development of active bilingualism (De Houwer 1999). Sometimes parents themselves discredit their own language, so even if they speak it at home with their children, they do not create an auspicious and even bilingual environment. Although adults are more conscious about the difficulties of speaking a second language, they anyway consider important to speak the dominating language as part of their adaptation to the new place. In regards to migration to the United States, Portes and Rumbaut have demonstrated that different ethnic groups react differently to this trend but that in general language is the cultural practice that changes the fastest while others like food, clothing, and religion tend to last longer and change little or nothing at all (1996).

Be it transnational or internal, the phenomenon of migration is a good testing ground to see how well visiting languages "compete" with the local, dominant language of the host place. In the case of internal migration in Latin American countries, indigenous languages usually face several degrees of threat from Spanish or Portuguese. That is the case of Quechua, whose co-existence with Spanish is analyzed in this study. One of my goals is to measure how much highland peasants continue to use Quechua when they migrate to an area in the lowlands where Spanish is common currency.

Language and Ethnicity in the Andean World

Bolivia is one of the three central Andean countries along with Peru and Ecuador, with which it shares a similar history in terms of pre-Columbian civilizations, colonial domination,

and the present-day struggle of numerous indigenous populations to maintain their languages and cultures alive. Within these three countries, and including the highlands of Colombia and Argentina, there are approximately 11 million speakers of Quechua, a language that was spoken and spread by the Inca before and after the Spanish Conquest (Hardman 1985; Albó 2004). In fact, Quechua is the third most spoken language in Latin America, after Spanish and Portuguese, and the single most spoken indigenous language of the Americas. In Bolivia 2.1 million people consider themselves to be Quechua, either because they speak the language or because they trace their origins to this pre-Columbian culture, as language and ethnicity in the Andes are intrinsically related to each other (INE 2002; Albó 2004).

The second most spoken language in the Andes is Aymara, which was and still is mostly spoken in areas surrounding Lake Titicaca. Today, around 2 million people speak Aymara in Bolivia, Peru and northern Chile (Albó 2004), and about 1.4 million in Bolivia alone (INE 2002). In Bolivia Spanish is spoken by almost 90% of the population, and those who speak *only* Spanish count 42%, meaning that 58% are bilingual to a certain degree (INE 2002; Albó 2004). Measuring language proficiency, bilingualism and ethnic adscription can be complicated as some respondents usually underreport their ability to speak Aymara and Quechua (considered low-prestige languages), and overstate their ability to speak Spanish (considered a high-prestige language). If this was the case in the 2001 Census, things have certainly changed after Evo Morales took office in 2006, and some type of ethnic and linguistic pride is taking place in the country since then, something that challenges this very low-prestige vs. high-prestige linguistic dichotomy.

Quechua and Aymara and Their Linguistic Families: Linguistic and Political Contacts

Quechua, which means "of the temperate valleys," is in itself a linguistic family with some thirty dialects spoken in the Andes (Albó 1998). The most common dialect is Cusco

Quechua once utilized by the Inca Empire during its territorial expansion. This dialect adjusted itself throughout the years to a number of adaptations due to the influences of other languages that Cusco Quechua encountered during the expansion (Hardman 1985; Albó 1998). Apart from Cusco, this dialect is also spoken in several regions of Bolivia. The second most spoken Quechua dialect in Bolivia is known as Cochabamba Quechua.

Aymara in turn, is an independent language that belongs to the Jaqi linguistic family, along with Jaqaru (5,000 speakers approximately) and the dying language Kawki, both spoken in different region of Peru (Hardman 1985). These three languages in some way or another were "left in the shadows" during times of Inca imperialist expansion (Hardman 1985). Despite this unequal relation, Aymara and Quechua developed various contact zones that were interpreted in different ways. Cuzco Quechua is the Quechua dialect most influenced by Aymara, and Aymara in turn, is the language of the Jaqi family most influenced by Quechua. For a long time, this association led people to believe that Aymara and Quechua were languages with a common origin, but for the last twenty years the postulate that both could not have derived from a single mother tongue in the Andes has been gaining more and more followers (Hardman 1985).

Hardman (1985) and Albó (1999) argue that Aymara and Quechua are languages with a long history of mutual linguistic interactions that produced several word and phonological borrowings, and reject the existence of a *Quechuamarán* protolanguage based on Quechua/Aymara cognates. Hardman therefore rejects the proposal of common origin, but argues for a significant amount of language contact.

Whether having a common origin or only sharing a dynamic process of word loan and borrowing, what remains uncertain is when and how speakers of these two languages became ethnic groups. Some anthropologists argue that the identification of Quechuas and Aymaras as

homogenous groups, each with a language, was a colonial creation, mostly for tax purposes (Abercrombie 1997; Albó 2004). Bouysse-Cassagne (1999) even proposes that maybe language division corresponded with ecological zones rather than political districts. However, Hardman (1995) states that this linguistic division was already part of the Andean landscape in pre-Columbian times, when Quechua was taking precedence over Aymara as part of political domination. While all these arguments need to be scrutinized furthermore, there are some scholars who prefer to talk about one Andean culture divided in two languages (Albó 1999; Mayer 2002, Regalsky 2003). I personally think that these two languages have imprinted some identity traits into the people who speak them, during pre-Columbian times, during the colonial period, and even during republican times.

Amazonian Languages and Cultures

Besides the Quechua and Aymara people who traditionally occupy the highlands, there are about thirty ethno-linguistic groups in Bolivia who inhabit the Amazon basin, numbering in total not more than 150,000 people in present days, roughly 2% of the country's population (Albó 2004). One third of this population does not speak its native language anymore, but still self-assigns an indigenous identity associated with the name of the group (INE 2002; Albó 2004).

These ethno-linguistic groups are classified by linguistic families that congregate several Amazonian and South American native languages. The most important ones are Tupi-Guaraní, that originated about 300,000 years ago in coastal areas of Brazil, in the Rio de Janeiro region (Albó and Barnadas 1990); Arawak, originated 500 BC to AD 500 in the Greater Antilles and northern South America (Heckenberger 2001); and Pano, whose time and spatial origin are not clear (Albó and Barnadas 1990; Chávez et al. 1995). The Tupi-Guaraní family gathers the Chiriguano, Guarayo, Yuquis, and Sirionó ethno-linguistic groups with a number of speakers

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ranging between 30,000 (Chiriguano) to 150 (Sirionó). The Arawak family includes the Moxeños, Chané, Trinitarios, and Ignacianos, the Moxeños (about 30,000 speakers) being the ones who actually continue speaking their language, while the other three are practically monolingual Spanish speakers today. Finally, the Pano family counts 3,000 speakers dispersed in the Pachauara, Ese-Ejja, and Tacana ethno-linguistic groups. Besides Tupi-Guaraní, Arawak, and Pano, there are at least fifteen more ethno-linguistic groups, whose linguistic origins remain uncertain. One of these cases is the Ayoreo people (linguistic family Zamuco), with not more than 1,000 speakers in Bolivia and about 3,000 in Paraguay (Gordon 2005).

All these groups are currently dispersed throughout the Bolivian Amazon basin, the floodplains and the dry forest of the Chaco, in a territory that altogether counts for two thirds of the country. Compared to their highland counterparts, lowland indigenous peoples are not only much less, but also spatially dispersed, which makes it difficult to talk about a lowland cultural unity as seen in the Andes.[2] Ironically, the Conquest and the entire colonial period did not penetrate the lowlands as much as it penetrated the highlands, but it was precisely the aggressive European domination in the Andes that propelled an articulated response from Aymaras and Quechuas to resist it as some sort of united front. This explains a lot why the first Indian grass roots organizations emerged in the highlands and why they had a strong political component. Several rebellions during the colonial period and peasant militias during the times of the National Revolution in 1952 awoke the combative spirit of these highland people, who since then have been achieving a growing negotiation power to confront the Bolivian state.

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[2] Note, however, that it has been recently discovered that Amazonian non-state societies appear to have been socially stratified and have sustained large and dense populations. This will be explained in detail further ahead.

Amazonian indigenous peoples on the other hand, organized around ethnicity rather than political and partisan affiliation or rather than purely agricultural orientation (Albó 2004). This vision had two key driving forces behind it: first, the growing need these indigenous peoples felt to express their cultural uniqueness to the Bolivian society; and second, their emerging demand for land rights and land titles that directly confronted the Bolivian state. This second force had its peak in 1997 when Marcial Fabricano, president of CIDOB, *Central Indígena del Oriente Boliviano,* "Eastern Bolivian Indigenous Federation," ran for vice-president with the leftist 'Movimiento Bolivia Libre' (Urioste 2001). They obtained about 4% of the total votes.

The Politics of Language in a Multilingual Society.

Colonial languages in the new world usually enjoy higher social prestige than the native languages they subordinate (as was briefly explained in the previous section). Just the fact that all the independent countries of the Americas and post-colonial Africa have a European language as their official language shows us the magnitude of this situation. Further more, the formal sector in these developing countries –government agencies, banks, private business, and others – does not incorporate native languages into common use (Chiswick et al. 2000; Albó 2004). In a study on indigenous language skills and market participation in Bolivia, Chiswick et al. (2000) found that market earnings of Spanish speakers were about 25% higher than indigenous language speakers in Bolivia, and that monolingual Spanish speakers earned more than bilingual speakers, who in turn earned more than monolingual native speakers. The market, thus, penalizes indigenous monolingualism. The 2001 Census also showed similar findings on the correlation between market attainment and linguistic proficiency (INE 2002).

The concept of *oppressed languages* (local languages suppressed and considered inferior due to uneven and colonial power relations with a visiting language) that was coined by Albó in 1979 (later mentioned by Placencia 2001) helps us understand this situation. Colonialism was so

rough on indigenous cultures and peoples, that even when it ceased it was very difficult for native, *oppressed languages* to regain the status they enjoyed before the expansion of the colonial European power (Albó 1979). In spite of this unbalanced situation, it is important to recognize that usually the dominant language becomes the lingua franca, something that allows fluent communication between different cultural and linguistic units living within the same country. There is also a clear process of word borrowing from one language to the other.

In Bolivia today, Aymara and Quechua in the western portion of the country, and to a lesser degree some lowland languages in the East, are heavily intertwined with Spanish in several ways. In general, there are more bilinguals whose native language is not Spanish than the other way around, as monolingual Spanish speakers do not need to communicate in indigenous languages as native speakers do using Spanish. Hence, it is indigenous language speakers who learn the dominant language and not the other way around, which is an example of recessive or subordinated bilingualism. This is an asymmetrical relation that clearly positions Spanish as a high-prestige language, while native languages are given a low-prestige status. However, when the acquisition of another language seems not to threaten the existence of the contacting language, we are talking about an equally balanced situation called expansive or stable bilingualism. The line between the two types of bilingualism can be fine and subtle at times. The capital city of La Paz as a truly Spanish-Aymara bilingual city is a good example of these complex linguistic encounters that can be found in practically every social interaction:

> …every time Spanish or Aymara is used in La Paz, a territorial claim is made: to the right to use the prestige language, although imperfectly; to the right to use the indigenous language in a public space, though it may offend some ears; to reinforce the boundaries of Spanish and deny the legitimacy of indigenous languages by refusing the latter a response in "official" domains (Luykx 1999:4).

The indigenous and ethnic pride that is felt in Bolivia since Evo Morales took office in 2006 is probably creating good conditions for –in the long run– an expansive and stable bilingualism

rather than a subordinated one; but this might be a bit idealistic: power relations and social values attached to languages will always be present anyway when linguistic negotiations will be made in bilingual speech communities:

> In this way we can see how it is that language can come to have social values attached to it, and equally how those social values affect language use, and hence the very system itself as its use alters through recourse to aspects of the system. The way in which English and French are spoken in Quebec, and the rate at which they change, will be directly affected by these aspects of their use (Heller 1982:118).

To better understand the current connections between language, social values and identity in Bolivia, it is important to look back at a remarkable historic event such as the 1952 National Revolution that brought a complex set of changes to the country. Mining nationalization, universal voting rights, agrarian reform, and pro-literacy educational reform were the four most important transformations. Two of these are particularly relevant for our current analysis: First, thanks to the agrarian reform peasants in the highlands and in the valleys who cultivated the land as their primary mode of subsistence were granted individual land titles. This change attributed to Indians the status of peasants, a process also known as the *campesinización del indio*, introducing indigenous peoples into a new social classification.

Second and most importantly, the educational reform was aimed to reduce the Spanish illiteracy rate –back then over 70%– (Albó 1999). It was designed to teach reading and writing in Spanish, especially to rural inhabitants whose native languages were Quechua and Aymara. As these languages were already considered to be low-prestige and marginal, the education reform actually deepened the political and social stigma about highlands indigenous people. The state's message was clear: "you are a peasant, not an Indian anymore; stop speaking your language, speak more Spanish and learn how to read it and write it." However, the Bolivian Revolution was just the perfect ground for something that had begun more than one hundred years ago:

In the early nineteenth century, post-independence politicians sought to ban the term "Indian" and to replace it with "Bolivian" or "Peruvian." But that, and allied policies that aimed to privatize land and create the climate in which an agro-industry might ripen, did nothing to stop rural peoples from insisting, sometimes through revolt, on a degree of self-determination, including the retention of collective land tenure and the continued reproduction of cultural [and linguistic] difference (Abercrombie 1991:96).

Although this desire for self-determination was strong, the Westernizing message sent out by the state was equally and in some cases more powerful. This deep scar left on the identity and sense of belonging of thousands of Andean rural dwellers can still be seen everywhere. Although a new education reform has been launched in 1994 establishing rural bilingual education, changes are slow and even some rural teachers (native language speakers themselves) still act upon the old belief that "speaking a native language in the classroom is simply backwards." To illustrate these contradictions, Aurolyn Luykx reveals how the problem is even rooted in students of a rural teachers' school (Escuela Normal) regarding their Aymara identity. She writes:

A student that laments the fact that fewer children are learning to speak Aymara may, in another context, scornfully deride her rural classmate's lack of sophistication. Rather than declaring hegemony to be "present" or "absent" in a given subject or situation, we must recognize its contradictory nature as an eternally incomplete project (Luykx 1999:15).

Interestingly enough, a big revitalization of indigenous languages is taking place since mid 2006 when Evo Morales' government designed an aggressive native-language training program aimed at school students and government employees (Gobierno Nacional de Bolivia 2006; Reel 2007). While the implementation of this initiative was and still is highly controversial, the spirit brought by this indigenous-based government is certainly bringing new life to languages that are still stigmatized by the non-indigenous population. Never before had indigenous languages received this kind of support openly backed by the government.

Fortunately, there are also good examples of linguistic self-determination not mediated by the government: the Aymara and Quechua Radio stations that emerged in the late 1970s as a result of communal efforts. They were also known as *Radio-Escuelas* (radio schools), as they

had an adult education segment (Albó 1981). Depending on the area, broadcasters were young

community leaders who transmitted in Quechua or Aymara. The reception these transmissions

had in Andean communities was superb. Some studies done to measure its effectiveness

concluded that while listeners did not easily grasp the contents of the program due to their low

formal educational level, they could feel some political liberation, just by the fact that they were

listening to their language and their music through public media traditionally associated with the

dominant culture (Albó 1981). Two secondary benefits emerged from this social experiment: on

one hand, some villagers did not feel the urgency to leave the community as some programs

dealt with agricultural innovation; and on the other hand, people felt more connected as the

"community service" segment facilitated information on social and religious events, sales,

obituaries, weddings and sport competitions (Blanes et al. 1978; Albó 1981).

Back in those days however, other mass media like television and the press were not

"taken over" by indigenous languages, as they remained controlled by Spanish and the

corresponding dominant culture. Yet in the last ten years, various projects have originated in

both rural areas and bilingual cities such as La Paz, Potosí, Cochabamba, Sucre, and Oruro

where indigenous organizations, universities and research centers have been producing TV news

spots in Aymara and/or Quechua as well as printing limited-distribution local newspapers. This

was not the case in the lowlands because of two important aspects: first, not a single capital city

in the lowlands enjoys the degree of bilingualism that highland and valley capital cities do (i.e.

the above mentioned); and second, television and the press are usually more expensive venues of

public expression, especially compared to radio broadcasting.

It is important to mark the difference between private, local initiatives and government-

sponsored ones, as the latter have been taking precedence lately. The Morales administration has

reinforced the National Public Radio system with community radio stations that have actually taken a lot from the *Radio-Escuelas* experience, but are controlled by the government. More recently (January 2009), the government launched the official newspaper *El Cambio*, "Change." While these government-controlled media might support and promote indigenous languages and cultures, their main purpose is to consolidate and patronize the political apparatus of the central government. That is really different from the original purpose of 1970s experience with *Radio-Escuelas*.

The Andean World and Its Intrinsic Links to the Lowlands: Past and Present

The new world order that emerged after World War II witnessed an increasing scholarly interest in places and cultures that substantially differed from those characteristic of Western societies. European and US anthropologists as well as scholars from Andean countries were marveled by how past civilizations in the Andes managed to put together ecological, political and economic factors intertwined in very unique ways (Van Buren 1996; Albó 1998; Golte 2001). One of the most important constraints was that the Andes was the place "where climate and altitude conspired against increases in agricultural production" (Collins 1988), raising the question of human adaptation to hostile environments.

One of the most important and light-shedding contributions to Andean studies was made by Murra (1975) who proposed the notion of verticality**.** This model states that the Inca Empire maintained colonies at lower elevations in order to access resources not found in the highlands. Platt (1975) has also adhered to this theory, showing that among the Machas of Bolivia each subdivision of communities that are based on high altitude ideally has a duplicate segment in the warmer valleys. Recently, Murra's model has undergone some re-interpretations that instead of contesting it have, rather, validated it. Based on archaeological data, it has been demonstrated that this continual occupation of lowland colonies is pre-Inca in its origin (Van Buren 1996).

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Therefore, this model continues to successfully explain how high altitude populations could and still can survive in the Andes under a dramatic and unpredictable environment. An additional adapting strategy to high altitude agriculture is what I have come to call the triple M: cultivation of many species, in many places and throughout many times. Usually utilized to explain cultivation strategies in the tropics, scholars tend to forget that inhabitants of the Andes used and continue to use maximization agricultural techniques, especially when cultivation takes place at as high as 4,500 meters.

As Collins (1988) has noted, the highland production system is characterized by a carefully designed rotation cycle, intercropping, and cultivation of both irrigated and dry fields, the latter being an attribute present in the Andes and in the lowlands. Murra also contributed to the understanding of Andean cultures with another important concept: He concluded that Andean civilizations did not count on trade as a mechanism of growth and territorial expansion; the Inca state economy was rather based on reciprocity and redistribution (Murra 1975). Influenced by Mauss and Polanyi, Murra denied the existence of market exchange. He understood the Inca as a feudal system rooted in two agrarian practices: 1) redistribution; led by rulers and based on centrality and distribution of surplus that was in turn sustained on labor tribute; and 2) reciprocity; practiced between individuals and families (Murra 1975; Van Burren 1996; Albó 1999; Mayer 2002). Murra is also responsible for the coining of *lo andino*, a term that brings together the notion of verticality, pre-Columbian non-market dependence, and reciprocity, all constitutive pillars of this cultural ideal of pan-Andean community self-sufficiency.

Recently, Enrique Mayer (2002) –a student of Murra himself- has contested Murra's model of self-sufficiency, arguing that trade did exist in Inca times. Based on some contradictions on Murra's own writings and chroniclers' documents, Mayer has refuted the myth

that Indians did not even participate in colonial markets (2002). Mayer also refuted historian Brooke Larson (1995) and anthropologist Olivia Harris (1995) who both affirmed that successful Indian merchants had to become mestizos in order to be fully participant in colonial markets (Mayer 2002). This contestation has enriched the field as many governments and development programs have stopped viewing Andean dwellers as novices in market participation. However, the extent of this participation and the extent of transition to capitalist systems remains as something highly variable between different regions in the Andes. Such is the case, for example, of some Aymara communities around Lake Titicaca who besides using barter and cash sale independently, sometimes mix them up, bartering some products using monetary prices, but with no money involvement (Lagos 1994).

Market integration and transition to capitalist systems is certainly a big theme in Andean studies. As with many other non-industrial regions and cultures of the world, it involves pros and cons for these peoples, usually cons as these groups frequently lack capital and control over the production process and market prices. Lagos (1994) has demonstrated that even small landowners in the valleys of Cochabamba are subject to credit dependence to be autonomous producers. Cash crop production and off-farm labor are the two most common strategies to limit this dependence, although the whole process easily becomes a vicious cycle (Lagos 1994). Obviously, market access in equal conditions is not a given for Andean dwellers.

Another core concept of Andean culture is the notion of the household as the basic unit of production, distribution, and consumption (Mayer 2002). Whereas one fragment of the household deals with agricultural work, the other one migrates to engage in off-farm activities making migration a central element for the subsistence and reproduction of the community as a whole, something known as the *Andean Mode of Migration* (Bolton and Mayer 1975; Medina

1999; Mayer 2002). This means that although the household is perceived as the basic unit, it would not subsist without the community and in turn, the community would not subsist without the household:

> Communal life is central to Andean structure. At times of celebration, communal needs put burden on a single household that is socially obliged to accept a particular duty and to sponsor the celebration. Sometimes, the chosen family does not have enough money, which is a very common cause for temporary labor migration (Golte 2001:86).

Also, households rely on collective action of the community especially in agricultural terms, through reciprocal help (*ayni*) or through paid assistance (*mink'a*), as a way of minimizing risks (Mayer 2002). Andean kinship is usually patrilineal and virilocal, and endogamy is preferred; however, intra-community marriage alliances can happen, as they provide spouses' families the access to diverse ecological niches (Mamani and Albó 1976). Therefore, the Andean household and community (be Aymara or Quechua) are neither isolated nor self-sufficient units.

With regards to kinship systems, Albó (1979) showed that the concept of "trial marriage" should be seen as a long process of marriage consolidation and the provision of community recognition, and not as a mere chance to try out a partner before making a serious commitment. The symbolic and real power that consanguineal, affinal, and ritual relatives have over individuals is another strong characteristic of Andean kinship systems. Mamani and Albó (1976) emphasized the centrality and importance of *compadrazgo* and godparenthood within the social organization of present-day Andean communities. A classical comparison made by these authors and later used by other anthropologists was that ritual kinship ties are like having a savings account that the individual could use anytime in case of emergency (Mamani and Albó 1976).

As a maximization and risk lowering strategy, sometimes a foreign and landless peasant from a different community will marry a local girl whose parents own a considerable amount of land and have no sons (Mamani and Albó 1976; Sppeding 1994; Albó 1998). Ritual and affinal

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ties, therefore, allow for subsistence and reproduction of the group through connections that go beyond the home community. Many if not all of these connections are achieved through migration, thus making migration a core aspect of Andean life. Therefore, it is not surprising that in some cases single migrants to the tropics, especially males, engage in exogamous marriages with female lowlanders, also as a means to access other resources, that in this case are not necessarily ecological but resources such as human capital and social acceptance by the local group, especially when there are animosities against outsiders (Bolton and Mayer 1975; Albó and Mamani 1976; Mayer 2002).

For some outsiders it might be easy to picture any Andean community surrounded by snow-capped mountains at 6,000 meters above sea level, with no primary roads and no electricity, as totally isolated and disconnected from urban centers. In some cases a strong endogamous kinship model, no use of money and a barter-based economy can, too, mislead the visitor and give him or her the impression that the Andean community is, indeed, an isolated unit (Paerregaard 1997). However, as was thoroughly explained in the paragraphs above, Andean peasants live in two worlds. On the one hand, they are poor and isolated, caring most about their immediate surroundings, but on the other hand they depend on the world outside their communities, as political and economic forces from far beyond their homes usually define their survival (Cancian 1989; Mayer 2002). Those who saw solitude in the Andes and attributed causes of migration only to individual factors failed to look at the strong historical and communal ties that individuals and communities have shown to have with the outside world, and their dependence on labor migration (Collins 1988; Doughty 1997; Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997; Paerregaard 1997).

Lowland Societies, Lowland Culture

Up to here, I presented the main characteristics of the Andean world and of the Andean mode of migration. But in order to understand the links between the rural Andes and the lowlands, it is important to understand the very nature of lowland societies. For many years until the late 1990s, the literature on pre-Columbian South American lowland cultures was dedicated to consolidate the assumption that these were isolated and egalitarian societies, without social stratification and without any state-like formation, but recent findings have contested this notion. Based on archaeological evidences from the mouth of the Amazon and from the Santarém-Monte Alegre region (present day Brazil), Roosevelt (1999) argues that "Amazonian non-state societies appear to have organized large, dense populations, intensive subsistence adaptations, large systems of artworks, and architecture for considerable periods of time." Erickson et al. (1995) have demonstrated that in the Bolivian floodplains massive earthworks and hydraulic agriculture techniques were used that must have sustained and fed a large population.

By the same token, against popular belief, it seems that Arawak was the most distributed linguistic family in the Americas at the time of the European invasion (Heckenberger 2001). Apparently, neither Jaqi nor Quechua, the linguistic families of the languages spoken in the Andes, can compete with this new stance that argues that Arawak peoples were part of one of the large Diasporas of the pre-Columbian world (Heckenberger 2001). These two discoveries broke down the exclusively Andean status of state-like formation, high population density, and stratified societies that have been consistently denied to lowland societies of South America for a long time. At most, scholars have documented the constant Inca attempts to conquer the Oriental Andes, characterized by the ethnocentric belief that those living at the other side of the Andes were barbarians and uncivilized (Saignes 1985). Although the Inca Empire temporarily occupied

some savannas, its rulers could not subjugate any Tupi-Guaraní or Arawak group, something that the colonial administrators could not do either after they defeated the Inca (Saignes 1985).

These recent discoveries about the concentration of large population densities in the Amazon and the historical and cultural roots of Andean migration teach us about the multi-faceted encounters between Andes and Amazon. These new facts contribute to substantially modify our understanding of native central South America and therefore inform scholars and politicians of the endless and growing interconnectedness between these two regions, a relationship that is certainly not recent. In the following section I will introduce some broader concepts about migration in general and some others more applicable to internal migration in particular.

Internal Migration in Developing Countries

During the last fifty years, citizens of developing countries have been migrating within national borders and also going to more developed countries in numbers never seen before. Some rural dwellers just move to urban centers within their home countries where economic activities are concentrated, whereas others seek better life conditions especially in Western Europe and in the United States. Natural disasters, political instability, environmental pressures, and economic constraints are the four main reasons that make people in developing countries leave their homes seeking better living conditions (Stearman 1985; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997). Some of these migrants will return home after some time, some will not, some will attract newcomers, and some others will never settle in, developing a cyclic pattern of movement (Arizpe 1980; Brettell 2000; Brettell 2003).

In many cases, migration is accompanied with feelings of rejection and discrimination. Hence, racism and hostility imposed by the receiving culture on the incomer is a frequent consequence of migration (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; Benmayor and Skotnes 1994; Portes

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and Rumbaut 1996; Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997). In addition, migration is commonly associated with a pejorative identity and downward mobility, as usually those migrating are Third World inhabitants searching for better living conditions, whereas in contrast, middle class citizens of industrialized countries "move" around the globe as part of an upward social mobility (Stearman 1985). Therefore, while population movement is viewed as a natural social process in industrialized societies, it acquires other characteristics in developing countries, usually associated with poverty, political powerlessness, and lack of self-determination (Arizpe 1980; Stearman 1985).

The process of migration is not an easy one. Whether inside the same country or in foreign ones, the journey can hit the same cultural territory, where the same language is spoken, the same religion observed, the same social organization practiced, and the same family values held. Or, this cultural territory can be totally different, which therefore will signify more challenges for the migrant. How the newcomer with his or her group reacts to these conditions represents the foundational grounds for the different theories of migration that aim to explain causes and consequences of population movements at the individual and at the collective level.

A general and schematic framework for migration is provided by Lee's theory, designed in the 1960s to understand demographic variables in developing countries (combining qualitative and quantitative methods). Although this scheme is almost 50 years old, I see it as current and very appropriate and functional as a point of departure to later elaborate on different models and theories of migration. Lee defines migration as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence; no matter how short or long, how easy or difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles" [(1966) In Todaro 1976:

Internal Migration in Developing Countries]. Therefore, according to the author, the four factors that should be considered in any analysis of migration are the following:

- factors associated with the area of origin,
- factors associated with the area of destination,
- intervening obstacles, and
- personal factors

In my view, all the factors mentioned above are present in theories such as assimilation, acculturation, and ethnic retention (Fishman 1986; Alba and Nee 1997; Gans 1997; Portes 1997; Zhou 1997), which attempt to explain both internal migration and transnational migration. In the paragraphs that follow, I will first draw on the main characteristics of internal migration in developing countries. Secondly, I will introduce the theories of assimilation, acculturation, and ethnic retention. Finally I will talk about the transnational and global influences in the study of internal migration in Bolivia.

Some Drivers Behind Internal Migration

Contemporary internal migration and urbanization in developing countries has a powerful impact on the economic, cultural and social make up of the region (Collins 1988; Ibrahim and Ruppert 1988; Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997). In Latin America, not only are cities like Lima, Quito, La Paz and Mexico City filling up with former peasants, but also rural areas of colonization and peripheral urban sites are constantly receiving millions of highland migrants (Collins 1988; Chávez et al. 1995; Painter 1995; Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997; Golte 2001; Regalsky 2003).

In the central Andean countries (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia), this migratory process is particularly marked by the march towards the Amazon or lowlands, where economic activities like cattle ranching, sugar cane plantation, industrial agriculture, and logging attract thousands of highlanders (Albó 1997; Toranzo 1999; Albó 2004). In Bolivia in particular, the department of

Santa Cruz became the most rapidly growing area in the whole country, attracting thousands of

Aymara and Quechua-speaking peasants from the highlands and valleys (Albó 1999; Urquiola

1999). Not only are urban centers largely engrossed, but also several rural settlements are

constantly created all over the Amazon basin.

> All of the Andean republics have looked to their jungle lowlands in the east as the source
> of undiscovered wealth offering limitless developmental potential for the nation. The
> rubber boom of the last century, the discovery of oil reserves in the 1970s, and the
> extraction of precious metals and exotic wood during most of this century, have all served
> to maintain the image of a regional El Dorado in the attitudes of these countries. They have
> all, because of this, looked east for a solution to many of their economic and demographic
> crises (Skar 1993:22).

In general terms the causes for migration in Third World countries are rooted in an "increasingly

interlocked world system" and in the way that global capitalism penetrates local and national

economies (Stearman 1985; Collins 1988; Balibar and Wallerstein 1991; García Canclini 1993;

Benmayor and Skotnes 1994; Painter 1995). In the Andes in particular, the enlargement of

lowland rural areas occurred as a result of the abandonment and shrinking of highland and valley

rural areas, causing a sort of decapitalization process that ultimately transferred resources needed

for capitalist urban expansion in economically more prosperous regions (Arizpe 1980; Collins

1988; Lagos 1994).

In addition, the supposedly homogenous nation-state is also questioned as it failed to

provide welfare and representation for all its members (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994), pushing

thousands of rural dwellers towards urban centers, as they could not meet their needs in their

native communities. This is certainly true in Bolivia: while on one hand global demand for raw

materials (mainly soybeans, cotton, and timber) is behind this migratory movement, on the other

hand, the state itself cannot build the capacity to provide its citizens with a sense of unity and

with economic opportunities, broadly conceived, without compromising the advancement of

certain regions.

Different Actors, Different Strategies

In order to better understand the socioeconomic variations of migrants to rural areas in developing countries, I have identified the following different social rural actors:[3]

- Capitalist agriculturalists: who are linked to industrial agriculture and who managed to position themselves at the top of the migratory socio-economic ladder and own large means of production.

- Proletarian peasants: those who work for the agro-business companies in the region and who rely on a salary for their survival.

- Small landholding peasants: those who own a plot of land and who mostly live off what they produce

- Small entrepreneurs: they range from street vendors to tailors, hairdressers, grocery store owners, etc. Their commercial activities mostly take place away from agriculture.

These, of course, are not fixed categories as many migrants engage in multiple occupations so they can meet their needs. Also, both permanent and seasonal migrants play these roles indistinctly: i.e. a small entrepreneur settled in a migratory colony can have a piece of land back home that he still cultivates. In addition to this classic divide between permanent and seasonal migration, return and relay migration are alternative strategies heavily used by peasants. It is basically a generation mechanism that consists in parents staying at the home communities and children being sent out to either cities or other rural areas where they can exchange their labor for cash. While goods and money are the basic assets that circulate in capitalist centers, for poor peasants their children are their most available capital (Arizpe 1980). If migration is not permanent, when children come back home their presence and the cash they bring with them guarantees the social reproduction of the household. If migrants are to stay away, remittances make a huge impact in the economy of an entire community.

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[3] Some of these actors are also described in Arizpe, Lourdes. 1980. La migración por relevos y la reproducción social del campesinado. México D.F.: El Colegio de México.

> Migration is not an individual experience. It is a system of interrelated population streams which manifest distinctive configurations. Within each stream, numerous strategies and types of migration emerge as mechanisms for optimizing resources (Stearman 1985).

> Migration is customarily conceptualized as a product of the material forces at work in our society… the immigrant is seen either as a rational man choosing individual advancement by responding to the economic signals of the job and housing markets, or as a virtual prisoner of his or her class position, and thereby subject to powerful structural economic factors set in motion by the logic of capitalist accumulation (Brettell 2003: 23).

Migration as a collective experience is propelled by the needs felt within the household, and sometimes even within the extended family. Undoubtedly, migrants put in practice multiple resources at easing the burdens on the economic needs of the family. But… are all the reasons to migrate based on economic restrictions? Are all the consequences of migration felt and assessed from an economic perspective? In other words, are migrants all the time rational economic individuals? The brief ethnographic account presented in the next paragraph shows how migrating in need for cash can be designed as a strategy for the cultural survival of the group.

During the 1980s, Quechua peasants of the poorest region of Bolivia, the ayllu Sakaka of Northern Potosí, used to temporally migrate to tropical Chapare to participate as wage laborers in the coca economy that had its boom in that decade. This work, although poorly-paid, was for them the most lucrative and sometimes the only way to obtain money. It was even more interesting that Sakaka temporal migrants used this cash for supporting their traditional textile production once back in the community. In doing so, they were able to keep alive one of their cultural practices. Therefore, sakakeños engagement in the coca economy was a secure cash activity to guarantee the survival of some specific elements of their culture (Zorn 1997). Also, the decision to leave was accompanied by the social support received from those staying, including elders and community leaders. Nevertheless, different expectations and doubts must have gone through the mind of each Sakakeño before leaving the community, as Brettell describes:

> The feelings associated with migration are usually complicated, the decision to migrate is typically difficult to make, and the outcomes usually involve mixed emotions […] Migration is a statement of an individual's worldview, and is, therefore, an extremely cultural event. And yet, when we study migration scientifically, we seem to forget all this (Brettell 2003: 23).

This quote is a good reminder that sometimes migration is, indeed, an individual experience. Although in the paragraphs above I presented the many complex structural reasons behind migration, individuals –based on age, gender, socio-economic conditions and personality traits– have the capacity to filter down these major forces differently. Usually, young people see migration as an adventure, something temporary with no considerable personal risks associated with it (Stearman 1985, Brettell 2000). Even more so, if they enjoy certain economic comfort and a fair education background, young migrants are at more liberty to choose their destination and to actually make the decision to leave home, as such a context is conducive to leave and explore new horizons (Portes and Rumbaut 1996).

Migration As a Sign of Prestige

For many young men, migration is a means to achieve a state of manhood and to construct an adult male identity once back home (Zinn 1994). In Bolivia, enrolling in the Military Service certainly serves this purpose, and it is so engrained in the rural Andean world, that after its completion the individual is awarded "adult" status and has full community recognition to get married, form a family and receive his own plot of land. There is a similar rationality behind migration for young girls: instead of enrolling in the military, many go to the cities to work as domestic maids. Upon return, they are seen as more knowledgeable in city matters, which in turns grants them some sort of community recognition to start a family –as long as they don't come back as single mothers, a situation that puts a social burden on them.

Usually when rural single young women leave home they escape from community regulations and sanctions, and working as maids represents a good way to independently gain

some upper mobility without male intermediaries (De la Cadena 1991). If they stay in the cities,

this is a good first step to become mestizas[4] and therefore change their ethnic identity. As Safa

puts it, raising gender consciousness is somewhat blocked by those rigid community regulations:

> […] Indigenous women also had to take a critical role in social reproduction and to not
> depend solely on men for survival. However, the growth of gender consciousness is
> weakened by the strict controls imposed on them by traditional ethnic solidarity, which
> limited their mobility and autonomy within indigenous communities […]. The state also
> privileged indigenous men over women, making it more difficult for indigenous women to
> assume key decision-making positions in their communities. Strong indigenous women
> leaders do emerge, such as among the women comandantes of the Zapatistas or Rigoberta
> Menchu of Guatemala, but they must combat tremendous odds (Safa 2005:11).

It is not surprising, then, that migration can be a release valve for oppressed women in rural

areas, especially when they migrate as single individuals. In other words, usually women have to

"comply" with more requirements than men when it comes to raising gender consciousness and

gaining political and economic strength.

Some Migration Theory Instruments: Assimilation, Acculturation, Ethnic Retention, Transnationalism, and Globalization

During the 1950s and 1960s, anthropologists started to pay close attention to vast

movements of people as a consequence of the industrial revolution. Be it internal or transnational

migration, the most common approach was to assume that the individual would eventually

assimilate into the host culture, "gradually deserting old cultural and behavioral patterns in favor

of new ones" (Brettell 2003; Zhou 1997). Looking at immigration to the United States, Gans

(1997) attributes this gradual change (and its speed and intensity) to the migrant, a process he

calls *acculturation*, whereas the *assimilation* process, he argues, depends entirely on the

permission to enter the host society granted by the native members and their social institutions.

Acculturation, therefore, will occur faster, as assimilation requires the authorized incorporation

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[4] It is generally understood that a mestizo/a is a person of mixed blood. The next chapter provides a thorough discussion and analysis of this term, as well as others that are usually politically charged like Indio, cholo, etc.

into the local social strata (Gans 1997). Alba and Nee (1997) point out that this can be seen in contemporary immigration to the United States, when some migrants with higher human capital show rapid transition to residential areas, thus increasing their chances of social mobility and thus assimilation.

On the other hand, if acculturation depends on the newcomers, so does retention of their native and cultural traits, which some conserve loyally. This is called *ethnic retention*, as has been observed in the behavior of some migrants in the United States and Europe, who not only retained their cultural particularities but also strengthened them through kinship networks reproducing them through intergenerational mobility (Gans 1997; Zhou 1997). The same patterns were observed in cases of internal migration in developing countries, especially when cultural and linguistic differences between the sending and the receiving areas are acute (El-Fihail 1988, Albó 1997, Doughty 1997, García Canclini 2001, Golte 2001).

Today, many believe that acculturation, assimilation, and ethnic retention are juxtaposed with transnationalism and globalization. Some researchers believe that in some cases assimilation should not even be considered, as "this older model" is slowly being replaced by transnational behaviors, characterized by endless journeys between home and host countries, leaving no time for real social adjustment (Appadurai 2003; Brettell 2003). In some cases, even the sending and receiving dichotomy is broken as some families are scattered around the globe, utilizing survival strategies dispersed in more than two regions of the world (Olwig 2001). This situation has dictated that whereas transnationalism dissects two countries (or even three or four), globalization deterritorializes countries, communities and neighborhoods transcending them in such a way that "local happenings are shaped by events taking place miles away and vice versa" (Appadurai 2003; Kearney 1995).

Appadurai (2003) coined the phrase *global production of localities* to describe the interconnection between the local and the global, characterized by three basic elements: large population movements, increasing electronic mass media, and efforts by the nation-state to homogenize communities. Although an easy impression is that this global deterritorialization damages local identities, we have to recognize that electronic media in particular offers new alternatives of communication, recreation, and imagination between individuals and communities, strengthening bonds and solidarity ties inside and outside the community, like Chiapas leaders did using the Internet to communicate with the world about their cause (Appadurai 2003; García Canclini 2001). In other words, this global and fast transportation of ideas can also highlight local cultural peculiarities and contribute to the maintenance of cultural diversity.

Hybridity through transnational and globalizing forms can also be seen everywhere today, where traditional and modern representations are mixed even unconsciously. For example, nowadays it is very possible that a Moroccan artist who resides in London produces his/her art putting together pre-colonial African images and some industrial culture icons using digital graphics. By the same token, a Pakistani taxi driver in Chicago can go on in his daily routes while listening to sermons that were recorded in Iranian mosques. Both individuals are unconsciously playing with modernity, tradition, mass-mediated images, communication technology, and above all, with "public diasporic spheres" (Appadurai 2003; García Canclini 2001; Kearney 1995). In Bolivia, both transnational and within-country migrants follow these global trends, but in my view, at a much lower pace and scale, as I will try to explain below.

Transnational and Global Influences in the Study of Internal Migration in Bolivia and the Fallacy of Fixed Places and Fixed Identities

For the last forty years, Bolivian migrants –Quechua and Aymara peasants in particular– have been migrating to Argentina to either seasonally engage in the sugar cane harvest in the north of the country, or to permanently settle down as skilled or non-skilled workers in Buenos Aires (Albó 1999; Grimson and Paz Soldán 2000). Today, some estimate at one million the number of Bolivians living in Argentina, roughly 12% of the current population of Bolivia (Cortes 1998, INE 2002).

The economic crisis that hit Argentina in the late 1990s contributed to a shift in these patterns, the United States, Israel, Japan, and much recently Spain now being the attractive countries for Bolivian emigrants (Cortes 1998; Grimson and Paz Soldán 2000). Middle class Bolivians' preference to venture in the United States has been constant anyway throughout the last thirty or forty years; it nonetheless increased in the last decade as a consequence of the economic crisis in Bolivia that hit the middle class in the early 2000s. There are about 2.5 million Bolivians who live outside the country; over a million live in Argentina and now the second most preferred destination is Spain, with 350,000 individuals (ABDES 2009).

Cortes (1998) has found that those migrating to Argentina, the US, Japan, and Israel were mostly campesino males, surprisingly from the same region, the *Valle Alto* in the department of Cochabamba who mostly engaged in construction labor upon arrival in the host countries. In her research, Cortes showed that while a consequence of male migration was a temporary feminization of some communities of the *Valle Alto*, almost all the migrants returned and either invested in agricultural projects or paid old loans with the money obtained abroad (1998).

Cortes also concluded that those going to Argentina were poor migrants, and those going to the US, Japan and Israel were rich ones, as such long and expensive trips required more

resources (1998). Regardless of the destination, these transnational migrants mix traditional and modern cultural representations and engage in "global production of localities" (as observed by Appadurai), when –for example– a Bolivian peasant works building fences in Los Angeles, while listening to an Ecuadorian *huayno* song… or to the latest hip-hop hit. Transnational migration teaches us that this complex web of representations can be endless and captivating. Transnational migrants seem to be so exposed to different cultural scenarios that anthropologists are just delighted with this phenomenon. Even more so, when in some cases –as mentioned before– migrants wander between two or three places.

Given precisely the impact that globalization has currently in peoples' lives, I argue here that similar complexities can be seen when looking at internal migration in Bolivia. A Quechua monolingual peasant who arrives in the city of Santa Cruz for the first time can be as culturally shocked as a Turkish peasant who arrives in Berlin for the first time. As we can see, current global forces permeate every pore of socio-economic and cultural structures of different localities. In situations like this one, individuals experience dramatic changes when consciously or unconsciously manipulate their identity.

People have undoubtedly been more mobile and identities less fixed than the static and typologizing approaches of classical anthropology would suggest. But today, the rapidly expanding mobility of people combines with the refusal of cultural products and practices to "stay put," to give a profound sense of a loss of territorial roots, and of an erosion of the cultural distinctiveness of places (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). With this high and rapid mobility of people, not only do identities become much less fixed, so do the notion of places, and the notion of home. Gupta and Ferguson affirm that people keep constructing these ideas according to their memories of the past and based on the experiences they go through in the host place:

Remembered places have, of course, often served as symbolic anchors of community for dispersed people. This has long been true of immigrants, who use memory of place to construct their new lived world imaginatively. "Homeland" in this way remains one of the most powerful unifying symbols for mobile and displaced peoples, though the relation to homeland may be very differently constructed in different settings (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 39).

They also believe that there is a growing condition of placelessness that affects diverse people

with high degrees of mobility:

Issues of collective identity do seem to take on a special character today, when more and more of us live in what Edward Said (1979: 18) has called "a generalized condition of homelessness," a world where identities are increasingly coming to be, if not wholly deterritorialized, at least differently territorialized. Refugees, migrants, displaced, and stateless peoples – these are perhaps the first to live out these realities in their most complete form (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 38).

And they add:

But the irony of these times is that as actual places and localities become even more blurred and indeterminate, *ideas* of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient. It is here that it becomes most visible how imagined communities (Anderson 1983) come to be attached to imagined places, as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 39).

I partially agree with Gupta and Ferguson on this very note, but I still believe that it is not

possible to generalize that all displaced people simply lack a sense of what and where is home.

Evidently, those who have not come back to places that either they call home or had a profound

emotional meaning to them, will more easily construct an imagined concept of it. However,

those who are rooted in one or two places will have a concrete notion of place and belonging. All

in all, I like how Gupta and Ferguson present a very flexible meaning of locality based on the

juxtaposition of territory, culture, and people.

Negotiating Ethnicity, Negotiating Identity

Regardless of the diversity of theoretical and methodological inclinations, ethnicity and

identity are two concepts that have always fascinated anthropologists. In order to become fully

members of an ethnic group individuals "activate" their ethnic bonds when they assign

themselves (or are assigned by others) a certain sense of belonging. In the definition of ethnicity

that I have chosen here, the idea of "activation" is very clear: Usually, members of ethnic groups

know that the components of ethnicity are there, but a decision (own or foreign) is required in

order to activate this membership:

> Ethnicity is like kinship. When people recognize each other as belonging to the same ethnic group, they feel like distant kin, vaguely related to each other through common descent, but so far back that no one can trace the precise relationship. The ethnicity of such a group is its members' idea of their own distinctiveness from others. It is invariably based on a sense of common history, usually combined with other characteristics, such as sharing the same race, religion, language, or culture. Ethnic groups do not form because people are of the same race or share the same language or the same culture. They form because people who share such characteristics *decide* they are members of a distinct group, or because people who share such characteristics are *lumped together* and treated by outsiders as members of a distinct group (Maybury-Lewis 2002: 47-48).

Another term that I consider important is "negotiation" since most individuals have the capacity

to manipulate how they associate themselves with places, with ideas, and with other individuals:

> Identity is neither preexistent nor absolute; it is rather man-made, controlled by the process of self-definition and definition by others and is often changed by man in adaptation to his living conditions and needs. Identities are not constant, they change and are even replaced. Man does not have only one identity; according to each specific context and situation, man consciously or unconsciously selects one for himself (Ibrahim and Ruppert 1988: 6).

Migration is a life event that makes a big impact in people's identity. Migration pulls to the

surface societal issues of inequality as it confronts individuals from different socio-economic,

cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In this case, negotiation of identity becomes even clearer

given that immigrants usually have to develop survival strategies to adapt to their new places of

arrival:

> Migration -especially for subordinated, racialized groups- is a long-term if not life-long process of negotiating identity, difference, and the right to fully exist and flourish in the new context (Benmayor & Skotnes 1994: 8)

Based on all these situations it seems apparent that the classic, functionalist definition of a rigid and unchangeable identity is long gone (or at least I want to believe this is the case). Today, with the ever-growing mobility of people and ideas, I simply don't see how such a static concept could explain current anthropological phenomenon and human behavior. Although it is still clearly possible to see people deeply rooted in certain traditions, beliefs, and places, I think we are witnessing a time in history when many people negotiate their identity-(ies) and play with their sense of belonging:

> […] identity neither "grows out" of rooted communities nor is a thing that can be possessed or owned by individual or collective social actors. It is, instead, a mobile, often unstable relation of difference (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 13).

Thus, identity is a very malleable entity that relies on difference and comparison as its foundational mechanisms. We compare ourselves to others and we constantly build differences and similarities that provide some sense of belonging to us. One illustrative situation of this malleability is the insider/outsider dichotomy and the concept of native anthropology that nowadays occupies the minds of many social researchers.

CHAPTER 5
ETHNOGRAPHY/ANALYSIS: SAN LUCAS

Arriving in San Lucas: The First Stage of My Fieldwork

After gathering some secondary data for a couple of months in La Paz and Sucre, by early December 2005 I was ready to go to San Lucas. I first went to Camargo, where I spent a few days visiting with my father, who happened to be there at the time, and also getting in touch with *camargueños* who had either friends or relatives in San Lucas and who could give me any type of insights. I also identified a couple of sanluqueños who lived in Camargo who also provided me with some basic information about their municipality. Once I finally arrived in San Lucas I went directly to *Casa de Huéspedes de doña Celedonia*, a small and nice hotel, the same one in which I had stayed in 2003. I stayed there for almost two months until I moved to a small house that I rented for the next three months until I left San Lucas.

Observing and Documenting Bilingualism and Code-Switching in San Lucas

San Lucas is essentially a Quechua municipality. Both the language and the culture are very alive and there are no signs that they will fade away any time soon. There are several reasons why I think this will not happen and I will explain them in detail later on. In the next paragraphs, I will present a sociolinguistic description of how Quechua and Spanish coexist in San Lucas. The first fascinating linguistic terrain that I encountered in San Lucas was the *Punto ENTEL,*[5] a public phone space where people can make local and long distance phone calls.

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[5] About 15 years ago the telecommunications sector in Bolivia opened up to private capital, and many new companies started to operate in the country. Today, cities and medium-size towns are flooded with phone booths and Internet cafes from different companies, but small rural towns usually have only one or two booths provided by the National Telecommunications Company, ENTEL. These booths are called *Punto ENTEL.*

As the vast majority of the rural population in Bolivia do not own a domestic landline, it is very common for these persons not only to make phone calls from *Puntos ENTEL,* but also to receive them. There is only one *Punto ENTEL* in San Lucas and it is usually full of people, especially on Sundays, because it is the day that many people receive phone calls especially from Argentina, where many sanluqueños have emigrated. This *Punto ENTEL* opens extended hours during the day, so the *encargados* or employees usually work two or three shifts. The first day that I stopped by to make a few phone calls I met Berna, a 19 year old who usually gets the morning shifts. She lived for 5 years in Buenos Aires in a textile factory owned by Bolivians. She told me that Korean factory owners are the best, as they treat and pay workers well, as opposed to Bolivian owners who turn out to be more bossy and demanding with their co-nationals. This mistreatment was the main reason why Berna decided to return to Bolivia, besides the fact that "country life is way better than city life."

Just observing linguistic interaction in the *Punto ENTEL* gives anybody the idea of how common and frequent it is to code-switch between Quechua and Spanish in spontaneous speech in San Lucas. Peasants speak Quechua most of the time, and Berna usually assists them when they need to receive a call and especially when they need to use a phone card. Once in a phone conversation, peasants held the dialogue in Quechua in its entirety, only using some Spanish occasionally, as word borrowing between Spanish and Quechua is very common. Mestizos or town dwellers usually use more Spanish when carrying a phone conversation, but had the capacity to switch to Quechua without any visible limitations.

The *Punto ENTEL* is also a place to just hang out. In many cases people wait for hours to receive a phone call and this is a good excuse to just catch up with friends and acquaintances. I also noticed that Berna's friends would go there sometimes with no other reason than to

accompany her. A few times, it caught my attention that they would hold entire conversations in Quechua, with very little code-switching to Spanish or none at all. These children were all late teenagers and some probably were in their early 20s. It drew my attention because it is a great indicator of language survival when children and young adults speak the native language, especially in a place and in a context that is all but traditional, a place that in a way requires a Western behavior to be able to deal with telecommunications. Thus, Berna and her friends –who are all young town dwellers who speak Spanish fluently– challenge their own modernity codes when they decide to use Quechua in this particular cultural domain.

In general, the town of San Lucas exudes a considerable degree of bilingualism, visible in its residents and in the activities in which they engage. There are, however, certain domains that are almost exclusively reserved for Spanish. One of them is the *Hospital de San Lucas*. The first day I visited the hospital, I walked over all the place, especially along the corridors and looked at all the posters and flyers with medical information that were posted on the walls and found only one in Quechua that advertised the *Seguro Universal Materno Infantil or SUMI,* "Mother/Infant Universal Insurance." All the others –that mainly provided information on vaccines, diseases and health insurances options– were written in Spanish. The interaction between medical and administrative personnel was also entirely in Spanish. Only the ambulance drivers and the kitchen staff would interact in Quechua among themselves and occasionally be addressed in Quechua by some doctors and nurses who spoke the language. As a matter of fact, about half the medical personnel had a good command of Quechua, as most of them came from Quechua-speaking municipalities and/or had learned to speak it when they worked in rural areas. Doctors and nurses would communicate in Quechua a lot with many rural patients who were Quechua monolinguals and could not talk or feel confident enough to talk in Spanish. However, all

medical conversation between medical and administrative employees within the hospital took place in Spanish.

The offices of the San Lucas municipality represent another Spanish domain, as well as the San Lucas School District and the Civil Registry. Practically everything displayed on the walls and all paperwork in files and folders in these institutions is written in Spanish, which seems to be a common thing in public institutions in rural areas in general. This explosive presence of written Spanish as the formal, official, and dominant language has been reinforced by a very aggressive and ambitious plan recently launched by the Morales government called *Bolivia: País Libre de Analfabetismo*, "Bolivia: Illiteracy-free Country." This program focuses on teaching people how to read and write in Spanish and not in their indigenous languages; just one additional factor that explains why many indigenous people in Bolivia are illiterate in their own native languages.

Code-switching is the norm in San Lucas but it is strongly mediated by class, ethnic, and regional differences, as well as different situations of social interaction. As a general rule, people in town tend to use more Spanish while people in the rural communities tend to use more Quechua. Code-switching thus, is contextual:

> You might assume that in multilingual countries like Switzerland, Belgium, and India, different languages are spoken by different groups of people. Typically, though, each language is systematically allocated to specific social situations. In speech communities employing several languages, language choice is not arbitrary. Instead, a particular setting, such as school or government, may favor one language, and other languages will be appropriate to other speech situations. Where one language is appropriate, another will be inappropriate. Though there may be roughly equivalent expressions in two languages, the social meaning that attaches to use of one language generally differs from that attached to use of the other. As a result, speakers must attend to the social import of language choice, however unconsciously that choice may be made. This is why usage of a language carries an associated meaning in addition to its referential meaning (Finegan 1994: 336).

One afternoon I observed from my room a group of about 10 children, 10 to 12 year-olds who were playing soccer on the street. Almost everything was said in Spanish and only on occasion would some children yell a few words in Quechua. Interestingly enough, in Tambo Moko, a rural community 10 km away from town, I observed exactly the opposite: same age children would heavily use Quechua words while playing soccer and only eventually would some of them throw in a few words in Spanish. Based on my observations, a partial explanation for this is that children in the rural communities are heavily exposed to Quechua both at home and in school, whereas town children are more exposed to Spanish in the same situations.

How Quechua is Perceived by Speakers of the Language

Doña Trinidad, 40, operated a small restaurant in the main plaza of San Lucas. I used to go there two or three times a week, mostly for lunch and occasionally for dinner. She had two daughters, 10 and 8 years old, who were attending school in town. She told me that one of the main reasons for her to leave her home community was to avoid raising her children speaking only Quechua and becoming *Quechuistas cerrados,*[6] "hard-core Quechua speakers." She once told me: "in the countryside everything is in Quechua; even schoolteachers teach in Quechua as most of the students do not speak Spanish. I see this as real backwardness; even when I would talk to them in Spanish they would get back to me in Quechua. I wanted this to change, that's why I came here." (Trinidad Ramos, pers. comm., February 20, 1996). The several times that I went there I barely heard them speaking in Quechua, although the children (and doña Trinidad) were delighted with the handful of Quechua words that I would throw in every once in a while.

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[6] This is a common expression in Bolivia. I usually hear it from urban Spanish monolingual speakers when referring to rural people who speak only Quechua either because they do not know Spanish or they are not willing to communicate in Spanish.

Don Carlos Arancibia Vildoso, 75, is an intellectual and retired schoolteacher whose parents and grandparents were well known and respected in San Lucas and in the communities. Although he was born in San Lucas he was raised in the city of Potosí, where his mother's family was from. After teaching high school for many years in several cities and towns in the highlands, he decided to come back to his native town of San Lucas. Don Carlos is bilingual but he did not learn it from his parents; he learned by interacting with Quechua-speaking peasants since an early age. When I asked him about the future of Quechua he told me: "Today peasants from different parts of the country prefer their children to learn Spanish. With the new government [Evo Morales' administration], class and race differences between Bolivians will slowly fade out but it is a mistake to think that indigenous languages will be preserved. I like Quechua; there are words that sound nicer in Quechua, but that's about it; that does not mean that now we all have to conduct business in Quechua or Aymara […] we need to have only one official language. Something is for sure, though: *Quechuañol*[7] will survive many years!" (pers. comm., April 7, 2006).

These two short testimonies come from two Quechua-speakers of different socio-economic conditions and yet they both lean towards the same direction: Quechua seems to represent a very local sphere that should remain as such, without transcending to larger levels. In general, this is the impression I got in San Lucas from observing common linguistics interactions and from the interviews I conducted.

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[7] *Quechuañol* is a creole language resulting from the contact between Spanish and Quechua. It is widely spoken in both rural and urban areas of the central valleys in Bolivia. City speakers of *Quechuañol* find particular joy when they speak it, as it romanticizes Quechua and all the culture that it entails.

Language Use Within the School System

Schools provide a very interesting and dynamic atmosphere of linguistic interaction between students and teachers. Sometimes linguistic choices are regulated by the school and the educational system it represents, whereas in some other cases these choices are unconsciously and freely taken by both teachers and students. Given the richness of these interactions, I decided to observe a few classes in San Lucas. In order to do so I needed a letter from the San Lucas School District granting me proper authorization, which would let me observe any class in progress in any of the elementary, middle and high schools of the municipality.

The first school I visited was the "René Barrientos Ortuño" High School, the only one in town. I wanted to observe two classes in particular: a Quechua class and a general instruction class. Thus, the first class I attended was Spanish Literature, 11th grade (16 years-olds). When I entered the classroom, the students were doing a literature analysis of *María*, a fiction novel by the Colombian author Jorge Isaacs. Practically half of the students had trouble answering the questions asked by the teacher. The class had a total of 34 students enrolled, 19 male and 15 female. Half of the students came from surrounding communities, something that the teacher revealed to be the pattern in almost all grades.

The teacher told me that those who attended elementary and middle school in San Lucas had a better command of Spanish compared to those who got elementary and middle school instruction in the rural communities. The teacher said that the latter used a *gramática quechuizada,* "Quechua-based Spanish grammar" and that it was hard for her to keep an even level of instruction in this class, given the differences in her students. Towards the end of the class, the teacher asked me to say a few things and tell the students what my visit was all about. After my explanation, they were very curious to know about *Estados Unidos y los gringos*. "Is it everything like in the movies?" was one of the questions. "Is it true that over there everything

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works perfectly, not like here?" was another. By the way, for some of them including the teacher, it was hard to believe I was Bolivian, something that happened to me in several occasions throughout my fieldwork. It was bizarre to talk to people who assumed I did not belong to the same country they did. This was one of those moments when I wore the hat of an outsider, but not by personal choice, rather by external perception. All in all, they enjoyed my stories about life in the United States.

After I answered all their questions, I then asked them a few about language use. They told me that they spoke Spanish mostly in town, at school, when they attended important meetings with their parents, and when they went to parties in town. They emphasized that it is not cool to speak Quechua at parties, especially when the music was either in English or in Spanish. On the other hand, they said that they speak Quechua when they visit their relatives in the communities, especially when they need to communicate with their grandparents. If there were a community celebration, they would speak in Quechua and even sing and dance to songs whose lyrics are in Quechua. After this little focal group exercise I thanked everybody and left the classroom.

When the class finished, everybody went outside for a break in between periods and I talked to one of the Quechua teachers that I randomly met in the patio of the school. He was of the idea that Quechua should be taught only during elementary school and after that everything should be taught in Spanish. "Societies are supposed to make progress" he said, "and making progress is speaking Spanish in this country; for example, it would be useless to know how to say bicycle and all the accessories of it in Quechua; it is just better that all of us know these things in Spanish." It was surprising to me that many educated town people held the same opinion. On one hand, they valued Quechua as a cultural expression but they had no doubts that

Quechua speakers had to adjust to the dominant language and not the other way around. The San

Lucas Notary, don Adolfo Otondo, once told me:

> Everybody has to accept that Spanish is the language of Bolivia; for example, it would be very complicated to do a notarized sales contract in Quechua here in San Lucas, and a notarized sales contract in Guaraní for a town in Santa Cruz. Then, we would need to have translation services if these documents would need to reach the opposite regions. We cannot do these things (per. comm. March 21, 2006).

After the break I sat in a seventh grade Quechua class (12 years-olds). There were 30 students in

total, 18 men and 12 female. The teacher knew about me because he saw me at the Principal's

office when I had presented my authorization letter. At first he was a bit reticent about my

presence in his class, but slowly opened up to my questions and curiosity. The class focused on

phonology of Quechua consonants. The teacher would use a Teaching Guide from which he

would read out –in Spanish– the definitions of how and when Quechua consonants are used.[8]

Later on, he would provide examples of words and sentences using those consonants. Apart from

the Guide's definitions, practically all of his class was conducted in Quechua, which students

seemed to follow with confidence.

At some point the teacher got so excited with my presence that he would interrupt the

class to tell me about the obstacles of teaching Quechua, instead of waiting until the end of the

class. The children however, seemed to enjoy it. He told me that 2006 was the second year that

Quechua was being taught in seventh grade, instead of French, following some Educational

Reform[9] regulations. It surprised me that French was the available second language and not

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[8] This is just one good example of how native languages in Bolivia –and elsewhere in multilingual societies in the developing world– are subordinated at technical levels to the dominant language of the country (Albó 1979): All the linguistic specificities of Quechua Grammar need to be written in Spanish given that Quechua simply lacks the specialized lexicon.

[9] The Educational Reform is a polemic state program that was launched in the early 1990s. The spirit of this Reform is to promote, revitalize, and implement native languages usage in both the school and the household. While the rational behind this reform is very progressive and integrative, most of its technical components have been under constant revision, as it has been failing to achieve the above-mentioned goals.

English, but it surprised me even more to learn that Quechua just had started to be taught in replacement of French and not as a parallel first language.

The teacher also told me that he was learning a lot of Quechua just by teaching this class and that made me think that he was not a fluent native speaker. In Bolivia, it is very common for middle age rural teachers to have a recessive bilingualism, as some of them experienced first hand rural education based on denigrating native languages. They grew up with these beliefs and are now modifying them thanks to the Educational Reform philosophy and to the emergent pride on indigenous cultures resulting from the Evo Morales administration. At the end of the class, the teacher told me that practically all his students speak Quechua with their parents, with the exception of one kid that just came back with his family from Argentina, where they lived for 10 years. Most likely, his parents stopped talking in Quechua to their son. Before I left, I asked them a few questions about their preferences for Quechua. They told me that they prefer to speak Quechua with their friends, but especially when "we are in the countryside with our grandparents." They speak Spanish mostly in classes, when they attend school meetings and when they go the cities.

The second school I visited was the "Eduardo Avaroa" Elementary/Middle School, also located in San Lucas town. It has 600 students distributed from first to eighth grade. Quechua classes are supposed to start in the seventh grade, but given that many bilingual students with a strong command of Quechua experience serious limitations receiving instruction in Spanish, Quechua classes start earlier (fourth grade) to ease the transition from Quechua to Spanish. About 50% of children come from rural communities, therefore is not surprising that the school administration is making these adjustments. Prof. Julián Choque, the school's principal,

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said that the drop-out rate is very low in town compared to schools in the countryside, where children barely go to classes either because they work with their parents in the field or simply because entire families abandon their communities when they migrate to Argentina or Santa Cruz.

Prof. Choque told me that in the seventh grade, Quechua classes are officially imparted and even continue during the four years of high school. Usually it is a once a week class because the school does not have a more flexible budget to allow more classes. "In general, these kids are better at talking in Quechua than at reading and writing, especially writing because most of them do not know well either Quechua or Spanish grammar rules," Prof. Choque added. After talking with him for awhile, I sat in on a seventh grade Quechua class for about 30 minutes. Most of the class was devoted to review writing and pronunciation. One by one, the students were called by the teacher to come to the front board and write a word in Quechua that was soon after spell-checked and pronounced by all the class. Eventually the teacher would ask the meaning of the word in Spanish and usually the student would not have a problem answering the question, but if so, the rest of the class would yell out the right answer. Boys were more aggressive and active whereas girls were more timid and introversive.

The third school I visited was in Jankollo, a community 40 km north of San Lucas town. I was lucky to go with a multidisciplinary team led by the San Lucas Hospital. Although it is not really too distant from San Lucas, Jankollo seemed and looked to be very remote and isolated, mainly because I realized that villagers were not so used to receive visitors. The school in Jankollo is called a multi-grade school as students from different levels attend the same session that is broken down by the teacher according to age and level differences. This is something very common in small and dispersed rural communities, where usually there are not many students.

We were fortunate to have arrived in Jankollo very early that day, so that we could see the teacher and her students singing the National Anthem before classes began. It was a very touching moment for me, because it boosted somewhat my diluted sense of patriotism and my sense of belonging, especially because these 8 to 12 years-old children sang the anthem with all the strength of their lungs. After the anthem, one child came to the front and recited in Spanish a poem entitle *Mi Patria Boliviana,* "My Bolivian Country." The influence of both Quechua grammar and phonology was very obvious in the way the child recited this poem.

The school was small and of very modest structure, but it complied with the architectural guidelines of the Educational Reform: it was a circular building, in the inside it had three writing boards in different walls, and the desks were also set in circular fashion, actually three circles according to the different instructional levels. After showing the teacher my authorization letter, she introduced me to the children who did not stop staring at me with great amusement. They were 16 students in total, 10 boys and 6 girls. At some point I asked their names in Quechua. They answered and asked mine, somehow breaking the ice between us. Soon after that, I told them my Quechua abilities were very limited, which made them laugh for awhile. Once the class started, I sat down and observed how the class developed.

Fourth and fifth graders were solving some mathematics problems. The exercises and the instructions given by the teacher were in Spanish. The others (first, second and third graders) were doing basic Quechua grammar exercises: the teacher would read out simple sentences, the children would write them down, and then she would go one by one to make corrections. She spoke only in Quechua to them. These young children were clearly passive bilinguals with Quechua being their first language and their first choice of communication. As I carefully

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watched them, I thought to myself: at that age, Spanish maybe sounded to them like something unnecessary, an intrusion in their daily lives. Without knowing it, these 7 to 9 years-old children were tightly holding to their Quechua roots and culture. But who knows what will happen in the future; at least for some of them the panorama will reverse: Spanish will become more useful and will open doors for them, and maybe Quechua will stop being so natural and practical to them as it is at this age.

As mentioned earlier, these first to third graders are practically monolinguals. In such cases, the Educational Reform mandates instruction to be in the first language or L1 and only in fourth grade is a transition made to Spanish, which is mostly what the teacher does at this school. However, she experiments a bit and does some early instruction in Spanish, something that seems not to be supported at home. She complained to me that parents intensely demand her to teach more Spanish to the children, but they would not cooperate talking to them in the household. She thinks it is because they feel they make lots of mistakes or just because they have Quechua deeply internalized and it is therefore hard for them to do the transition.

Migration seems to be of considerable proportions in Jankollo. About half the adult male population is not in the community half of the year (Toribio Areli, *pers. comm.*, March 16, 2006) and some leave with their entire families. The fact that second and third graders are migrating with their parents is another reason why the teacher has decided to bring forward instruction in Spanish, so children are better prepared to enter Spanish monolingual school environments like those in Argentina or in Santa Cruz. "Quechua is not a problem for them" she said. "I realized how engrained it was in them one day that we were supposed to have an all-level class in Spanish." "When I entered the room," she added "all of them practically had their noses attached

to the windows, as they watched a goat that had gotten trapped in a tree, about 2 meters above the ground. All of them just laughed and laughed and even speculated about who could be the owner of the goat, all this exclusively in Quechua, without a word of Spanish. I obviously could not teach a class in Spanish at that moment, and was glad that I decided to take all the children outside where they continued their fascination and conversations in Quechua. Eventually the goat managed to free itself from the branch in which it was tangled and after that we invented games and songs in Quechua related to the event."

Right before the class finished the teacher told the children that I was from La Paz. "He is going back to La Paz, so you kids can send your regards to Evo Morales with him," she said. The children smiled and some told me in a very shy and rudimentary Spanish to say hi to the president of Bolivia.[10] As children left the classroom, the teacher made them sing and dance to a playful song they all knew pretty well. She included me in the circle dance and that really made the children laugh a lot. I clowned around a bit just for the fun of it and once outside I thanked the teacher and the children for having had me in the class. After this I joined the San Lucas Hospital team in their talks with the community about health issues, witnessed some tuberculosis vaccinations being provided to some villagers, and at the end of the day returned to San Lucas with Hospital staff and NGO officers who went with me to Jankollo. In the next section I explain my relationship with health workers in the municipality and provide more information about my visits to rural communities.

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[10] I never knew if this was a way through which the teacher let me know she was a sympathizer of the current government.

Visiting Some Communities in San Lucas

The day I visited the San Lucas Hospital I was able to get in touch with its Director and with some members of ADRA[11] and IMCC,[12] two NGOs that work closely with the municipal government mainly in preventive health programs. The conversations I had with them were all very auspicious: I told them about my work and they kindly allowed me to go with the Municipal Preventive Health Program (MPHP) teams to the communities whenever they scheduled visits, which happened at least once a week, if not twice in some cases.

The MPHP was an ambitious, multi-institutional initiative led by the Municipality and technically and financially supported by ADRA and IMCC. Its main target was to visit all 105 communities of the municipality at least once a month to keep track of very basic health issues: routine checkups of infants' and toddlers' weight and height and their mandatory vaccinations, and mostly tuberculosis and Chagas illness prevention and treatment for the adult population. With such a large municipality and with 80% of its population living under the poverty level (Municipio de San Lucas 2003), one can just imagine how much effort the MPHP was making to try to cover all the communities. With such limited resources, it was to me a good example of dedication and cooperation.

By visiting a few communities in the municipality, I was able to accomplish the following: observe more linguistic behavior involving Quechua and Spanish, and get to know rural sanluqueños who had a migratory experience to Santa Cruz and Argentina. One day before my first visit to a community, I had a long conversation with Ana, 30, head of ADRA's Public

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[11] ADRA-Bolivia is a religious organization subsidary of ADRA Spain (Agencia Adventista para el Desarrollo y Recursos Asistenciales). Its main goal is poverty alleviation in developing countries. In Bolivia most of its actvities are funded by USAID.

[12] IMCC (International Medical Cooperation Committee) is a Danish non-religious organization that primarily works in public health issues. Recent graduates of medicine in Denmark are sent (usually with their spouses) to developing nations for two years to be part of on-going public health programs mostly run by local governments.

Health Program. She was from Potosí and spoke Quechua natively, but admitted to have improved it due to her work with communities in San Lucas. Ana was another person who used the expression *Quechuistas cerrados* when referring to community people's Quechua monolingualism, but interestingly enough, she said that all of them had the willingness to speak Spanish and improve it, as they see it as a prestigious language. "When they need to speak in Spanish, they just do it" Ana said, "however, they feel very self-conscious about making mistakes and are afraid that peers, NGO and municipality employees will laugh at them," she added. Ana also said that women in particular are way more insecure than men, with the exception of those who have been in Argentina and Santa Cruz, as they came back with a better command of Spanish. By then, I could partially conclude that in San Lucas Quechua represents the comfort zone for both men and women, whereas Spanish, as intimidating as it is, represents prestige, something that anybody is willing to be accounted for.

I was able to visit the communities of Jankollo, San Cristóbal, Tambo Mocko, Chauque, and Churquipampa. In most of them, I saw many women and children and only a few men, which confirmed to me what many informants had told me about men being the primary migratory individuals, something that is also widely found in the research record (Albó 2004, Brettell 1986, Collins 1988). In San Lucas, men leave their communities around April, just after the harvest season and come back for the planting season around November. This calendar fits perfectly with the sugar cane harvest in Santa Cruz that takes place between July and September. Then they come back in November and the whole cycle starts again.

In the communities I visited, many women complained about this situation as their workload practically doubles when husbands are absent. The many NGOs and municipality projects of rural development are also a burden on women, as they require some of their time in

addition to all the household chores they already take care of. Some women play key roles in their communities either as privately elected leaders (NGO staff) or as political leaders elected by all the people of the community.[13] In addition to a positive process of empowerment and more women's involvement in local level politics, it is also possible that the driving force behind this is simply the fact that there are not enough men all year round in the communities in order to fulfill these authority duties.

My stay in San Lucas gave me mostly a qualitative understanding of a valley community with a high degree of native Quechua monolingualism and Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, and also with a considerable history of migration to Santa Cruz. The presence of these two conditions (language use and migratory patterns) satisfied the model of sending community that I used to later focus on linguistic and cultural change among migrants in Cuatro Cañadas.

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[13] For example, some women became *corregidoras* (provincial representatives for the municipality).

CHAPTER 6
ETHNOGRAPHY/ANALYSIS: CUATRO CAÑADAS

Arriving in Cuatro Cañadas

It was very hot and humid that afternoon of mid April when I arrived in Cuatro Cañadas (4C).[1] I took a taxi in the city of Santa Cruz, one of those taxis that have a fixed route and leave only once they are filled up at capacity or at least with enough passengers. The driver was a highlander, as well as two other passengers, while the third one was Mennonite. The distance between Santa Cruz and Cuatro Cañadas is about 140 km, which requires 2 hours to travel, especially in small cars.

The first thing I did was to visit the Office of Social Church Assistance (OASI), a local NGO that offers basic medical services to the community and also some agricultural services. Once I was in the office, two staff members welcomed me: Oscar, 50, who was a nurse practitioner, and Clemente, 40, who was an agronomist. Both were from the department of Chuquisaca and were very nice and helpful to me. Oscar even offered to accompany me in my search of a place to live for the next four months. After a few unsuccessful attempts to rent a place or to pay a long-term stay in a small hotel, Oscar suggested that I stay in a house that he and his wife were taking care of while the owner was away. We went to see the house and as soon as I saw it, I liked it and decided to stay there. I cleaned the house all the afternoon and night and then felt ready to start the second stage of my fieldwork in this lowland location.

During my first days in 4C I walked around as much as I could. This town is not necessarily well kept and clean. More than poverty, what I saw was carelessness on the part of its residents: very dirty streets, plastic bags literally all over the place, even buried in the shoulders of the street, not to mention a typical signature of many Latin American rural towns: dogs

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[1] I will be indistinctively using either "Cuatro Cañadas" or "4C" to refer to this location

literally wandering every street of town. There were so many dogs, that more than people eventually not wanting to answer my questionnaire, it was the presence of these animals that some days discouraged me to go out and do my work. Once I was able to overcome these first negative impressions, I slowly began to discover the intricacies of Cuatro Cañadas and its inhabitants.

Something that calls the attention of any visitor familiar enough with the highlands and the lowlands, is that 4C literally looks like a highland town implanted in the middle of the tropics. With about 90% of the population being Quechua and Aymara immigrants this characteristic is not surprising at all. Most women wear the traditional multi-layer skirts, most people's physiognomy is distinctively Andean, and music and food in certain neighborhoods can easily transport one to a community in the *Altiplano*. Even in the construction style of some houses one can tell the influence from the rural highlands: small rooms and low ceiling.

Cuatro Cañadas is believed to have the best soils for soybean production, which pushes many highlanders who live here to engage in this large-scale agriculture economy, either directly or through secondary activities that emerge from it. As Stearman (1985) noted, many first got here years ago to work seasonally in the sugar cane harvest and later decided to permanently stay and either buy a plot of land or to work as laborers for big agro-industrial companies. Although this economic boom has mainly attracted thousands of highlanders, some lowlanders have also ventured and settled in this region. The next section talks about the main characteristics of each of these groups and reviews the type of interaction between the two at a national level in general; and in Cuatro Cañadas in particular.

Collas in the Land of Cambas: Several Dimensions of this Peculiar Encounter

There is probably no other sociological dichotomy in Bolivia that carries such deep regional, socio-economic, and racial connotations as that of camba-colla, colla-camba. In

moments of confrontation –which have been a few throughout Bolivian history– this dichotomy has proved to create and manifest a profound distance between Bolivians from the highlands (collas), and those from the lowlands (cambas), assigning conversely to each of these words a derogative or a praising meaning. The term camba is supposedly of Tupí origin and means "friend"[2] while colla is a Quechua word that designates an individual who lives in a region that was once part of the *Collasuyo*, one of four partialities that together were part of the *Tahuantinsuyo*, the highest stage of Inca expansion.[3] Today, who uses which of these two terms and under which circumstances marks the difference between an offensive word and an appreciative word.

Broadly speaking, collas are originally from the departments of La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí, and Chuquisaca, whereas cambas are from the lowland departments of Santa Cruz, Beni, and Pando. These terms transcend (at least initially) socio-economic and even religious categories, meaning that a camba (or a colla for that matter) can indeed be rich or poor, urban or rural, educated or uneducated, Catholic, Protestant or free-believer. It is primarily a dichotomy about regional differences and secondarily a dichotomy that reveals ethnic tension.

Some Historical and Current Events to Understand the Differences

In general terms, highlanders call themselves collas and lowlanders call themselves cambas. However, it is when lowlanders refer to highlanders as collas, that the word usually acquires a derogative connotation. It happens the other way around too, but is not that strong, meaning that when highlanders refer to lowlanders as cambas, the message is not necessarily pejorative. There are two main reasons for these deep differences: a) the phenomenon of

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[2] Some rather non-reputable sources indicate that the word camba means "black," something that I could not validate with trustworthy sources.

[3] The term colla is also used in northern Argentina to refer to one Andean ethic group. It is an important linguistic confirmation of how the Inca Empire expanded during pre-Columbian times.

migration: it is collas who have been massively moving towards lowland departments in the last 50 years, "occupying" a land that is not traditionally theirs,[4] and b) historically speaking, the lowlands have not been protagonists of their own development, always tied up to centralist government decisions coming from La Paz. Some radical thinkers even argue that Santa Cruz was already an independent mini-republic after the eighteenth century struggles against the Spanish Crown and that it should have stayed like that, without annexing itself to the emergent Republic of Bolivia in 1825 (Pinto Mosqueira 2003). For them, whatever happened in the twentieth century (and is still happening in the twenty first) is just a consequence of that historic mistake.

> The Oriente has rarely figured more than marginally and fleetingly in the mainstream of national history– indeed, the mainstream itself has been largely defined by the highlanders. Held to be a backwater notoriously highland in composition and character, until recently the Oriente has been neglected in terms of the distribution of national power and resources (Jones 1984: 63).

These two main reasons (migration and political dominance) have created anti-colla sentiments in radical groups of lowlanders, with two special peaks, one in the late 1980s and the other one in the years 2003-2005 when collas were not only discriminated against, but also physically abused. Santa Cruz being the targeted epicenter of this migratory movement, many cambas consider the *Plaza de Armas* of the city, "Main Town Square" as the ultimate bastion of camba identity and power that needs to be kept under good tutelage at all costs. During the late 1980s, it was customary for upper-class adolescent cambas to patrol the *Plaza de Armas* especially during

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[4] In Bolivia, there is really no history of lowlanders massively migrating to the highlands. Migration rates of skilled and non-skilled camba workers to urban centers like La Paz, Cochabamba, Sucre never reached substantial peaks; they were among the same average migration rates of highland and valley newcomers to these cities. Therefore, these cities (especially La Paz) just filled up "evenly" with people from all over the country. Most importantly, the rural highlands never experienced such an agricultural boom that would require vast contingents of laborers coming from the lowlands; it just did not happen.

weekend evenings in search of collas, so they could beat them up with clubs as a reminder that *a la Plaza no entran collas* "collas are not welcome in the main square." The second peak of xenophobia took place in the years 2003-2005, when groups of agricultural migrants attempted to enter the Plaza a couple of times as part of their protests against some local government policies, heavily backed by the local elite. Like in the 1980s, radical cambas (this time not only adolescents) harassed protesters and did not let them in, leaving dozens with swollen heads, and injured with cuts and wounds.

Today, about one fourth of the population of the department of Santa Cruz consider themselves to be of Quechua or Aymara origin (Mendoza Fernández 2005). Furthermore, many city people from urban centers like Cochabamba, La Paz, and Sucre, who lack a strong ethnic identity are also moving to Santa Cruz; therefore cambas are gaining more awareness of the fact that Santa Cruz has the highest growth rate of the country and are learning to live in a broader multi-ethnic community.[5] However, animosities arise every now and then, and recently because of a deepened political crisis. Not only have the region and its leaders been complaining about the lack of self-government, but also during the last three years (2006-2009), the Morales administration has made it very clear that it does not reconcile with the model of autonomy that especially Santa Cruz leaders want for all the lowland departments.

This tension between the central government and local lowland governments is such a complex, multi-faceted and fascinating topic that it deserves a deeper analysis that I will not be able to fully undertake in my study. How to (and who should) administer land, gas and oil, and

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[5] Here I do not mean that collas in cities like La Paz, Cochabamba and Sucre already know very well how to live in a multi-ethnic society... Harassment and discrimination against cambas in these centers occasionally happens (see the previous footnote) but not to the extent experienced in the lowlands.

police and judicial jurisdictions are the most confronted issues between the two parties.[6] This tension has created a new paradigm: today, most cambas politically lean towards autonomy and self-government (against Evo Morales' policies), whereas most collas are known for leaning towards centralism and having a hard time letting regions govern themselves (pro-Morales' policies).

Understanding the Differences

Although camba and colla identities are encompassing identities, meaning that they transcend class differences, the lowland elite in particular previously had a discourse that marked the socio-economic and ethnic divide inside the lowland society, clearly differentiating who were cambas and who were not:

> Ethnic and class divisions abound within the Oriente, where they are reflected by an array of stereotypes. Feelings of racial purity and superiority vis-à-vis the peasant sector run high among individuals of the economic and power elite in towns across the region, who think of themselves as *whites,* "blancos" as distinguished from cambas. […] this epithet is over much used in the Oriente by such elites to refer often pejoratively to an individual of the peasant sector, either mestizo or Indian, though the term seems to refer with special poignance to the Indian peasant (Jones 1984: 64).

Two decades after Jones' writings, the situation is remarkably distinctive: Given the current need to mark the differences with highlanders, today white and rich lowlanders are *also* cambas. When members of this elite in both the city of Santa Cruz and in small towns throughout the department use the word camba to refer to themselves, they are actually making a clear political statement that should be read along these lines: *Cambas are also us, those with political and economic power, not only rural lowlanders; therefore we have nothing to do with collas, especially if they come from the countryside.* All differences and prejudgments apart, the colla

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[6] For a better understanding of the struggle between the lowland elite and the central government refer to Albó (2008), Mayorga (2006), and Pinto Mosqueira (2003).

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presence is nowadays so deeply engrained in the lowland society that some progressive cambas can appreciate the contribution made by collas to the economic development of the region:

> While collas became owners of unimaginably good land [here in the lowlands] considering their degraded soils back in the highlands and worked with discipline and tenacity; cambas came to appreciate the quality of their own place and learned from the newcomers (Roca 2001:164).

The contribution has not only been visible in agriculture. Many middle-class colla professionals and skilled laborers joined many sectors of the economy like education, health, commerce, and banking, bringing the Santa Cruz GDP (Gross Departmental Product) index to the top of the list compared to the rest of the departments of the country (CADEX 2005). Thus, collas are known for their tenacity, hard work, shyness, their business orientation and their management skills. However, these positive features have their negative counterparts: Most cambas would say collas are too serious, hypocrites, close-minded, and very tightwad:

> While kolla can apply to any highlander, it seems to apply especially to individuals of marked native Andean physical features. The local stereotype of the kolla denigrates him as sullen, withdrawn, squat, dark-skinned, more than slightly bovine, lacking in the social graces, and having an offensive body odor (Jones 1984:63).

Collas, in turn, do not have any problem admitting that cambas are usually more relaxed, happier, open-minded, sincere, and even more playful. Like collas' features –however– these also have negative counterparts: cambas can be loose, superficial, rude, bad money managers and even spendthrift.

Maintenance or Abandonment of Ethnic Traits: So, Are You Colla or Camba?

In this major section I introduce the indicators of linguistic and cultural change that I used and tested in my study. This section talks about the maintenance or abandonment in the lowlands of what I came to call Quechua/Andean ethnic traits, a set of institutions, linguistic resources, cultural practices, and beliefs that are traditionally held in the rural highlands and valleys of Bolivia. These ethnic traits include the usage or abandonment of Quechua in daily

communication, and some beliefs and practices that together contribute to a cohesive idea of a shared Quechua/Andean identity. Quechua peasant life encompasses all these traits; therefore any time I talk about any of these two concepts (Quechua/Andean ethnic traits or Quechua peasant life), I am basically talking about the same thing. I also argue here that migrants maintain or eliminate these practices consciously or unconsciously as a way of adapting themselves to their day-to-day life in the lowlands. Inter-ethnic marriages (collas seeking camba partners) can also be seen as adaptive strategies, as was observed by Gal (1984) and Stearman (1985).

Linguistic Change in Cuatro Cañadas

Some Fundamental Indicators of Language Use

Language is one of the most important indicators to measure cultural change in my study. As I mentioned earlier, language is both a "carrier" of culture and a shaper of it. Knowing if migrants continue speaking Quechua and under which circumstances can tell us a lot about cultural change as a whole. Especially in Andean nations where sometimes race and ethnicity are not strong cultural determinants, language can be the primary distinguishing feature of highland Indian culture (Myers 1973). In many cases, just speaking Spanish automatically deactivates Indian identity. This section presents data on language use in Cuatro Cañadas, where 90% of the population comes from the highlands and valleys. This percentage is reflected in the data I obtained from my questionnaire: 89% of the respondents were self-considered collas, and 12% were self-considered cambas.

I asked several questions about language use frequency and language use circumstances. The first one –targeted at measuring spontaneous speech– was framed as follows: "If you accidentally hurt yourself while hammering a nail, which language would you curse in?" Only 24% of the respondents said that they would curse in Quechua (Table 6-1), as opposed to 76% who would do it in Spanish. Table 6-2 shows respondents' answers about Quechua language

proficiency: 86% declared to be able to speak Quechua anywhere from fair to excellent, 76% anywhere from good to excellent, and 49% ranging from very good to excellent (Table 6-2). If 76% of the respondents speak good-to-excellent Quechua, it calls the attention that only one fourth of them would curse using the same language. This comparison shows us that migration to Cuatro Cañadas has affected Quechua spontaneous speech far more than speakers' bilingual competence. It might also indicate a more internal, subconscious process of linguistic change towards Spanish occupying different venues of communication.

Table 6-1. Respondents' most comfortable cursing language[7]

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Spanish	63	76%
Quechua	20	24%
Total	83	100%

Table 6-2. How well respondents speak and understand Quechua

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Poor	12	14%
Fair	8	10%
Good	22	27%
Very good	16	19%
Excellent	25	30%
Total	83	100%

Although the percentage is high regarding ability to communicate in Quechua, there is a contrasting difference when it comes to writing and reading: only 6% reported to have "very good" and "excellent" levels, whereas 65% have "poor" and "fair" levels of reading and writing in Quechua (Table 6-3). These numbers are not surprising given the fact that native language illiteracy rates in Bolivia are rather high compared to Spanish illiteracy rates. Like previous governments, the current one focuses only on reducing the latter, which indirectly sends out the

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[7] For the sake of a better visualization, I have eliminated decimals from all percentages, rounding up or down to the next number. The downside of this technique is that sometimes the total percentage can be 99% or 101%. However, all absolute numbers are faithful to the size samples.

message that reading and writing in indigenous languages is not important or at least not a priority.

Table 6-3. How well respondents read and write in Quechua

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Poor	41	49%
Fair	13	16%
Good	24	29%
Very good	3	4%
Excellent	2	2%
Total	83	100%

Most of the migrant adult population who live in Cuatro Cañadas has more than a functional level of Spanish (Table 6-4). Only 1% of the respondents said that their level of speaking and understanding Spanish ranges from "poor" to "fair," compared to 29% who speak "good" Spanish, and 69% of respondents who said that speak and understand Spanish "very well" and "excellently"

Table 6-4. How well respondents speak and understand Spanish

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Poor	0	0%
Fair	1	1%
Good	24	29%
Very good	46	55%
Excellent	12	14%
Total	83	100%

Even those who have arrived in Cuatro Cañadas as monolingual Quechua speakers have improved their Spanish skills throughout the years. The process of linguistic acculturation shows here a necessary trade-off between Quechua and Spanish, similar to the one experienced by non-English-speaking immigrants to the United States (Portes and Rumbaut 1996), where the pressure to speak the dominant language is strong. Similarly, collas in Cuatro Cañadas feel the need to talk more in Spanish, as this is the language of common currency for trade, formal business, and legal issues. However, the percentages of Spanish reading and writing proficiency

are low compared to speaking and understanding. Only 47% read and write in Spanish "very well" or "excellently," whereas the 21% of individuals who read and write "poorly" and "fairly" range from illiterates to functional illiterates.[8]

Table 6-5. How well respondents read and write in Spanish

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Poor	3	4%
Fair	14	17%
Good	27	33%
Very good	32	39%
Excellent	7	8%
Total	83	100%

In Cuatro Cañadas, school education is entirely carried out in Spanish; this seems to have an impact on bilingual parents as they barely interact with their children in Quechua. As a result of this, most children of migrating parents are not growing up bilingual. Table 6-6 contains relevant data regarding parent-child linguistic interaction. Twenty seven% of respondents said they talk to their children in Quechua sometimes; 8% said they talk to their children in Quechua sometimes but children answer in Spanish; and 7% said the talk to their children in Quechua most of the times, but children answer in Spanish. In total, 42% of parents talk to their children in Quechua, but none of the respondents reported being talked back to in Quechua by their children.

Table 6-6. Respondent talks in Quechua with children

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Never	29	35%
Sometimes	22	27%
Sometimes and they answer back in Spanish	7	8%
Most of the times and they answer in Spanish	6	7%
No answer – N/A	19	23%
Total	83	100%

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[8] Functional illiterates are those who know how to read and write but whose practice is so minimal and deficient that they cannot be fully categorized as part of the literate population.

Clearly, a process of linguistic acculturation is taking place in Cuatro Cañadas. Although almost half the parents reported to talk in Quechua to their children, children are becoming passive bilinguals, as they do not reply to their parents using the same language. When parents do not insist on being talked back to in the native language, they are unconsciously revealing a negative –or at least neutral– parental attitude with regards to the development of active bilingualism in their children (De Houwer 1999). When asked if their children should grow up speaking Quechua, 37% of respondents answered yes, "because it is part of their culture," and 46 answered yes, "because it helps to communicate with people mostly in the countryside" (see Table 6-7). Therefore, in total, 83% of individuals interviewed believe their children should speak Quechua, a number that doubles the percentage of parents who talk to their children in Quechua. Does not this sound a bit contradictory? Why do they not play a more active role supporting their children's linguistic behavior? A simple answer is that they do not know they have that power and just leave to external forces the bilingual development of their children (De Houwer 1999).

In addition, migrant parents in Cuatro Cañadas are not aware of this contradiction or tension, as it is part of their own adaptation to this lowland environment: on one hand, they feel the pressure to become lowlanders –if not cambas– and on the other hand they want to retain some aspects of their highland culture. Given that they have experienced (or are still experiencing) discrimination in their adaptation to the lowlands, they might unconsciously decide that talking to their children in Quechua hinders the latter's ability to adapt to this new environment.

Table 6-7. Respondent believes children should grow up speaking Quechua

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Yes, because it is part of the culture	31	37%
Yes, because it is important to communicate w/ people	38	46%
No, it is not necessary	6	7%
No answer	8	10%
Total	83	100%

Given that children play an important role in language maintenance inside the community, it is also important to know how much they speak a given language among themselves. I cannot recall any single moment during my stay in Cuatro Cañadas when two or more children communicated with each other in Quechua. On the contrary, children seem to make an effort not to be associated with Quechua as a language and with colla as an identity. One evening after conducting some interviews, I stopped by the "Juan Pablo II" high school where they were having a soccer tournament. The game I saw was 11th graders playing against 12th graders.

The match was very intense and at some point when one player made a wrongful pass, one of the spectators who was next to me yelled at him: *qué burro el colla éste* "what a silly this colla is." Both player and spectator had physical and facial features typical of the highlands and valleys. To an objective observer (if there is such a thing) they were colla-looking, and it was easy to infer that their parents were colla migrants in Cuatro Cañadas. Once again, race and ethnicity occupy a second place as cultural determinants. However secondary, these features cannot be hidden, but language can, therefore children and adolescents in Cuatro Cañadas make a conscious effort to be cambas, to act like cambas, to talk like cambas.

Table 6-8 shows how much colla parents in my questionnaire declare to hear their children talking in Quechua with their peers. In the category of "No answer – N/A" I included all camba respondents and colla respondents without children, which explains why the number is

considerably high (25 percent). The 67% of respondents who do not hear their children talking in

Quechua corroborates well with my observations.

Table 6-8. Respondent hears children talking in Quechua among themselves

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
No	56	67%
A little bit	6	7%
No answer – N/A	21	25%
Total	83	100%

One important factor that explains this low 7% of parents who hear their children

speaking in Quechua with their peers can be found within the school system. Similarly to what I

did in San Lucas, I tried to get proper authorization to observe classes in Cuatro Cañadas, but

municipal authorities seemed very busy at the time I was doing my fieldwork and I could not get

any. Nevertheless, I decided to visit the "Juan Pablo II" high school, and interview its Principal,

Prof. René Escalante who kindly received me in his office. This high school had 1,600 students,

which was half of the number of students registered in the entire municipal district. At the end of

2006 the school expected 70 graduates, 20% more than in 2005.

Prof. Escalante –a highlander from Cochabamba– told me that about 60% of those

graduates would stay and work in agriculture in Cuatro Cañadas, whereas only 40% will pursue a

BA or a technical degree in higher education. Prof. Escalante estimated that at least 90% of the

student body was born in Cuatro Cañadas, and that the number of students who recently arrived

is so small, that there are not really Aymara or Quechua monolingual children who have a hard

time adapting to Spanish instruction. When he told me this, I remembered the schoolteacher back

in Jankollo, San Lucas who said that given that early graders were migrating with their parents,

she had decided to start Spanish instruction before they left as it would ease the process of

adaptation of these Quechua monolingual children to Spanish monolingual school environments

in Santa Cruz or in Argentina.

Prof. Escalante also told me that there are no classes in Aymara or Quechua at any given grade throughout the 12 years of primary education in the entire District. He even recalled a proposal of including native language instruction made a few years ago at a general assembly of the Cuatro Cañadas School District. This proposal was vehemently rejected by the majority of parents who argued that in order for their children to assimilate to lowland culture everything needed not only to be in Spanish but also to reflect the local culture. This is particularly relevant because the Educational Reform of 1994 stipulates that the new curricula must reflect local realities. Just to mention one example, it was common that biology textbooks in Santa Cruz contained only animals from Europe and from the highlands, but none from the tropics. Students learned about other realities, but not their own. Therefore, parents also used this argument to push for a greater and rapid assimilation of their children.

Before I left I asked the principal if he ever heard his students talking in Quechua with each other. He told me that almost never, which confirms what parents told me about their children. Finally, Prof. Escalante told me that English classes are offered in all the schools of the educational District from 7th through 12th grade and that students in general are very enthusiastic about it.

Defining Identity Through Language

Compared to their own children, the adult population[9] in Cuatro Cañadas struggles more about defining who they are. Most of them were born someplace else, which means they were foreign to Cuatro Cañadas for some time before settling in. Adopting Spanish –including camba slang as part of their language– represents for many of them a sign and effort for integration to the *cruceño* culture and society (Chávez et al. 1995). Even though it is a settlement 90% colla,

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[9] Here I consider adult any individual who is at least 21 years old

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there is something symbolic and yet very physical about being in *tierra camba* "camba land," a concept that has been in migrants' minds even before leaving their home communities. It is a concept that entails progress, civilization, and opportunities, and *hablar como camba*, "to speak like a camba" can ease the process of adaptation. Out of all the highland migrants that I interviewed, about half of them spoke like cambas, with camba Spanish accent and using several camba slang words; but the other half maintained their colla Spanish linguistic repertoire pretty intact. Finally, many of them do not speak Quechua that much, and do not talk in Quechua to their children, in spite of believing that it is important for their future. Phenomenal linguistic tensions are taking place in this lowland settlement.

Cultural Change in Cuatro Cañadas

This section describes and analyzes four ethnic traits (*Kharisiri, Mink'a, Pachamama,* and *Utacht'api*) that along with the Quechua language are good indicators of Quechua and Andean life.[10] I include these four traditions here as they are frequently mentioned by Albó, Abercrombie, Mayer, Gulte, Collins, and Paerregaard, the specialists in Andean studies that I quote in this dissertation. My selection is based on their contributions and also on my own understanding of what is Quechua culture. Interviewees were asked to report if they held these cultural practices back in the highlands before migrating, and also if they were still practicing them in Cuatro Cañadas. This comparison revealed valuable information regarding cultural change and adaptations. The questions were framed in the following way: "Have you heard of *kharisiri* stories back in your highland community? Have you heard of them here in 4C?" and "Did you practice mink'a back in your highland community? Do you practice *mink'a* here in Cuatro Cañadas?" etc.

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[10] In addition to *Kharisiri, Mink'a, Pachamama,* and *Utacht'api*, I also included Rutucha and Sirvanaku, but for methodological reasons they will be discussed at the end of this section.

I used two techniques to organize and analyze these data. First, I created tables that combined Yes/No answers for both the highland community and Cuatro Cañadas. It is important to mention that these questions were answered by both cambas and collas in my sample. Those who did not answer either they did not want to or were cambas who are included in the "N/A – No answer" category. However, a few cambas reported practicing some of these Andean ethnic traits in Cuatro Cañadas, which indicates a slight cultural change but in the other direction; such is the case of three cambas who reported offering libations to *Pachamama* because "it seems to be a nice thing that collas do." The second technique I used was the creation of an index of cultural practices that gave me a more succinct idea of cultural change. I will first present four tables for each of these practices, including the corresponding analysis, and then I will present and analyze the index.

Kharisiri

This is some type of bogeyman, known in Aymara as the *kharisiri*, in Quechua as the *ñakaq*, and in Spanish as the *pishtaco*. It is believed to be a creature that attacks Indians "…and then drags them off unconscious to secret caves, where he hangs them upside down and extracts their body fat." (Weismantel 2001: 6). Many believe that it is a white man; and this is the reason why foreign priests in rural towns, state officers, and anthropologists are often feared. It is one of the most widely held myths in the Andes. Many people in the rural highlands assure having seen one (including those who did not die after being attacked), but most importantly, even those who have not experienced the *kharisiri* first hand, at least believe in his existence. In my own previous field experiences in the Altiplano I heard many stories of people who knew individuals who were attacked by this supra-natural being. Therefore, many people believe in the *kharisiri.*

Table 6-9. Respondents' belief in *kharisiri*

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	3	4%
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: No	46	55%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	0	0%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: No	28	34%
N/A	6	7%
Total	83	100%

The highest percentage in this table –55 percent– is attributed to believing/seeing/hearing about the *kharisiri* in the highlands but NOT believing seeing/hearing about it in Cuatro Cañadas. This number is followed by 34% of individuals who have not heard of it neither back home nor in 4C. Only 4% said that they were familiar with it in the highlands and still now in the lowlands. These numbers reveal additional information: First, only one third of respondents knew about the *kharisiri* back home, which makes this belief not a very popular one. Second, 89% of respondents have not heard of it in Cuatro Cañadas, which tells us that it is indeed a very weak Andean belief in the new settlement. Finally, it is remarkable that many of those under the 2nd category (highlands: yes; Cuatro Cañadas: no) said that in Cuatro Cañadas there is no *kharisiri*; instead street criminals have taken its place. This response is a way of de–mystify this belief and covert it into a concrete and palpable entity; it is in itself an important indicator of cultural change. Finally, there were no reported cases of individuals who had not heard of *kharisiri* in the highlands but had heard of it in 4C.

Mink'a.

Also known as *ayni*, or *faena*, *mink'a* is a rural form of communal cooperation that is very common in the Andes. It is a reciprocal form of collaboration; therefore an individual or household who receives it is expected to return it at a later time. It is usually practiced during planting or harvesting seasons, when heavy labor is required. At the individual's request,

neighbors gather to help the person in need, who in exchange for this service provides helpers with food and alcohol. In some cases, it is the community that regulates it; therefore, membership and participation in *mink'a* is sometimes not voluntary, but rather enforced by community leaders (Paerregaard 1997). However, as *mink'a* can be entirely voluntary, in some cases the host's ability to pay for food and alcohol determines its fulfillment. Table 6-10 shows these results.

Table 6-10. Respondents' *mink'a* practice

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	19	23%
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: No	42	51%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	0	0%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: No	16	19%
N/A - No answer	6	7%
Total	83	100

Similarly to *kharisiri*, the 2nd category (highlands: yes; Cuatro Cañadas: no) has the highest percentage: 51% of the respondents practiced *mink'a* back home but stopped doing it in Cuatro Cañadas. About half of this number –23 percent– practiced it back home and are still doing *mink'a* in the lowlands, which is a relatively high percentage meaning that *mink'a* is a well grounded Andean tradition, especially when we look at the combined percentage of those who did it in the highlands: 74 percent. However, those who do not practice *mink'a* in the lowlands count for 70% of the sample, meaning that migration has clearly an impact on its reduction. Finally, there were no reported cases of individuals who had not practiced *mink'a* in the highlands but had practiced it in Cuatro Cañadas.

Although reciprocal exchanges are "more virtuous than money-mediated exchanges in the market or more egalitarian and less exploitative than capitalist relations" (Mayer 2002: 136), they can be costly and expensive for the host. Ironically, therefore, reciprocity is expensive; to do

ayni or minka is expensive. As a side comment, five respondents told me they do not do *mink'a* in 4C (and did not do it back home in some cases) not because they did not like this tradition, but because paying minimal wages for agricultural labor might be less expensive than buying food and alcohol. The number is not significant but it is a good example of a material factor that can be the driving force towards cultural change. Another explanation for the reduction of *mink'a* in Cuatro Cañadas could be associated with its –sometimes– mandatory nature. In this sense, it resembles *pasar cargo,* the occupation of communal authority posts that is regulated and enforced by the community. As the traditional structure of the Andean community is absent in Cuatro Cañadas, some migrants might feel free of these community obligations and *mink'a* can be seen as one of them.

Seventy percent of people not practicing *mink'a* in 4C is a high number anyway and as such it represents the dissolution or at least some reduction of a core characteristic of Andean life: reciprocal labor. Since Cuatro Cañadas is the largest center of agro-industrial soy production in the country (both in number of companies and volume of production), it is not surprising that a strict commercial orientation and the "penetration of impersonal market forces [contribute to] dissolve away the fundamental values that underwrote the sociocultural configuration of Andean communities" (Mayer 2002: 136).

Pachamama

Also known as *Madre Tierra,* "Mother Earth," *Pachamama* is the most important Andean divine entity. It is primarily associated with the land and the corresponding agricultural production derived from it, but it also recalls the place where one belongs, the place where one lives, and where the individual creates community. People in the rural Andes mainly use to *ch'allar* "offer libations" to *Pachamama* to thank her for a good harvest or to pray for good fortune in all areas of life. *Para que la Pachamama produzca bien,* "so that *Pachamama* yields a

good production" or *para que la Pachamama nos protega,* "so that *Pachamama* protects us" are typical *ch'alla* prayings. *Pachamama* libations are very common even in urban areas, and even practiced by mestizos with no links to the rural areas (i.e. a company's personnel can *ch'allar* at the inauguration of a new office). Table 6-11 shows the respondents' selections:

Table 6-11. Respondents' *Pachamama* belief and practice

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	30	36%
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: No	31	36%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	5	6%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: No	14	17%
N/A - No answer	3	4%
Total	83	100

Of all the four ethnic indicators analyzed in this section, *Pachamama* belief and practice is the only one that displays the same proportion (36 percent) of those who practiced back home and continued practicing in 4C, and those who practiced back home but stopped once they arrived in 4C. It was very surprising to find these results, as I expected *Pachamama* to be the most practiced belief regardless of location. The data indicate that in Cuatro Cañadas all together 53% of respondents do not practice it, although there is a surprising 6% of individuals who did not practice it in the highlands but who began practicing in 4C. There is an external factor not directly associated with migration and with lowland culture that partially explains this distribution: religious adscription.

Some respondents declared that back in the highlands they were Protestants, and therefore did not believe *in Pachamama,*[11] but now that they have converted to Catholicism they are free to believe in *Pachamama* (see the 6% of respondents in the 3rd category, highlands: no;

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[11] It is well known that Protestantism firmly rejects the belief in other deities not represented by God or Jesus Christ. In this regard, Catholicism has a tradition of being more tolerant, something that has created a myriad of religious syncretism with other belief systems not based on Christianity.

Cuatro Cañadas: yes). Some respondents declared the opposite: they were Catholics in the highlands but after converting to Protestantism they stopped their *Pachamama* practices. Nonetheless, the number of Protestants in Cuatro Cañadas (see Table 6-12) is only 18 percent; therefore it is just a limited explanation for the fact that 53% of respondents do not offer libations to *Pachamama*. Consequently, this is another Quechua/Andean ethnic trait that is noticeably being reduced in Cuatro Cañadas.

Table 6-12. Respondents' religious adscription

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Catholic	63	76%
Protestant	15	18%
Free believer	3	4%
Atheist	2	2%
Total	83	100%

Utacht'api.

This is a ceremony that takes place when the roof is installed in a new house, usually where a newlywed couple will live. Due to economic constrains, it is very common that the new house still needs some work to be done (especially the outside painting of all walls), but even under those circumstances, installing the roof and throwing an *utacht'api* ceremony represents the consummation of the building project, at least at a symbolic level. The hosts have to pay for all expenses (food and beverages); therefore –like *Mink'a*– just the lack of funds sometimes is enough reason for not doing it. Table 6-13 summarizes these findings.

Table 6-13. Respondents' *utacht'api* practice

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	4	5%
Highlands: Yes - Cuatro Cañadas: No	28	34%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: Yes	3	4%
Highlands: No - Cuatro Cañadas: No	44	53%
N/A - No answer	4	5%
Total	83	100

Interestingly enough, this practice reported the highest double-no distribution of all four ethnic traits. 53% reported that they did not practice *utacht'api* either in the highlands, or in the lowlands, which contrasts significantly with the double-yes distribution of the table, those who did it in the highlands and in the lowlands: only 5% of the respondents. All together, those who don't do *utacht'api* in Cuatro Cañadas –regardless of having done it or not in the highlands– account for 87% of the sample, which is thus the least practiced ethnic trait in this settlement. Given that it is a similar practice to *mink'a* in terms of the economic conditioning factor behind it, this distribution shows us that reciprocity and communal orientation is being eroded in Cuatro Cañadas, at least in terms of participating in activities that many consider manifestations of Andean life.

Index of Cultural Practices

The index of cultural practices is just a summary of respondents' involvement and participation in the four ethnic traits selected. In order to construct this index, I summed up the number of traditions or ethnic traits that each individual reported to have practiced back in the highlands (Table 6-14), and the number of traditions currently practiced in the lowlands (Table 6-15). There is a remarkable difference: respondents engaged considerably more in these ethnic traits when they lived in the highlands to such a degree –for example– that 25 individuals (30% of my sample) said they participated in three out of the four. Now that they live in Cuatro Cañadas, these same individuals have drastically reduced their participation in these cultural practices to such a degree –for example– that 35 individuals (42% of my sample) said they don't participate in any. Figure 6-1 presents a visual image of this inverse relationship. The average number of traditions practiced per individual in the highlands is 2.47 and the average number of traditions practiced per individual in the lowlands is 0.78. More of these indicators (median and mode) are displayed in Table 6-16.

Table 6-14. Number of traditions practiced in the highlands (past)

Number of traditions practiced	0	1	2	3	4
By number of people	10	6	22	25	20

Table 6-15. Number of traditions practiced in the lowlands (current)

Number of traditions practiced	0	1	2	3	4
By number of people	35	32	13	3	0

Table 6-16. Traditions in the highlands and in the lowlands (mean, median, mode)

Highlands Sum		*Lowlands Sum*	
Mean	2.47	Mean	0.78
Median	3.00	Median	1.00
Mode	3.00	Mode	0.00
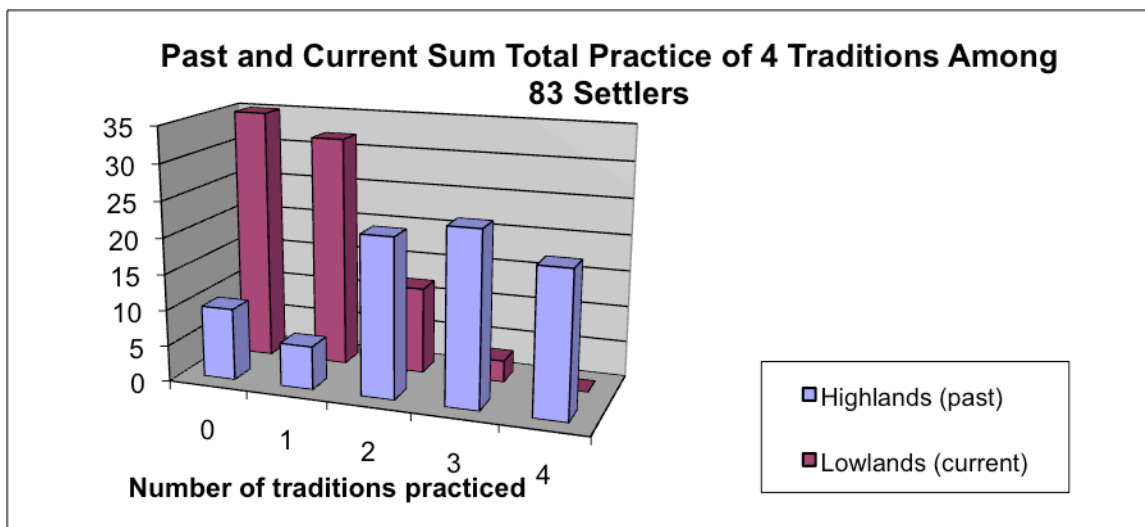
Figure 6-1. Comparison between traditions practiced in the highlands and in the lowlands by number of individuals

Additional Ethnic Indicators

Two additional ethnic traits or cultural practices that were studied (type of roof and *rutucha*) shed more light on the current process of cultural change in Cuatro Cañadas, but were not included along with the previous ones for the following reasons:

- Although there are cultural drivers behind the process of selecting the material to be used for the roof of a house, ultimately this decision relies on economic affordability;

- I did not ask about the practice of *rutucha* in the highlands because that would have required creating at least three categories: parents who had children only in the highlands, parents who had children only in 4C, and parents who had children in both places. As most parents had their children in 4C (or someplace else in the lowlands) the results would have been biased.

Type of roof in the sending community and in Cuatro Cañadas. Given that *utacht'api* marks the finalization of a house project, it is not surprising that the type and quality of the roof is generally a major indicator of social mobility. The indicator here is whether people have ceramic tiles, tin-laminated, or thatched roofs. The first two options usually indicate more social mobility but also acculturation. In the rural highlands, roofs are usually straw-thatched, whereas in the lowlands people usually thatch their houses with leaves of *motacú*, a very common palm of the region. As both materials are traditional and accessible, when highlanders use *motacú* for their houses in Cuatro Cañadas, they are not necessarily acculturating themselves but maybe just getting the material they can afford.

Table 6-17. Type of roof in the highlands

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Thatched	42	51%
Ceramic tiles	15	18%
Tin sheets	22	27%
Motacú leaves	4	5%
Total	83	100

Table 6-18. Type of roof in the lowlands

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Thatched	0	0%
Ceramic tiles	36	43%
Tin sheets	41	49%
Motacú leaves	6	7%
Total	83	100

Tables 6-17 and 6-18 show that tin sheets and ceramic tiles are the preferred roof materials that migrants install in their houses. There is an apparent improvement in housing conditions that are not associated to maintaining or abandoning certain traditions. I see this behavior as an indicator of social mobility that partially explains that migration is already showing some benefits to those who abandoned their highland communities.

Rutucha to children

Rutucha is a hair cutting ceremony. Once babies become one-year olds, they symbolically leave behind the "world of infants" and enter the "world of toddlers" This is marked and celebrated by the child's first haircut. Boys and girls get their heads fully shaved. The ceremony gathers a small number of people, usually the immediate family and the child's godparents, who are the ones who typically perform the haircut. The question was framed in the following way: Have you done *rutucha* to your children? If you haven't, will you do it in the future? The second part of the question allowed for those whose child or children were younger than 1 year old and also for future parents, to record an answer.

Table 6-19. Respondents' *rutucha* practice

	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Yes	21	25%
No	47	57%
I don't know	3	4%
N/A - No answer	12	14%
Total	83	100

It seems that *rutucha* is another cultural dimension that is being compromised in Cuatro Cañadas. Only 25% practice it, vis-à-vis 57% of respondents who do not do it. Unfortunately, this question did not include the practice of *rutucha* in the highlands, as it was not operationally possible to do it.

Inter-Ethnic Marriages: Acculturation, Upper Mobility or Just Love?

Inter-ethnic marriages represent a common outcome of any migratory experience. Beyond the emotional links that are supposed to be the primary factor in the formation of a marriage, we cannot deny that these unions are alliances and as such either grant spouses access to certain resources or prevent them from accessing others. Although Andean culture is primarily endogamous, it has been noted that exogamous marriages allow for alliances where for example, a foreign peasant marries a local girl and thus gains access to land and social recognition by the host community (Mamani and Albó 1976; Albó 1998, Sppeding 1994). Something similar happens in the case of highland-to-lowland migration in Bolivia. The resources to be gained in this case are different: Some highland migrants marry lowlanders to gain social acceptance from the host community. Especially in a region where there are some animosities between hosts (cambas) and visitors (collas), this exogamous marriage strategy can be particularly suitable. In order to better understand this situation in Cuatro Cañadas I documented the number of inter-ethnic marriages among my interviewees. The results are presented in the following paragraph.

Out of 83 men and women I interviewed, 56 individuals (67 percent) were married and 2 individuals (2 percent) were living in free unions. This roughly represents 70% of people who had a life partner, as opposed to 24 individuals (30 percent) who declared to be single. Out of the 58 individuals who were married or lived with their partners, 50 individuals were collas, with 44 of them married to other collas, and only 6 married to cambas. Out of these 6 inter-ethnic marriages, 3 were camba man/colla woman marriages and the other 3 were colla man/camba woman. On another note, out of the 83 respondents, 10 were cambas, 8 married and 2 single individuals. Of those married, 6 were camba/camba marriages and only two were inter-ethnic marriages with both being camba woman/colla man. Table 6-20 summarizes these findings:

Table 6-20. Frequency of civil marriage between cambas and collas

Type of marriage	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Colla/colla	44 couples	76%
Camba/camba	6 couples	10%
Colla man/camba woman	5 couples	9%
Camba man/colla woman	3 couples	5%
Total # of marriages (including free unions)	58 couples	100%

From this table emerge a few interesting observations: in a region where the population is 90% predominantly colla, it is not surprising that 76% of all marriages are of the same ethnicity. Also, there is not a huge difference between the percentages of camba/camba marriages (10%) and that of inter-ethnic marriages (14%). However, the latter being slightly higher is somehow an indicator of the preference that cambas have to marry between themselves in a place that is mostly inhabited by collas. Another important remark is that the majority of the inter-ethnic marriages (64 percent) follow the pattern colla man/camba woman. Although the size of the sample and the specificity of this study are rather small, I think that these numbers corroborate a phenomenon that has been observed previously in highland-to-lowland migration: it is men who migrate the most, and it is women who stay in the home communities the most (Albó 1999, Golte 2001, Abercrombie 1997); even in transnational migration this pattern seems to be quite constant (Brettell 1986).

Besides getting primary data through my questionnaire, I also obtained some secondary data on marriages from the Cuatro Cañadas Office of the Civil Registry. The Notary was very kind and let me look at the marriage records that were kept in this office. Unfortunately, many record books were not accessible mainly for two reasons: on one hand, some of these records were missing due to the previous Notary's carelessness; and on the other hand, many books were sent to Santa Cruz as a back up counting resource in preparation for the 2005 National Elections,

and since then had not been sent back to 4C. As a sample, I selected two books that were

available, as seen in Table 6-21 and Table 6-22:

Table 6-21. Sample of number of marriages in Cuatro Cañadas according to ethnic
differentiation, Book I-96

Book I-96 (May 1996 – June 1997)	
Mennonite	26
Colla/colla	17 (2 individuals born in Santa Cruz)
Camba/camba	3
Colla man/camba woman	4

Table 6-22. Sample of number of marriages in Cuatro Cañadas according to ethnic
differentiation, Book I-97

Book I-97 (October 1997 – January 1999)	
Mennonite	44
Colla/colla	42 (10 individuals born in Santa Cruz)
Camba/camba	4
Colla man/ camba woman	5
Camba man/colla woman	2

According to this table, members of the Mennonite colonies lead the way in number of

marriages officially registered in the municipality of Cuatro Cañadas. Records of camba/camba

marriages are surprisingly low compared to colla/colla marriages, something that the Notary

attributes to the fact that cambas either get married only through the Church or just live in free

union, but civil wedding seems not to be their priority. What seems relevant to me from these

records is that they confirmed what primary data say about inter-ethnic marriages: the pattern

colla man/camba woman prevails way above the opposite combination. On Book I-96, all four

inter-ethnic marriages are composed by a colla man and a camba woman; and Book I-97 shows 5

colla man/camba woman marriages and only 2 of the opposite combination. This also confirms

some narratives I gathered in San Lucas: both single and married women that I interviewed had

been in the tropics at least once and all of them went back to their home communities and either

married a highlander there or stayed single.

In addition, out of 83 interviewees, only 6 individuals (7 percent) were single female collas and all of them but one were between 18 and 26 years old and arrived in Cuatro Cañadas with their parents as they got there looking for land. The remaining one, 28, was already a schoolteacher and arrived in 4C looking for his brother and ended up working at one of the two high schools in town. These data also confirm how infrequent it is that single highland women venture on their own and settle in the rural tropics. One exception to this rule seems to be single women who migrate to the cities to work there as maids. As stated before, this migration mode is a good escape from patriarchal community regulations and a good opportunity for young women to move up the socio-economic and ethnic ladder. Towards the end of my visit to the Office of the Civil Registry, I asked the Notary about average percentages of recorded marriages in this office, considering the four most common possible combinations in Cuatro Cañadas. His impressions are reflected in Table 6-23.

Table 6-23. Notary's estimation of average percentages of recorded marriages in his office

Type of marriage	Percentage
colla/colla	40%
Mennonite	38%
camba/camba	20%
colla/camba	2%
Total:	100%

Two important things to consider: Table 6-23 does not contain data properly speaking; it is just a subjective approximation. Also, this estimate is about civil marriages and does not take into account religious marriages. Tables 6-21 and 6-22 however, do contain data and measure marital status regardless of type of marriage (civil, religious, free union); therefore it is not possible to compare Table 6-23 to Tables 6-21 and 6-22.

Besides getting actual data on same ethnicity and inter-ethnic marriages, in my questionnaire I added a question for single individuals about their future partner preferences. The

question was framed as follows: "If you are single and would like to get married some day, would you rather marry a camba or a colla?" Table 6-24 shows the distribution of answers to this question. The categories colla and camba are self-explanatory. The category "Love mandates/No preference" includes: a) people who said they couldn't know, as getting married depended on with whom they fell in love; and b) individuals who declared not having any preference for their future partners. There were 26 single individuals (30 percent) in my sample of 83 people interviewed.

Table 6-24. Preferred partner's ethnicity for marriage (Single respondents)

	Absolute numbers	Percentage
Colla	13	50%
Love mandates/No preference	10	38%
Camba	3	12%
Total	26	100%

Note that only 3 individuals out of the 26 (12 percent) declared a preference to marry a camba (and the 3 of them were men: two collas and one camba)[12] as opposed to 13 individuals (50 percent) who said they prefer to marry a colla. However, 10 persons (38 percent) showed no preference in particular. These are some of the reasons for potentially choosing one or the other:

- *colla, because I like their way of being*
- *colla, because we are the same*
- *colla, because we have the same customs*
- *I don't want to be judgmental, but not camba for sure*
- *camba, because they are sexier and kinder*
- *widower: I would like to marry a camba this time*

To complete this information, Table 6-25 shows the ethnicity of the respondent. Note that considering that 90% of the population of Cuatro Cañadas is colla, these numbers indicate that young immigrants (as most of the singles of this poll are) pretty much have an evenly divided

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[12] This camba man was the only camba (including males and females) in this poll of single individuals

marriage preference: half of them want to marry their own kind, whereas the other half rather

marry lowlanders.

Table 6-25. Detailed individual preference of future partner's ethnicity

#	Ego sex	Ego Ethnicity	Preferred spouse's ethnicity
1	Male	Colla	Colla
2	Male	Colla	Love /No preference
3	Male	Colla	Love/No preference
4	Female	Colla	Love /No preference
5	Male	Colla	Colla
6	Male	Colla	Love /No preference
7	Male	Camba	Camba
8	Male	Colla	Colla
9	Female	Colla	Colla
10	Female	Colla	Love /No preference
11	Female	Colla	Love/No preference
12	Male	Colla	Colla
13	Male	Colla	Camba
14	Male	Colla	Colla
15	Female	Colla	Colla
16	Male	Colla	Camba
17	Male	Colla	Love/No preference
18	Female	Colla	Love/No preference
19	Male	Colla	Colla
20	Male	Colla	Colla
21	Male	Colla	Love/No preference
22	Male	Colla	Colla
23	Male	Colla	Colla
24	Male	Colla	Love/No preference
25	Male	Colla	Colla
26	Male	Colla	Colla

Self-Identification Labels, Rejection, and the Process of Identity Construction

In my general questionnaire I included a question on self-identity. The question was:

"Which of the following words do you identify yourself with?" The optional answers were:

campesino/a, colla, indio, agricultor, Quechua, camba, colono/colonizador, mestizo, and *other*.

Given the social and political meaning of some of these words, I include here a thorough

description and analysis of three words: mestizo/a, indio/a, and cholo/a, which usually have

negative or mixed connotations. These three terms are embedded in the sociological landscape of Bolivia and as such they deserve some analysis. The word *cholo/a* was not listed as one of the answers, but some respondents chose it under the option of 'other.'

I also included a question on rejection and insult, framed in the following way: "Do people ever insult you? If so, which are the words they use when they do it?" Ironically, some of the words chosen as self-identifiers were also reported as insulting words: cholo/a and indio/a, a situation that justifies even more the need to talk about them in detail. Hence, I start this section with the analysis of mestizo/a, indio/a, and cholo/a, and finish with a discussion of the selection of words made by my respondents about self-identity and insult/rejection.

Uses and Meanings of the Word Mestizo/a

In its simplest form, the word mestizo refers to individuals of mixed European and Amerindian ancestry. In some cases it refers to urban Indians, and in other cases it refers to wealthy Indians in rural towns (usually landlords) who are better off than the inhabitants of nearby communities. Therefore, the word mestizo entails certain ethnic and socioeconomic superiority especially when contrasted with the term Indian (Paerregaard 1997). In the Andes mestizo and cholo are some times interchangeably used as synonyms, with the implicit understanding that a mestizo is somehow closer to the European end of the spectrum, whereas a cholo is closer to the Indian one. To be called a mestizo is hardly taken as an insult, but cholo clearly carries some pejorative connotations that soon will be discussed.

The borders between mestizo and the next upward category –*white*– can also be blurred and circumstantial in such a way that people who consider themselves to be (or are seen as) white by certain group can be seen as mestizo by others. Back in the late 1970s, I remember seeing the word *white* written down in my birth certificate as the option for race, when the only other option was Indian. Even though I was about 10 years old, I had some trouble placing

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myself in either category. A good in-between option could have been mestizo or cholo, but it was never included. Two decades later, the race category would be removed from all Bolivian birth certificates as a political intention promoted by the state to neutralize categories –especially Indian– that were subject to discrimination.

In Bolivia, calling someone a mestizo is practically free of discrimination. It is hard to see people feeling offended when referred to as mestizo, although I have to say that very wealthy white Bolivians might take it as an insult. Their rejection would signify that they totally disassociate themselves from any Amerindian roots in their ancestry. Even if there were a "biological" truth to it, their position would be mainly political. In this kaleidoscope of politically and racially charged words, by far the two terms that deserve a deeper scrutiny are indio/ and cholo/a:

> The migrants' striving for an identity based on territorial loyalties, whether local or national, rather than on ethnic origin reflects a wish to escape the Indian or *cholo* status thrust upon them by rural mestizos and urban *criollos* down the centuries (Paerregaard 1997:19).

Uses and Meanings of the Word Indio/a

The intensively negative associations of the word *indio* continually generate a need for euphemisms. In the Andes, people are notoriously unwilling to use racial terms of any kind as self-descriptors, to the despair of survey-takers. Sometimes, class terms stand in for racial categories, as when governments and intellectuals promulgated the use of word *campesino* (peasant) to refer to rural Indians. Today, thinking in terms of class has come to be equally unpopular among the highly educated; such people now speak of *indígenas* rather than *indios* when they want to be polite (Weismantel 2001:xxxiv).

The 1952 Bolivian National Revolution and the immediate 1953 Agrarian Reform converted Indians into campesinos, assigning them some sort of Marxist rural proletariat identity.

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Through this conversion these former Indians, now campesinos, were de facto recognized by the state as Bolivian citizens, unfortunately not in the fullest sense of the word, as racial and linguistic discrimination against rural peoples prevailed then as it still does these days. Marisol de la Cadena's *De indio a campesino* (1974) is probably the best work of its kind in describing and analyzing this nominal transition in the Andes, especially in Peru. Thus, this process of *campesinización* in Bolivia tried to eliminate the term Indio from the popular and academic jargon, or at least put it in the category of politically incorrect, but could not stop middle and especially upper class Bolivians from using it derogatorily against rural peoples of the highlands and valleys.

A few years later, during the late 1960s, some Aymara and Quechua leaders and intellectuals in Bolivia contested both the supposedly inexistence of the word and yet the racist use of it by the white elite. This movement led by Fausto Reinaga reached its peak with the foundation of the *Partido Indio de Bolivia* "Bolivian Indian Party" (hereafter PIB) a new political instrument that represented an alternative in times of national elections, but most importantly, appropriated for themselves the term Indio. The main criticism against this movement was that it had germinated within an urban intellectual bubble at a time when *Sindicatos campesinos* 'Peasants' Unions' were already spread all over the altiplano. To break this one-decade-old unionizing tradition and expect people to stop self-identifying as campesinos was too much to ask, especially when poverty and illiteracy levels remained critical in the countryside. Using the word Indian was not going to change those things.

The *Reunión Anual de Etnografía (RAE)* 'Ethnography and Folklore Annual Meeting' is the most important platform of anthropological discussion in Bolivia. It holds the same significance that the American Anthropological Association meetings do in the United States. I

vividly remember the 1996 RAE when there was a phenomenal philosophical –and almost physical– confrontation between those who rejected the usage of the word *Indio* and those who supported it. One lecturer, whose name and topic I do not remember, at some point exclaimed: *Nosotros los indios de Bolivia deberíamos...* 'We the Indians of Bolivia should…' and the next thing that happened was that three participants got very irritated, stood up, and yelled at the presenter that they were Aymaras and Quechuas, not *Indios,* as using this word would just perpetuate the oppression started by white Europeans centuries ago against the native populations. However, the supporters of the word argued that liberation would start with a frank and open acceptance of their true nature as Indians. The discussion continued for about 20 minutes (with no clear winner), showing the emergence of a fascinating struggle that was bringing new categories and new meanings into the arena of Bolivian/Andean social sciences.

In the early 1970s, the PIB enacted *El Manifiesto Indio*, a compendium of laws and principles that dealt with the self-determination of Andean peoples and also served as their main political instrument. However, when the MIP participated in national elections, the party got very low numbers of votes and died out in the early 1980s, with some remaining fractions of it joining other political parties, some with a clearly Indian/indigenous discourse although the word Indio remained pretty much underground and regained the derogatory connotation when used by the non-Indian population.[13]

In the 1990s, the term indigenous peoples gained broad popularity and acceptance especially among policy makers, social scientists, and international organizations. In a way, it became the politically correct alternative to the word Indio. This decade coincided with two important National Marches led by lowland indigenous peoples who demanded from the

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[13] An important remark regarding my own usage of the words *Indian* and *indigenous*: throughout this document I indistinctively use either of the two, although my preference for the word *indigenous* will be more apparent.

Bolivian state the recognition of their land rights. It was the first time in Bolivia that native lowlanders made their voice heard as indigenous peoples but at the same time showed to the national society their ethnic uniqueness as Guaraníes, Chiquitanos, Moxeños, Ayoreos, Tacanas, and others. Interestingly enough, native highlanders did not use the term indigenous as much as their lowland counterparts, and preferred to be called and to be known as Aymaras and Quechuas.

The 1990s marked a crucial time for structural changes in Bolivia. Local and municipal governments were empowered by the Popular Participation Law, a very ambitious land re-distribution program was launched, and indigenous peoples were not only nationally but also internationally recognized and granted more political power in several spheres of national life. The next decade was the summit of these emerging forces that by then were clearly represented by the consolidation of the *Movimiento Al Socialismo, MAS* 'Movement Towards Socialism' a political party that was able to synthesize the needs and frustrations of rural peoples, and working and middle class after years of corruption and neoliberal practices. In 2006 this movement reached a summit when Evo Morales won the national elections.

Uses and Meanings of the Word Cholo/a

Paerregaard (1997) believes that there are two conceptions about cholo/a: On one hand, some social scientists believe that this term represents an emerging identity that results from the migratory process through which millions of rural Andean people are transformed into urban dwellers, and therefore it essentially is seen as a temporary category. On the other hand, other researchers argue that the process of *cholification* is not a transition; it is rather a 'permanent state of being' and becomes one more label or category in the complex Andean system of ethnic identity. I subscribe myself to a combination of the two views presented above. While some persons are seen as permanent cholos/las, there are others who believe they are climbing a

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transitional social and cultural ladder that will eventually let them escape from such a category. Therefore, "Cholo is rarely if ever used as a label of self-identification. Rather, it is invoked to classify others (in an inferior position) and thus indirectly site oneself in a superior position" (Paerregaard 1997: 166).

In Bolivia however, there have been some attempts of appropriation similarly to what the PIB and Fausto Reinaga did with the term Indio, but in a less consistent way. In the mid 1980s for example, Julio Matilla, a social scientist and University professor who ran for mayor of La Paz, publicly declared himself to be a *cholo intelectual*, something that was soon followed by an urban wave of self-proclaimed working and middle class *cholos*. If derogative and self-proclaiming meanings are set aside, the most important difference between *Cholo* and *Indio* is that usually Cholo makes a specific reference to an urban environment, whereas Indio usually refers to the rural area. Another aspect that needs to be highlighted is that in both cases the public and open appropriation of the words *Indio* and c*holo* was done by urban intellectual men. Therefore, truly rural people and especially rural women were simply absent from this process, something that brings up the gender dimension to this discussion. In the following paragraphs I will briefly explain the reasons why women did not participate in this process and also why the ethnic dimension of the terms *India* and *chola* are more gender-charged than their counterparts *Indio* and *cholo*.

Generally speaking, both words *Indio/a* and *cholo/a* have stronger derogative connotations when used to refer to women. In describing interethnic relations in Chitapampa, a Quechua community close to Cusco, the following excerpt shows how much Indian women struggle in order to achieve some ethnic mobility that could allow them more freedom from the watchful eyes of the community's males:

Ethnic differentiation includes inequalities between men and women. A *mestiza* can, for example, subordinate an Indian man, but cannot subordinate mestizos; however, a *mestizo* can subordinate indigenous men and women. Men can *mestizarse*, regardless of being married or not; but an indigenous woman who stays in the community continues to be Indian until she gets married or at least engaged, thus showing that her ethnic mobility is much slower than men's. Indigenous women are the last link in the chain of subordination. (De la Cadena 1991:70).

In the Andes thus, ethnic and gender criteria put women at the very bottom of skills and opportunities and at the very bottom of social discrimination. In this general scenario supported by a patriarchal scheme, women are less urban, women have less ethnic flexibility, women speak less Spanish, and women's work is worth less (Rivera 1996). Although there is this conception of Andean dualities that emphasizes gender equity and complementarity of sexes, much remains in the discursive terrain, as it is still very clear that women have, in short, less political mobility. Therefore, it is not surprising that *las mujeres son más indias* "women are more Indian," –as De la Cadena wrote in the title of her article (1991). And it is not surprising that they remained absent in the "conquest" of the term Indio/a, especially when in reality they were more concerned about gaining political power and independence rather than claiming *Indianness*, a label that did not bring any benefits for them.

Many inequalities between men and women in the Andes are a consequence of the oppressive patriarchal scheme that reigns in the Andes, but the lower level of bilingualism found in Aymara women is rather strategic (Sppeding 1994): Given that women are more central to community life, they use more Aymara, as Aymara is also central to the values held by the community. Therefore, although women might speak more Aymara and less Spanish than men – like De la Cadena states– they do so as a strategy when they need to communicate with the foreign world that is represented by Spanish and by non-rural institutions.

Most of the time, the term chola has derogative meaning and connotations, but it is fair to admit that it is full of ambiguities and contextual situations. Let us start with a basic definition:

Usually, cholas are market women who play the role of intermediaries between urban centers

and the rural hinterland (Paerregaard 1997). In general, cholas are seen as being of mixed race,

but most of the time they are seen as more Indian than mestizas; also, cholas may be described as

Indians "ruined" or "contaminated" by exposure to city life (Weismantel 2001). Cholas are, then,

women in a transitional status, women who are in the journey of abandoning their Indianness and

embracing a mestizo status. A chola, nonetheless, never becomes white; at most she becomes an

urban mestiza. This hybrid status is subject to many interpretations, most of them pejorative and

discriminatory and does not equate well with that atmosphere of fascination that is created by

some people:

> With its power to slander, the word *chola* is not a careless pleasantry, as local men pretend
> [in reference to non Indian Cuenca (Ecuador) men]; nor is it just a colorful phrase when
> used by poets, or a value-free ethnic category when employed by social scientists
> (Weismantel 2001: xxvii).

In Bolivia, being a chola is seldom something that people would self-proclaim as a proud

indicator of identity. In a market one would not hear something like this from a female vendor in

reference to one of her peers: *esa chola vende flores* "that chola sells flowers" or *yo soy una*

chola que trabaja en el mercado "I am a chola who works at the market." What would be

common though, is a middle class white or mestiza woman in La Paz who complains in the

following way: *Las cholas del mercado Camacho venden todo caro* "Cholas of Camacho market

sell everything at high prices."

    In the lowlands, there is one peculiar usage of this word especially among middle-class

cambas or among those who show themselves very disassociated with collas or higlanders. It is

common to talk about cholas as mistresses: *Gustavo tiene su chola* "Gustavo has a mistress."

This is probably the most offensive, racist and gender-charged use of the word, given that it

depicts indigenous women as loose and as second-class individuals, who are at the service of

dominant and powerful white men. Both men and women in the lowlands would use this expression. It is very common for both urban and rural lowland women who want to emphasize their independence and self confidence to say something like this: *Yo no soy chola de nadie* "I am nobody's chola."

There is an interesting exception to this generally negative view of cholas and that is the use of the diminutive *cholita*. It is hardly used to make a derogatory comment; on the contrary: it is certainly used to refer to young cholas, but the word is charged with a romantic notion of beauty, simplicity and some sort of Indian purity. Several highland cities even have a beauty contest for cholitas. The *Cholita Paceña* Beauty Contest is well known in the country and regarded as an important event. The contest features young participants who wear the full traditional garments like the multi-layered skirts, embroidered blouses, and the distinctive hat. Although symbolically connected to the rural areas and to the Andean culture as a whole, this event shows the urban face of those Aymara who are at the top of the socio-economic ladder. The sponsors –and some participants' relatives to certain extent– are middle and upper class urban Aymara who made some wealth mainly through large scale business in commerce and transportation.

Since Evo Morales took office in January 2006, many cultural manifestations belonging to the indigenous world are being practiced and held with pride in such ways that defy the long established dominant categories of race and class. Things might change in the future and it is possible that a few years from now we will witness a new social order where the categories indio/india, cholo/chola will acquire a more generalized positive dimension. It will be fascinating to record and analyze those changes if/when the time comes.

Labels of Self-Identification

Knowing which are the words that people choose to refer to themselves is a basic tool to understand processes of identity formation in multi-ethnic, rapidly growing areas. Individuals were asked: "Which of the following words do you identify yourself with?" and were given several options from which they could pick all the ones that applied, with no restrictions.[14] Table 6-26 shows the frequency of words selected by the respondents. Twenty-seven individuals (33% of the sample) picked only one word, whereas the remaining 56 respondents (67 percent) picked at least two words, colla/Quechua being the most common two-word combination, selected 20 times.

Table 6-26. Words picked for self-identification

Label	Frequency
1. colla	44
2. campesino	26
3. Quechua	23
4. agricultor	20
5. mestizo	13
6. other	9
7. camba	7
8. indio	6
9. colono/colonizador	5

The single most common word was colla, mentioned by 44 individuals, and followed by campesino, mentioned 26 times. The third most preferred term was Quechua, mentioned 23 times. And the fourth most preferred was agricultor, mentioned 20 times. Several interpretations emerge from these numbers. On one hand, there is a strong colla identity that is remarkably visible. On the other hand, the words campesino (26x) and agricultor (20x) compete with Quechua (23x) in the sense that both are neutralizing words, socio-economic categories, whereas Quechua is clearly an ethnicity indicator.

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[14] Therefore, the sum of all frequencies does not equal 83, the number of individuals in my sample.

In spite of being part of an economic system based on capitalist agricultural production, migrants still retain some ethnic/regional indicators as part of their identity. However, most of them feel more colla (regional indicator) than Quechua (ethnic indicator), something that is corroborated by the weak practice of the ethnic traits discussed in the previous section. The next option was mestizo, chosen by 13 individuals, of which 3 were cambas. Nine individuals chose words that were not listed. These words were: Bolivian (2 individuals), Indio/a (2 individuals) and the next five mentioned by 5 persons each: *comerciante guaraya* "guaraya business woman," *vecino* "neighbor," cholo, and cruceño.

Insulting Words

Given the current tensions between cambas and collas, asking about insulting words was certainly a sensitive issue. As a matter of fact, 34 individuals (40% of the sample) did not want to say anything or simply answered that there were no insulting words. As I mentioned before, people in general were hesitant to participate in my study either because they would associate me with the Morales government or with the US government. A few of those who did not answer even asked me: "Why are you asking these questions?" "Do you want to create animosities between cambas and collas?" And they would add: "We need to live in peace and not be stirring things up." It was unquestionably a difficult task at hand, but it revealed a subtle level of human interactions in Cuatro Cañadas.

Like with the question on self-identity terms, respondents could pick more than one word. Table 6-27 summarizes these findings. 18 individuals chose the word "colla" and half of them added: "when said by a camba," which confirms in the ground that this word becomes politically-charged when used by outside members. The same applies to cambas in my sample: two of them chose "camba" as an offensive word, but also added: "when said by a colla." Of the remaining 9 cambas in the sample, six said no offensive words (or did not answer), and three

said "dork," "hey," "India," and "Guarayo.[15]" Under the category of "other" respondents

answered: "carajo," "mierda," "son of a bitch," "faggot," "negra," "ugly Indian," "ignorant,"

"potato-eater," and "chuño-eater." The last two are a direct reference to collas, as potato and

chuño[16] are traditional products from the Andes.

Table 6-27. Frequency of insulting words

Label	Frequency
1. no answer/no insulting words	34
2. other	21
3. colla	18
4. indio	14
5. cholo	9
6. camba	2

When comparing the two tables (self-identification and insulting words), the most

relevant aspect is that the words colla and indio are used as self-praising labels by some

respondents (44x and 6x, respectively), but are considered by others to be insulting words (18x

and 14x, respectively). This reveals a fascinating intricacy: identity is constructed and negotiated

and people are border crossers when it comes to defining good word and bad words. In

particular, I consider the word indio to be more politically-charged than colla, and as such it was

surprising to find out that six individuals reported themselves to be indios. If I had conducted this

fieldwork in the year 2000, I would have probably gotten a lower number. As I mentioned

several times already, I believe that since Morales took office in 2006 there is a new atmosphere

of indigenous pride that is certainly being visible nowadays in Bolivia.

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[15] Guarayos are one of four indigenous groups who inhabit the department of Santa Cruz. In the city of Santa Cruz, I heard a few times city cambas calling rural cambas *guarayos* in a derogative way. If "colla" is the chosen word for lowlanders who want to insult or make fun of highlanders, "guarayo" is the chosen word to insult or make fun of indigenous, rural lowlanders.

[16] Sun-dried and hail-frozen potato. A common food produced at 4,000 meters or more above sea level

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSIONS

The Impact of Migration on Language Use, Cultural Practices and Marriage Patterns

This research looked at how internal migration in Bolivia modifies the cultural and linguistic universe, as well as marriage patterns of Quechua speaking peasants who settle down in areas of agricultural expansion in the country's lowlands. The first waves of contemporary highland-to-lowland migration in Bolivia started in the 1950s and since then growing numbers of highlanders have continued to populate this region that today houses double the Bolivian population that it did fifty years ago (Albó 1999; Urquiola 1999). Although lowland urban centers are rapidly filling up, rural-to-rural migration is an emerging paradigm that deserves much attention, as global forces are pushing for new capitalist developments in many rural areas (Kearney 2004). This is such a steady phenomenon that today almost one fourth of the department of Santa Cruz is of highland or colla origin, with 17% of its population specifically having Quechua background.

As part of this process, migrants develop adaptive strategies that in some cases indicate certain levels of acculturation whereas in others have to do with the retention of certain ethnic or traditional traits. The location where these changes and adaptations were observed and analyzed was the municipality of Cuatro Cañadas, an industrial agricultural settlement 50 miles east of the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, whose population is 90% composed by collas or highlanders. The following research questions guided the main analysis of this study:

- RQ1.   In spite of having settled in the lowlands, highland migrants continue to communicate in Quechua among themselves and with their children

- RQ2.   In spite of having settled in the lowlands, highland migrants continue to practice a set of traditions that are distinctive of Quechua culture

- RQ3.   Highland migrants in the lowlands seek inter-ethnic marriages with lowlanders as a means of easing the process of adaptation to the new place

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Linguistic Behavior

> The vast majority of school kids in Cuatro Cañadas have parents who were born in the highlands and valleys, therefore their *colla* inheritance pretty much lives with them everyday inside their households. And yet, most of them seem to reject their highland culture. On occasions –in the middle of a soccer game or just hanging out on the streets– I would hear one kid telling another: *¡Oí, no seás colla, pué!* "Hey man, don't be a colla!" when disapproving something he did, even jokingly. Being a *colla*, therefore, is something bad, something you should be embarrassed about. It is reminder that although you made it to the lowlands, you are a highlander anyway. Interestingly enough, one afternoon one boy fired back: *¡Y vos no seas guarayo pué!* "And you don't be a guarayo." Then, the subtle message was: "Ok, you look like a camba, like a lowlander, but you are an indigenous person, you are a *guarayo* camba, not a fully accepted individual in this lowland society." And of course: all this interaction was in Spanish; none of the children said a single word in Quechua [Field notes 2006].

Many aspects of the construction of ethnic identity in Cuatro Cañadas are mediated by linguistic choice. Most of these children do not speak Quechua among themselves and only a few do it at home with their parents; and in those cases most of them reply in Spanish. A camba style, a camba accent and a camba worldview are entrenched in the life of these children in Cuatro Cañadas. They do not struggle as much as their parents in the construction of their ethnicity. In opposition to what happens in San Lucas, school instruction and curricula in Cuatro Cañadas is entirely in Spanish, from first grade to twelfth grade. It is very infrequent that newly arrived children experience difficulties in speaking Spanish, as most of them were born in this municipality and their exposure to Spanish occurred very early. Also, the pressure these children receive from peers at school is such that their parents' native language fades away in favor of Spanish fairly quickly. Therefore, children and adolescents in Cuatro Cañadas make a conscious effort to be cambas, to act like cambas, to talk like cambas.

Regarding intergenerational communication, 42% of parents interviewed said they talk to their children in Quechua, either occasionally or frequently. However, none of them reported being talked back to in Quechua by their children. Also, 83% of individuals interviewed believe their children should grow up speak Quechua, a high number that contradicts with the 42% of

parents who talk to their children in Quechua. On one hand, this means that parents are not aware of the power they have in promoting a healthy bilingual environment for their children; and on the other hand, it also shows the struggles that parents go through in their own process of adaptation to lowland culture. If they felt linguistically discriminated against for being Quechua-speakers, it is understandable that they do not encourage their children to speak Quechua, so they do not have to go through the same situation.

All in all, Quechua-Spanish bilingualism is more stable in adults than in children, as 76% of respondents said to have a good-to-excellent level of speaking and understanding Quechua in Cuatro Cañadas. However, my observations of linguistic behavior in adult population indicated that in spite of having more linguistic resources than children, adults in Cuatro Cañadas exhibit a marked preference for Spanish in daily interaction. They, however, show dialectical differences: out of all the highland migrants that I interviewed, about half of them spoke like cambas, with camba Spanish accent and using several camba slang words; but the other half maintained their colla Spanish linguistic repertoire pretty intact.

What seems to be compromised is spontaneous Quechua speech: only 25% of respondents reported to curse in Quechua, compared to 76% who said to speak good-to-excellent Quechua. This situation considerably contrasts with that of San Lucas, where Quechua represents the comfort zone for both men and women, whereas Spanish, as intimidating as it is, represents prestige, something that anybody is willing to be accounted for.

Maintenance of Ethnic Traits

Four concrete beliefs and practices characteristic of Andean communities were selected as indicators of Quechua mode of life: *kharisiri, mink'a, Pachamama,* and *utacht'api.* Measuring and analyzing the continuity or abandonment of such practices and beliefs was a crucial component of this research. Compared to their behavior back in their highland communities,

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migrants reported to practice 68% less of the selected ethnic traits in Cuatro Cañadas. In a scale

of 4.0, migrants scored an average of 0.78 practices per individual in the lowlands, compared to

an average score of 2.47 practices per individual in their home communities. Migrants are

substantially reducing these practices after having settled in the lowlands.[1]

The least compromised practice/belief is offerings to *Pachamama* (see Table 7-1).

Practically half the inhabitants of Cuatro Cañadas (47 percent) still hold this practice. However, I

expected a higher number of people making offers to *Pachamama*, which is a widely spread

belief in the Andean world that has even penetrated urban areas and different socio-economic

levels. A good example of this is that even some cambas in Cuatro Cañadas responded to have

adopted this practice. The religious conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism is partially

responsible for this shift, as only 18% of the population is Protestant in 4C. It is well known that

Protestantism bans the worship of deities other than God and Jesus Christ. All in all, it is the least

reduced practice compared to the other three.

Table 7-1. Combined respondents' negative practice of all four ethnic traits

	Percentages
kharisiri	89%
utacht'api	87%
mink'a	70%
Pachamama	53%

The other three practices are severely compromised: 89% of respondents do not believe

in *kharisiri,* 87% do not practice *utacht'api,* and 70% do not practice *mink'a* in the lowlands. It

certainly looks like people do not believe in the *kharisiri* in Cuatro Cañadas, and there are some

reasons behind this. On a symbolic level, we do not have to forget that in many Andean

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[1] Note that the index of their practices back in the highlands is not very high either (2.47). This means that even before migrating, some had already stopped some of these practices.

communities, the *kharisiri* is the white man, the priest, or even the visiting anthropologist: "…the myth of the pishtaco [*kharisiri*] is instrumental, not merely reflective: this "institution of fear" maintained the social distance between Indians and whites, and united the Indian community in the face of the mestizo threat" (Oliver-Smith 1969: 363).

For rural dwellers, living in the Andes entails a constant negotiation with this "institution of fear," as the presence or at least the notion of the white or mestizo is a constant reminder of oppression and inequality. In the lowlands this fear is somehow diluted and stories of *kharisiri* simply fade away, as they are now replaced by stories of *maleantes*, or common criminals who rob and attack people. Thus, migrants in 4C go from a symbolic to a practical level with regards to the existence of the *kharisiri*.

The last two practices (*utacht'api* and *mink'a*) are also significantly reduced, and rather than purely cultural reasons, there are also some fundamentally economic factors igniting this change. Both activities are important custodians of the reciprocity levels of any given Andean rural community. Most of the time participation in these practices is voluntary, but sometimes it can be regulated by the community. In those cases, particularly doing *mink'a* can be a burden on the household. Many respondents told me only the rich ones did *mink'a* and *utacht'api* back in their communities and excused themselves from not doing it in 4C, precisely because of the same reason: lack of money to pay for the food and alcohol needed for the celebration. Once in Cuatro Cañadas, many migrants might feel free from somewhat rigid Andean community regulations, like these practices. They might also feel free from the mandatory rotation of authority posts or *cargos,* but in order to affirm such a thing, further exploration and analysis are needed.

What I can affirm, nonetheless, is that there are some evident signs of acculturation in migrants settled in Cuatro Cañadas. Interestingly enough, these very signs are at the same time

survival strategies that help them better adapt to a new environment that is dominated by industrial agriculture. More individualistic behavior might be required to survive in an area characterized by capitalist expansion.

Inter-Ethnic Marriages

Andean kinship systems are basically endogamous, but exogamous and intra-community marriage alliances are not rare as they provide individuals access to diverse ecological niches (Mamani and Albó 1976). When migrant collas marry cambas in the lowlands, they might gain access to other resources, not necessarily ecological but resources such as the expansion of human capital networks and social acceptance by the local group (Bolton and Mayer 1975; Stearman 1985; Mayer 2002). Based on these postulates, I expected a higher number of inter-ethnic marriages in Cuatro Cañadas, but the primary and secondary data I gathered showed rather a low proportion. Of a total of 58 couples in my sample, only 8 couples (14 percent) corresponded to camba/colla, colla/camba marriages.[2] This percentage is almost exactly the same as the 14.5 average percent of interethnic civil marriage records that I collected at the Civil Registry Office of Cuatro Cañadas. With 76% of colla/colla marriages, these results show that highland migrants do not exhibit a marked preference to marry lowlanders. As seen throughout this research, collas in Cuatro Cañadas are substantially modifying some areas of cultural domain: they are reducing their traditional linguistic behavior and the practice of specific cultural traditions, but their alliance patterns are still somewhat conservative.

A relevant finding that emerges from these data is that the pattern colla man/camba woman prevails among inter-ethnic marriages. Of all the camba/colla marriages in my sample, 62% corresponded to the colla man/camba woman category. By the same token, of all the

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[2] 76 percent are colla-colla marriages, and 10% are camba-camba marriages

camba/colla marriages observed at the Civil Registry, 85.5% corresponded to the same category. These results corroborate with a basic characteristic of highland-to-lowland migration: It is men who migrate more than women. In order to arrive at this conclusion, we depart from a basic assumption: colla spouses in inter-ethnic marriages were single when they arrived in Cuatro Cañadas. It is simply not common for single highland women to venture and find a life of their own in agricultural settlements, as it is to move to urban centers where they work as maids and where they can settle down and marry (Albó 1999; Brettell 1986; Golte 2001; Skar 1993). Something that supports this known migratory behavior is that six out of the seven single female collas that I interviewed were 18 to 26 years old, and all of them arrived in Cuatro Cañadas with their parents.

Finally, the expectations that single migrants have regarding their future partners do not correspond with the actual marriage pattern practiced by migrants. Fifty percent of the single respondents in my questionnaire said that they would rather marry a colla (much less than the existing rate of 76% of same-ethnicity marriage), and a solid 38% of them said they were open to marry anybody. These results indicate that future generations might not be too attached to cultural norms about kinship alliances, but also show that a process of acculturation in this region will increase in various aspects as new generations come into play. Stearman (1985) found that second generation migrants in lowland colonies engaged in interethnic marriages with cambas as a way to ease their process of adaptation. After 30 years, I found that 76% of married collas are in same-ethnicity marriages, and that 50 percents of single collas would like to marry a colla. Migrants to Cuatro Cañadas seem to be rather traditional regarding alliance patterns and the reason for this remains unknown to me. Maybe after many years of accumulating a vast

migratory experience as a group, today they do not need to rely on inter-ethnic marriage as a means of easing their adaptation to the lowlands.

Redefining Ethnic Identity in Areas of Rapid Growth and Cultural Contact

In general terms, it is safe to conclude that highland migrants in Cuatro Cañadas have a lesser degree of "Quechuaness" compared to the lives they had when they lived in the highlands. Also, most of them feel more colla (regional indicator) than Quechua (ethnic indicator), something that was corroborated by the weak practice of ethnic traits. Therefore, there is a noticeable process of acculturation going on. But, to what extent can we affirm that their identity has totally changed from one stage to another? And to what extent do we know that those who keep certain practices alive in the new places are maybe constructing "imagined homelands" (Appadurai 2003), inventing or readapting what they think represents best their original culture?

Given that identity is so malleable, it is impossible to say that it is rooted only in one community, or in one exclusive place. "Identity is not owned by individual or collective social actors. It is, instead, a mobile, often unstable relation of difference" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:13). Identity is also "activated" and "negotiated" and presented in different formats. It is so malleable in the sense that the same word that an individual uses to identify and praise himself or herself can be offensive when used by another person, as we have seen in the case of the words indio/a and cholo/a in Cuatro Cañadas.

Migrants in Cuatro Cañadas decide to speak and behave in certain ways depending on which ethnic identity they want to activate. The same individual that says he/she is colla to a certain audience can say he/she is camba to another group of people. When that happens, it is also part of a negotiation but most importantly it reflects the existence of hybridity and border crossings. In addition to hybridity, individuals also reflect an ambiguous identity, and finding it is at the very core of anthropological research: at a conscious level, people can be very vocal and

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talk about the things they do, but at a subconscious level people reveal a hidden behavior, which reflects what they really do. This situation is visible, for example, when individuals report the importance of their children growing up as Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, but at the same time do not play a more active role towards that end, as they do not speak Quechua to their children in more consistent ways. At a symbolic level, thus, migrants become hidden people who cross borders with hidden and ambiguous identities.

Frederick Barth strongly states that the manifestations and the corresponding boundaries of an ethnic group "persist despite a flow of personnel across them" (1969). However, 30 years after Barth's classic model of ethnic boundaries new approaches have arisen where fuzzy and complex forms are emerging demanding a constant reassessing and restructuring of personal, political, social, cultural, and economic identification (Kershen 1998). The encounters between cambas and collas constitute a perfect example of this, something that has also been observed by local scholars (Chávez et al. 1995; Albó 1999; Urquiola 1999; Albó 2004). At a transnational level, these fuzzy forms are expressed by an emerging postcolonial culture of *hybridity* characterized by people living in cultural and national borders, refugees and displaced peoples, migrants, and workers who define their identity in a hybrid and syncretic way (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). At a local level in Bolivia, I predict that cambas and collas will continue delineating innovative scenarios of cultural and linguistic encounters that will be characterized by higher levels of hybridity.

Contributions to the Discipline of Anthropology

Early in this dissertation, I wrote that the final aim (conscious or unconscious) that individuals have in their minds when they adapt to a new place is ultimately *to own it*, or to naturally be part of it. All the concepts and methods developed within the anthropology of

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migration have been designed to explain this process of appropriation. However, population

movements have become so complex, that today many believe that theories such as

acculturation, assimilation, and ethnic retention are juxtaposed with globalization and

transnational behaviors characterized by endless journeys between home and host countries,

leaving no time for real social adjustment (Appadurai 2003). Therefore, for transnational

migrants, this paradigm of owning a place is not always achieved. The question then is: to what

extent is internal migration in developing economies influenced by these global dynamics? In

other words, are local migrants exposed to the same levels (or at least situations) of hybridity and

placelessness than international migrants? Through this research, I argue that the answer is yes.

My findings indicate that migrants in Cuatro Cañadas are reducing their traditional

linguistic behavior and the practice of specific cultural traditions, but their alliance patterns are

still somewhat conservative. There is a clear process of acculturation, but at the same time these

findings show that migrants do not fully *own* Cuatro Cañadas: they are trapped between

traditional, modern and globalizing codes, and just embrace the hybrid nature of their identities,

just like I did when I conducted my fieldwork in San Lucas and in Cuatro Cañadas. At times I

was more "native," more of an insider, more Bolivian; but at others I was more of an outsider

and more disassociated from the cultural and physical realities I observed.

This research does not propose a new theory of migration. Its main contribution to

anthropology is that those existing models of migration, heavily influenced by globalization and

hybridity, can also be applied to internal migrants, as they also go through similar ambiguities

experienced by transnational migrants, only that at different intensities. Finally, hybrid identities

are not only found in those whose behavior we observe and try to understand; hybridity is also

part of the researcher and as such, should be incorporated into the field of anthropology of

migration. Enacting our hybrid identity as anthropologists brings us to closer positions in the search to understand variation in human behavior.

Contributions to Andean Studies

Part of the theoretical framework of this research is sustained by classic theories developed within the field of Andean studies. My observations and findings confirm the validity of some of these postulates, but also suggest that some others should be revisited. In general terms, market performance and transition to capitalism is a recurrent and persistent concept (Lagos 1994; Chávez et al. 1995; Mayer 2002, to mention a few). Collas who stay in the highlands and those who settle in the lowlands know how to function in the market and how to adapt to its fluctuations. The agro-industrial capitalist system that prevails in Cuatro Cañadas demands, however, extra entrepreneurial abilities, a situation to which migrants have responded well, but with a high cost:

> It is not surprising that a strict commercial orientation and the "penetration of impersonal market forces [contribute to] dissolve away the fundamental values that underwrote the sociocultural configuration of Andean communities (Mayer 2002: 136).

A postulate that should be revisited is the notion of community values and orientation. Golte (2001) have already warned us about romantizing a system that can ultimately be a burden on the individual and the household. But most importantly, informants in both San Lucas and Cuatro Cañadas have expressed to me their concerns about community regulations like *pasar cargo* and *mink'a* celebrations, which can be subconscious reasons to break up with the community. In particular, *pasar cargo* is probably the maximum representation of communitarian life in the Andes, but at the same time might be the most contested institution by individual members of the community. External circumstances are not the only factors that cause community disintegration; internal factors such as the above mentioned should be incorporated in a more cohesive understanding of cultural change in Andean studies.

Native languages continue to be strong ethnic determinants that define cultural belonging more often and more clearly than race and other specific cultural practices (Myers 1973; Albó 1997). And precisely because language can be the primary distinguishing feature of highland rural culture, it is the most susceptible indicator to change, and also the most easily to hide, which is what happens with Quechua in its contact with Spanish in Cuatro Cañadas. Regardless of migration patterns and specificities of language use in lowland colonies, at a national level the persistence of Quechua is admirable: If in 1950 36.5% of the population were counted as Quechua-speaking people, in1992 that number had only slightly dropped to 34.3% (Albó 1999). This linguistic strength is very unique to Bolivia and should be noted by any scholar doing research in Andean studies.

Contributions to Migrant Communities and Development Practitioners

While the findings of this research are specific to the reality of Cuatro Cañadas, it is possible to extrapolate the application of most of them to other migrant lowland settlements in Bolivia and to broader issues of rural development. These are the main contributions to migrant communities and development agents:

This research did not look at the reasons to migrate as much as it looked at the consequences of migration. Giving the nature of my findings, development agents and policy makers should take note of the fact that economic motivators of change intermingle with cultural ones in creating mechanisms of adaptations. I consider this aspect to be a new contribution, as many projects about internal migration in Bolivia focus only on the economic factors and consequences of migration.

In Bolivia there are more bilinguals whose native language is not Spanish than the other way around, as monolingual Spanish speakers do not need to communicate in indigenous languages like native speakers do using Spanish. The high numbers of Quechua speakers in the

country and the indigenous pride propelled by the Morales administration indicate a propitious scenario for the survival of indigenous languages, but more needs to be done. Launching literacy campaigns in native languages could be a successful action to convert the still current subordinated bilingualism into an expansive or stable one.

There are many forces at work that delineate the actual cultural landscape of Cuatro Cañadas. I cannot think of any "prescription" aimed at maintaining or rescuing the cultural practices that were analyzed in this study. Migrants themselves decide what fits them well. This non-prescriptivist approach is to me a contribution in itself. Nevertheless, as I mentioned in the previous paragraph, supporting programs on expansive bilingualism is somehow different: people who speak a native language and know that their language is respected by the broader society, can easily feel empowered, and empowerment can lead to a greater social change.

Finally, in an strictly economic and environmental sense, here I quote one of Alvarez' most important arguments with regards to a better model of development for the region:

> The current *cruceño* model of development based on soybean agro-industrial production is not sustainable. It depends on foreign capital that nowadays is the main factor responsible for degradation of tropical rainforests. Having several dispersed small producers is not the solution either. It is important to foster cooperative production among small farmers, who should also diversify their production, in such a way that they could minimize their operating costs but also secure a food supply for themselves and for national consumption (Alvarez 2005: 8).

Some Recommended Paths for Future Academic Work

This research has shown us that through migration, people transport behaviors (Brettell 2003), and through language people transport ideas. Are we, 700 years later, witnessing thousands and thousands of contemporary Quechua and Aymara peasants moving to the tropics re-practicing the access to different eco-zones as learned from their ancestors? If back then ethnic groups in the Andes specialized in exploiting as many ecological niches as they could, is

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this telling us that highlanders have the knowledge to manage lowland environments?

Linguistically speaking, how intense was the contact between Jaqi and Quechua languages with

Arawak languages in the Eastern Andes? Skar seems to be similarly intrigued by a possible

theory that considers internal migration in the Andes as a contemporary version of the verticality

model suggested by Murra:

> To ethno-historians it has come as a surprise to learn that the word *mitmaqkuna* is currently used in Matapuquio to designate that part of the village population which is outside the village in Lima or in the montaña area of Chanchamayo. Despite the impact John Murra's work has had on anthropologists working in the region, to my knowledge migrants have never been referred to as *mitmaqkuna* in the literature on contemporary Andean migration. Thus, up to the present, I have no comparative ethnographic illustrations of how this concept is used today in other locations or contexts. For example, my Quechua teacher from Ayacucho did not know the term except for its historical meaning of resettled peoples during the reign of the Inca (Skar 1993:23).

These are only a few of the many questions that I consider important to address in future

research, as they can shed more lights on the intriguing and long-lasting links between highlands

and lowlands in the central Andean countries.

APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MIGRANTS IN CUATRO CAÑADAS

Main Questionnaire For Quechua Colonizers Who Live in the Municipality of Cuatro Cañadas, Department of Santa Cruz

1. How old are you?

2. Sex:

3. Where were you born?

4. Which of the following words do you identify yourself with? Please, mark all that apply.
    a. Indio/a
    b. Campesino/a
    c. Quechua
    d. Colla
    e. Mestizo/a
    f. Agricultor/a
    g. Colono/a
    h. Other (Please specify)

5. What level of education have you completed?
    a. Elementary school
    b. Middle school
    c. High school
    d. College

6. What is your religion?

7. How long have you been living in this settlement?
    a. More than 15 years
    b. Between 5 and 15 years
    c. Between 1 and 5 years
    d. Less than 1 year

8. Why did you come here?

9. Did you live in another lowland colony before coming here? If so, where and for how long?

10. Are you single?

11. Have you practiced *watanaki* o *sirvanakuy* before getting married?

12. Are you married or living in a common-law union? If yes, please indicate if your spouse or partner is: (mark all that apply)
  a. Quechua speaker
  b. Spanish speaker
  c. Quechua-Spanish bilingual
  d. colla
  e. camba

13. If you are single and would like to get married some day, would you rather marry a camba or a colla? Why?

14. Do you have children? How many?

15. Where were you children born?

16. What did you do for a living before coming here?

17. What do you do for a living now?

18. Are you happy with what you do here?

19. Your ability to speak and understand Spanish is:
  a. Excellent
  b. Very good
  c. Good
  d. Fair
  e. Poor

20. Your ability to read and write in Spanish is:
  a. Excellent
  b. Very good
  c. Good
  d. Fair
  e. Poor

21. Your ability to speak and understand Quechua is:
  a. Excellent
  b. Very good
  c. Good
  d. Fair
  e. Poor

22. Your ability to read and write in Quechua is:
   a. Excellent
   b. Very good
   c. Good
   d. Fair
   e. Poor

23. If you accidentally hurt yourself while hammering a nail, which language would you curse in?
   a. Spanish
   b. Quechua

24. Do you talk to your children in Quechua?
   a. All the time
   b. Most of the time
   c. Rarely
   d. Never

25. Do you hear your children talking in Quechua with their peers at school?

26. Do you think your children should grow up speaking Quechua? Why?

27. Do you plan to stay here for good? Why?

28. Do you need to go back to your highland community? Why? For how long?

29. Do you still have land in your highland community? How many hectares? Who takes care of your land there?

30. Have you heard of the *kharisiri*?
   In your highland community? Yes _____ No _____
   Here in Cuatro Cañadas? Yes _____ No _____

31. Have you practiced/Do you practice *mink'a* or *faena*?
   In your highland community? Yes _____ No _____
   Here in Cuatro Cañadas? Yes _____ No _____

32. Have you practiced/Do you practice *Pachamama* offerings?
   In your highland community? Yes _____ No _____
   Here in Cuatro Cañadas? Yes _____ No _____

33. Have you practiced/Do you practice *utacht'api*?
   In your highland community? Yes _____ No _____
   Here in Cuatro Cañadas? Yes _____ No _____

34. What type of roof did your house have in the highlands?

35. What type of roof does your house have here in the lowlands?

36. Have you performed *rutucha* to your children? If not, will you do it in the future?

37. Do people ever insult you here? If so, which are the words they use when they do it?

THANKS FOR YOUR TIME

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Leonardo Martínez-Acchini was born in La Paz, Bolivia. In 1996, he received a bachelor's degree in Cultural Anthropology from the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, Bolivia. His BA thesis was on festive alcohol consumption and identity formation in the valley of Camargo, Bolivia. After graduating, Leonardo worked as a visual anthropologist and soon after as a practitioner and consultant in the field of community forestry in the lowlands of his home country. In 2001, he earned a master's degree in anthropology with concentration in interdisciplinary ecology from the University of Florida. His MA paper assessed the social feasibility of a community forestry project in the highlands of Guatemala. In 2009, Leonardo earned a PhD in anthropology with concentration in Tropical Conservation and Development and a certificate in Latin American studies.