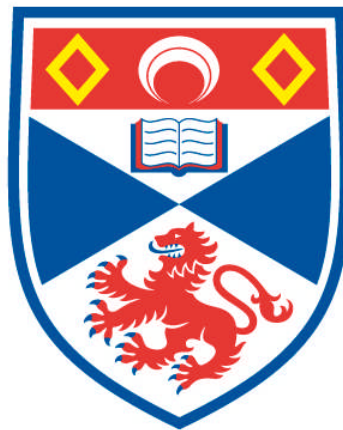


THE PATH TO ETHNOGENESIS AND AUTONOMY: KALLWAYA- CONSCIOUSNESS IN PLURINATIONAL BOLIVIA

Jonathan Alderman

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2016

**Full metadata for this item is available in
Research@StAndrews:FullText
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/8600>

This item is protected by original copyright

**This item is licensed under a
Creative Commons Licence**

The Path to Ethnogenesis and Autonomy: *Kallawaya*-
consciousness in Plurinational Bolivia

Jonathan Alderman

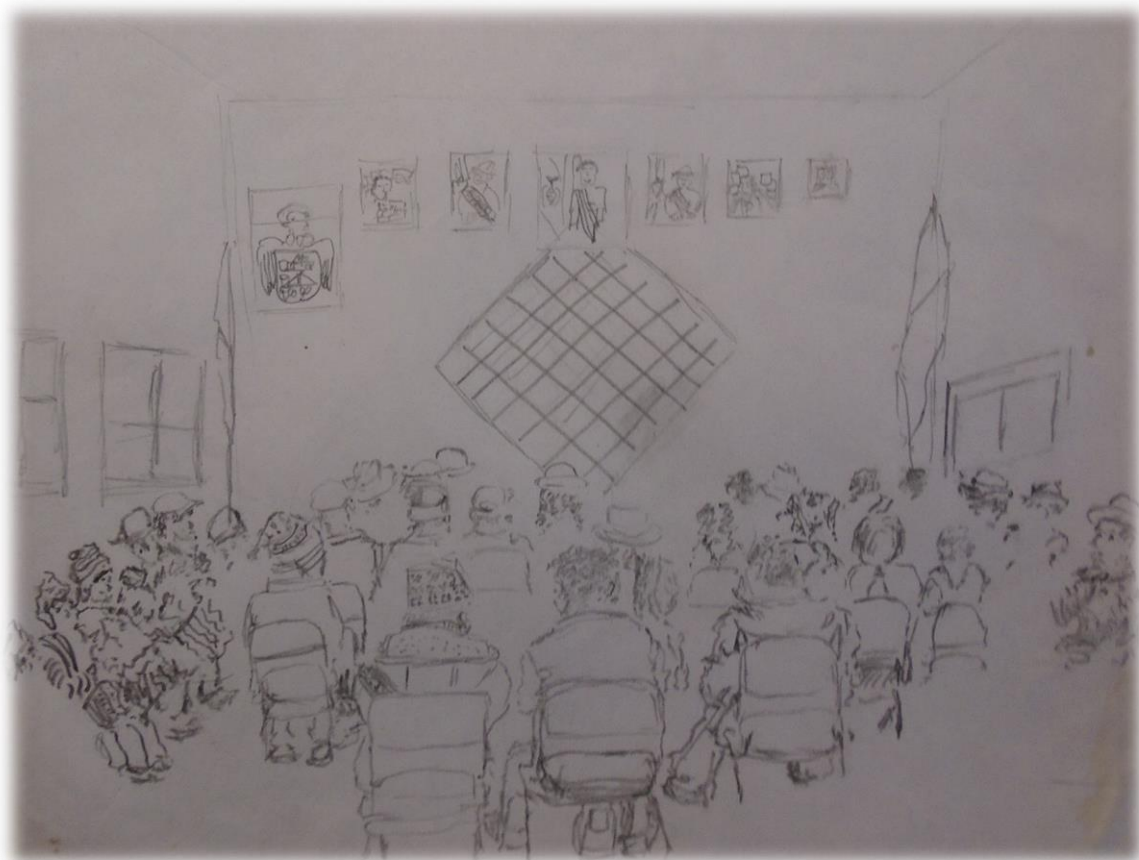


University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

2016

The Path to Ethnogenesis and Autonomy: *Kallawaya*-consciousness in Plurinational Bolivia



Kallawaya Autonomy Assembly meeting 24th March 2012

Declarations

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, ...Jonathan Alderman..., hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately ...80,000.. words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of phd Social Anthropology..... in Octpber 2010; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2010 and 2015.

(If you received assistance in writing from anyone other than your supervisor/s):

I,, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of [language, grammar, spelling or syntax], which was provided by

Date signature of candidate

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of ...Social Anthropology..... in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 28/10/2015... signature of supervisor

3. Permission for publication: *(to be signed by both candidate and supervisor)*

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

PRINTED COPY

- a) **No embargo on print copy**
- b) Embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):
 - Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University
 - Publication would preclude future publication
 - Publication would be in breach of laws or ethics
- c) Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).

Supporting statement for printed embargo request:

ELECTRONIC COPY

- a) **No embargo on electronic copy**
- b) Embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (maximum five) on the following ground(s):
 - Publication would be commercially damaging to the researcher, or to the supervisor, or the University
 - Publication would preclude future publication
 - Publication would be in breach of law or ethics
- c) Permanent or longer term embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of ... years (the request will be referred to the Pro-Provost and permission will be granted only in exceptional circumstances).

Supporting statement for electronic embargo request:

Date ...28/10/2015... signature of candidate ... signature of supervisor

Please note initial embargos can be requested for a maximum of five years. An embargo on a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Science or Medicine is rarely granted for more than two years in the first instance, without good justification. The Library will not lift an embargo before confirming with the student and supervisor that they do not intend to request a continuation. In the absence of an agreed response from both student and supervisor, the Head of School will be consulted. Please note that the total period of an embargo, including any continuation, is not expected to exceed ten years.

Where part of a thesis is to be embargoed, please specify the part and the reason.

Abstract

The Path to Ethnogenesis and Autonomy: *Kallawaya*-consciousness in Plurinational Bolivia

This thesis examines the construction of ethnic identity, autonomy and indigenous citizenship in plurinational Bolivia. In 2009, the Kallawayas, an Andean indigenous nation, took advantage of legislation in Bolivia's new constitution to begin a process of legally constituting themselves as autonomous from the state. The objective of Indigenous Autonomy in the constitution is to allow indigenous nations and peoples to govern themselves according to their conceptions of 'Living Well'. Living well, for the Kallawayas is understood in terms of what it means to be *runa*, a person living in the *ayllu* (the traditional Andean community). The Kallawayas are noted as healers, and sickness and health is understood as related to the maintenance of a ritual relationship of reciprocity with others in the *ayllu*, both living humans and ancestors, remembered in the landscape. Joint ritual relations with the landscape play an important role in joining disparate Kallawaya *ayllus* with distinct traditions and languages (Aymara, Quechua and the Kallawaya language Macha Jujay are spoken) together as an ethnic group. However, Kallawaya politics has followed the trajectory of national peasant politics in recent decades of splitting into federations divided along class and ethnic lines. The joint ritual practices which traditionally connected the Kallawaya *ayllus* adapted to reflect this new situation of division between three sections of Kallawaya society. This has meant that the Kallawayas are attempting political autonomy as an ethnic group when they have never been more fractured. This thesis then examines the meaning of autonomy and the Good Life for a politically divided and ethnically diverse indigenous people.

Contents

Declarations	2
Abstract.....	4
Acknowledgements.....	9
List of Figures	11
List of Maps	12
1. Introduction	13
1.1 Introduction	13
1.2 Themes covered in this thesis.....	14
1.2.1 Ethnogenesis.....	14
1.2.2 Autonomy	16
1.2.3 Living Well.....	18
1.2.4 Ritual	21
1.3 The Kallawayas.....	22
1.4 Methodology.....	25
1.5 My approach to writing the thesis.....	33
1.6 Ethical matters	35
1.7 Themes this thesis does not address	35
1.8 The structure of the thesis.....	36
2. Towards the Plurinational State	40
2.1 Introduction	40
2.2 Part one.....	42
2.2.1 The state of 52': Agrarian reform and syndicalisation.....	42
2.2.2 Katarismo	44
2.2.3 Multicultural neoliberal reforms.....	47
2.2.4 The reconstitution of the <i>ayllus</i>	50
2.2.5 The Unity Pact.....	54
2.2.6 The Constituent Assembly and the New Constitution.....	55
2.2.7 Indigenous Autonomies	58
2.3. Part two.....	61
2.3.1 '¿Está jodido, no?' (It's fucked, isn't it?): The reconstitution of the Kallawayá <i>ayllus</i>	61
2.3.2 Returning to our <i>thakhi</i> (path).....	66
2.4 Conclusion.....	70
3. The Indigenous Autonomy of the Kallawayá Nation: Whose Autonomy is it Anyway?	72
3.1 Introduction	72

3.2 The writing of the autonomy statute.....	73
3.3 Debating the statute: inter-community power-struggles.....	74
3.4 Debates about Kallawaya identity in the context of the process of constructing an indigenous autonomy.....	83
3.5 Conclusion.....	90
4. The Ethnogenesis of the Kallawaya Nation	93
4.1 Introduction	93
4.2 The development of a multi-ethnic regional society	95
4.2.1 The pre-Incaic Kallawaya territory.....	95
4.2.2 Incorporation into the Inca Empire.....	100
4.2.3 The Spanish colonial period	104
4.2.4 The Republican era	112
4.3 Official Recognition of the Kallawayas.....	117
4.4 Conclusion.....	122
5. We wanted to be respected as <i>runa</i> : how the Kallawayas changed their social reality through education	125
5.1 Introduction	124
5.2 Compadrazgo	125
5.3 <i>Ayni Kusun</i> : A Revolutionary Education.....	132
5.4 The Law of Popular Participation.....	146
5.5 The election of the first indigenous alcalde of the municipality of Charazani	149
5.6 Conclusion.....	156
6. Living Well without the state: the Kallawaya economy of reciprocal exchange	159
6.1 Introduction	158
6.2 The household and the intra-community economy	161
6.3 <i>Ayni</i> through compadrazgo.....	165
6.4 Inter-community economic relations	166
6.5 Migration: The Kallawaya Nation in the <i>Trópico</i>	176
6.6 Julián	184
6.7 Conclusion.....	187
7. Living Well as Relatedness in the Kallawaya <i>ayllus</i> .	189
7.1 Introduction	189
7.2 The <i>achachilas</i>	191
7.3 The political organisation of the <i>achachilas</i>	192
7.4 The <i>watayuq</i> and the <i>watapurichiq</i> : the mountain for the year and the one who makes the year walk.....	199

7.5 'La sifilización'	203
7.6 Conclusion.....	209
8. Symbolic Relations with the state	211
8.1 Introduction	211
8.2 The anniversary of the province	213
8.3 The anniversary of the UNESCO declaration	222
8.4 The Kallawaya Patrimony.....	234
8.5 Conclusion.....	236
9. Conclusion	238
9.1 Kallawaya autonomy in the context of indigenous politics in Latin America	238
9.2 Indigenous consciousness, group identity, conflict and cooperation.....	240
9.3 Indigenous citizenship and the Plurinational State.....	242
9.4 Living Well	245
9.5 Concluding thoughts	246
Bibliography	248
Appendix 1	0
Interviews.....	0
Interview with Feliciano Patty: 3 rd June 2012	0
Interview with Alipio Cuila en La Paz: 12th November 2012.....	7
Interview with Feliciano Patty: 18th November 2012	14
Interview with Ramon Yujra: 20 th November 2012 (a)	16
Ramon Yujra: November 20 th 2012 (b)	17
Interview with Alipio Cuila: 7th December 2012	20
Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13 th December 2012	28
Interview with Leonardo Barrerra: 4 th January 2012.....	42
Interview with Stanislas Gillès: 27 th January 2013	48
Interview with Julian Vega: 3 rd February 2013	60
Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 4 th February 2013	68
Interview with Feliciano Patty: 19 th February 2013	71
Interview with Antonio Patty: 6th March 2013	77
Interview with Antonio Patty: 7th March 2013	79
Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 16th March 2013.....	82
Appendix 2	0
List of acronyms	0
Glossary.....	2

Chronology of the Autonomy Process 10

Ethics form 12

Acknowledgements

Probably all Ph.D research could be called collaborative, but a Social Anthropology thesis is doubly so. There are a multitude of people without whom this thesis would not have been written, and to do justice to their help would double the length of the thesis.

My acknowledgements in Bolivia start with the staff at the NGO Kawsay. I am grateful to the Director of Kawsay, Leonel Cerrutio for first suggesting to me that I consider conducting my research with the Kallawayas, and making the introductions which facilitated my research. I am also grateful for Rufino Diaz for his companionship throughout the autonomy meetings in Charazani, and who I wish luck with his own research, and Eugenia, who kindly hosted myself and Rufino in her house in Moyapampa when we were moving from community to community, attending the autonomy meetings.

I must thank a number of people in the Kallawayas region for making my research possible. There are three, firstly without whose permission the research would not have taken place there at all. I am grateful to Jose Mendoza, the deputy for the Kallawayas Nation in the Plurinational Assembly of La Paz, and Luis Paye, the Provincial Executive of the Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de la provincia Bautista Saavedra for giving me permission to conduct my research in the province of Bautista Saavedra with the Kallawayas, and to Rufino Quispe, the President of the Kallawayas Autonomy Assembly who allowed me to attend the Kallawayas autonomy meetings, and through which I met most of my informants, and which shaped the course of the rest of my fieldwork.

In the community of Amarete, I would like to thank the community in general for the allowing me to take part in festivals of Todos Santos, Christmas, Corpus Cristi, not to mention a wedding and a funeral, and who were on the whole extremely friendly and welcoming. In particular I must thank Victor and Maria Elena Tito and their family who allowed me to stay with them in their home with them and take part in their lives.

In the town of Charazani, I am grateful to many people for their friendliness towards me, but in particular must thank Willy Guaqui, and Marta Rodriguez, who both sublet me rooms in their homes for several months, Ginés Pasten for his time and patience in answering questions he had probably been asked many times before concerning local history, and Juan Apaza, Felix Quispe, Isaac Condori and their families for their friendship.

In Qullpani, ayllu Qotapampa, I must thank the entire community for their consistent warmth and friendship towards me, but particularly Natalio and Valerio Ojeda and their families, who I stayed with in Qotapampa. I shall never forget dancing chuta in carnival in Patamanta with Qullpani.

In Niñocorín, I must thank my *compadre* Feliciano Patty, who taught me so much about local history, and without whose insights this thesis would not have been written in the way that it did. I am also grateful for the friendship shown to me by his brother Antonio, in the community of Ñiquis, who was very welcoming towards me both when I visited with Feliciano and alone.

In Lunlaya, I must thank Aurelio Ortiz, who was always very open in answering whatever questions I posed concerning Kallawaya healing and culture in general.

In Khanlaya I am grateful to Orlando Alvarez for his friendliness and openness to share his time with me, and for his invitation to carnival.

In Carijana, I am grateful to the family of Nazario Mamani for their hospitality the several times that I visited.

In La Paz, I thank the founder of Ayni Kusun, Stanislas Gillès for his time in explaining to me his account of how the school was founded. I am grateful to Elise Gadea, Ricardo Calla and Julio Calla for their friendship and for hosting me in their houses on different occasions, as well as to Wilfredo Plata and Paulino Guarachi for allowing me to accompany them to several events organised or supported by the Fundacion Tierra, and likewise to Daniel Viadez of the Ministerio de Autonomias for similarly allowing me access to Ministry of Autonomies events and filling in some of the blanks for me concerning the programme of autonomies. I am particularly grateful to Wilfredo Plata for the continued intellectual exchanges which we have participated in regarding the autonomy processes. In Cochabamba I am grateful to Helga Cauthin Ayala and Isabel Triveño Lujan for their help in transcribing interviews.

In St Andrews there are also many people to thank. Firstly, my supervisors Dr. Mark Harris and Dr. Maggie Bolton, both of whom were very patient in reading with their time and gave thoughtful comments on drafts. Also Tristan Platt, who supervised my pre-fieldwork year, and who contributed greatly to my understanding of Andean ethnography.

I am also grateful to many fellow students in St Andrews (and elsewhere) for their input during the writing-up process. To Christopher Hewlett for providing stimulating discussion during one particular chapter, to fellow students in the writing-up seminar in St Andrews for providing comments on several chapters or parts of chapters which contributed to their evolution, and to those who proof-read chapters of the final version: Daria Vorobveya, Derek Oakley, Heid Jerstad, Hrileena Ghosh, James Swinnerton and Alexander Rogerson. My dad, Robert Alderman also assisted by reading and giving comments on many of my chapters.

I am extremely grateful to Joyce Lapeyre, the administrator of the university discretionary fund, my principal source of financial support since returning from fieldwork.

Lastly, but not least, I am grateful for the constant support, both emotional and occasionally financial, of my parents, Robert and Maureen Alderman, brother Robert William, and sister Susanne, whose encouragement to me to do what I am interested in and what makes me happy has been vital in enabling me to do the PhD.

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1: Kallawaya Autonomy Assembly meeting 24th March 2012 (drawing).</i>	1
<i>Figure 2: The anthropologist as seen through the eyes of his informants.</i>	32
<i>Figure 3: The valley of Charazani (drawing).</i>	33
<i>Figure 4: Autonomy meeting in Carijana 1st March 2012 (drawing).</i>	74
<i>Figure 5: Autonomy meeting in Kaata 3rd March 2012 (drawing).</i>	75
<i>Figure 6: Autonomy meeting in Chajaya 5th March 2012 (drawing)</i>	76
<i>Figure 7: Autonomy meeting in Inca Roca 6th March 2012 (drawing).</i>	77
<i>Figure 8: Recess during the autonomy meeting in Amarete 7th March 2012 (drawing).</i>	79
<i>Figure 9: Voting on the draft statute in Charazani 24th March 2012.</i>	80
<i>Figure 10: Rufino Quispe addressing the autonomy assembly meeting in Amarqha in June 2015. Alongside him are other members of the executive of the autonomy assembly.</i>	82
<i>Figure 11: Chatre being danced in Amarete during the Corpus Cristi festival.</i>	98
<i>Figure 12: A 'Puquina' pot and tupus.</i>	98
<i>Figure 13: 'Puquina' pots in Antonio's garden.</i>	99
<i>Figure 14: The Awki-Awki.</i>	108
<i>Figure 15: The statue of a Kallawaya in a plaza in the town of Charazani.</i>	111
<i>Figure 16: The view from Chullina towards where 'Jichawichin' would have been in 1888.</i>	116
<i>Figure 17: Feliciano and Kanawke.</i>	129
<i>Figure 18: The Ayni Kusun centre in Silic Playa.</i>	137
<i>Figure 19: An Ayni Kusun information leaflet.</i>	141
<i>Figure 20: An Ayni Kusun textbook.</i>	142
<i>Figure 21: Victor knitting his lluch'u, and Maria Elena weaving Victor's unku.</i>	163
<i>Figure 22: A Kallawaya ritualist making an offering of guinea pigs to the achachilas during a ceremony to mark the laying of the foundations of Victor and Maria Elena's house.</i>	164
<i>Figure 23: The Huancasaya market.</i>	169
<i>Figure 24: The Qotapampa players accepting 'ancestral' coca.</i>	172
<i>Figure 25: Carijana vs Qullpani.</i>	174
<i>Figure 26: Qullpani vs Carijana.</i>	175
<i>Figure 27: Laying out coca to dry.</i>	178
<i>Figure 28: Antonio making medicine.</i>	181
<i>Figure 29: Antonio and Julián performing a mesa blanca at the acullicu in La Paz (photo courtesy of Antonio Patty).</i>	183
<i>Figure 30: Hilarion speaking after being 'posesionado' as an ayllu authority.</i>	195
<i>Figure 31: Aurelio performing the mesa blanca.</i>	197
<i>Figure 32: The plates burning on the Kawiltu.</i>	198
<i>Figure 33: Vegetable vendors setting out their wares.</i>	213
<i>Figure 34: The parade winds down to the plaza, led by the alcaldes, and governor of La Paz.</i>	214

<i>Figure 35: Feliciano (left, with hands crossed) leading the community of Niñocorín in the parade.</i>	215
<i>Figure 36: Three Kallawaya healers, Julián nearest the camera.</i>	216
<i>Figure 37: The alcaldes and Plurinational Assembly members at the end of the parade.</i>	218
<i>Figure 38: The dignitaries inspecting the parade.</i>	218
<i>Figure 39: The Dancers from Huato, dancing (left), and receiving their prizes (right).</i>	220
<i>Figure 40: Julián with Kallawaya healers from Lunlaya.</i>	223
<i>Figure 41: Dr. Cocarico receiving smoke from the Sahumerio.</i>	224
<i>Figure 42: A Kallawaya mesa.</i>	225
<i>Figure 43: Aurelio (left of photo with leather jacket and hat); Feliciano (centre, behind dancers, taking photograph).</i>	226
<i>Figure 44: Representatives of the coca-growers association 'Arcop coca - MK'.</i>	228
<i>Figure 45: The final mesa blanca.</i>	230

List of Maps

<i>Map 1. Site of research.</i>	24
<i>Map 2: The sixteenth century ethnic divisions in the Eastern Andes (source: Saignes 1986).</i>	52
<i>Map 3: The province of Bautista Saavedra.</i>	68
<i>Map 4: Bautista Saavedra plus the municipalities of Pelechuco (in the province of Franz Tamayo) and Ayata (in the province of Munecas) – my interpretation of the territory Fortunato is referring to as historically pertaining to the Kallawaya Nation, using current municipal boundaries.</i>	68
<i>Map 5: Municipality of Charazani.</i>	78
<i>Map 6: The Kallawaya region according to Augusto Cuila.</i>	87
<i>Map 7: Probable extension of the old Kallawaya Kurakazgo (source: Saignes 1983:359, with red line added to indicate the current border between Peru and Bolivia).</i>	101
<i>Map 8: A representation of the division of space into to four and three.</i>	102
<i>Map 9: Ayni Kusun and surrounding communities.</i>	138
<i>Map 10: Border markets.</i>	170
<i>Map 11: The Kallawaya region.</i>	171

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

‘We’ve always been autonomous, because we’ve always been an *ayllu*’

– Aurelio, a Kallawaya informant, community of Lunlaya.

On the 6th December 2009 the population of the municipality of Charazani, in the northwest of Bolivia, voted by the overwhelming majority of 86.6% in favour of becoming an Indigenous Originario Peasant Autonomy (Autonomía Indígena Originario Campesino, which henceforth I shall refer to as an AIOC) (Ortiz and Zamorano 2010). For the Kallawaya communities that mainly comprise the municipality, it had been a long trajectory to reach this point, combining struggle against the colonial and neo-colonial State as part of national indigenous and peasant movements, and more local struggles against Spanish-descended townspeople, that continued well after independence and through the twentieth century. At times, the Kallawayas have struggled, not just against the State but alongside it, for their own cultural recognition. In 2003, with the support of the Bolivian Ministry of Culture, the ‘Andean Cosmivision of the Kallawaya Culture’ was recognised as ‘Oral Patrimony of Humanity’. One of the contributions of this thesis will be to provide a case study of the long trajectory of indigenous autonomy, which at various times requires it to be developed with, against, and sometimes beyond (with the assistance of international institutions) the state (Dinerstein 2013:150).

Despite voting in favour of autonomy in 2009, as I write this thesis almost six years later, the Kallawaya autonomy statute (a requisite for the legal transition of a municipality towards becoming an AIOC) has still not been finalised. This thesis will examine why. Since around the time of Bolivia’s constituent assembly in 2006, the Kallawayas have been identifying as a ‘nación’ or nation: la Nación Kallawaya (the Kallawaya Nation); however, the Kallawaya Nation is comprised of semi-autonomous communities, mostly identifying as *ayllus* (the traditional socio-territorial entity in the Andes). The members of these communities put historical differences between the various communities at the forefront of their understanding of an ongoing Kallawaya ethnogenesis. These semi-autonomous communities are legally recognised by the State and are able to represent themselves

separately. The Kallawayas communities are currently also divided between membership of three peasant or indigenous federations, and a lack of desire on the part of the three federations to work together has been a significant factor in the stalling of the current autonomy process. When the Kallawayas come together as one body, they represent themselves as such through symbolic rituals performed to remember the Kallawayas ancestors. Changes in the social structure of Kallawayas society are reflected ritually. This thesis then, will contribute to anthropological understandings of indigenous group-formation, particularly examining the role of ritual, and the way that indigenous people symbolically relate to the state.

1.2 Themes covered in this thesis

1.2.1 Ethnogenesis

The chapters in the first half of this thesis examine an ongoing ethnogenesis, culminating in the present autonomy project of Kallawayas nationhood. Ethnogenesis, as acknowledged by Bilby (1996:119), is generally used to describe “a gradual process through which ethnic categories and boundaries are redefined”. Ethnogenesis rarely describes something new, and it is precisely on claims of its primordial origins that the present self-identification of the Kallawayas as a nation is based.

There are two theoretical paradigms regarding ethnogenesis. The first is the ‘primordialist’ paradigm (Whitehead 1996). This perspective involves taking into account the multiple historical factors involved in the constitution of a present-day ethnic group. Whitehead (1996) and Hickerson (1996) believe that this involves taking into account ethnocide, as much as ethnogenesis, as new groups identities emerge at the same time as groups discard other identities. Ferrié (2014) identifies such shifts between identities taking place among lowland neighbours of the Kallawayas, in the area of Apolo, who are currently identifying as Leco, but who have previously identified at different periods as Apolista, Apoleño and Quechua peasant. The second paradigm, Luna Penna (2014) and Whitehead (1996) refer to as ‘instrumental’. This perspective sees ethnogenesis as “not merely a label for the historical emergence of culturally distinct peoples but a concept encompassing people’s simultaneously cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and continuity” (Hill 1996:1).

Whitehead (1996:4) believes that ethnogenesis should not be appreciated only from the point of view of one of these paradigms or the other, but must be examined both as a description of the continuity of ethnic groups through the colonial period, and the manufacturing of identities. Indeed, I follow this approach in this thesis. I examine the Kallawayas as an ethnic identity which has been developing through the colonial and Republican period, from pre-colonial multi-cultural origins. I also, as Ferrié (2014) perceives for the Leco, see Kallawayaya identity as surfacing in the context of, and taking advantage of politically favourable conditions. However, I also describe the Kallawayas as playing a hand in creating these conditions themselves, struggling to be acknowledged as Kallawayaya (though the struggle for Kallawayaya recognition seems to have centred more, until the twenty-first century, on a conception of Kallawayas specifically through their profession as itinerant healers, rather than as an ethnic group). As I describe in chapter four, different Kallawayas acknowledge distinct primordial origins (and emphasise the different origins of their intra-ethnic rivals). They nevertheless all identify as Kallawayaya. Barth (1969) identifies ethnic identity as forming through contact with an Other across cultural boundaries. It is in this context that Kallawayaya identity has emerged as a common ethnic ascription amongst the peasants living in all the communities surrounding the town of Charazani, through their interactions with these townspeople. A sense of collective ethnic consciousness emerges in antagonism with other groups (Pallares 2002), and seems to have occurred in the case of the Kallawayas (see chapter five and six).

Kallawayaya ethnic identity has also emerged in interaction with the State. Writers such as Yashar (2005:282) and Urban and Sherzer (1994:4) acknowledge that ethnic identity is profoundly shaped by state policies. The goal of the nation-state with respect to indigenous peoples, not just in Bolivia, but throughout Latin America, has been to assimilate them to a homogeneous national culture, through a policy of forced-mestizaje. Citizenship has been defined in terms of the abandonment of indigenous cultural traditions. As I will go on to describe in chapter two, Bolivia's National Revolution attempted "to incorporate peasants while denying them their indigenous identity" (Yashar 2005:152). A similar process can be identified elsewhere in Latin America, such as Mexico (Nash 2001), for the Shuar in relation to the Ecuadorian State (Hendricks 1994) and the Kuna experience of relations with the Panamanian State (Howe 1994) (while the policy of other states—Argentina and Chile—in

the early Republican period, was to actively exterminate their indigenous population (Maybury-Lewis 1994:211-216)). In general, Latin American Republican states have continued the “civilising mission” of the colonial state. Clastres (2010) views the state as by nature ethnocidal. By this, Clastres means ‘the suppression of cultural differences deemed inferior and bad’. At the heart of the state is ‘the fear and horror of difference,’ resulting in ‘a project of reducing the Other to the Same,’ and ‘the dissolution of the multiple into One’ (*ibid.*:108). The state actively constructs ethnicity by determining what is a permissible expression of ethnicity and what is not. Viatori (2009) shows that while the Ecuadorian State was content to support the Zapara postulation to UNESCO in recognition of Zapara clothing, music and dance, it drew the line at granting them concrete political and economic improvements as an ethnic group. Jackson (1994) demonstrates that Tukanoan ethnic consciousness is being shaped by interactions both with the state and with the confederations of other ethnic peoples. As I examine in chapter two, an explicitly ethnic politics has emerged in Bolivia since 1952 in direct response to the homogenising tendencies of the State, which ignored ethnicity in favour of an imposed peasant identity. An ethnic discourse has been enunciated precisely to challenge indigenous peoples’ relationship with the state (Hendricks 1994:57), to emphasise the case to be treated as *equal but different* citizens of the state. In Bolivia, as in Ecuador, where a ‘double consciousness’ emerged which posited political action both in ethnic and class terms (Pallares 2002; Yashar 2005), the result of a growing political engagement on ethnic as well class lines in recent decades, has been the constitutional recognition of Bolivia as a plurinational state that allows the possibility of autonomy for the indigenous peoples within its borders.

1.2.2 Autonomy

Autonomía was a term which became ubiquitous in Bolivia for several years shortly before, and more so after, the election of Evo Morales as President of Bolivia in 2005. It is worth briefly examining the meaning of the term.

The first two definitions of *autonomía* in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, are 1. ‘Potestad que dentro de un Estado tienen municipios, provincias, regiones u otras entidades, para regirse mediante normas y órganos de gobierno propios’ (the existence within a state of municipalities, provinces, regions and other entities, which govern themselves according to their own norms and government organizations). 2. ‘Condición de

quien, para ciertas cosas, no depende de nadie' (the condition of, for certain things, not depending on anyone)¹. The English translation of autonomy can similarly be defined in terms of formal self-government and non-dependence on others. The kernel of autonomy as self-rule can be found in the etymology of the word, auto (self) and nomos (rule or law), which according to Dworkin (1997:12-13) was first used in reference to Greek city states which ruled themselves rather than being subject to the laws of an outside power.

Since Kant and Mill, autonomy has tended to be used in Philosophy to refer to 'the independence of individual subjectivity' (Katsiaficas 2006:6). Indeed, when political philosopher Will Kymlicka (1998) puts forward the case for the collective rights of minority groups, such as indigenous peoples, within states, he does so from the liberal position that this is the best means of guaranteeing individual autonomy within these groups. Whilst some indigenous groups have been described by anthropologists as placing a high value on the autonomy of the individual, particularly in the Amazon (for example the Matsigenka (Izquierdo 2009) and Piaroa (Overing 1989) in Peru), in reference to the rights of indigenous people, autonomy is generally used to describe the relationship which indigenous people have with the nation-state and the degree to which they can govern themselves collectively without state interference (Eisenstat 2013:6).

Autonomous movements are not, and cannot be constructed without interaction with the state, capitalist power, international organisations and the law, as the state 'mediates the construction of emancipatory subjectivity' because autonomy is constructed through a direct relationship 'with the state, against the state and further than the state' (Dinerstein 2013:167). Independent declarations of autonomy from the state such as those made by the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, since January 1994 (see Dinerstein 2015; Holloway 2010; Nash 2001), are soon met with official state repression. For this reason, as I shall describe in this thesis, autonomy is the result of a long process of negotiated struggle with the state and the colonial order. The colonial order in Bolivia includes State programmes of homogenizing Bolivian education and subservient relations between Kallawayas and local townspeople. I will examine the construction of autonomy as a long trajectory involving conflictive struggles over the definition of an emerging ethnic consciousness.

¹ My own translations.

One of the aspects of indigenous autonomy which my research most emphasises is its contested nature. It is contested most of all by indigenous people themselves. This is largely because indigenous people have rarely, if ever, related to the State as one collective bloc. Nationwide indigenous or peasant federations and political parties have (particularly since the 1970s) split indigenous peoples in Bolivia, rather than uniting them, between those that have pushed for autonomy from the State and those who wish to control the State. In chapter two I examine how this split between the policies towards the State of two indigenous peasant federations has affected the autonomy process in Charazani since 2009, after having looked at the history of this split nationally in chapter two.

My thesis will show that the split is perhaps exaggerated by the presence of the opposed organisations which structure the Kallawayá communities divisively, in rhetoric, the one orientalisising the other. In practice, the Kallawayá perspective on indigenous autonomy is not anti-state *per se*, but is against the colonial state, and neo-colonial versions of it. Even amongst those most in favour of autonomy there operates what Gutiérrez Aguilar (2008:113, cited in Dinerstein 2015:161) calls a 'dual intentionality,' which is the 'simultaneous demand to be left alone (autonomy) and to be included (the state attends to their needs)'. 'The realisation of this dual intentionality,' suggests Dinerstein (2015:161), 'requires a fundamental transformation of the state and of politics'. The constitution of 2009, which refounded Bolivia as a plurinational state, of which the autonomies are a fundamental part represents just such a transformation.

I will argue ethnographically in this thesis that autonomy for indigenous people is as much about decolonizing ways of thought as controlling territory. This takes into account Aníbel Quijano (2008) and Walter Dignolo's (2011:53-4) distinction between decolonization as a struggle to detach colonizers from a territory, and decoloniality as a decolonization of knowledge. This means taking seriously that there are multiple ways of living (well) in the world.

1.2.3 Living Well

As will be explored in chapter two and elsewhere in the thesis, one of the key purposes of the autonomies in Bolivia, as set out in the constitution and the Framework Law on Autonomies, was to enable the populations of said autonomies to 'Vivir Bien' or *live well*. Vivir Bien is the key philosophical justification for the AIOCs because it is a recognition of the

existence of different subjectivities—different perspectives of viewing the world and how to live in it, and therefore makes the autonomies relevant not just in Bolivia, but in terms of speaking to the kinds of demands made by indigenous movements in other parts of the hemisphere, since it is a move against the kind of neoliberal '*pensamiento único*' (monolithic thinking) decried by subcomandante Marcos in the Zapatistas' declaration of Chiapas (Dinerstein 2015:82).

Since the early colonial period, indigenous peoples have been the subject of a 'civilising process' (Elias 1982), intimately connected to the development of the state, which posits being 'civilised' in relation of proximity to the state's mono-subjectivity (Scott 2009:99,121). In the Andes, colonialism worked on the native's as docile bodies. Through evangelism, the creation of servile labour, and of *reducciones* after the Toledo reforms of 1570, the colonial State attempted to change and regulate colonial subjects in line with a set of behavioural assumptions brought with the conquistadores from Europe, known as '*buen policia*' (Salvatore 2013; Abercrombie 1994). By the twentieth century, the civilising discourse of the state was represented in homogenising objectives: through education and syndicalization to turn Indians into peasants and Bolivians (see chapter five, in particular). From the colonial to the republican era the objective of the State was to mould indigenous people in line with an urban, European, understanding of the world.

Claiming autonomy can be taken as a rejection of this civilizing process because it is a claim to another way of living. If we follow Bolivian writer Simon Yampara, then one of the few substantive changes since the election of Evo Morales has been in the self-esteem of indigenous people, leading them to believe in the values of their own culture, represented by the Aymara concept of *Suma Qamaña* (*Sumaj Kawsay* in Quechua), translated into Spanish as *Vivir Bien*, or Living Well in English. Yampara, and other Bolivian writers, in particular the contributors to the Farah and Vasapollo's edited volume *Vivir Bien ¿Paradigma nocapitalista?* (2011), theorise *Vivir Bien* somewhat utopically as a life of harmonious coexistence with other humans, with plants, animals, deities and the earth within the *ayllu*.

We cannot understand theories of living well other than in the context of culturally-specific theories of what it means to be human (Scott 2012:16; Mathew and Izquierdo 2009b:259; Izquierdo 2009:83). The Kallawayaya perspective of my informants echoes theorists of *Vivir*

Bien (Yampara (2011), Medina (2011) and Albó (2011:135), in positing a particular way of living in harmony with other humans and non-humans in the *ayllu* as defining what it means to be *runa* or *jaqi* (which approximately mean *person* in Quechua and Aymara respectively, but specifically a person constituted by their relationship with non-human beings in the *ayllu*) or to be *q'ara* (literally peeled, someone devoid of the characteristics which define one as a person). This perspective on the way of living in the *ayllu* will be examined throughout the thesis, but particularly in chapters six and seven.

Living well as a subject for research is generally tackled by social scientists under the concept of 'well-being.' It has though, suggests Thin (2009), been a topic of study neglected by Social Anthropologists, because most anthropologists treat emotions as 'natural and private and therefore irrelevant to social analysis' (2009:24). Mathews and Izquierdo (2009a:9) argue that Social Anthropologists have avoided using well-being as a term of analysis in order to avoid engaging in cross-cultural comparisons. When well-being has been researched, the chief characteristic which emerges is the broadness of the meaning of the term (Izquierdo 2009:67; Derné 2009; Oishi 2009), encompassing characteristics as broad as pleasure (Clark 2009), individual or collective autonomy (Derné 2009), an ability to choose and control life circumstances (Jankowiak 2009), bodily health, happiness and flourishing in terms of a broad Aristotelian *Eudaimonia* (Thin 2009), or defined in terms of relationships, as 'being-with-others' (Jackson 2011).

Concentrating on Living Well in the terms described by Andean commentators of *Vivir Bien*, Maité Niel (2011), in a review of the concept finds similarities in the concepts of other indigenous peoples around the world. For example, the Mayan concept of *Ut'z Kaslemal* based on living according to a communitarian vision, upholding complementarity (2011:24-29), the concept of *shiir waras* for the Ashuar and *yek onolis* in Nahuatl, which are based in a fundamental respect for mother earth. Although these concepts have subtle differences, she finds that what they have in common is that they are based on harmony, equilibrium, consensus, and a profound respect for mother nature and all living things above and below the earth, in general characterised as a guarantee of dignified life in their own territory (ibid:36). Medina (2011:49) proposes that *Vivir Bien* can be the contribution to the common planetary house in the 21st century of mysticism as a communitarian political project,

providing a model of life and of development in which nature is no longer treated as an object, but as a subject (Gudynas 2011:2).

The Kallawayaya interpretation of living well, as I shall examine in this thesis, is based on a particular ritual relationship with others in the *ayllu*, which connects the health and wellbeing of one to the health of all. Well-being, for the Kallawayayas, is fundamentally relational. It is, as Medina (2011:49-52) acknowledges, a fundamentally rural way of living, in which the person lives together with animals, deities and plants, and in which work is fundamental. This has led several of my informants to worry about the effect on life in *ayllu* of those migrating away to live in the cities, which one of my informants, Aurelio has referred to as '*sifilización*' (syphilisation) a kind of spiritual sickness.

1.2.4 Ritual

This thesis will explore the potential of ritual practices both to create bonds of solidarity, and to entrench differences. I have referred already to the division of the Kallawayayas into separate communities, and these different communities see the differences between one another as much as what unites them culturally. What unites them as one body are certain ritual practices. The Kallawayayas traditionally make offerings to common mountain shrines. Bastien writes that this unites the Kallawayayas as one people. The Kallawayayas particularly united around a specific mountain, the identity of which changed annually, and which acted symbolically as an authority over the region. When I entered the field, however, this practice had been abandoned, and had coincided with the break-up of the Kallawayaya communities into different federations. I look at the way that the structure of ritual practices connects to the structure of Kallawayaya society.

In chapter seven, I use Durkheim's ([1912]2008) and Kertzer's (1988:66-78) perspective that joint rituals can create bonds of solidarity between members of groups who otherwise lack consensus. I suggest that the breakdown of certain ritual practices between Kallawayaya communities may have contributed to the current lack of political consensus among the Kallawayayas. As I explore in chapters six and eight, rituals have a way of defining the terms of 'us' and 'them' (Kertzer 1988:92), and the separate or different performance of the same ritual by ritual specialists from different Kallawayaya communities has a way of highlighting the differences between them as much or more so as the commonalities as Kallawayayas.

Lukes (1975) goes beyond the Durkheimian perspective on ritual's potential to create social solidarity. He suggests that political rituals can reinforce and organize our collective representations of the way that society functions (1975:301). My analysis in chapter eight will support this position on ritual as representing the structures of Kallawaya society. The rituals I describe in a commemorative ceremony in chapter eight make explicit the existing social structure of Kallawaya society (Connerton 1998:102), and reflect Kallawaya consciousness, rather than forming it, as Durkheim suggests is one of the powers of ritual ([1912]2008:266-289, 339).

Additionally, one of the contributions of this thesis to anthropological theory is my study of *compadrazgo* (co-parenthood). As a form of ritual kinship, in chapters five and six I show *compadrazgo* to be a significant method of creating opportunities for sharing information.

1.3 The Kallawayas

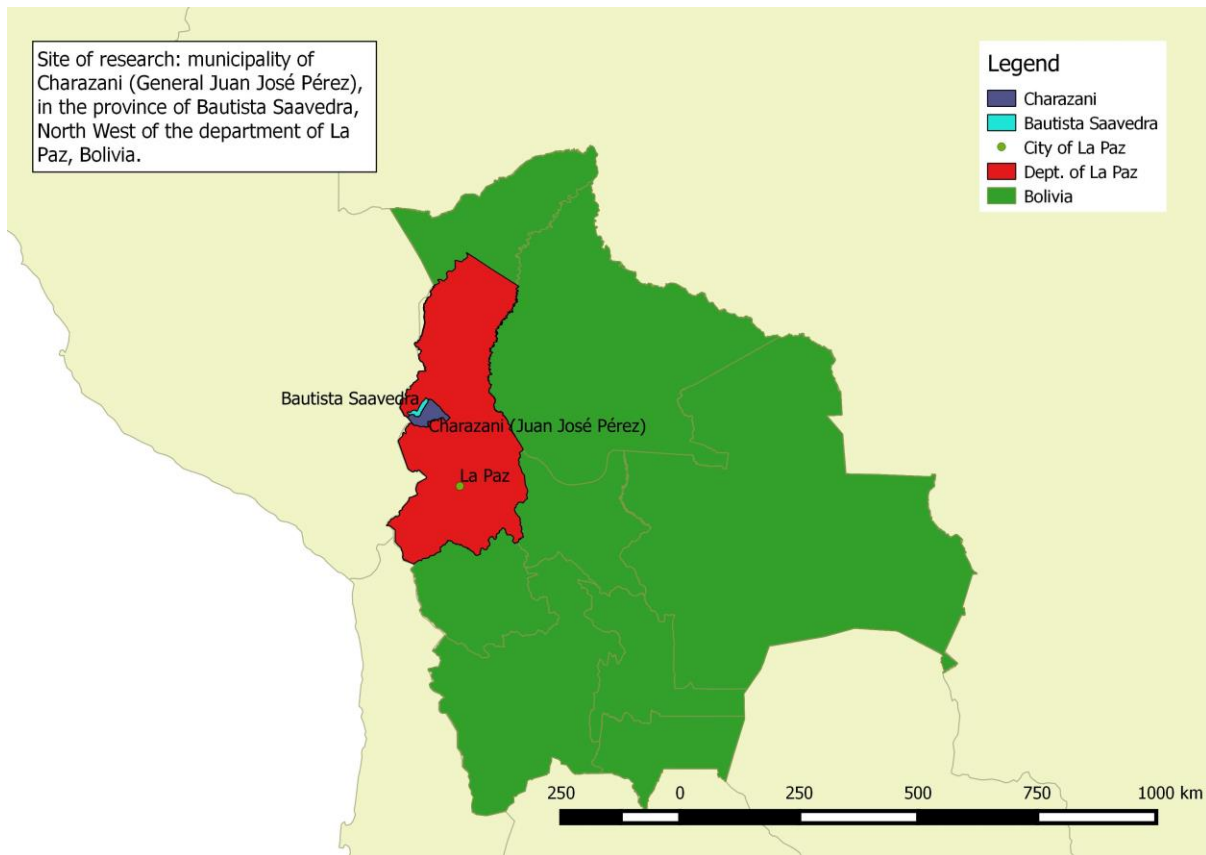
The Kallawayas are an indigenous nation living in the northwest of the department of La Paz, in the province of Bautista Saavedra in the North West of Bolivia, bordering Peru. I choose to call them a 'nation' (in Spanish 'Nación') rather than simply an 'indigenous people,' or 'ethnic group' because this how they have been self-identifying as a group since the elections to the constituent assembly in 2006: the Kallawaya Nation. The territory of the Kallawayas could be broadly said to encompass the whole of the province of Bautista Saavedra, taking in two municipalities (Charazani and Curva), the communities of Ulla Ulla in the highlands of Franz Tamayo, and arguably the town of Camata in the province of Muñecas, all in the north of the department of La Paz.

Although referring to the Kallawayas as a nation emphasises territory, one cannot describe the Kallawayas without reference to their defining profession as healers. Joseph Bastien (1985:9), who conducted ethnographic research in the Kallawaya *ayllu* of Kaata, uses the label Qollahuaya (Kallawaya) to refer both to the people as healers, and to the region as the 'land of medicine.' Bastien divides the healers into two distinct professions, those who heal by the use of herbs, and those who heal and care for the health and well-being of their community generally, through collective rituals. For Bastien (1985:9-10, 55) there is a distinction between these two healing professions, who are both nevertheless Kallawaya, because the level of skill involved in each means that those who practice one profession do

not practice the other. Ina Rösing, who has investigated the ritual healing of the Kallawayas extensively, agrees with the definition of the Kallawayas as healers, but does not accept such a distinction between the two professions. She states that in some communities an itinerant Kallawaya is not always a collective ritualist, but that neither is there necessarily a separation of roles (1996b:65). She defines a Kallawaya as ‘a religious specialist, whose services are solicited both by individuals (or families) and communities to perform cures with herbs and/or with rituals, be they curative, or collective; he is chosen by one manner or another, he has behind him a lengthy training, and acts according to an extensive code of ethics and values’² (1996b:66-7). For Schoop (1984[1988]) it is only those who travel to heal who can be defined as Kallawayas, for Kallawayas are known for their itinerancy (though he finds no difference between the healing practices of those who do travel and those who heal in their community).

Rösing also acknowledges the significance of itinerancy, and in definition she gives quotes a Kallawaya healer as defining a Kallawaya as a healer originally from the region a) with a broad knowledge of curative herbs; b) that transports this knowledge in an itinerant manner; c) that has worked in this trade for generations; and d) that knows or is fluent in the Kallawaya language (1988:66, cited in Meyers 2002:19). Ethno-historian Rodica Meyers (2002:19) considered at the time he was writing in the 1990s (not long after Rösing had written many of her books in the 1980s and 1990s) that this definition was too restrictive. Not all of the present-day Kallawayas have a profound knowledge of the properties of herbs, many are sedentary rather than itinerant, and many are not fluent in the Kallawaya language. However, for Meyers (*ibid*), all the Kallawayas have a knowledge to some extent of the ritual, symbolic healing, and are known to others as *naturistas* (healers who heal with herbs), while some may reside permanently in La Paz, rather than in one of the Kallawaya *ayllus*.

² My translation.



Map 1: Site of research

From my own personal experience with the Kallawayas, I am more inclined to agree with Meyers. All of those who reside in this land of medicine, I found to have some degree of knowledge of herbal, ritual and symbolic healing, and this is what defines the Kallawayas as one people, and as I have chosen to use the term, one nation. There are lay Kallawayas – who are mostly agriculturalists, many of whom nonetheless very often have some degree of medicinal knowledge - and there are particular experts in healing. Some travel for varying degrees of time and others practice in their communities. I chose to conduct my fieldwork in the municipality of Charazani itself, rather than spend much time in La Paz or elsewhere, and therefore the time I spent with itinerant Kallawayas was while they were in their community. I conducted my research with itinerant healers, non-itinerant healers, and other members of the same communities who did not consider themselves to be healers. They all though considered themselves to be Kallawayas because of a shared set of cultural beliefs and practices which involve a shared ritual relationship with the landscape and ancestors connected to sickness and health which shall be explored during the course of this thesis.

1.4 Methodology

My own interest in the topic of indigenous autonomy began prior to beginning the PhD, while I was living in Bolivia in 2007 and 2008. This was a period during which the constituent assembly sat in the city of Sucre to write Bolivia's new constitution. This interest sprang from a desire to understand the country I was living in, and had been coming to since 2003, at a time of massive political changes.

Whilst the constituent assembly sat from August 2006 to December 2007, through the Bolivian media I became aware of the demands for autonomy from both indigenous organisations and the governments of the Eastern departments of Bolivia known as the *Media Luna* (half-moon). *Autonomía* seemed to be the word on everyone's lips while the constituent assembly sat, and the possibility for both indigenous autonomy and departmental autonomy were both written into the constitution. Autonomy continued to be demanded after the constitution had been written, as politicians in the *Media Luna*, in an attempt to destabilise the government, demanded greater autonomy, and were able to stir up such ill-feeling towards the national government in September 2008 that they were able to organise what was called by the government an attempted civic coup. As Böhm, Dinerstein, and Spicer (2015:28) argue, 'autonomy' was seemingly used as an 'empty signifier,' which allows for 'antagonism between different claims for autonomy'. The different claims opened up a 'space of tension', but also 'create[d] a situation where there was debate and struggle around what autonomy might mean'. I became interested in researching behind this 'empty signifier' into what exactly it was that indigenous people wanted when they asked for autonomy.

I conducted fieldwork in Bolivia between October 2011 and March 2013. In the initial months, I found my feet in Bolivia again, sorted out my visa, and made the necessary contacts and sought permission to begin fieldwork in Charazani. Fieldwork in Charazani began in February 2012 and lasted until March 2013, with a two and half month break in the middle of my fieldwork from June to September 2012, when I returned to the UK for financial reasons. My fieldwork was incredibly multi-sited. I spent periods varying from days to months in around ten different communities. This was largely because of my initial experiences in the field in which I met people from around the municipality.

I consider myself fortunate in conducting my research in Charazani, where I have never felt so welcome by so many people, so quickly. When I arrived in Bolivia I knew that I wanted to conduct fieldwork in one of the eleven municipalities to have voted in favour of becoming an AIOC, but did not have a specific fieldsite arranged. It was largely thanks to the suggestion of Leonel Cerrutio, the director of Cochabamba-based NGO Kawsay that I began to work in Charazani with the Kallawayas.

I first arrived in Charazani after a brief meeting in La Paz with the provincial executive and the deputy representing the Kallawaya Nation in the plurinational parliament of La Paz (having been introduced to the latter by Leonel) at which it was agreed that I could conduct my research in the municipality to study the Kallawaya autonomy project. I arrived in Charazani a week later and was introduced in the vaguest terms by the union leader at the end of a day-long meeting as having come to study autonomy in the municipality. It was clear that no one at the meeting who heard me introduced had a clear idea of my purpose, and the next day one man would ask me if I was going to give them courses to teach them about autonomy.

Almost all of my informants for around the first six months of my fieldwork were people who I met through the Kallawaya Autonomy Assembly, which was drafting the Kallawaya statute for autonomy. Within days of my arrival in Charazani, there were meetings beginning concerning autonomy. I accompanied Leonel and others from Kawsay to the first meeting in the community of Amarete, where I was introduced to the leaders of the Autonomy Assembly, and in the week following this initial meeting I was lucky to be allowed by the assembly's president, Rufino Quispe, and several other leaders of the Autonomy Assembly, to accompany them on a tour of communities from the subtropical area to the highlands of the municipality where they discussed the first draft of the statute which had just been written.

At the initial meeting, in Sotopata, and at each of the meetings which followed, I was surprised to be introduced by Rufino to those assembled as 'The first English ambassador to the Kallawaya Nation.' Although I always expected people to laugh at the president's joke (they never did), it only became apparent to me in the weeks and months that followed that despite many people realising that this was a joke, others did actually see me as an ambassador (though I was unsure if the meaning they gave to the term was the same

meaning that I did). Those that were in on the joke, some of whom I became good friends with, would call me ambassador throughout my time doing fieldwork. Although at the time I found my introduction in these meetings to be rather embarrassing, in time I came to realise that Rufino had given my presence a degree of legitimacy. This hit home to me in particular when, several weeks after the initial series of meetings, I attended a small meeting in Jot'ahoco, a community in a relatively far-flung part of the municipality from the town of Charazani (it was a five hour walk). When I got up to leave the meeting, and shook everyone's hand as I had seen others do before me the man leading the meeting looked at me quizzically, as if wondering who I was and what I was doing there. Before he could articulate these doubts the man sitting next to him, an Autonomy Assembly member, saved my blushes by telling him in a hushed tone that I was 'the ambassador', and with that I left, somewhat bemused by my own status.

Beside my rather vague status as an ambassador, I was generally seen by the Kallawayas as a student of autonomy. Very rarely did I encounter negativity towards me being there. This is despite the suspicions of many people about the research of anthropologists, and outside researchers generally, and the feeling that they are making academic careers from local knowledge (Callahan 2011). I think this is because my research was not regarded by my informants as focussing on Kallawayas culture, but on the autonomy process, of which people felt no evident possessive jealousy, and generally felt themselves to be no more an expert than I. This is in contrast with the evident possessiveness which Callahan (2011) describes Kallawayas expressing towards their medicinal knowledge, which the Kallawayas she worked with in Curva were extremely reluctant to share.

The decision to spend time in certain communities rather than others and with certain people rather than others was largely informed by the experience of the first few weeks of fieldwork. The initial meetings to which I accompanied Autonomy Assembly leaders were supposed to take place in nine communities from the tropics to the highlands; however, the majority of the meetings in the valley, where union leaders were hostile to the autonomy process, were cancelled. I therefore overwhelmingly met people who were supportive of the autonomy process, rather than those who were against it, and had access to these communities. Even getting to know autonomy assembly members from the communities where union authorities were against autonomy did not make it any easier to form relations

with the latter, because I became associated with the communities supportive of the process.

I spent my early period of fieldwork living in the town of Charazani, in the house of a family there, but travelling regularly around the municipality, returning to the communities I had visited in these early meetings, and autonomy assembly members I had met. After months of officially living in the town of Charazani, but spending more time in other communities, I returned to the UK in June 2012. When I came back to Bolivia in September I decided I would try to live in another community. As autonomy seemed to be of greater interest to people in the *ayllu* of Amarete I aimed to stay there. On the bus to Amarete from La Paz I got talking to a practising healer named Julián, who had been happy to chat about his union days, and his love of medicine. Later the same day I decided to search him out, and had just reached his street when there was a shout of 'my ambassador!' from the patio of one of the houses. Maria Elena, the only woman of the eight autonomy assembly members from Amarete, invited me in for soup with her and her husband Victor, and very soon to live with them and their family. I lived with Maria, Victor, their children and Victor's parents and brother and sister between September and January, and experienced the All Saints festival and Christmas and New Year in Amarete, as well as helping them to build new sections of their house and to plant in their fields.

While living with them I seemed to acquire new identities. Firstly, I was given a name by Gaby, Victor and Maria Elena's daughter: '*rinku*.' It took some weeks before I realised that Gaby was repeating the name she had heard others call me: 'gringo.' Secondly, I was told by Maria Elena that it became common for people in Amarete to refer to me as her son. She was almost exactly a year younger than me, and Victor two years younger, so biologically this made no sense whatsoever! Confusingly, at times people would also refer to Alberto Tito, Victor's father as being my father. The constant references to me having a formal familial relationship with the Tito family seemed at first simply as jokes or as ways for other members of the community to make sense of me living in their household. However, Weismantel states that in the Andes 'food, not blood, is the tie that binds,' and that parent-child terminologies are used for those who share a 'hearth'; it is 'the older generation that feeds and the younger one that is fed' (Weismantel 1988:171). Thus, Maria Elena may have been referred to as my mother because of the act of feeding me. In the eyes of the other

members of the neighbourhood I was a member of the Tito family, and to those in other neighbourhoods I lived in San Ique, the particular zone of Amarete. I also became officially a native of Kallawaya Nation and inhabitant of Amarete, when I was counted there in the census. When I called Victor and Maria Elena a year after returning from fieldwork, they told me that they were expecting a third child and asked me if I would become godfather. I accepted, and will carry out the traditional practice of *rutucha* (first haircutting) on my return to Amarete, meaning that eventually I will form a familial tie with the family.

My presence in Amarete during the census was a sore point for friends in Charazani (and other communities as well), who had attempted to persuade me to be in their community on the day of reckoning. As Rabinow (1977:89) notes, fieldwork inevitably means at some point, however, unwillingly, having to choose sides. When I did return to Charazani, I found a friend, who I had got to know in the first few months of fieldwork, rather less willing than previously to disclose information about what had been going on in local union meetings, because he said, I might tell my friends in Amarete.

Rabinow (1977:92) notes that '[t]he problem of finding, cultivating, and changing informants in a small village is one of the most delicate facing the anthropologist.' The same could be said of finding and changing informants in a cluster of communities as I was doing. After spending several months mostly in Amarete and also having visited the highland community of Qotapampa several times, when I returned to Charazani one day friends there called me the 'ambassador of CONAMAQ' (Amarete and Qotapampa were both members of CONAMAQ, the highland indigenous federation) and 'ambassador of the Suni [highlands].' As I had come to be associated with those in favour of autonomy, this also made it difficult to work with others who were against the autonomy process, at least until later on in my fieldwork.

However, over time I did get to know people in the communities who were against the autonomy process, and some of these became my closest informants. After I had been in the field for five months I got to know Feliciano, who although far from the person I spent the most amount of time with during my thesis, became possibly my most important informant in the context of its content, and a close friend during fieldwork. Feliciano was the *Sullk'a Mallku* of Niñacorín, the highest of the authority positions of the community

which was a *sullk'a* (small) *ayllu*³ of the *athun* (large) *ayllu* of Kaata. Although I did not live with Feliciano in Niñacorín, because the community is only a 45 minute walk from Charazani, I would often visit Feliciano in his house, where I would discuss local politics with him, especially the process in which the municipality was currently engaged, in becoming an Indigenous Autonomy, and the political situation locally which had been a precursor to it, particularly his own role in the politics of the municipality, and his role in organizing a local school in the 1980s and 1990s, which taught literacy to adults and which effectively prepared local community authorities to take control of municipal politics in 1995. Feliciano lives with his wife, and two children, Kanawke and Marina, two dogs, a cat and numerous goats. Sometimes I would help the family in their fields, or to take out their goats, and I also accompanied Feliciano to visit his brothers in the tropical community of Ñiquis (see chapter six).

Feliciano's main concern, which he would often articulate, seemed to be the maintenance of tradition in his community. Time and again Feliciano would tell me of his worries for the cultural traditions in Niñacorín because there were now far fewer women weaving than there had been in the past, the men and women of all ages within the community were wearing *misti pacha* (mestizo, store-bought clothes) instead of *runa pacha* (traditional hand-woven clothing), and that the Kantus group of Niñacorín, famous throughout the region for its music, now struggled to find the requisite number of players (fifteen) from within the community and was having to recruit from Charazani. When I attended one of the community meetings in Niñacorín, I was struck that Feliciano's worries appeared justified, as he was the only one out of the whole community who was wearing a poncho and *chulo* (the traditional woven hat with ear-flaps). Feliciano believes that this change in dress has occurred partly because although the community of Kaata is just as close to them as Charazani, the majority of people prefer to send their children to school in Charazani for reasons of prestige, and in order for them to be able to learn better Spanish. Feliciano – who sends his own children to school in Kaata – worries about the effects of the communities' children growing up alongside the children of the town, because of the impact on the cultural practices of Niñacorín, such as a preference for store-bought clothes. '*Nos estamos*

³ What Platt 1986: 230 refers to as minimal *ayllus*.

autodestruyendo, eso no se dan cuenta' (we are destroying ourselves, and they don't realise'), he lamented to me once.

My other main informant in this thesis, who I did not meet until even later during my fieldwork, was a healer named Aurelio, living in a small community close to Charazani, called Lunlaya, who had a similar worries to Feliciano concerning changes in the way of life, particularly what he saw as a change in the importance attributed to the local gods by the younger generation. As a healer he saw this cultural change through an idiom of health and sickness, which he called *sifilización*, a kind of sickness of the soul causing people to abandon their traditions.

Feliciano and Aurelio both came from communities in the valley of Charazani. Over the course of my fieldwork, though, my fieldsite became the entire municipality, from highlands to lowlands. Other significant informants in this thesis were from the highland ayllu of Qotapampa, the high valley *ayllu* of Amarete, and communities in the sub-tropical part of the municipality, particularly Ñiquis and Carijana. My multi-sited fieldwork influenced the content of thesis itself, as I became increasingly interested in the way that the different Kallawayá communities related to one another as one body.

I collected fieldnotes in a pocket-sized notebook, which I would transfer to a larger notebook in the evening, or, if I had my laptop with me (I generally left this in my room in Charazani, and later my room in Amarete), type straight up, including my recollections of the day. People became so used to me taking my notebook out of my pocket to write down my observations, and occasionally draw sketches of what I saw in front of me, that at a funeral in Amarete, one man drew a figure representing me, with pen and paper in hand (see below). Although I wrote down as much as I could of casual conversations by hand, I also recorded some conversations using a voice-recorder. These were generally interviews I had arranged beforehand, or occasionally conversations which suddenly touched on a topic of great interest to me. I tried to avoid recording as much as possible outside the context of interviews though, since the presence of the recorder seemed to put some people ill at ease. Although most people consented to me recording them, some people did refuse, and so I used a notepad and pen instead.



Figure 2: The anthropologist as seen through the eyes of his informants.

In addition to taking notes, I also collected visual data in the form of sketches, photographs, and occasionally videos on my camera. During the first few weeks in Charazani I made sketches rather than photographs. This was only partly premeditated. My camera had been stolen at the carnival in Oruro only days before I arrived in Charazani for the first time, and although I had already bought a sketchpad, I had intended to use it to supplement photographs rather than to replace them. One of the first sketches I made was of the valley of Charazani (below). I went walking one day with the express intention of sitting down and drawing the beautiful landscape. While I was doing so, a youth named Rolando rode up on his motorbike and stopped, curious to see what I was doing. He took an interest in what I saw and had translated onto paper. I found this often. When I took photos I felt I ran the risk of someone feeling that I was 'taking' something, because I took the visual impression that they could see in front of them. However, when I sat down and drew a church, or the

landscape, or a meeting, people became interested in what I was doing. Through drawing, I was 'drawn *into*' their world (Ingold 2011:16) also mentally, as I engaged bodily with what I saw in front of me, reproducing my impression of it on the page in front of me. I think the fact that the sketches were my own impression helped people to feel at ease with my activity. Later, I gave the originals of some of the drawings which appear in chapter three to one of the members of the executive board of the Autonomy Assembly as a gift.



Figure 3: The valley of Charazani

1.5 My approach to writing the thesis

The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre, in his book *After Virtue* (2007:213), remarks that 'we are never more (and sometimes less) than the co-authors of our own narratives'. In my writing of this ethnography I have chosen to take this assertion quite literally. I have taken the deliberate decision to use the words of my informants to narrate a story. This method of writing emphasises the degree to which the content and orientation of the fieldwork process and thesis has been influenced by my informants. Much of the thesis (chapters five and seven especially) has been constructed on the basis of dialogues with informants. Following Geertz (1973) who portrayed the anthropologist as a marginal actor whose only direct access to the culture they describe is through that part of the culture which our

informants allow us to understand, I emphasise my understanding of Kallawaya society through the explanations given to me by certain key informants. I acknowledge Dwyer's (1982:262) criticism of Geertz, that the anthropologist does not simply relate the informants' interpretations since it is the anthropologist who provokes these interpretations, and, through the form of dialogues present in the text, place myself as an actor in the ethnography.

Although this might appear to weaken my own authorial voice, I have taken this risk because I am trying to portray the autonomy process ethnographically, largely through the experiences of individual Kallawaya actors. Rabinow (1977:119) notes that anthropological analysis is 'doubly mediated, first by our own presence and then by the second-order self-reflection we demand from our informants.' I have written this ethnography in such a way as to leave my informants' analysis unmediated at times, often this means leaving the transcriptions of dialogues between myself and my informants 'raw,' showing my informants' analysis in the dialogues. This also takes into account a criticism of Rösing (1995:178-80) of anthropologists for making their own analysis central, rather than the words of their informant. The 'dialogic' style I have favoured in several of my chapters (particularly chapters five, six and seven), is argued by Diskin (1994:156) to facilitate 'an indigenous presence.' Like Rabinow (1977), I found that using this method a common understanding grew between myself and my informants over the course of many conversations. The burgeoning of my own understanding is portrayed in these conversations, and through including excerpts in the thesis I hope this will also be the effect on the reader.

Rabinow (1977:150) notes that interpretation is inherent in culture, and that the data which anthropologists enter the field to study is already under analysis by our informants. As Gay y Blasco and Wardle (2007:141) point out, however, '[a]lthough ethnographic knowledge is conversational, authority over the final product stays firmly in the hands of the anthropologist' and any attempt to simply 'inscribe' the social discourse of my informants (Geertz 1973:19) is not passive since I, as the anthropologist, chose to include some dialogues rather than others, refer to some informants, and not others. My main informants of this story of autonomy are also the main actors in it. I understand the narrative of each as interrelated, each can only be understood in the context of the other narratives of which

they are a part (MacIntyre 2007:218). My own narrative of autonomy can only be understood in the context of theirs.

Although the thesis is, of course written in English, I have also used certain terms used by the Kallawayas themselves in Spanish, Quechua, or Aymara. As a tool of reference for Quechua spellings I have used the Quechua dictionary of Teofilo Laime Ajacopa (2007), which uses current standard Bolivian spelling. However, for Quechua words used by the Kallawayas which do not appear in the dictionary (such as *watayuq*), I have used the spellings of Bastien (1985) Rösing (1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 2003), and the draft statute for autonomy written by the Kallawayas as a guide (the latter taking precedence). The Aymara dictionary I have used is the Spanish-Aymara dictionary compiled by Cotari, Mejía and Carrasco (1978) and published by the Mary Knoll Institute.

1.6 Ethical matters

In my dealings with informants, I endeavoured to follow the guidelines set out in the Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA). According to these I should 'endeavour to protect the physical, social and psychological well-being of those whom [I] study and to respect their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy.' All of the people who are mentioned in the thesis were well aware of the research which I was conducting and cooperated with me in my research for the thesis.

I generally tried to keep my informants as aware as I could as to the purpose of my research. As I show in chapter three, Andean peasants tend to show their lack of consent by absenting themselves from events, so I interpreted people talking to me as a demonstration of their consent. The few people who were hostile to me and/or my research tended to make this clear very quickly, and I did not attempt to make them part of my study.

I also successfully completed the university's risk assessment procedure (see ethics form).

1.7 Themes this thesis does not address

The thesis is mainly written from the perspective of Kallawayas men. This is the case because contributions of men and women as informants in this thesis reflect the amount of time I spent with each gender during my fieldwork. My engagement with most informants began

with the autonomy meetings, and, as I describe in chapter three, most of the Autonomy Assembly members were men. According to the only female Autonomy Assembly member from Amarete this was largely because of the jealousy of their husbands, though the greater male literacy and the idea of speaking in public being a male 'role' may also be a factor (Arnold 1997 and Arnold and Yapita 2000 suggest that men express their literacy through written texts, and women through textiles). This thesis does then privilege a male perspective, and gender is not an issue which is tackled in this thesis. There is certainly further scope for exploring women's perspectives and participation in autonomy processes.

Although, as stated in the methodology section of this chapter, when I spent time in Bolivia before beginning the PhD I became aware of the two distinct types of autonomy which were being demanded: on the one hand by indigenous organisations, and on the other by a group of departmental governors and other professional politicians of the Eastern region of the country. My thesis does not examine this latter type of autonomy.

My thesis is interested in the effects of rituals, but it does not provide an exhaustive analysis of the process of the rituals themselves. This can be found in the many books of Ina Rösing (1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 2003), which focus on Kallawaya rituals in great detail.

All ethnographies are, by their nature, incomplete, since they are written, and can only be written according to the contingent experiences of the encounters and experiences of the anthropologist while they are in the field. The word limitations also mean that some elements of my research that at one stage appeared in the thesis have had to be excluded.

1.8 The structure of the thesis

In chapter two, the thesis begins by providing the national Bolivian context to the current Kallawaya autonomy project. Starting in 1952, the chapter examines how two strands developed within the indigenous movement between those whose ambition was control of the State, and others whose aim was to maintain autonomy from it. I take 1952 as my starting point because it was the beginning of a revolutionary period in Bolivia's history, in which the State included indigenous people in an inclusive, but culturally-homogenizing

citizenship. The current period in which autonomy for indigenous peoples is being realised represents a questioning of the meaning of indigenous citizenship.

Chapter three follows on from the national struggles to focus ethnographically on intra-ethnic struggles to define the Kallawaya project for autonomy. I describe Kallawaya debates over autonomy within Autonomy Assembly meetings, which I attended when I first arrived in Charazani, and which continued periodically for the first five months of my fieldwork. Through the debates in these meetings I introduce topics explored in the rest of the thesis: the discord between communities belonging to different peasant or indigenous federations which translate to distinct perspectives on autonomy; debates surrounding what it means to be Kallawaya; and different readings of history which are invoked to justify opposing interpretations of Kallawaya identity.

Chapter four examines the historical background to different claims towards Kallawaya 'authenticity' and describes an ethnogenesis of the Kallawayas as a nation. This chapter will describe the Kallawaya 'Nation' as a multi-ethnic society, and examine how this society has taken shape since the Inca colonial period. The variety of cultural traditions within Kallawaya society is what makes defining Kallawaya identity, as is happening in the autonomy statute, contentious. The chapter will also examine the historical struggle for cultural recognition, which led to the Kallawaya culture being designated by UNESCO in 2003 as Oral Heritage of Humanity. This historical struggle was what one authority (quoted in chapter two) called a path left to them by their grandparents to reconstitute as a nation, a struggle which involved altering colonial power relations and a vindication of their culture.

Chapter five describes the Kallawaya society in the 1980s and 1990s prior to the Law of Popular Participation (LPP), a historic piece of legislation which made it possible for indigenous people to control local government in Bolivia for the first time. This period saw a fundamental shift in power relations between Spanish-descended townspeople and people living in Kallawaya communities. As I shall describe, Kallawaya peasants were joined to townspeople in relations of godparenthood. These relations were viewed as exploitative by the Kallawayas, who, according to my informants, felt taken advantage of by the townspeople. Through the narratives of my informants I relate how a Kallawaya-run local school educated local people bilingually, and so that they had less reliance on townspeople in Charazani, and gave them a space to organise politically in preparation to take advantage of the LPP. This

chapter shows the Kallawayas working together in concert, something not evident at the time of my fieldwork. Taking control of the municipality politically through the electoral system would over time divide the Kallawayas, sowing seeds of discord between Kallawayaya communities that are currently present in discussions over autonomy.

Chapter six deals with the conception of the good life represented by complementarity and balanced exchange. I describe the Kallawayaya economy at the level of the household, community and exchange between *ayllus* at varying levels of altitude, and examine the way that this economy is impacted by the market economy. This includes godparent relations between Kallawayas that are balanced in contrast to those described in the previous chapter. The balanced exchange that takes place within the *ayllu* takes place not just between people, but also between people and landscape deities. I will illustrate this through the story of Julián, a healer in Amarete, who suffered misfortune as a result of failing to pay adequate respects to the lightning when eating a cow killed by a lightning bolt and for failing to acknowledge the gift given to him by the *achachilas*, the local gods.

In chapter seven, I look at the significance of the relationship with the *achachilas* for the way that the Kallawayas conduct politics. As I shall describe the Kallawayas do not conceive of politics as a solely human affair, but rather as involving all of those within the *ayllu*. The course of events in the Kallawayaya communities is seen as influenced by the relationship with the *achachilas*. The relationship with the *achachilas* extends to the political structure of the Kallawayaya region, of which the *achachilas* are the maximum authorities. However, this chapter shows how political disunity among the Kallawayas has led to disunity in their ritual relations, as the break-up of the provincial peasant/indigenous organisation has been accompanied by a splintering of the joint Kallawayaya ritual organisation with the *achachilas*. Through my informants, the changing ritual practices will be connected to wider cultural changes which have been the result of rural to urban migration.

Chapter eight comes full circle and returns to the topics laid out in chapter two and three concerning indigenous citizenship, examining what, if anything, has changed in the way that indigenous people and the State relate to one another since the creation of the Plurinational State. Here I examine how relations with the State and one another are mediated symbolically through ritual at two events where various Kallawayaya *ayllus* come together with a representative of the State: The anniversary of the creation of the province of

Bautista Saavedra and the anniversary of the declaration of UNESCO, which show different aspects to the way that the Plurinational State is experienced. The events show a continued desire on the part of the Kallawayas for a relationship with the State, but a different kind of relationship. They also provide an opportunity to examine how the Kallawayas relate not just to the State, but to one another ritually.

My conclusion reflects on the connection between the Kallawaya conception of living well and autonomy. Self-government and decolonization are fundamental to the ability for indigenous people to 'live well.' The Kallawayas have been creating their own autonomy with, against and beyond the State (Dinerstein 2015) in order to create the conditions to live well. I reflect on autonomy as representing an epistemological delinking (Mignolo 2011:315) as much as territorial sovereignty.

Chapter 2. Towards the Plurinational State

2.1 Introduction

In 2009, Bolivia entered a new phase constitutionally. Through a popular referendum in which the constitution written the previous year was approved by 61% (Mamani 2009:31), the country was redefined (in Article 1) as a plurinational state with autonomies, which (in Article 2) guaranteed the free determination of the indigenous nations and peoples of Bolivia, consisting of their right to autonomy, self-government, the recognition of their own culture, and the consolidation of their own territorial entities. The constitution redefines the relationship between indigenous peoples and the state like no other in the continent with the exception of Ecuador (Yrigoyen 2010; Lee Van Cott 2000b). The definition of Bolivia as a plurinational state is significant in disconnecting the notion of the state from that of the nation, recognising the right of indigenous peoples to call themselves nations (Garcés 2010). The Plurinational State is the culmination of decades of reforms in Bolivia. Since Bolivia's revolution in 1952, the relationship of the State to indigenous people has moved from an integrationalist model (1950s-1980s), through a multiculturalist model (1980s-1990s), before finally (2000s) arriving at a model in which indigenous peoples are allowed self-determination to formulate their own models of development, and equality recognised constitutionally between different forms of justice, politics and culture (Yrigoyen 2010; Lee Van Cott 2000a, 2000b).

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first part will examine the process that led to what the government of President Evo Morales has portrayed as a 'refounding' of Bolivia (Centellas 2013:91) through the creation of the Plurinational State and the emergence of 'indigenous autonomies'. The current territorial projects are the result of the maturing of decades of indigenous political projects (Damonte (2011:136)) which have developed as the relationship between indigenous communities and the State in Bolivia has evolved since the National Revolution of 1952.

At the time of Bolivia's Revolution, the objective of Bolivia's indigenous communities in relation to the State was to obtain equal citizenship. However, after the Revolution, the revolutionary government incorporated 'Indians' into the State in a way that meant that in order to access this equal citizenship they would have to culturally assimilate (Ticona, Rojas

and Albó 1995:191). The peasant union and the school (which I shall deal with in chapter four) were the principal institutions assimilating Indians into Bolivian national culture. It was because this entailed a repression of their Andean culture, that from the 1970s, particularly through the Katarista political movement, a new kind of relation for indigenous communities with the State, and indeed a new kind of State, was proposed. The Kataristas first re-founded the peasant union as a union with ethnic as well as class vision (the CSUTCB), and secondly began to imagine a new kind of state – a plurinational state, which would take into account the cultural diversity of Bolivia's indigenous peoples (Canessa 2000; Albó 1994). Later, when many communities in highland Bolivia divested themselves formally of the syndical structure and reconstituted themselves as *ayllus*, in the 1980s and 1990s, the federation of *ayllus* and *markas* (the traditional social and territorial organisations in the Andes), CONAMAQ, added further weight to demands for the restructuring of the State, to allow greater territorial autonomy to indigenous peoples. The type of citizenship demanded by indigenous movements since 1952 has illustrated the two principles of equal recognition, identified by political philosopher Charles Taylor (1994:38), firstly of equal rights, which entails ignoring cultural differences, and secondly the principle of the right to difference, which means that particularities have to be recognized. Whilst the type of citizenship instituted after 1952 entailed the first kind of equal recognition, the result was the increasing demand by indigenous groups for the second kind, resulting eventually in the creation of the Plurinational State.

Secondly, this chapter will deal with the impact of changes in indigenous political organisation and the political relationship between indigenous peoples and the State, on Kallawayaya local politics. The communities of the municipality of Charazani are currently a microcosm of the fractured national indigenous politics in Bolivia. As shown in chapter three, this has meant that the struggles over who will define what autonomy means for the Kallawayas have splintered along the lines of the indigenous or peasant federations.

This chapter will add to a body of work on indigenous, particularly Andean, social and political movements in Bolivia, which particularly takes succour from the work of Xavier Albó on the development of Andean communities' political engagement with the Bolivian State, and their own political formation as it has evolved from the class-based politics of the union of 1952, to the greater emphasis on ethnic identity of the Katarista movement, the

demands for a plurinational state, and the relationship between the union and CONAMAQ after the reconstitution of the *ayllus*. Albó wrote in 1987 that he considered himself to have been 'hacking open a trail... with more daring than precision. Without a doubt, the open path holds many more surprises and lessons for anyone who chooses to pursue it' (Albó 1987:413). I am following down this same path.

2.2 Part one

2.2.1 The State of 52': Agrarian reform and syndicalisation

This section will examine the relationship between indigenous peoples and the State in Bolivia. I am using 1952 as my starting point because it was an epochal moment in modern Bolivian history, marking what Choque and Mamani (2001:204) describe as a historic divide between a period of exclusion of indigenous peoples from full citizenship of the nation-state, to another period of inclusion through assimilation. The National Revolution emphasised the *nation*, as unitary, homogeneous and stable (Sanjines 2004:20). The right-wing populism of the revolutionary government with its nationalisations, agrarian reform, greater inclusion of indigenous peoples within the State, and general rhetoric of change, as Yampara (2011:4) notes, is echoed by the current left-wing populism of Evo Morales' government.

The National Revolution was led from the cities by militants of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) political party and army defectors after the outgoing government of Mamerto Urriolagoitia refused to accept the result of the 1951 election, which the MNR had won (Dunkerley 1984:36-9). However, upon hearing of the revolution, peasants took it upon themselves to occupy lands and demand their expropriation (Dunkerley 1984:66-7) – indeed, the land seizures effectively 'made' the revolution (Eckstein 1976:42-3, quoted in Dunkerley 2003:143), forcing the revolutionary government, the MNR, into enacting agrarian reform in 1953 which would give land to those who worked it. Along with parcelling out land, included in the agrarian reform measures, was legislation abolishing gratuitous services known as *pongueaje* which peasants had been obliged to perform in the household of the *patrón* (the land-owner) if living on their estate, and the regulation of paid remuneration on what remained of the land-owner's estate after the reform. One man who was a local union leader in the area of Charazani after the Revolution confirmed that where

there had been haciendas⁴ these reverted to communities; where the men used to work for free on the land of the *patrón* they were now remunerated for their work.

The process of land-titling was conducted through peasant unions set up by the MNR, via the Ministry of Peasant Affairs, whose main job was 'to expand the governing party's ties throughout the countryside, through the creation of its *own* peasant unions' (Albó 1987:383). The MNR even persuaded many communities which had never been incorporated into haciendas to become part of the union structure. Besides the government deciding that only those communities organised into unions could gain access to redistributed land, the union was also a conduit for other benefits, such as enormous discounts on certain goods (Yashar 2005:160). The union became what Regalsky and Ortega (2010:38) call 'indirect communal agrarian governments'. As far as Albó (1994:57) is concerned, the *sindicato campesino* simply became the modern name of the community as it had always existed, whether it be *ayllu* or ex-hacienda. All community members automatically became part of the *sindicato* when they received a parcel of land (Albó 2008: 30), and each community-level *sindicato campesino* became at the same time the constituent part of a federal structure of provincial and departmental *centrals* and a national confederation, the *Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia* (CNTCB) (Albó 1994:57). The union became a vital part of what came to be known as the 'State of '52', as it replaced the hacienda as a means of social control and intermediary between peasants and the State (Damonte 2011:129-30; Yashar 2005:159).

In addition to agrarian reform, the MNR government also introduced universal suffrage for the first time in Bolivia. A number of writers (e.g. Yashar 2005:156) identify the post-revolutionary epoch as a period in which the indigenous population was taken into account for the first time as equal citizens of Bolivia, but in such a way that indigenous people, if they wanted to enter Bolivian society, had to shed cultural traits (such as dress, language, and their own names⁵), and 'assimilate' to a dominant national culture. The MNR downplayed the multi-ethnic nature of Bolivia and, as a measure aimed at eliminating racism, referred to peasants rather than Indians in official state discourse (Yashar 2005:156) and attempted to create a Bolivian national consciousness through schooling, which would

⁴ Large estates usually owned by European descendants.

⁵ See for example Jorge Sanjinés' (1989) film, *Nación Clandestina*.

'civilise' Bolivia's rural population (this shall be dealt with in chapter five), and through the union, which was charged ideologically as representing 'modernity' and 'progress' and a distancing from the traditional organisation of the *ayllu*. Maíz (2006:94-5) identifies assimilationist policies as a strategy of governments of nation-states to combat the rise of ethno-nationalism, and indeed Silvia Rivera (1986:12, cited in Ticona et. al. 1995:102) sees one of the main objectives of syndicalisation as having been to put the brakes on the construction of any radical anti-colonial proposal against *criollo* domination. Through the union, the MNR satisfied one demand of the indigenous movement, which was citizenship, but at the expense of their other objective, which was autonomy and self-government (Ticona, et al. 1995:102)⁶ (and the first of Taylor's (1994:38) principles of equal recognition (equal rights), at the expense of the second (the right to difference).

2.2.2 Katarismo

The rural unions set up by the MNR after the Revolution were part of a paternalistic pact between the State and indigenous communities. In return for supporting the party, rural communities were allowed a great deal of autonomy. However, during the military-peasant pact under the dictatorships of the 1960s and 1970s, particularly that of Hugo Banzer from 1971-78, military governments exerted greater control over the countryside, limiting the autonomy of indigenous communities and the resources they received from the State (Yashar 2005:163-4). The military-peasant pact was an agreement between the military and peasants by which the former would respect the reforms of the Revolution, and the latter would support the military government unconditionally (Dunkerley 1984:132). The peasantry were effectively a bulwark against any agitation by the political Left. The response to the military-peasant pact came, in the 1970s, in the form of an Aymara ethno-nationalist movement known as *Katarismo* (named after Tupaj Katari, who led an Aymara uprising which lay siege to La Paz in 1781). The Kataristas were a group of urban-educated Aymaras, with their roots in the Aymara communities of the altiplano, who set up a cultural centre and radio station in El Alto, and went on, by the end of the 1970s, to form their own political parties. Influenced by the writings of Indianist writer Fausto Reinaga, they questioned the nature of the State of '52, in particular the relationship between indigenous communities

⁶The assimilation of indigenous groups to a homogeneous national culture, Díaz-Polanco defines as '*ethnofagia*' (Zibechi 2012:128).

and the State itself. 'At its simplest,' writes Canessa (2000:121) '*katarismo* represents an attempt to produce a meaningful indigenous alternative to the Western model of modernity.' As a movement it represented a response to the *mestizaje* which the revolutionary government had used as a nation-making ideology, and inculcated through rural schools in which the aim was to create 'national citizens' (*ibid.*:122). *Mestizaje* was an ideology predicated on racial and cultural mixing, but one that still privileged whiteness and Western culture (*ibid.*:144). Katarismo tapped into a sense of alienation felt by many Aymara regarding metropolitan culture, and proposed an alternative ethnic Aymara nationalism as a response to the assimilationist ideology of the State of '52 and the way the State ignored the ethnic dimension in dealing with indigenous peoples (*ibid.*:129).

Canessa (*ibid.*:126) does not see this Aymara nationalism as representing a proposal for an Aymara nation-state, but a description of themselves as an ethnically distinct people. The language of nationhood was used by Aymaras as a way of expressing their concerns about their relationship with the State of Bolivia (Canessa 2000:126). In 1973, the Kataristas released their first public document, the Tiwanaku manifesto, which highlighted the intersection of class and indigenous struggle, and critiqued both colonialism and the 1952 Revolution. The Revolution was criticised for having promoted 'individualism, power-mongering and co-optation' (Yashar 2005:176), and for having led to the introduction of schooling which 'not only tries to convert the Indian into a type of *mestizo* without definition or personality, but pursues his assimilation to western and capitalist culture' (Canessa 2000:124).

Katarismo emerged as a movement through the peasant unions of La Paz, but was critical of the same unions both for the way that they had been in thrall to political parties, particularly the MNR⁷, and the overemphasis on an analysis of their exploitation in terms of a class, rather than viewing themselves, as Aymaras, as an exploited nation. Kataristas preferred to analyse their situation 'with two eyes' (Albó 1994:55), through one lens viewing themselves as part of an exploited class, and another as one of many oppressed nations within Bolivia (Sanjinés 2004:160). Indeed the Kataristas 'discover[ed] their class solidarity in

⁷ According to Ticona et al. (1995:193) the Kataristas added a fourth maxim to the three traditional Inca maxims of 'ama sua, ama llulla, ama qhella' ('don't steal, don't lie, don't be lazy'), which was 'ama llunk'u' (don't be servile).

their ethnic identity' (Albó 1987:143). Although, as Albó (*ibid*) points out, peasant movements which have achieved mass mobilisation have drawn heavily on both class and ethnicity as their ideological foundation, these two visions of reality in the late 1970s solidified into two competing political tendencies, which respectively aimed for control of the State and autonomy from it. These were the MRTK (Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari, which included 'revolutionary' in their name as a reference to their greater emphasis on class-based ideology), and MITKA (Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari, with the 'I' for 'Indio' signalling their emphasis on their own ethnicity) (Albó 1987:401). Schavelzon (2012:84) points to the opposition between class and ethnicity as containing a third element: the nation. The two strands of Katarismo had competing visions of the changes they proposed in terms of the indigenous movement's relationship with the State. On the one hand, the MRTK sought to strengthen and deepen the indigenous movement's role within the State of Bolivia, with the objective of controlling the government and the State itself (Albó 1987:409), while on the other, the strand represented by MITKA sought greater autonomy from a state they saw as inefficient and intrinsically opposed to their interests, and to create their own bodies through which they could channel resources independently of the State. The significance of emphasising ethnicity alongside a class analysis was that it emphasised difference, and as Albó (1987:408) identified, explicitly pointed towards the creation of a plurinational state, as Kataristas made a connection between *lo etnico* and a vision of a 'nation' which no longer coincided with the nation-state (Ticona et al. 1995:208).

The Kataristas were the driving force behind reform of the peasant union movement, and in 1979 formed a new national peasant union federation, the CSUTCB (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia), which would become known colloquially (at least in Charazani) simply as 'la Única'. The CSUTCB broke with the old peasant unions linked to the political parties and the military – it differed from the old organisation in that it refused to have authorities imposed from above, but elected them organically from member communities (Yashar 2005:178). It marked its foundation with a thesis statement that the Aymaras, Quechuas, and other indigenous peoples in Bolivia were the true owners of the land, and that they desired to re-conquer their liberty to become subjects rather than objects of their own history (Schavelzon 2012:91). At their second congress in 1983, the proposal for the creation of a plurinational state was put forward (Albó 2008:40), at the

same time as endorsing both the class struggle of the peasantry, and denouncing ethnic discrimination against them. (Albó 1994:59).

2.2.3 Multicultural neoliberal reforms

The Plurinational State, as should already be clear, was far from an invention of the government of Evo Morales, elected in 2005. By the early to mid-1990s the notion that Bolivia contained many nations was actively being used in discourse by politicians even at the highest levels of government (Ticona et al. 1995:219; Schavelzon 2012:90). While the Vice-President from 1993 to 1997 Victor Hugo Cárdenas was a well-known *Katarista* leader whom Albó (1994:66) describes as one of the ‘principal exponents of the “Plurinational State”’, and who, when he was sworn in, spoke of a new age of *pachakuti* which would end 500 years of domination and marginality (*ibid*:68), even his running mate for President, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, from the MNR party, referred in his 1993 election campaign to Bolivia as a nation made up of many nations (*ibid*:56). In 1994, a new constitution was introduced, which would define Bolivia in its first article as ‘free, independent, sovereign, multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural...’ and became one of nine Latin American constitutions since 1979 to redefine their states in multi-cultural terms (Lee Van Cott 2000b:43). The MNR had come full circle, from being the party after the Revolution which advocated nation-building based on an ideology of homogenous *mestizaje*, to recognising the enduring multicultural character of Bolivia (Canessa 2000:130).

The exclusion and marginality of Bolivia’s indigenous peoples was supposed to be addressed in the *Plan de Todos* (see chapter five). This packet of laws both liberalised Bolivia’s economy and allowed indigenous people greater participation in local politics. The most significant part of the Plan for indigenous citizenship was the Law of Popular Participation – the *Ley de Participación Popular* (LPP) (also known as Law 1551), which was passed on the 20th of April 1994, and which decentralized power and financial resources to local government and made it possible for indigenous people to take control of local government administrations. The other significant laws were the Capitalization Law 21060 (1994); the Administrative Decentralization Law (1995); the Education Reform Law (1994), and the National Agrarian Reform Service Law (1996), commonly known as the Ley INRA (Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria) (Calla and Molina 2003:71-2). Collectively, the aim of these laws was to deepen neoliberal reforms of the 1980s by further opening up the Bolivian

market to foreign investment (the five largest State-owned companies were sold off), withdrawing State intervention from the market entirely (Kohl and Farthing 2006:85-6). Alongside this the machinery of government was decentralised, to ensure – in line with neoliberal ideology – increased efficiency of the government apparatus, a reduction of the power of the government as a whole (and therefore less ability to interfere with the market) and improvements in delivery of services (*ibid.*:29-30). Through the LPP the *Plan* also attempted to defuse opposition to the unpopular privatisation of national industries, through allowing its opponents greater political participation at a level of government isolated from the centre (*ibid.*:102). In the short-term this worked, though in the longer term it was through participation in local government that Evo Morales' quasi-socialist MAS party was to grow and to eventually counter the neoliberal hegemonic agenda at national-level elections and to take control of national government itself.

Despite the inclusion of the decentralizing law, the Plan de Todos came to be damned collectively as '*leyes malditas de banco mundial*' (Torrico 2011:7; Rojas 2009:260; Kohl and Farthing 2006:99). With the passing of the years, according to Albó (2008:47), the LPP has come to be regarded with greater affection, as it made it easier for the previously excluded majority to participate politically and is now regarded as a *ley bendita*. The novel feature of the Plan de Todos was that it signalled a departure away from the way that indigenous people had been regarded in the State of '52, as subjects to be moulded into national citizens, with a Bolivian identity. Attaining a homogeneous country was no longer an aim of the State, as the Plan recognised the diversity of peoples within the State's borders (Albó 1994:69-71).

In the section on the 'fundamental principles and values' of the Plan de Todos, Bolivia is described as a pluralist state made up of various actors with equal rights. Whilst Bolivia was recognised as a heterogeneous country, it was also stated that this pluralism 'should be channelled towards the construction of a unitary, strong, and integrative state.' Albó believed that while the MNR's acknowledgement that its 'nationalism' required 'recognition of diversity' demonstrated the influence of *Katarismo*, its assertion of the unitary nature of the State also flew in the face of *Katarista* demands for a plurinational state (Albó 1994:69). However, Bolivia's most recent constitution declares Bolivia to be a unitary state, but nonetheless a plurinational one.

The constitutional reforms were a direct response to the March for Territory and Dignity by indigenous peoples from the lowlands of Bolivia, which arrived in La Paz in 1990, and which when Aymaras joined them for the final part of their journey into the city itself, reminded the residents of the city of La Paz of the siege of La Paz by Tupaj Katari in 1781 (Schavelzon 2012:117-9; Canessa 2000:127-8). The marchers demanded recognition of their territorial autonomy and their own authorities, but as part of the Bolivian nation-state (Yashar 2005:212). This march was important for the project of the Plurinational State because the appearance in the West of peoples from the lowlands emphasised the cultural multiplicity inherent in the idea of the Plurinational State already enunciated by the Kataristas (Schavelzon 2012:119). It was also significant in acting as a focal point to create greater connections between highland and lowland indigenous organisations, such as the *Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia* (CSUTCB), and the lowland organisation, *Confederación Indígena del Oriente Boliviano* (CIDOB), which would eventually result, in 2004, in the Unity Pact which called for the constituent assembly to re-write Bolivia's constitution once again.

For Albó (2008:70) it was in the context of decentralisation that *Kataristas* and neoliberals found common ground. The decentralisation from a state seen by both as corrupt served the interests of furthering both indigenous nationhood and economic liberalisation. Žižek (1997:44) provides an analysis of multiculturalism that finds it to be the ideal form of ideology for global capitalism. He characterises multiculturalism as a kind of racism, which appreciates the value in other cultures, but does so from a position of an '*empty point of universality*' from which the multiculturalist can assert their own superiority. Charles Hale (2002) also observes the convergence between multiculturalism and capitalism, with the spaces opened up by multicultural policies at the same time structured themselves by what Hale calls '*neoliberal multiculturalism*', which defines what kind of indigenous activism is acceptable within these spaces, and indeed the meaning of indigeneity itself. Hale (2002:491) calls multiculturalism the *mestizaje* for the new millennium. Unlike the doctrine of *mestizaje*, which was dominant in Latin America for much of the twentieth century, multiculturalism is predicated on the state's recognition of indigenous communities, but also involves the active reconstitution of indigenous communities by the state (*ibid*:496). Thus '*neoliberalism's* cultural project is to harness and redirect the abundant political

energy of cultural rights activism, rather than directly to oppose it' (*ibid*:498). Indeed, Albó (2008:45-6) proposes that international funding organisations, such as the World Bank find it easier to support organisations whose public discourse is set out in terms which emphasise their oppression as an ethnic group, rather than a class, precisely because such a discourse does not challenge the economic framework in which these bodies operate.

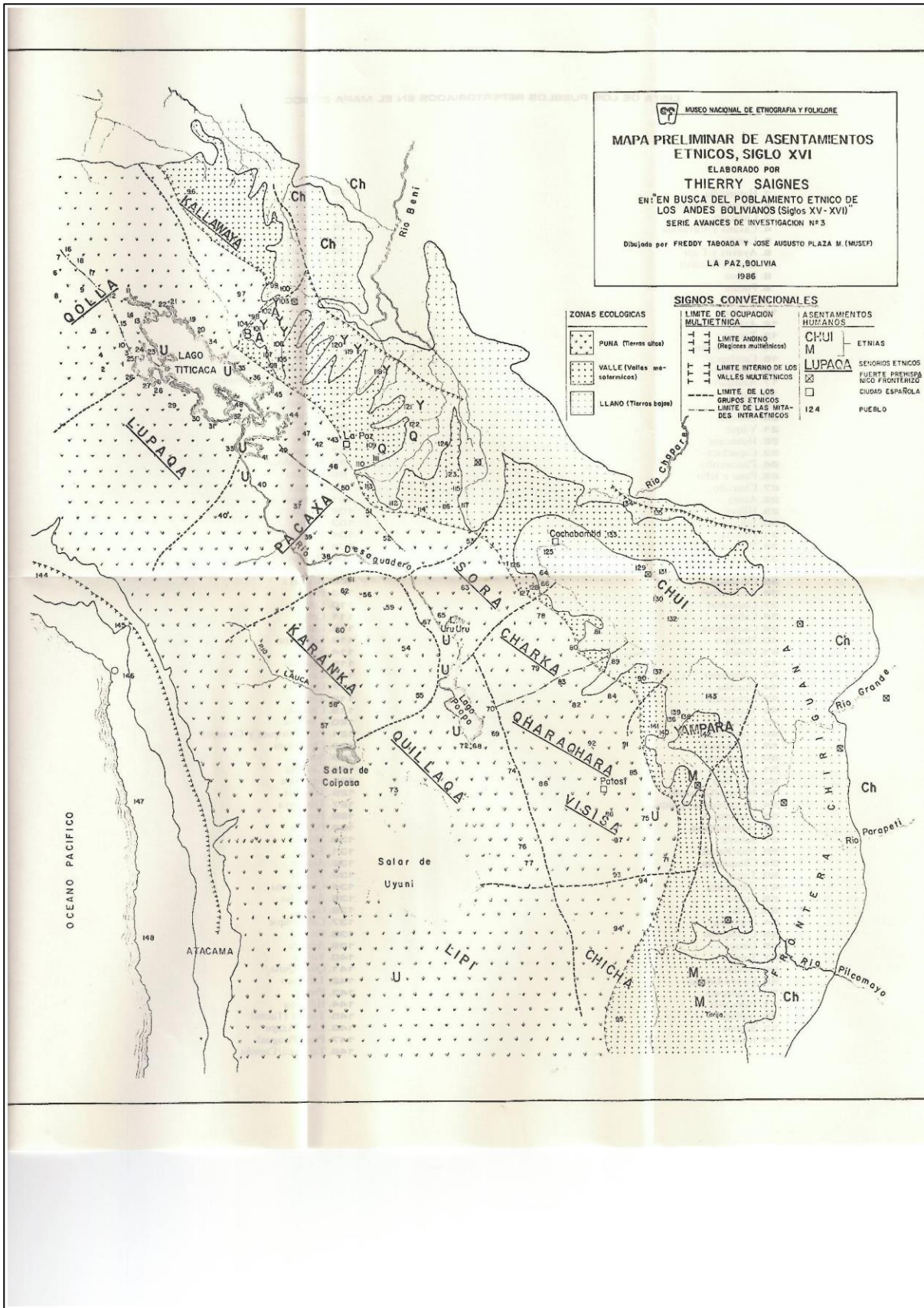
2.2.4 The reconstitution of the *ayllus*

Against the national political backdrop of neoliberal multiculturalism a new indigenous movement arose which would align themselves in opposition to the CSUTCB. During the 1980s, a group of urban-Aymara intellectuals, working in the La Paz-based NGO, *Taller de Historia Oral Andina* (THOA), conducted research into the *caciques apoderados*, a group of indigenous authorities, who had fought for legal recognition of the rights of their communities in the early decades of the twentieth century, using colonial titles as evidence for their land claims (Stephenson 2002; Gotkowitz 2007; Choque and Mamani 2001). From their initial investigations sprang the project to reconstitute many of the *ayllus* in La Paz which had been transformed into unions. According to Lucero (2006:44), one of the reasons for indigenous communities' desire to reconstitute as *ayllus* was practical: to attempt to avoid a new tax regime proposed in 1991 by the national government of Jaime Paz Zamora. Many *ayllus* possessed colonial titles that exempted them from tax. THOA therefore received requests from communities for assistance in de-syndicalising and reasserting themselves as *ayllus*, in the belief that this would help them to avoid paying the tax. Convention 169 of the International Labour Organisation, which Paz Zamora had ratified the same year, was also seen by Aymara authorities at the time as significant, because it recognised the existence and collective rights of indigenous peoples. Through workshops in mainly Aymara-speaking communities across the *altiplano*, THOA attempted to recuperate the memory of '*usos y costumbres*', proscribed through decades of cultural assimilation (Damonte 2011:130), and through historical investigation recuperate 'territorial narratives', which they used in the proposal for reconstitution of *ayllus* (Damonte 2011).

The *ayllu*, for Choque and Mamani (2001:207) has three essential characteristics: land is inalienable and held collectively; it is of pre-hispanic origin; its political structure uses both colonial and pre-colonial elements, and familial relations are of fundamental importance. The first *ayllu* to be reconstituted was the part of *suyu* Pakajaqi lying in the province of

Ingavi, through the writing of a statute which would allow the *ayllu* to be formally recognised as an institution by the State. Choque and Mamani (2001:211) refer to the conversations with the elder generation of Pakajaqi having convinced them of their desire to return to their own *thakhi* (path) of the *ayllu*, and traditional authority. For Choque and Mamani (2001:211, 216-7) a return to the *ayllu* - a fundamental symbol of ethnic identity throughout the Andes, casting off what they saw as a foreign organisation in the form of the union, was a fundamental decolonizing measure and the fulfilment of the autonomy which the *caciques apoderados* had fought for. The principal objective of the reconstitution from the point of view of THOA was the rights of territory and autonomy for Quechua, Aymara and Uru indigenous peoples (2001:203). They refer to the return of the *ayllu* as being understood in those communities in which reconstitution took place, as a *pachakuti* – a new configuration of the *pacha* (time and space) (ibid:212).

The reconstitution of the *ayllu* in Ingavi was, from 1995, the first of many across La Paz and other departments. THOA and the Bolivian government, through the office of the Vice-President Victor Hugo Cárdenas, coordinated the formation of department-wide federations of these new *ayllus* (Stephenson 2002:112). The *ayllus* of La Paz formed CONSAQ (*Confederación de Suyus Aymaras y Quechuas*), and other departments likewise, formed their own federations. With the aim of advancing the reconstitution of the *ayllus* at national level, on the 16th September 1993, the *Comite Impulsor de Ayllus de Bolivia* (CIAB) was formed in the Yura village of the Quijarro province in Potosi (Chuquimia 2010:35). This initiated a process which would lead to the creation of CONAMAQ (*Confederación de Ayllus y Markas de Qullusuyu*) in their first *tantachawi* (assembly) in the town of Ch'allapata, Oruro on the 22nd March 1997 (Choque and Mamani 2001:219; Damonte 2011:13). The stated long-term aim of CONAMAQ was the reconstitution of Qullasuyu (the Southern quarter of the Inca Empire) (Pape 2009:106; Schilling Vacaflor 2008; Chuquimia 2010:35). The reconstitution of the *ayllus* was the foundation stone for this project, which aimed to reconstitute the 16 *suyus*, or nations, described in the memorial of Charcas of 1552, a map drawn sixteen years after the arrival of the Spanish (Schavelzon 2012:104), though CONAMAQ was directly inspired by the map created by Thierry Saignes in 1986 (see below).



Map 2: The sixteenth century ethnic divisions in the Eastern Andes (source: Saignes 1986)

CONAMAQ was also founded upon an agenda of intercultural dialogue between indigenous Andeans and *q'aras* (literally meaning peeled, referring to the white or culturally *mestizo* population of Bolivia), which inferred the recognition of a real existing difference ethnically or culturally between two cultures in Bolivia, and a rejection of the cultural homogeneity which the State of '52 had attempted to create (see Fausto Reinaga's *Revolución India* (2001[1970])).

From the beginning, CONAMAQ set itself up in opposition to the CSUTCB, which they presented as part of the apparatus of colonial domination, and in their discourse emphasised that it was only they as an organisation that represented the genuine Andean identity of the Aymaras and Quechuas (Damonte 2011:132). CONAMAQ portrays itself as 'solidary, collectivistic and authentic', while orientalisng CSUTCB as 'egoistic, too individualistic and as reproducing systems that were externally imposed' (Schilling Vacaflor 2008). As Damonte (2011:132) points out, this is despite the fact that what made the CSUTCB distinctive from its previous syndical incarnations was the ethnic component of its discourse, brought to it by the Kataristas. The opposition which CONAMAQ as an umbrella organisation makes between themselves and the CSUTCB is one which is questioned by Ticona et al. (1995:105), who found that at the level of individual communities a 'double structure' of traditional and syndical authorities working alongside one another in the same community was often not seen as problematic at all by the communities themselves, as it allowed them to legalise themselves as communities in the eyes of the State, while maintaining their traditional customs through other, non-syndical authorities. Albó (1987:407) points out that the syndical organisation in rural areas had always had two functions: 'it is the communal organization at its minimal level, and it is a 'federation of communities' pursuing more syndical revindications at its higher levels.' Orta (2001:199) notes that the *ayllu* often appears in Andeanist literature to denote an 'Andean authenticity', 'of counterposing the *ayllu*/community to liberal reforms, modernity, market penetration and so forth', and characterising the *ayllu* as resistant to changes associated with modernity. For Lucero (2006:39), citing Spivak, CONAMAQ are engaging in 'strategic essentialism', 'claiming a timeless identity in order to advance certain political ends'.

The CSUTCB, in response to the discourse of 'Andean authenticity' used by CONAMAQ, criticises CONAMAQ for receiving financial support from 'anti-national interests' (Schavelzon

2012:103-4). From its inception, CONAMAQ has received financial and institutional support from a number of international organisations, particularly Oxfam and the Danish NGO DANIDA (Albó 2008:55; Lucero 2006:46). Chambi (2011:79) characterises the whole process of the reconstitution of the *ayllus* as completely managed by NGOs, and thinks it important to take into account that not a single reconstitution of these indigenous social and territorial structures can be understood outside the context of foreign funding. For Lucero (2006) CONAMAQ has constructed their identity as ‘authentic Andeans’ in an intersubjective relationship with international bodies who provide funding for indigenous movements, having realised that ‘how Indians are spoken about transnationally shapes who gets to speak for Indians locally’ (2006:52), as have other indigenous people in Latin America (Conklin 1997; Jackson 1995; Nash 2001).

My own research for this thesis contrasts with the perspectives of Ticona et al. (1995:105) and Albó (1987:407) that the relationship between CONAMAQ and the CSUTCB is relatively unproblematic at a local level. As I will show in chapter three, in Charazani, the affiliation of communities to one federation or the other only exacerbated rivalries between communities over power, providing them with another method of orientalising one another. As I shall show in chapter seven, this has had significant implications for the ritual relations through which Kallawayas relate to one another as one body.

2.2.5 The Unity Pact

In 2004 a ‘Unity Pact’ was formed between lowland indigenous organisations, the CSUTCB, and CONAMAQ. The lowland organisation CIDOB, and CONAMAQ would become close during a 2002 march by lowland organisations which CONAMAQ met when it arrived in La Paz, culminating in demands for the convocation of a constituent assembly to write a new constitution, and with their more ethnic, rather than class focussed agenda, would be regarded as ‘*indios permitidos*’ (to use the phrase originally used spontaneously in a debate by Silvia Rivera, and later by Hale and Millamán (2004) and Hale (2006)) by the neoliberal governments of the period, in contrast to the ‘*indios alzados*’ of the CSUTCB (Albó 2008:56, 70; Schavelzon 2012:120).

It was in joint demands for a constituent assembly to write a new constitution that CONAMAQ and CIDOB were joined in the Unity Pact by the CSUTCB and other smaller organisations from the highlands and lowlands, in what Schavelzon (2012) characterises as

an uneasy alliance. A major point of contention was in finding a common term with which to define themselves. The phrase ‘pueblos y naciones indígena originaria campesinas’ was arrived at to overcome differences of identity between lowlanders who identified as *indígenas*, highlanders in CONAMAQ who preferred the term *originario* (used since the colonial censuses – see chapter four) which they felt described the traditional lifestyle they felt they maintained⁸, and authorities within the CSUTCB (including colonizers of the coca-growing Chapare region), who regarded themselves as both indigenous and *campesinos* (Schavelzon 2012:93-8). According to Schavelzon (ibid:94), there were also many within the CSUTCB who were more comfortable with the label *campesino*, but felt that in the context of the reform agenda, it would be convenient to identify as an ‘*indígena*’ in order to increase their chance of access to land. The criticism of the inclusive term which was arrived at to obscure the differences between the groups was precisely that it diluted what it meant to be indigenous, as communitarian indigenous peoples were lumped together with those tied to the market (Schavelzon 2012:97). On the other hand, Rivera (2012:99) is critical of the term ‘original people’, because it

at the same time obscures and excludes the large majority of the Aymara- and Quechua-speaking population of the tropics, the mining centers, the cities, and the indigenous commercial networks of the internal and black markets. It is therefore a suitable term for depriving indigenous peoples of their potentially hegemonic status and their capacity to affect the state.

2.2.6 The Constituent Assembly and the New Constitution

In 2005, Evo Morales was elected president of Bolivia with 53% of the vote, and his *Movimiento al Socialismo* (MAS) party formed the government after winning 43.5% of the vote and 72 of 130 seats in the chamber of deputies. The law to convoke the Constituent Assembly (Ley 3364, promulgated on the 6th March 2006) was one of the first laws passed after Evo Morales became President (Schavelzon 2012:143), even though many in MAS, closely aligned to the CSUTCB, asked what the point of the constituent assembly was now

⁸ Though Ticona et al. (1995:216) describe the term having first been used by the CSUTCB as self-identification in meetings with CIDOB in 1991.

that they were governing the country (Stafanoni 2012:26, cited in Schavelzon 2012:117), and worried that autonomy for 'indigenous nations' threatened their autonomy on a national scale.

The assembly sat from 2006-7, and designed a constitution that was the culmination of decades of struggles by Bolivia's indigenous movements towards their objective of a plurinational state. The constitution went further than its 1990s incarnation, incorporating a level of self-determination absent from the previous pluri- multi- rhetoric (Schavelzon 2012:93). For Bolivian writer Raúl Prada (2010:91) the constitution of the Plurinational State instituted 'a decolonizing revolution, opening up a new civilizatory and cultural project'. This new project would lay to rest the cultural homogenisation of the National Revolution, characterised by Luis Tapia (2008:76) as 'nation against anti-nation', and mark the arrival of 'difference' in the state (Schavelzon 2012:507). The constitution addressed directly what Diaz-Polanco (1985) terms the 'ethnic national' question by explicitly recognising the historic rights of 'indigenous originary peasant nations and peoples and their ancestral dominion over their territories', and translating this recognition into positive rights, specifically the right to self-determination, consisting in 'the right to autonomy, self-government, their own culture, and the recognition of their institutions and the consolidation of their territorial entities under the law' (Article two). The acknowledgement that Bolivia contains 'precolonial nations and peoples' is the basis for the renaming of Bolivia as a 'plurinational state', though in the first article of the constitution, the State is nonetheless described as unitary ('a Unitary Social State of Plurinational Communitarian Law'). Bautista (2010) sees the emphasis in the first article on *lo comunitario* as being that which gives meaning to *lo plurinacional*: the State, conceived as plurinational recognises the participation of, and is representative of, national society (Bautista 2010:37). Through *lo comunitario* in the first article, Bautista (2010:50) connects the Plurinational State to the *ayllu*, as a community that 'reunites everything in life as a community': therefore founding a new politics, to transform the concept of *lo politico*. Mamani (2009:37-8) wonders whether the creation of a plurinational state ultimately means the destruction of the State, since he sees the Plurinational State as having been created on the basis of the acceptance of a 'multiverse' reality, on many ways of viewing the world, whereas the previous incarnation of the State had been based on what he calls a

'cosmological dictatorship' ('*dictadura cosmológica*') (*ibid*:40) in which one particular way of seeing, feeling, living and making life in social and economic terms was recognised. If Kymlicka (2001:114-5) is right to surmise that the more successful a multi-nation state is in granting self-government to its constituent nations the more this devolution of power becomes a threat to the original state, then the success of the Plurinational State should ultimately be judged in terms of the ability and self-confidence of the constituent nations, as separate peoples, to continue to question and negotiate their relationship with, and place in, the state.

As is customary in Bolivian politics (probably politics everywhere), the constitution was attacked by all sides either for being too radical or not radical enough. The constitution had had to take into account not just the desires of 'indigenous nations and peoples' for greater autonomy from the State, but also departmental administrations and opposition politicians, primarily in the East of the country, in the departments known as the *media luna*, which wanted their own kind of autonomy. One criticism cited by Schavelzon (2012:71) was that of Bartolomé Clavero who questioned article 171, in which the State of Bolivia recognised the rights of indigenous peoples to their lands. To Clavero this recognition was itself a sign of coloniality, as the indigenous peoples were prior to the State of Bolivia, and it should therefore be they who recognise the existence of the State. Others, such as former vice-President Victor Hugo Cárdenas, were critical of the constitution for being ethnocentric, as it gave specific rights to indigenous nations. Thus, believes Cárdenas, it regards them as first class citizens, 'intercultural' groups as second class, and the rest are left in a category of limbo (Schavelzon 2012:134-6). For the State project of MAS it was caught between two stools: on the one hand, the centralism characteristic of previous governments, something which writers such as Zibechi (2012) and Diaz-Polanco (1985:131-2) criticise as the natural tendency of the nation-state, making it an inappropriate agent for initiating emancipatory relations; on the other hand, there were the autonomies for indigenous nations, proposed by indigenous organisations which had been supportive of the MAS government's *proceso de cambio*, but which did not have close relations with the party itself.

2.2.7 Indigenous Autonomies

Probably the most significant aspect of the new constitution for the 'indigenous originary peasant nations and peoples' was the provision in articles 289-296 for 'indigenous originary peasant autonomy' (*autonomía indígena originaria campesina*)(AIOC). For the authorities within CONAMAQ and CIDOB in particular, this was a vital aspect of what it meant for Bolivia to become a plurinational state. Although some kind of constitutionally recognised indigenous autonomy was something for which indigenous organisations had been clamouring for some time (see Galindo 2007 for an overview of the variety of proposals for indigenous autonomy and reconstitution of the State coming from the Aymaras alone), the depth of the MAS government's enthusiasm for the indigenous autonomies became more profound only as the pressure from the departments of the *media luna* for their own autonomy became stronger (c.f. the implementation of the LPP). The depth of the institutional competencies of the indigenous autonomies became stronger as a direct response to the departmental autonomies, as the MAS government tried to counteract the power of the departments, and enshrined the principal that no one autonomous level would subordinate any other (Schavelzon 2012:475).

Although the autonomies were welcomed by indigenous organisations such as CONAMAQ, which saw the autonomies as a first step to the potential refounding of Qullusuyu, even some former supporters of the concept of the Plurinational State, such as VH Cárdenas, were sceptical. Cárdenas asked, if the purpose was to decolonise, which pre-colonial map should they be referring back to, the Inca, Aymara, or Uru? Moreover, for some *indianistas*, also critical of the indigenous autonomies, they reproduced the colonial logic of the *reducciones* (colonial-era communities created for the control of indigenous people – see chapter four) because they set apart indigenous peoples from the rest of the Bolivian nation. Meanwhile, for the liberal opposition, they signified the end of the rule of law – one of the tenets of the indigenous autonomies being that they allowed indigenous nations to rule themselves according to their own interpretations of justice (Schavelzon 2012:464, 473). In the introduction to a review of the prospects for the indigenous autonomies in the highlands, Juan Pablo Chumacero (2009:7) of the La Paz-based NGO Fundación Tierra, sets out an optimistic vision regarding the importance of the indigenous autonomies in the context of the Plurinational State. He believes that they represent an opportunity to settle

a historic debt of discrimination and marginalisation experienced by the majority of the country, as well as a deepening of popular participation, and a strengthening of the relationship between the State and indigenous nations and peoples. Chumacero believes that indigenous autonomy has the potential to be the ‘practical setting of the Plurinational State’ (ibid).

The articles in the constitution specifically relating to the AIOCs do not refer to their purpose (as Orta 2013:111 notes). The closest to a statement of the aim of the indigenous autonomies can be found in article 30 which outlines the rights of indigenous nations and peoples (eighteen rights are specified, including the right to exist freely; the right to their cultural identity, religious and spiritual beliefs and practices and customs and cosmovision; and the right to protection of their sacred places). However, the purpose of the AIOCs was summarised for me by Daniel Viadez, the case worker for Charazani in the Ministry of Autonomies, who told me that the aim of the AIOCs was to ‘reinforce local power’, in order that an AIOC ‘as a small state can develop according to their own norms and procedures, with the aim of being able to ‘live well’’ (*vivir bien*). In fact the Framework Autonomies and Decentralisation Law does not mention facilitating *Vivir Bien* as a particular aim specifically of the indigenous autonomies, but of the autonomies as a whole. Article 5.5 of the law states that autonomous governments should base their actions on the philosophy of ‘*vivir bien*’ ‘*propio de nuestras culturas*’ (‘belonging to our cultures’). *Vivir Bien* is mentioned in the preamble and article 8 of the constitution (alongside the Inca moral precepts of *Ama qhilla*, *Ama llulla*, *Ama suwa* (don’t be lazy, don’t lie, don’t steal)) as one of the moral principles of the State. Although the article contains several translations of *Vivir Bien* into different indigenous languages, greater academic attention has been paid to the Aymara translation *Suma Qamaña* (see, for example, Spedding 2010; and much of Farah and Vasapollo 2011’s edited collection of essays). Gudynas (2011:243, citing Uzeda 2009) observes that the phrase *Suma Qamaña* is not one which is in common usage amongst Aymaras, but has emerged as a discursive tool in national-level political debates in recent years, and many writers also note that the translation between *Suma Qamaña* and *Vivir Bien* is lacking in precision (Medina 2011:39; Mamani 2011:68), and can only be properly understood in its correct cultural context (Albó 2011:133). Although theorists of *Vivir Bien* (or *Buen Vivir* as it is sometimes known, and is the phrase used in the Ecuadorian

constitution) demonstrate that the term has a variety of meanings, there are a number of common themes. The fundamental tenet of *Vivir Bien* is the balanced co-existence between different living beings (including not just humans and animals, but soil, water, mountains and air) of a community within the *ayllu* (Medina 2011:44-6; Albo 2011:136; Puente 2011:359), that the wellbeing of people is intimately linked to the wellbeing of plants, animals and the land (Medina 2011:51), and a fundamental aspect of living well is working on the land (Medina 2011:55; Puente 2011:361). One of the most important aspects of the concept of *Vivir Bien* is that nature is not treated as an object, but as a subject (Gudynas 2011:242). Spedding's (2010:5) criticism of theorists of *Vivir Bien* is that they do not explain how the concept can be applied to the daily lives of the majority of Bolivia's population without them giving up their urban jobs and lives and becoming agriculturalists. Another observation one might make is that at the level of the state the discourse of *Vivir Bien* and its theoretical implications of an intersubjective relation with nature did not stop the government from proposing to build a highway through the largest national park in the country, the TIPNIS (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécure).

The competencies of the AIOCs were vague. Article 290 simply stated that the 'self-government of indigenous autonomies would be exercised in accordance with their norms, institutions, authorities and procedures, conforming to their attributions and competencies, in accordance with the Constitution and the law'. There were three paths set out for becoming an indigenous autonomy. The first was allowed for TCOs (Tierras Comunitarias de Origen - referred to in the constitution as 'consolidated indigenous territories') to become indigenous autonomies through what amounted to a simple administrative procedure. The second allowed for municipalities to become indigenous autonomies. A municipality can become an AIOC if firstly its census data satisfies the criteria for it to be considered sufficiently indigenous⁹ (article 289 states that 'the indigenous originary peasant autonomy consists in the self-government as exercised in the free-determination of the indigenous originary peasant nations and peoples whose population shares territory, culture, history, languages and their own legal, political, social

⁹ In addition to which it must present supporting documents which provide evidence of the pre-colonial nature of the population in question (a historical connection to the territory they inhabit) as well as a signed petition and the confirmation that the petition has the support of elected municipal officials.

and economic organisation and institutions'), secondly, by agreeing in a referendum to become an AIOC, and thirdly by writing their own statute of governance, which must be approved by the legislature in Sucre, before being voted on finally in a referendum locally. A third method of forming an AIOC is simply by two indigenous autonomies joining together to form a regional autonomy. From the point of view of the municipality, the advantage of being an AIOC over simply being an autonomous municipality is that there are certain powers which an AIOC possesses, which a municipality does not have, principally the ability to make their own law. Furthermore, the AIOC would retain the competencies of the municipality (Albó and Romero 2009:11). According to statistical data collected by Albó and Romero (2009:22), 187 of the 327 municipalities in Bolivia had a majority indigenous population and had maintained their language, thus making them eligible to become indigenous autonomies.

2.3. Part two

2.3.1 '¿Está jodido, no?' (It's fucked, isn't it?): The reconstitution of the Kallawaya *ayllus*

This section examines how national-level changes to the structure of indigenous organisations already described in this chapter have affected the communities in the municipality of Charazani. When agrarian reform was enacted in Bolivia in 1953, a union politics was imposed on the *ayllus* and ex-hacienda communities of the Kallawaya region, as elsewhere in Bolivia, as a one-size-fits-all institution on the heterogeneous peasantry, regardless of their actual form of organisation at the time (Rivera 2003:134).

The peasant unions which were set up nationally as part of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CNTCB) were based on those of the smallholders in the Valle Alto of Cochabamba, rather than having any relation to *ayllu* organisation (Rivera 2003:122, see also Dandler 1983), and co-opted the peasantry into supporting the governing party, the MNR (the MAS party seems to have a similar relationship currently with the CSUTCB). In Bautista Saavedra the *ayllu* and ex-hacienda communities were not able to act freely and independently within the union, as *mistis* living in Charazani occupied positions of authority in a chain of city-town-countryside domination that continued after the revolution (Rivera 2003:125). In the province of Bautista Saavedra, despite the incursion of the haciendas into the valley, many communities in the upper valley, such as Amarete and Kaata

had continued to function as *ayllus*, but *ayllus* and ex-hacienda communities alike were incorporated into the union. The peasants began to assert their independence locally as the Katarismo movement arose in the 1970s, which aimed to create a peasant syndical movement with greater autonomy from the governing parties. The result was the creation of the *Federacion Departamental de Trabajadores Campesinos de La Paz-Tupak Katari* (FDTCLP-TK) in 1978, which was incorporated into the newly formed *Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores de Bolivia* (CSUTCB) at national level a year later (Rivera 2003:155-165).

The superimposition of the union over the *ayllu* resulted in a hybrid structure (Pape 2009:106). Although community authorities may have officially been called ‘secretaries’ under the union structure, rather than ‘*jilacatas*,’ (the traditional name for authorities within the *ayllu*) according to informants in a number of communities, their duties remained unchanged. This was described to me by Feliciano, mallku of the community of Niñocorín during the period of my fieldwork, as syncretism: ‘we are a union, but we keep acting like an *ayllu*’. In addition to the specific duties of a secretary of education or of justice, the authorities would still have to feed the shrines of the ancestors as had previously been the case (Bastien 1985:62). Although the Katarismo movement had resulted in a more independent peasant union, which identified itself as indigenous from the outset (Pape 2009:106), according to Aurelio (who was provincial executive of the union around the year 2000), from the 1980s onwards community leaders began to debate the relevance of syndicalism to the organisation of the communities locally. They saw union politics as more relevant to the factory workers in the cities and discussed reconstituting as *ayllus*. Aurelio also explained to me how the imposition of union politics had negatively affected the standing of ritual specialists of the Kallawayá *ayllus* (this will be examined in chapter seven).

This reconstitution was assisted, as elsewhere in the department of La Paz, by the THOA. The THOA held community workshops that aimed to resuscitate people’s memories of the pre-syndical organisation of their communities. The result was the reconstitution of many communities throughout the province as *ayllus* through the writing of their own statutes (*estatutos organicos*). During Aurelio’s time as executive the 64 communities of the Kallawayá region were reconstituted with *personeria juridica* as *ayllus*. His community of Lunlaya was no longer ‘Sindicato Agrario Lunlaya’, but ‘Juchuy (small) Ayllu Originario

Lunlaya'. However, only a small number of those communities (but significant in terms of population), all based in the highlands or high valley of the municipality of Charazani left the provincial branch of the CSUTCB to join CONAMAQ. On the whole only the communities which had retained their status as independent *ayllus* throughout the colonial period joined CONAMAQ, while those communities which had been incorporated into haciendas remained part of the CSUTCB.

On 27th April 1997 the Marka Suni¹⁰ (made up of the Aymara-speaking communities in the highlands of the Kallawaya region) reconstituted, and entered CONAMAQ shortly afterwards. The Suni reconstituted as a separate section of the municipality of Charazani through uniting the *ayllus* of Apacheta, Qotapampa and Amarqha, which had been part of the sections of Kaata, Chari and Amarete respectively. While the alpaca-herding communities thus reconstituted themselves as *ayllus* and formally created the Suni as a political organisation to represent themselves as communities with a common Aymara identity within the municipality, this also meant a political fragmentation locally with the greater *ayllus* they had traditionally been a part of Apacheta, Qotapampa and Amarqha had been the highland *ayllus* of the greater *ayllus* of Kaata, Chari and Amarete. When I asked a friend, Valerio, in one of the communities of the Suni, Qotapampa, why the Suni had decided to join CONAMAQ, he gave me rather pragmatic reasons. According to him they had joined CONAMAQ because they believed that as an organisation it would be better placed to help them in applying for projects to assist them with their alpacas. When there had been funding for alpaca projects whilst they were still in the provincial union, others had taken advantage of them. This accords with Yashar's assertion that many of the organisations which arose in competition to the CSUTCB did so because the 'CSUTCB had simply not delivered concrete goods to the community' (Yashar 2005:180), as well as with Lucero's (2006:39) that CONAMAQ engage in 'strategic essentialism'. When I asked Valerio's brother Natalio (the maximum authority in the Suni at the time) about the benefits of being affiliated to CONAMAQ rather than to the CSUTCB, he told me that CONAMAQ better represented indigenous peoples¹¹, but was keen to emphasise that the Suni was

¹⁰ Marka is the Aymara word for a collection of *ayllus*. *Suni* means highlands in Aymara.

¹¹ A common element of the discourse within meetings that I attended involving authorities from communities affiliated to CONAMAQ in the region was to refer to themselves as 'originarios', and those communities which had continued to belong to the CSUTCB as 'campesinos', which I took to imply that they considered themselves to maintained more fully their traditional culture than their counterparts in the union (sometimes

independent, with their own authority structure, did not have any desire to be a follower of anyone, and that they were willing to be a part of any large organisation which would represent them at national level (see chapter three).

At the time of my fieldwork in 2012 to 2013, Bautista Saavedra province was represented in CONAMAQ under the banner of the Nación Kallawaya by the Quechua-speaking *ayllus* of Kaata, Amarete, and the recently constituted Aymara-speaking Marka Suni. The *mallku* of CONAMAQ, who was effectively the equivalent of the Executive of the provincial CSUTCB, was from the Suni community of Qotapampa. However, the position rotated between the three *ayllus* every two years. The following incumbent of the position would be from the *ayllu* of Amarete. The arrangement to rotate the authority between the three *ayllus* clearly did not make it any easier than to work together. I was surprised one day in the *subalcaldia* of Amarete when the *subcalde* asked me what I thought of the situation in CONAMAQ, adding ‘*está jodido, no?*’ (it’s fucked, isn’t it?). What surprised me was his candour, rather than the description, after he had explained to me that he was alluding to the state of Amarete’s working relationship with their Aymara neighbours, the Suni. I was aware that there had not been a provincial meeting for several months. The reason for this seemed to be the mistrust Amarete authorities held at the time towards their cohorts within the provincial organisation stemming from their suspicion that Amarete would not be supported by them in their proposal to have the municipal government moved from its location in the colonial town of Charazani to Amarete upon successful conversion of the municipality to an AIOC. He went on to tell me that they were considering returning to the Única, mostly because they felt they couldn’t trust the Suni. The female head of the family I stayed with when in Amarete, María Elena, once told me about a dream she had had which I felt illustrated Amarete’s relationship with their Aymara-speaking neighbours. She told me that what happens in people’s dreams is usually the opposite of what then happens to them in real life, but that for her, however, what happens in her dreams often comes to pass (she is a contrarian). In the last week she had been having terrible back pains, and before she began having pains she had dreamt that she was in the Suni with people there. She told me that dreaming of being with strangers means that one is going to be ill, so took the dream as

this was suggested explicitly).

a forewarning. The dream clearly demonstrated an emotional distance between the Amareteños and their highland neighbours.

On the bus from La Paz to Amarete two weeks later, Alberto, María Elena's father-in-law, told me that Amarete were not satisfied with being in CONAMAQ and confirmed what I had heard before that they were thinking about returning to the *Única*. His opinion was that very little had changed for them whether they were in the *Única* or CONAMAQ. For him it had been a mere change of name. He was disparaging about the leadership of CONAMAQ, telling me that all they did was look after themselves rather than their communities. He also believed that the leaders within CONAMAQ received a salary, whereas those in the sindicato did not (Lucero 2006: 48, cites an Aymara mallku informant of Pacajes who similarly tells him that the CONAMAQ leadership are only after money, though suggests that they are no different to the sindicato authorities in this respect). Natalio told me in no uncertain terms that this was not the case. One day when I was in the mine of his community Qullpani with him after he had left behind the office of *mallku* of the Suni I asked him how often he had come to work there when he had been the authority in the Suni, and he told me that he had not had time to work a single day; when I asked him how he had earned money if he was not working in the mine, he told me that since he received no salary as *mallku*, he had had to save up during the year leading up to his period in office.

I learned from the mallku of Amarete that their discomfort with their position within CONAMAQ was not only due to having to cooperate institutionally with their Aymara neighbours, but also because of the critical stance which CONAMAQ as a national body took at that time towards many policies of the MAS government. Lucero (2006:52), citing Field (1994:239) points out that CONAMAQ have adopted what some scholars see as 'the primary characteristic of Indian ethnicity': political resistance and contestation. Amarete, on the other hand, having received support from the State in the form of public works, as well (I was rather pointedly told) as being chosen as the first destination within the province to receive a visit from Evo Morales after he became President, felt no reason to be critical towards the government, and therefore authorities tried to make clear (at least to me) their independence within CONAMAQ as an organisation. As Pallares (2002) shows with reference to Ecuador, particularist ethnic movements are often at odds with national federations, which can become a source of tension.

2.3.2 Returning to our *thakhi* (path)

For the Kallawayas, the new constitution, represented two achievements. Firstly, the Kallawayaya language – Macha-Jujay - was one of thirty-six languages to be recognised as official languages of the State. Secondly, the municipality of Charazani voted in a referendum to become an indigenous autonomy.

The Kallawayas had been represented directly in the Constituent Assembly. Eliza Vega, from the Kallawayaya *ayllu* of Amarete had passed through a series of elections first in her community and then at provincial level, before finally being elected to represent what was known as ‘circunscripción 18’, the grouping of three provinces of Omasuyos, Muñecas, and Bautista Saavedra. There had been discussions at the provincial level of the peasant union as early as 1993 over proposals to organise themselves as an ‘originary nation’¹², but it was from the time of the Constituent Assembly that the Kallawayas began to refer to themselves officially as the Kallawayaya Nation.¹³ Eliza saw the Kallawayas’ claim to nationhood as based in the constitutional recognition of the Kallawayas. It was through the language that the Kallawayas particularism was recognised constitutionally. CONAMAQ, however, did not accept that the thirty-six languages recognised in the constitution equated to thirty six indigenous nations. The confederation did not consider the Quechuas and Aymaras to be homogeneous nations, but made up of minority peoples, each with their own distinct identity (Schavelzon 2012:528). In the case of the Kallawayas, despite taking pride in their own distinct language, identification with the language, as shall be explained in the following chapter, does not provide clarity regarding Kallawayaya identity, as the majority of people who self-identify as Kallawayaya speak Quechua as their first language, and for the most part do not speak Macha-Jujay.

The Kallawayas’ conception of themselves as a nation seemed to be connected closely to a sense of territorial space. At the first meeting in the municipality of Charazani (which was in the *ayllu* of Amarete) concerning autonomy which I attended, the *mallku* of the ‘Nación

¹² Libro de Actas Niñacorín, 13th June 1993.

¹³ When I first arrived at the office of the municipal government in Charazani, I was struck by the words ‘*alcalde indígena, Nación Kallawayaya*’ emblazoned on the door of the mayor’s office. During 2012 the outer wall of the *alcaldía* was painted to read ‘Gobierno Municipal Autónomo de Charazani Nación Kallawayaya’. The phrase ‘Nación Kallawayaya’ seems to have become common parlance, as I have noticed from the messages friends from a variety of communities in the municipality of Charazani have posted on facebook usually with a photo which they say indicates some aspect of the culture of the ‘Nacion Kallawayaya’.

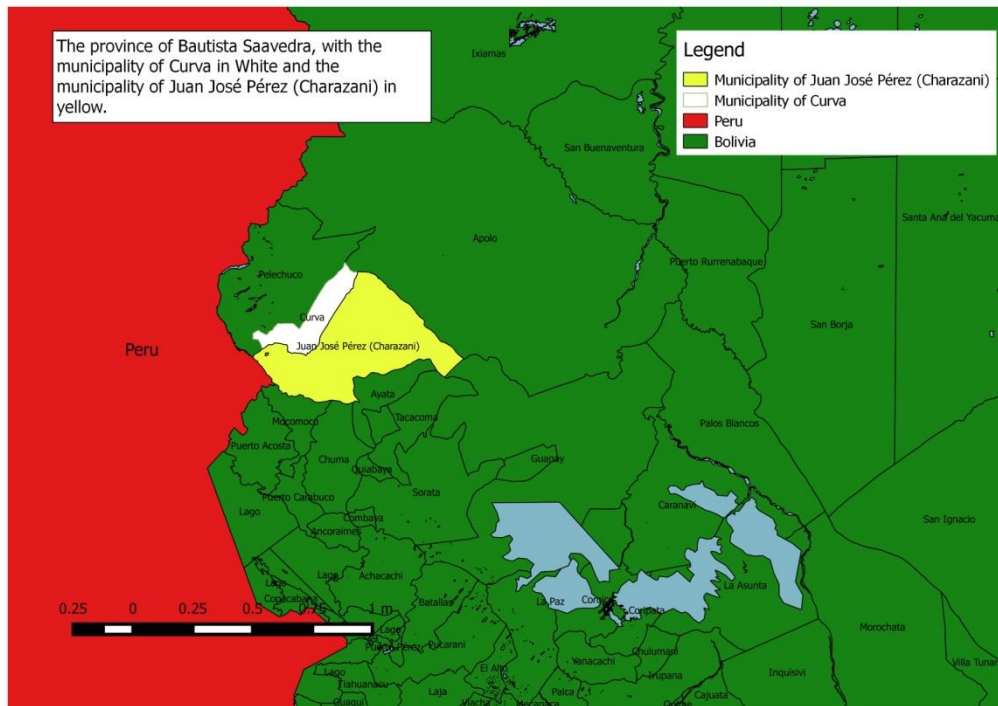
Kallawayaya' within CONAMAQ proclaimed that they had a grand aim behind their postulation for autonomy: 'We are a nationality, is it not so? Because the territory of the Kallawayaya Nation is immense. It is made up of part of Muñecas; it is made up of part of Franz Tamayo, and all of Bautista Saavedra. We have to reconstitute this territory.'¹⁴ He went on to state that through the autonomy they would be accomplishing a mission left to them by their ancestors: 'we are returning to our path, aren't we? This path was left to us by our fathers, our grandfathers, they left us a *thakhi*, a *ñan* we say in Quechua, they left us a *thakhi*.'¹⁵ The reference to the *thakhi* was significant, because the *thakhi* has a double meaning. It is simply a path on the one hand, but on the other it is a life-path, through which a man – and his wife (Blumtritt 2013) - must pass through a series of obligatory authority positions within his community, each of which serve the community in some way¹⁶. I was told after the meeting by the authorities present that they saw the autonomy of Charazani as a pilot project, with which they would then be able to reconstruct the whole of what they saw as the Kallawayaya Nation as one regional indigenous autonomy. By referring to the autonomy as a *thakhi*, the *mallku* was underlining that they were complying with an obligation, a service to their community.¹⁷

¹⁴ 'Somos una nacionalidad. ¿Es verdad o no es verdad? Porque el territorio de la Nación Kallawayaya es grande. Comprende parte de Muñecas; comprende parte de Franz Tamayo, y todo lo que es Bautista Saavedra. Tenemos que reconstituir ese territorio.'

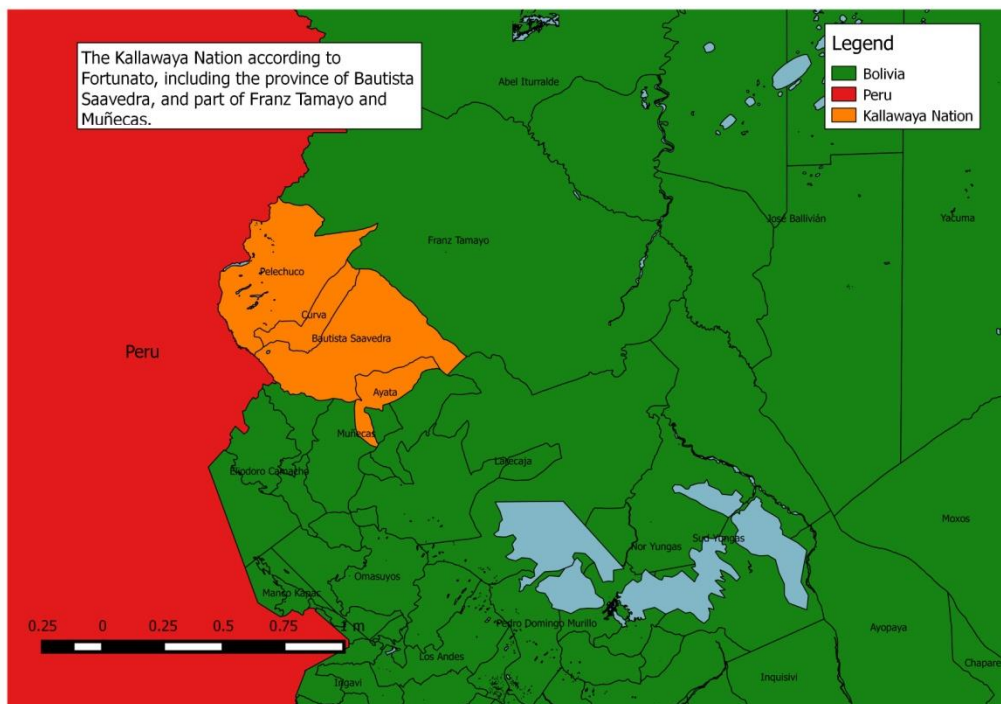
¹⁵ 'Estamos volviendo a un *thaki*, no? Ese camino nos habían dejado nuestros papas, nuestros abuelos, nos habían dejado un *thaki*, un *ñan* nos decimos en Quechua, un *thaki* nos habían dejado.'

¹⁶ Abercrombie (1994:106) suggests that the *thaki* system of authority was a colonial invention, as community posts merged with religious obligations in the *fiesta-cargo* system. Abercrombie (1998:112,321) also refers to *thakis* as 'memory paths' in which libations are made which link the living with the gods and ancestors.

¹⁷ Article 6 of the statute which would be written by the Kallawayaya's autonomy assembly stated that the 'aim of the AIOC is to consolidate the total reconstitution of the originary territory of the Kallawayaya Nation.'



Map 3: The province of Bautista Saavedra



Map 4: Bautista Saavedra plus the municipalities of Pelechuco (in the province of Franz Tamayo) and Ayata (in the province of Muñecas) – my interpretation of the territory Fortunato is referring to as historically pertaining to the Kallawayá Nation, using current municipal boundaries.

But why refer to themselves as a nation at all? Ticona et al. (1995:220) ask what ‘nation’ means in this context. They see a different meaning to that given to ‘nation’ by states, but also a commonality—ethnicities and states both believe that by referring to themselves as a nation they are making reference to a fundamental group identity with which their members feel primarily identified. The principal difference is that identifying as a nation does not mean that they wish to leave the Bolivian State. In the Bolivian case, ethnic groups use the label of nation not in anticipation of the creation of their own state, but to emphasise the respect with which they wish to be treated within the existing state (Ticona et al.: *ibid.*). They do not wish to stop being Bolivian citizens, but do not wish to lose their indigenous identity or be relegated to second-class citizens (which is why a plurinational state was demanded). The identification as a nationality could be seen as an expression of a belief in a right to self-determination, closely connected to the congealing of an ethnic-consciousness (Comaroff 1996:175-6). Damonte sees this consciousness-raising as inseparable from territorial constitution (2011:144). Ticona et al. (1995:216) point to ethnic identity arising from self-consciousness in confrontation with other sociocultural groups. For the Kallawayas this has been a complex process. Self-consciousness as a group has arisen among the communities in the territory cited in the speech by the *mallku* as being Kallawaya in opposition to *mestizo* townspeople (see chapter five). However, knowledge (or lack thereof) of the Kallawaya language also creates internal differentiation within that group (see chapter four).

The problem with the constitution of AIOCs according to the territorial borders of the municipality is that they do not necessarily match those of an ethnic group. The province of Bautista Saavedra broadly encompasses the territory of the Kallawayas, but fixed borders do not and cannot correspond exactly to the territory of Kallawaya *ayllus*. Firstly, the definition of the Kallawaya *ayllus* is a fluid one, which by some definitions encompasses only a few *ayllus* within the province, and by others may extend to include populations outside the province itself. Secondly, the division of the Kallawaya territory that broadly corresponds to the province of Bautista Saavedra complicates matters somewhat. The two municipalities are administered separately. Curva takes pride in an administration independent from that of the larger municipality of Charazani. Although both municipalities consider themselves to represent Kallawaya culture, and certainly do not dispute the claims of the other in doing so,

I was told by Kallawayaya autonomy leaders and a *concejel* in Curva that there had been no serious discussions between the two municipalities at this stage regarding creating a joint indigenous municipality. This seems, in part, to have been because the administration of Curva had no desire to relinquish the sole governance of their municipality, and to be subsumed within a larger administrative entity. Thirdly, ‘artificial borders,’ such as those associated with the province do not define Kallawayaya territory. Kallawayaya territory is defined through a lived relationship with the landscape. For Damonte (2011:105-6), a common Aymara social space is defined in relation to the mountains of the altiplano, which unite Aymaras, divided by the Bolivian/Peruvian border as one people. It is through relating to the *achachilas* (mountain spirits) that place is created, and the landscape is domesticated (*ibid*:104). He sees territory as created through social practices, which fix geographical limits (*ibid*:122, 142). The same creation of place through a lived relationship with the landscape is how Kallawayayas create and re-create a sense of territory, as an indivisible space intimately connecting them to their ancestors (Ticona et al. 1995:212). This ritual relationship with the landscape is one of the primary manifestations of belonging to a community, and legitimations of the sociocultural unit as such (Ticona et al (*ibid.*)). In the province of Bautista Saavedra worship of the same mountains unites the Kallawayayas in the municipalities of Charazani and Curva as one people within a territory. Mamani (2009:47-8) is critical of the concept of territory as expressed in the constitution with regards to indigenous autonomies, because he does not feel that it grasps this idea of territory being more than just land, but a whole cosmovision, involving living alongside the ancestors. Land is a prerequisite for territory and the relationship with ancestors is maintained through land (Rocha 1999), but the territorial vision of the Kallawayayas is one in which land is inhabited by and defined by a relationship with mountains as, what Rösing (1996a:151) refers to as, ‘transpersonal beings’, which is not confined by municipal, provincial or State boundaries (this will be explored at greater length in chapter seven).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the national political context in which the Kallawayaya autonomy project has arisen. Following Bolivia’s National Revolution in 1952 indigenous people were incorporated as equal citizens of Bolivia. However, indigenous people themselves have contested the nature of this citizenship. The contestation of the kind of citizenship offered

by the Bolivian State has led to the project to transform the State itself. The citizenship obtained by indigenous people in Bolivia after 1952 recognized them as equal citizens of Bolivia alongside other Bolivians. Charles Taylor (1994:43) characterises this type of citizenship as 'difference-blind', focussing on what is the same in all, rather than what makes each person or group distinct, particularly in terms of cultural differences. In Bolivia this meant transforming indigenous people into national subjects through the mould of *mestizaje*. As Taylor theorizes, this mould is not neutral, forming an amalgam of the various national subjects, but rather forms them according to the dominant, Hispanic culture.

The creation of the Plurinational State represents the rejection of the homogenizing politics of *mestizaje*, and a demand for a different kind of equal recognition, one that recognizes difference. A significant aspect of the recognition of difference which has been incorporated into the 2009 constitution is the idea that citizens of the Plurinational State should be enabled – by their autonomous governments - to live their own conceptions of the good life. Again, to quote Taylor (1994:30), it seems to be recognition that 'there is a certain way of being human that is *my way*', and that one cannot live a fulfilled life if one is living someone else's conception of the good life, and not one's own. This conception of equal rights privileges authenticity. We do not self-define though, but form our idea of the good life, culturally. One of the key themes of this thesis is to examine the conception of the good life for the Kallawayas; how it is realised (or not), and the way that the Kallawayaya conception of living well impacts on their relationship with the State.

Chapter 3. The Indigenous Autonomy of the Kallawaya Nation: whose autonomy is it anyway?

3.1 Introduction

As stated at the beginning of the thesis, on the 6th December 2009 the population of the municipality of Charazani voted overwhelmingly in favour of becoming an Indigenous Originario Peasant Autonomy (Autonomía Indígena Originario Campesino, which henceforth I shall refer to as an AIOC). The yes vote won by 86.6% (Ortiz and Zamorano 2010). It was one of eleven of the twelve municipalities which put to a referendum the question ‘Are you in favour of your municipality adopting the condition of Indigenous Originario Peasant Autonomy, in accordance with the principles established in the Political State Constitution?’¹⁸ to vote in the affirmative. The vote in favour meant that the office of the incoming mayor Martin Canaza, voted in on the 4th of December 2010 should have only been provisional, until the autonomy statute for the municipality of Charazani was approved, and he was replaced by an ‘indigenous’ form of local government (Ibid). However, despite the referendum having taken place in 2009, and a statute for autonomy having been written in an assembly which sat from late 2011 to mid-2012, at the time of writing the statute has still not been approved in a further referendum to create the autonomy. This chapter will examine ethnographically why this is the case, through debates inside the assembly and other meetings concerning autonomy, which reveal contestation of the meaning and control of autonomy and the definition of indigenous identity. The struggles between groups within the municipality reflect power struggles between corresponding national-level federations (see chapter two). This chapter also examines the nature of the debates in the autonomy assembly, which were ultimately about which sections of Kallawaya society would control the autonomy process; the content of these discussions revolved around the definition of Kallawaya identity. This will be further explored in chapter four.

¹⁸ ‘¿Está usted de acuerdo en que su municipio adopte la condición de Autonomía Indígena Originario Campesina, de acuerdo con los alcances y preceptos establecidos en la Constitución Política del Estado?’

3.2 The writing of the autonomy statute

When I arrived in the municipality of Charazani for the first time in late January 2012, more than two years after the autonomy referendum, the process of writing the statute which could then be voted on in a referendum for autonomy had barely got underway. The autonomy statute was to be written collectively by an assembly, formed of members chosen by their communities throughout the municipality of Charazani. It had taken until August 2011 for the Kallawayas to form the assembly due to the complex internal political situation within the municipality. Charazani is in the unusual situation of being home to three different political federations: the Consejo de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ); Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de la provincia Bautista Saavedra (CSUTCB-BS), generally known locally as the 'Única', and the Federación Originario Yungas Carijana Agroecológico (FOYCAE). To this can be added a fourth organisation, the Bartolina Sisas, which is effectively the female branch of the Única (it was never clear to me what the Bartolinas actually did, and I had no awareness of them holding meetings). The organizations spent some time arguing over the number of assembly members who would be elected from each organization. Eventually it was decided that the representatives would be chosen according to density of population, based on the results of the census conducted in 2001 (Fundación Tierra 2012:9). This meant that when assembly members were elected, CONAMAQ had 30 representatives in the assembly; the Única had 20, and FOYCAE 15. The assembly members were sworn in on the 26 August 2011, and in the second meeting the assembly members themselves elected an executive board of six members of the assembly: two from CONAMAQ; two from the *Única*, and two from FOYCAE.

The result of electing assembly members according to density of population was that the community in the municipality with greatest representation was *Athun* (greater) *Ayllu* Amarete, which was able to elect eight assembly members. Although in the assembly as a whole there was no stipulation as to how many assembly members should be men, and how many should be women, Amarete had decided that each of its four *sullk'a* (smaller) *ayllus* (often referred to as *zonas*) should send two representatives to the assembly, of which one would be male, and the other female. However, only one woman put herself forward for the role, so the representation was seven men and one woman. María Elena, who became an assembly member for Amarete, later told me she thought that other women did not seek to

become assembly members because their husbands were afraid they would meet other men while they were away for the day in another community for the assembly (her own husband generally accompanied her to the meetings of the autonomy assembly).

Although the *ayllu* of Amarete had the largest number of assembly members, the assembly elected a man from another CONAMAQ community, Rufino Quispe, from the *Suni* (highland) community of Llachuani, as President. The reason, I was told by an assembly member from the town of Charazani, was Rufino's (undeniable) charisma. The assembly divided into six commissions, each headed by a President, who had been elected within the assembly, and in meetings over the course of around a month, from the 6 January 2012, each wrote their particular section of the statute. Because of CONAMAQ's greater representation, five of the six commissions voted for someone representing CONAMAQ to be president of the commission, while the other was from FOYCAE (and even he was a migrant, originally from Amarete). The work of the six commissions was collated and approved in the form of the first draft of the autonomy statute in an autonomy assembly in the village of Chajaya in February, and the work of publicising the statute took place in meetings in communities throughout the municipality in the last week of February and first week of March at which amendments could be suggested.

3.3 Debating the statute: inter-community power-struggles

It was before these meetings to publicise the statute that I arrived in Charazani to begin my fieldwork research, and I was lucky to be allowed by the executive committee of the assembly to accompany them to the eleven meetings that had been arranged. Ten were scheduled, on consecutive days starting from the lowest point in altitude in the tropical community of Sotopata and ending in the highland community of Qotapampa, with one more meeting taking place a couple of weeks later in the



Figure 4: Autonomy meeting in Carijana 1st March 2012

relatively isolated valley community of Khazu. However, though the two meetings in the tropical communities of Sotopata and Carijana took place as arranged, as did those in four communities affiliated to CONAMAQ, Kaata, Amarete, Moyapampa and Qotapampa, not one of the four meetings scheduled to take place in communities affiliated to the *Única* went ahead as planned. The first in Chullina was cancelled in advance because of the opposition of the local *central* to the autonomy project; the next day a meeting was planned to take place in the community of Chari, around an hour's walk from the town of Charazani, but although there was no word that it had been cancelled, not a single community member turned up to the meeting. The following day, in Chajaya, there were more people present to publicise the statute than there were community members (the latter certainly didn't reach double figures) and the event had to be cancelled, with the blame for the lack of attendance placed at the assembly member for Chajaya by the local *central* leader.



Figure 5: Autonomy meeting in Kaata 3rd March 2012

It was at the next scheduled meeting in the community of Inca Roca in the district of Charazani that I began to get an insight into the strength of feeling of some people in the communities belonging to the *Única*, which I realised, was not one of disinterest, but of downright hostility towards the autonomy project. Before the meeting began the *Secretario de Relaciones*, representing the *central* of the district of Charazani spent a long while in consultation with the ordinary members of the district's communities, at one side of the school grounds where the meeting was being held. When they were finally ready to begin the meeting, Rufino wasn't even given a chance to present the draft statute, as the union leader launched into a furious diatribe against the autonomy project and the way it was being run. When he finished speaking, he handed Rufino two letters stating the position of the *central*, and stormed out, followed by about half of the community members. Somewhat comically, he had to return five minutes later to tell the rest to come too, though they had presumably wanted to stay to be informed about what autonomy was all about.

The first letter (a *voto resolutivo*), made clear that the reason why the communities were hostile to the autonomy project was that they feared domination by communities affiliated to CONAMAQ. It stated that in a sectoral meeting of the 'ayllus and *sullk'a ayllus Valle Unificada Charazani*' on 4th March 2012, after extensive analysis of the redaction of the project of the AIOC



Figure 6: Autonomy meeting in Chajaya 5th March 2012

statute, it had no legitimacy, and even less the participation of the communities in which the organizations and institutions of the district of Charazani should be participating. Secondly, it stated that the project was being manipulated by the leaders of CONAMAQ who were being advised by people from the neoliberal right, and made specific reference to two members of the consultancy which was assisting the assembly, one an ex-regional leader of CONAMAQ, and the other an ex-mayor of Charazani from Cochabamba. The second letter was from the community of Jatichulaya, informing the executive board that the assembly member from their community would be resigning from the assembly (Jatichulaya was the community of the *secretario de relaciones* of the district of Charazani).

Despite the meeting having ended rather acrimoniously, all of those present were nonetheless invited to lunch, though the atmosphere was frosty, to say the least. Later, when we arrived back at the house of Vidal, the assembly member from Inca Roca, on entering he saw a coca leaf on the floor and told me that this was a sign that the union leaders present on this day, led by the *secretario de relaciones*, would regret their stance, and in the end everything would turn out well. This was because the green side of the leaf was facing upwards, which was a positive sign.

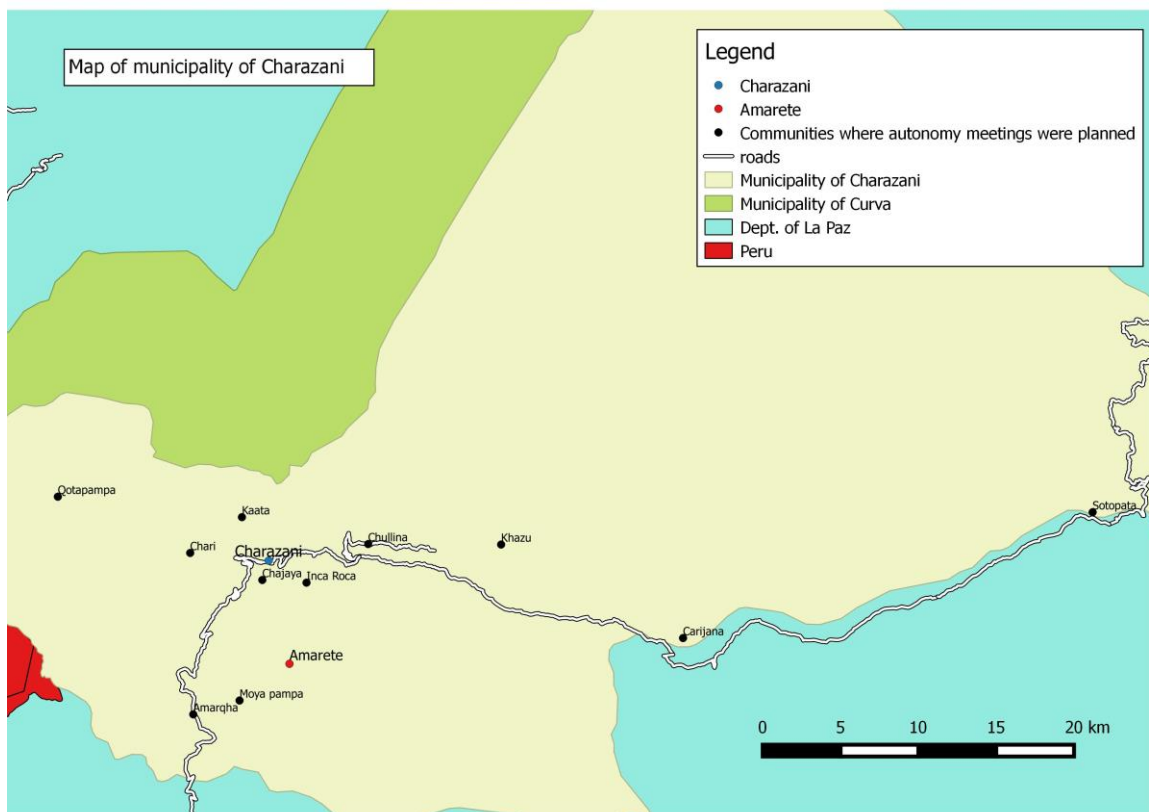


Figure 7: Autonomy meeting in Inca Roca 6th March 2012

The letter from the district of Charazani encapsulated two themes that would be present time and again in *Única* protests about the way that the autonomy project was being run: that the communities had not been sufficiently well-informed about autonomy¹⁹, and that the project was being run by CONAMAQ and the neoliberal right. Another objection often raised to the idea of autonomy was the idea that taxes would be raised on their property to raise money. According to one community leader from Chari, they didn't want autonomy because it was being imposed on them by CONAMAQ, but also because he had been told that after autonomy, he would pay taxes on such things as his trees, livestock, and even his rabbits. For this reason he thought autonomy would be good for the rich, but not for the

¹⁹ One of the problems in this respect was clearly the change in authorities. I had been told by an ex-authority of the community of Chari, that when initial workshops had been held by the NGO Kawsay in his and neighbouring communities, those present had been very enthusiastic towards the autonomy project as it had been presented to them. However, when the next set of authorities took their turn in the positions of leadership, they were not well-informed, having not attended the workshops.

poor.²⁰



Map 5: Municipality of Charazani

Despite minimal participation of the peasant union communities close to the town of Charazani, the writing of the statute continued to progress, with assembly meetings taking place with Charazani residents living La Paz on the 14th of April, in the town of Charazani on the 24th of March and again on 16th and 30th of April in Amarqha (in the highlands of the municipality), 17th-18th of May in Carijana in the trópico where a second draft of the statute was finalized, incorporating suggestions from previous meetings, and finally in Amarqha again on the 5th of June where it was approved *en grande* (in principle). However, the approval of the draft statute *en grande* was not achieved through consensus. In the autonomy assembly held in Charazani on the 24th of March disagreement with the process was expressed in several letters read aloud by the assembly president which he had received from valley communities belonging to the peasant union, including one letter from members of communities in the district of Chari stating that they had read the statute and

²⁰ The autonomy statute did indeed, at the time, seem to suggest that everyone living in the autonomous territory would be taxed, though a later draft clarified this by specifying that only those living in the urban area (the town of Charazani) would be required to pay taxes.

that it did not truly represent Kallaway culture, and another from leaders of the Chajaya *central* denouncing the presence of right-wing parties such as the MNR, MIR and MSM in the autonomy process (I am still not sure whether this was only supposed to be a reference to the ex-mayor or to someone

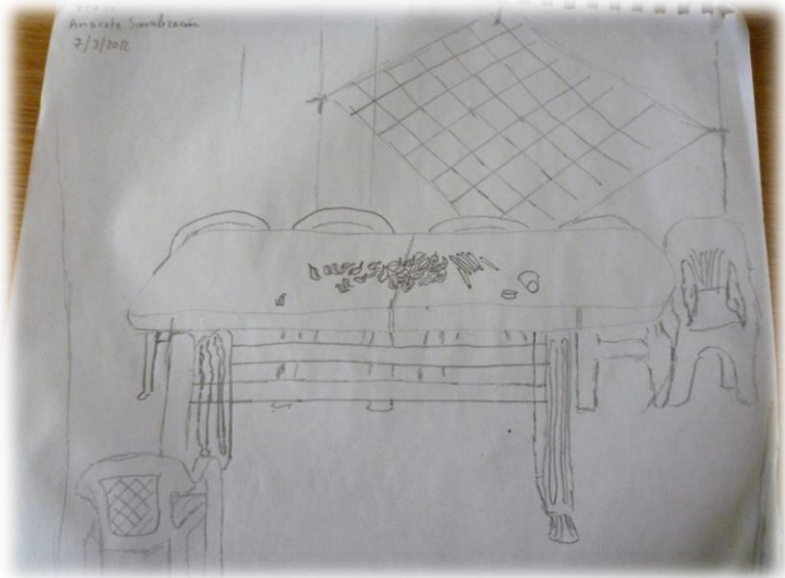


Figure 8: Recess during the autonomy meeting in Amarete 7th March 2012.

else). Then at the next assembly one well-known *curandero* (healer) entered the hall to hand Rufino a letter, which not only denounced the autonomy project currently underway, but stated the desire of the district of Charazani to in fact create their own autonomy, besides complaining that they had not been informed about the autonomy project. The complaints about the lack of information at the time suggested a lack of organization on the part of the assembly members, whose role it supposedly was to inform their communities; however, when I later attended general union meetings, both at local level in Charazani and Chullina and also at provincial level, I found that the topic of the autonomy project was put last on the agenda, and that often when someone did want to raise it, they were shouted down by others who preferred to imagine that if they did not acknowledge that the autonomy process was happening then it would simply stop²¹.

²¹ Although at the time this seemed like wishful thinking, such behaviour was actually surprisingly effective.



Figure 9: Voting on the draft statute in Charazani 24th March 2012.

In April there were two provincial level meetings of the peasant union organized at which their policy regarding autonomy was defined. At the first meeting on the 22nd of April, the union leaders from the four *centrals* of the *Única* all expressed their intention to officially withdraw their members from the assembly, and prohibit them from attending further assemblies. It was just as a union leader from the district of Chari was proclaiming that all assembly members who continued to attend the assembly should be considered accomplices to a false statute ('un estatuto chuto') and be made '*persona-non-grata*' in Charazani, that one of the assembly members for Charazani walked into the meeting. She defended her role as assembly member by telling the meeting that she had not sought the position, but had rather been put forward for the role by the General Secretary of the union central of Charazani, and pointed out that she did not receive any compensation (not even re-imbusement of expenses) for carrying out her duties as assembly member.

A week later, the Ministry of Autonomies, the mayors and *concejales* of the two municipalities of the province and the *guardaparques* (park wardens) of Apolobamba National Park were all invited by the *Única* to a meeting at which they said they intended to

're-start' the autonomy process. The only invitees to attend were the provincial and departmental head of the union, who were both from the municipality of Curva, the second section of the province. The meeting began with two of the four assembly members for the town of Charazani officially handing in their resignations, and ended with the redaction of a *voto resolutivo* (a letter expressing the *Única's* rejection of the autonomy project).

The provincial executive of the *Única*, Luis Paye, was charged with taking the letter to the assembly meeting in Amarqha two days later, which Rufino read aloud in front of the assembly members. The letter accused the assembly of acting in the interests of a handful of people, of not representing the Kallawayas, and stated an objection to CONAMAQ (which they saw as directing the autonomy process) trying to represent the Kallawayas. Although Paye himself was careful to proclaim that he was only the messenger, that he was in favour of autonomy going ahead, and the letter expressed the views of the members in the *centrals* of Chari, Charazani, Chullina and Chajaya, much of the displeasure of certain community leaders present was directed at him. The leaders from the *ayllus* and *markas* affiliated to CONAMAQ were apoplectic, and made clear their independence as a provincial organization from its national-level in La Paz. Natalio, the *Mallku*²² of the *Suni* emphasised that 'there is no CONAMAQ in this province'. The *Kuraq Mallku* of CONAMAQ for the Nación Kallawayas, Fortunato Calamani, was equally vehement. He reiterated Natalio's words, declaring that they may be affiliated to CONAMAQ, but that CONAMAQ does not have a single assembly member. He angrily told the provincial and departmental heads of the peasant union that the time had come for them to stop arguing amongst themselves. For him the only thing that the community members were defending was the haciendas²³. On the subject of whether information concerning the statute had been successfully disseminated or not, he pointed out that every community had their own representative, and therefore it wasn't valid when people said that their community hadn't been informed because the assembly members should have been informing their own communities. After the assembly in Amarqha in a conversation with Rufino he similarly emphasised to me that

²² '*Mallku*' is the name for the Aymara authority at the level of a *marka*. It is also the Aymara word for Condor. In pre-colonial Aymara communities, according to Choque and Mamani (2001:211) authority was held in the figure of the *mallku*, who governed various *ayllus* or *markas*. However, during the colonial period the function of the *mallku* came to be that of an intermediary between his *ayllu* and the colonial structures of power.

²³ 'Los hermanos de Charazani están defendiendo a los haciendas, esto es la única que están defendiendo'.

'we are not CONAMAQ, we are the *ayllus* and *markas* of the *Suni*'²⁴. I found the level of their defensiveness curious, but the reason for it seemed a strong desire to show their independence, perhaps influenced by differences of opinion with the politics of the organization at a national level (see chapter two).



Figure 10: Rufino Quispe addressing the autonomy assembly meeting in Amarqha in June 2015. Alongside him are other members of the executive of the autonomy assembly.

In Amarqha, many of the assembly members who had been prohibited by the leaders of their *central* were nonetheless in attendance; however, by the time of the next assembly meeting to finalize the second draft of the statute in Carijana on the 17th-18th of May, few assembly members from peasant union communities made the trip, and no more than five of the twenty *Única* assembly members were present when the statute was approved *en grande* in Amarqha in June. Although the decreasing numbers of assembly members in attendance at assemblies caused the leaders of the assembly some discomfort, they resolved to continue with the project, and an assembly to approve the statute in detail was

²⁴ Conversation with Rufino Quispe 30/4/2012.

tentatively scheduled for August. However, the tension within the municipality became more and more apparent to the Ministry of Autonomies through the multitude of letters that they received rejecting autonomy, both from *mestizo* residents of Charazani living in La Paz, and from the leadership of the *Única*. The Ministry allowed a *cuarto intermedio* (a break in proceedings) because, according to Rufino, they became scared by the complaints from the *Única*. Indeed such was the hiatus, with the leaders of the three provincial level organizations failing to come to agreement, even after the *Única* and FOYCAE had had a change of provincial leadership at the end of 2012, that no more autonomy assemblies were planned to take place until April 2013, and the approval of the statute in detail was re-scheduled for July 2013, but disagreements within the municipality mean that this has still not taken place.

3.4 Debates about Kallawaya identity in the context of the process of constructing an indigenous autonomy

As I will show in this section, disagreements relating to the federation-affiliation of particular communities were far from the only reason for the impasse in the writing of the statute. Although the *Única* barely took part in the autonomy assembly during my period of fieldwork, there were still disagreements between those who did attend the assembly relating to the way that cultural and administrative matters were defined in the statute, and these were just as significant in derailing the autonomy process as the conflicts relating to political affiliation. The legal framework for Indigenous Autonomies in Bolivia, as John Cameron (2012) points out, presupposes a certain cultural hegemony within the municipalities that choose to undergo the conversion to Indigenous Autonomies. Both the constitution (in chapter 7, article 289) and the Framework Autonomies and Decentralization Law (chapter 4, article 43) emphasise indigenous peoples as sharing a territory, culture, history, language and their own juridical, political, social and economic organisations or institutions. However, as became clear during the debates inside and outside the autonomy assembly, there was no common interpretation of Kallawaya culture and history, what constituted Kallawaya territory, or the significance of the Kallawaya language Macha Juyay (which is not widely-spoken, and barely at all outside ritual context). Cameron (*ibid.*:2) notes that '[a]s the stakes rise, so too do tensions and conflicts over how history should be interpreted and how collective indigenous identities should be defined', as the way that the

particular indigenous identity is defined could be significant in defining how political institutions are shaped and State resources allocated.

I found Kallawayá identity being interpreted at the same time as very practical issues were being debated. One such consideration was the location of the seat of government of the proposed autonomous territory. The proposal from the authorities and assembly members of Amarete to move the administrative apparatus of the municipality to their own community upon successfully attaining the status of indigenous autonomy was the most contentious issue debated within the assembly, and one which ultimately proved irresolvable (with neither side on the debate willing to cede, an impasse was reached). The town of Charazani had been the location of the *alcaldía* (local government) since the creation of the province of Bautista Saavedra in 1948 with two sections, Charazani the first section (official named J.J.Perez), and the second section of Curva. In effect it had been centre of local government for much longer since the local colonial administration had also been based there. In 1994, the Law of Popular Participation created municipalities out of the sections of provinces, providing them with a larger budget, and therefore greater bureaucratic power (see chapter five). Since then authorities in the municipality's communities have become used to attending the town to deal with the local bureaucracy. The law also saw the election of the first indigenous mayor, and perhaps not coincidentally a greater migration of *mestizo* landowning families to the cities, particularly La Paz, in the years that followed. Although some of my informants still referred to Charazani as the *pueblo de los patrones* (the town of the landowners), those *patrones* mostly leave their houses in the town empty (apart from when they return for fiestas), or rent them to men and women originating from nearby communities.

The town of Charazani lies plum in the centre of the municipality, within relatively easy reach of most of the municipality's communities. Many of those within the autonomy assemblies I attended who opposed moving the local government to Amarete generally did so on the very practical grounds that Amarete was to one side of the municipality, at a higher altitude, and therefore, unless new roads were built, simply more inconvenient for them than Charazani (some from the trópico and, of course, the communities close to Charazani made this point most vociferously). At the first community meetings I attended, in February and March 2012, at which a draft of the statute was read and this issue debated,

the general opinion was expressed that it would be better to leave the *alcaldia* where it was and to avoid the sort of tension which had arisen between Sucre and La Paz after the government apparatus was transferred to the latter city following the civil war of 1899 (the fact that Sucre remained legally the capital has meant that as recently as the 2007, when the most recent national constitution was being written, the inhabitants of the city have called for the return of the national government). Having heard the idea dismissed, I expected to hear no more about it. However, in Amarete the authorities told me that they saw no benefit in autonomy unless they could locate the *alcaldia* in the urban centre of their own *ayllu* (the authorities of Amarete, rather fancifully I thought, told me that if the *alcaldia* was in Amarete then they would be able to build hotels, and develop the local economy, as outsiders came to deal with the local bureaucracy). When, after several meetings, article 16 of the statute still showed the administrative *sede* (seat of government) and capital as Charazani, the intervention of the *mallku* (maximum authority) of Amarete eventually resulted in a change to the article, though the concession was only to show the movement of the *sede* as a proposal, alongside other proposals that it remain where it was or for it to be rotated between different communities from one term to another (this last proposal was put forward by the highland Aymaras).

In Charazani, the proposal from Amarete was taken as a threat to the town's very existence. At a meeting of *residentes* (people originating from a town or community, but who usually live elsewhere, most commonly in the city of La Paz) of the town on Good Friday, the debate ranged from Amarete's challenge to the bureaucratic apparatus of Charazani to the use of the phrase 'Kallawayá Nation' in reference to the autonomy, and to whether Amarete could be said to be part of such a nation. An objection made to calling the autonomy the 'Kallawayá Nation' was that it excluded Curva, the second section of the province. Some in the meeting commented that the communities of the second section were *more* Kallawayá than those in the municipality of Charazani. Another objection related by the *residentes* to both the notion of the existence of a Kallawayá Nation and the moving of the *sede* to Amarete was simply that both were being driven by Amarete, and that Amarete was not in fact Kallawayá at all. One woman whose family had a long history in the town of Charazani declared that Curva, Chajaya and Inca Roca (the latter two are communities neighbouring the town of Charazani) are Kallawayá, but that Amarete isn't. She went on to further reject

Amarete's claim to call themselves Kallawaya by referring to them as *mitimaes* brought by the Inca from Ecuador. Her view that there are certain communities that have a particular right to be called Kallawaya draws on the notion of the Kallawayas specifically and exclusively as itinerant healers (see chapter four). The notion of the Kallawayas as being itinerant healers who originate from particular communities is to be found in the work of anthropologists and ethnohistorians, however, a perusal of some of the definitions given by them shows that there is no agreement about which these communities are. Louis Girault (1988[1974]:403) and Thierry Saignes (1985:193) specified that there were only six Kallawaya villages: Curva, Chajaya, Khanlaya, Huata Huata, Inca and Chari; these being the communities specialising particularly in medicine. Meanwhile Oblitas Poblete (1963:13) identifies five Kallawaya communities (the same as the above mentioned, minus Inca). Ponce Sanjines (1988 [1950]) wrote of the Kallawayas (meaning the itinerant healers) originating from only three communities: those of Chajaya and Khanlaya (neighbouring Charazani), and the town of Curva. Ranaboldo (1987:15) finds seven Kallawaya communities: Curva, Chajaya, Wata-Wata, Chari, Kanlaya, Tilinwaya and Sacanakon. Meanwhile Meyers (2002:39) widens the number of Kallawaya communities to as many as twenty-five.

At the Good Friday meeting, the right of Amarete to call itself Kallawaya was defended by Don Ginés, an assembly member for Charazani, and local historian, who told the meeting: 'There are two types of Kallawayas... the Kallawayas who are itinerant medics, and the Kallawayas who live and reside in their community, in the case of Amarete. I'm not defending Amarete, but I am saying that Amarete is Kallawaya. Why? Because it isn't necessary to travel about to be Kallawaya'²⁵. In this he echoed the sentiments of Amareteños I spoke to outside meetings, such as the Amareteño former mayor Alipio Cuila, who told me that the problem was a lack of understanding of the term. 'The Kallawaya as such is the territory, and being in the territory, everyone is Kallawaya.' When I pushed Alipio on this point, he suggested to me that healers in Amarete have equal medicinal knowledge, as those who travel, the difference, for Alipio, was that 'in Amarete they don't

²⁵ Gines Pasten 6/4/2012: 'Existen dos tipos de Kallawayas... los kallawayas de medicos itinerantes, y los Kallawayas que viven y residen en la misma población, en caso de Amarete. No estoy defendiendo Amarete, pero estoy diciendo que Amarete es un [pueblo] Kallawaya. ¿Porque? Porque no hay necesidad de ser ambulante para ser Kallawaya.'

commercialise their knowledge. The others commercialise. They say ‘if you are Kallawayas, why don’t you commercialise? Why don’t you sell your product?’ We don’t sell.’ Alipio’s brother Augusto would similarly tell me that it was the land from Quillabamba in Peru to Apolobamba in Bolivia and the people living therein who were Kallawayas, therefore ‘those who cure people are called Kallawayas healers, and those that perform the ceremonies are called Kallawayas spiritualists’.



Map 6: The Kallawayas region according to Augusto Cuila.

In an autonomy assembly meeting the following month, Amareteños in defending their proposal to move the location of the *alcaldía* at the same time defended their right to call themselves Kallawayas. One older assembly member, wearing the traditional red *lluch'u* (hat) of Amarete on his head, proclaimed that Amarete was Kallawayas ‘since the time of the Incas’. Another assembly member put forward the case for Amarete as the administrative centre on the basis of the way that it had maintained its pre-Colombian traditions, such as their dress, more strongly than other sectors of the municipality with closer links to Charazani, explicitly linking this to the decolonizing politics of the Indigenous Autonomies as a State discourse.

Another debate which occurred in the readings of the first draft of the autonomy statute in community meetings was over numbers. In the statute there was a striking emphasis on the number four (*tawa* in Quechua), and its centrality to the Kallawayas cosmivision. Article

thirty four, for example, stated that ‘The Originary Autonomous Government of the Kallawayá Suyu-Nation, is structured on the territorial basis of four: TAWA PUSI [four in Quechua and Aymara respectively] ATHUN AYLLU-MARKA [the traditional Andean territorial organisation], as is represented by the natural territory of four ecological levels, four seasons of the year, the four logics, four spatial dimensions, human conceptions, the four identities and lifestyles, the four official languages, the four sides of the *chakana* [the Southern Cross], the four sides of the *wiphala* [the Andean flag], the four norms of living alongside mother earth...’²⁶ Although it seemed to me at first rather insignificant, the most debated point in the statute was how many ecological levels there were in the municipality. At each political meeting where the first draft of the statute was read, people reacted with incredulity to the idea that there were four ecological levels when they had always thought of the region as divided into three. To the traditional division of highlands, valley and tropic, had been added a fourth level, the high valley (*cabecera del valle*). It was no coincidence that Amarete was located in the high valley. By dividing the region into four they would have more representation in a future local government, than if the region were divided into three, and they shared representation with valley communities such as those surrounding Charazani.

Despite the emphasis on the *tawa* in the statute, I was struck when I heard Rufino, the president of the assembly, suggest in meetings that the emphasis on the number four was not unquestioned: at the first assembly I attended, in Amarete in February 2012, when talking about the number of ecological levels I noted him as saying that ‘we have three ecological levels, now I have to add four’²⁷, and in a presentation to *residentes* in la Paz he made references to having only recently learned that there were four ‘*pachas*’ (worlds), because he was previously only conscious of there being three²⁸.

²⁶ ‘El Gobierno Autónomo Originario de la Nación-Suyu Kallawayá está estructurada sobre la base territorial de cuatro: TAWA PUSI ATHUN AYLLU-MARKA, la misma que representa a la naturaleza territorial de cuatro pisos ecológicos, las cuatro estaciones del año, las cuatro lógicas, concepciones humanas, la cuatro identidades y vivencias, las cuatro idiomas oficiales, las cuatro lados de la chacana, los cuatro lados de la wiphala, las cuatro normas de convivir con la madre tierra...’

²⁷ ‘somos tres pisos ecológicos, ahora tengo que aumentar cuatro’

²⁸ For the importance of the three worlds (Alax pacha, Aka pacha and Manqha pacha) to the Aymaras see Boyse-Cassagne and Harris (1987).

However, the emphasis on the *tawa* in the statute was certainly not baseless. I found evidence for the importance of the number four in everyday situations. For example, when sowing potatoes and oca one day with an assembly member and her family in Moyapampa (part of the Athun Ayllu of Amarete), she told me that to cure '*susto*' (the belief that one has lost one's soul through fright), one must make a cross in the earth, and eat earth from the centre of the cross. She told me that it was the *chakana* – the cross – that makes the earth sacred. When I accompanied the '*tecnico*' working for the alcaldia on a walk from a meeting in the community of Inca Roca to his community of Amarete he told me that this was one of over one hundred expressions of the importance of the *tawa* in everyday practice just in his own *ayllu*.

The *chakana* is an important symbol for the Kallawayas. However, it is a pan-Andean symbol, rather than specifically Kallawayas. What is particular to the Kallawayas is their specialisation in medicine. One day over tea in a sprawling conversation with Aurelio, a healer from the community of Lunlaya (a 40 minute walk from the town of Charazani) I asked him what he thought of the statute. He told me that the Kallawayas have their own code, and that he wasn't in agreement with the Kallawayas mixing it with what he called 'revolutionary Aymara ideologies from Tawantinsuyu [the Inca empire]'. He was, in fact, quite exercised by the division of the territory into four in the statute: 'because here we have to talk about chiri [cold], yapi [warm] and qoñi [hot], three things. Cold is where the llama lives; this is the central part; and qoñi the tropical part. And we shouldn't mix, such as bringing in these four things, and bringing in other ideologies from the Aymaras, which talk about Tawantinsuyu. No. What is ours has to be ours' Aurelio continued, 'for the Kallawayas, the number three is very important, even the number nine, our Kallawayas luck' (a relative of Aurelio's would tell me that nine was called *mama suerte* - mother luck)... 'it's something that our grandparents always taught us. That's why a Kallawayas always uses three, *Janaqpacha*, *Kay pacha*, *Ukhu pacha*, it comes from there. Heaven, earth and the underworld. This is the Kallawayas cosmology. *Janaq pacha*, up above, *Kay pacha* [this world], *Ukhu pacha* [the inner world]. So that's what should be in the statute.'²⁹ The number three is a particularly important ritual number (see chapter seven).

²⁹ See appendix: interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 2041-2101.

Debates over identity can be considered *disagreements* in the sense in which Jacques Rancière (1999:x) uses the word. ‘Disagreement is not the conflict between one who says white and another who says black. It is the conflict between one who says white and another who says white but does not understand the same thing by it or does not understand that the other is saying the same thing in the name of whiteness.’ The disagreements between different actors in Charazani regard differing views of what is meant by Kallawaya, who can and cannot be considered Kallawaya and what constitutes the Kallawaya cosmivision. Through the Plurinational State, the autonomy project has constituted a new collective subject (Garcés 2011:50), the *Nación y Pueblo Indígena Originario Campesina* (see chapter two). The collective subject in this case is the (nation of the) Kallawayas. However, what this chapter demonstrates is that while there may be a collective subject, there is no collective subjectivity. The subject is replete with internal tensions. Even while one section of Kallawaya society uses the label Kallawaya, it disputes the legitimacy of other sections of the same society to do so (the basis on which the label is applied will be further explored in chapter four). This is, as much as anything else, a question of local power relations, because the debates concerning autonomy were a matter of autonomy *for* whom, *from* whom and *over* whom.

3.5 Conclusion

During the prolonged *cuarto intermedio* I met with many of the community authorities enthusiastically involved in Charazani’s autonomy project, and with leaders and ordinary members of the autonomy assembly. Over lunch in La Paz with the ex-CONAMAQ *mallku* for the Kallawaya Nation, Idelfonso Canaza, (who had been assisting the writing of the statute as a *tecnico* for the NGO employed by the Ministry of Autonomies), I asked him what would happen if the autonomy project failed in Charazani. He put it adamantly in stark terms: ‘if we are not going to implement autonomy there is no Plurinational State’³⁰. This was a sentiment that was echoed by other authorities and assembly members I spoke to, who believed in the autonomy as a path towards the full, autonomous, expression of Kallawaya culture.

³⁰ ‘Si no vamos implementar la autonomía no hay Estado Plurinacional’.

However, the autonomy statute, and indeed the whole autonomy project was at no time during the period I spent in the municipality of Charazani, something which had the support of all sectors of the municipality, despite having voted overwhelmingly in favour of autonomy in 2009. As I observed the initial meetings to inform people of the first draft of the statute, I wondered why there was such disagreement. Partly, this seems to have concerned who was allowed to define what autonomy meant. Abercrombie (1994:101) suggests that autonomy can paradoxically mean a closer, rather than a more distant relationship with the state, because this can entail autonomy of small individual communities from the larger *ayllus* of which they are a part. Where the Kallawaya communities belonging to the CONAMAQ federation of *ayllus* saw in the conversion of the municipality into an indigenous autonomy, a dramatic change in their relationship with the State, a new freedom in their ability to govern themselves autonomously, the valley communities belonging to the *Única* saw no change at all, or in fact a greater restriction, as they would continue to be governed by highland and upper valley communities which made up the majority of the population of the municipality, but henceforth, with less recourse to the external arbiter of the State. They did not see autonomy in a territory which they believed would be governed by their neighbours, communities belonging to the rival federation. On a number of occasions I have heard people living in the municipality of Charazani refer to it – because of the variety of climatic zones that it contains - as a Bolivia in miniature. In respect to the attitudes towards indigenous autonomy this has proved to be the case, as the highland communities belonging to CONAMAQ have reflected the position of the national body that their autonomy will support the consolidation of the Plurinational State. Meanwhile, the valley communities, affiliated to the CSUTCB, take a more sceptical position to the usefulness of autonomy. Their organisation at a national level is close to the governing MAS party, and therefore looks at conquest of the State, rather than autonomy from it as the ultimate goal, and while the MAS party is in power, one which has been achieved. The way that these debates have emerged at a national level will be discussed in the next chapter.

The struggles over control of autonomy between communities belonging to different federations, which are connected to national-level disagreements between these organizations, cannot be disconnected from locally specific disputes over the location of the

municipal government or discussions over Kallawaya identity. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the struggles over the right to define cultural identity is significant because the inclusion or exclusion of particular people or groups from defined cultural identity can be used to justify the allocation (or simply proximity) of resources or institutions to one group rather than another (Cameron 2012:2). In the autonomy assembly in Charazani, the debates regarding what it means to be Kallawaya were conducted precisely to justify claims to power or to disregard others' claims (in particular regarding the issue of the location of the *alcaldia*). The historical foundation for these claims will be examined in chapter four.

Chapter 4. The Ethnogenesis of the Kallawaya Nation

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three I examined some of the debates that occurred inside the Kallawaya autonomy assembly among assembly members, in the course of writing the autonomy statute. The most significant debate was around the proposed location of the *sede*, the government of the autonomous territory. Claims to Kallawaya authenticity were used as a justification for arguing either for or against the proposal by assembly members from Amarete to move the location of the *sede* to their *ayllu*. These claims to authenticity were based in different readings of the same history, which – depending on the importance placed on one period of history over another – could be used as evidence for claims of the legitimacy of one section of Kallawaya society in using the term Kallawaya, and to delegitimise other sections of Kallawaya society from doing so. This is because, as Warnier (2013:83) notes, '[t]he embodiment of such a regional identity is explicitly related to history'.

In this chapter I will examine this history, using ethnohistorical sources and the interpretations of my informants regarding the pre-colonial origins of the Kallawaya culture and its colonial transformation. The present interpretations of local history are worth examining here precisely because of the significance of the claims regarding a primordial connection to territory in relation to indigenous autonomy. Proof of a pre-colonial ancestry was one of the requisites for applications to the Ministry of Autonomy. This is fundamentally tied to a present connection with ancestral territories. The when of an original occupation of the territory is therefore a significant issue in relation to claims to cultural authenticity, which is the reason that it became an issue in the assembly debates described in chapter three. Article two of the constitution guarantees the free determination of the *naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos* within the framework of the unity of the State, on the basis of 'their ancestral dominion over their territories'. I have already examined the origins of the phrase *naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos* in the constitution in chapter two, and some of the potential for disagreement between the different subjects who are part of the phrase has been examined

in chapter three. As Xavier Albó (2011:357) notes, however, what the subjects of the term have in common, whether they identify as *naciones*, as *pueblos indígenas*, *originarios* or as *campesinos*, is that 'they feel and are recognized as descendants of those that were already here in these lands prior to the arrival of the Spanish'.

Following on from the debates about identity in chapter three, this chapter highlights the complexity in the label of *naciones y pueblos indígenas, originarios campesinos*. In many respects, Kallawaya society is a multi-ethnic society. Four languages (Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and the Kallawaya language Macha Juyay) are spoken (albeit Macha Juyay only between healers), and each community has its distinct traditions in terms of its food, music, rituals and clothing. One informant, Aurelio, described to me the cultural differences between one Kallawaya community and the next as being like going from one country to another. I will examine through a historical reconstruction how a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society developed, but also one which shares a common identity as Kallawaya. A view of the Kallawaya society as multi-ethnic is of course problematic, since as pointed out in chapter three and by Cameron (2012), the legislation on indigenous autonomies assumes a cultural homogeneity. If the subjects of Kallawaya culture do not even agree amongst themselves regarding the nature of their cultural belonging, then one might justifiably question the use of the label.

One of the things that this chapter will do, however, is to chart an ongoing Kallawaya ethnogenesis. Although I will begin in the pre-Incaic epoch, one can assert several moments of Kallawaya ethnogenesis. One of the most significant was not pre-colonial, but post-millennial. In 2003 UNESCO recognized the 'Andean cosmovision of Kallawaya culture' as Oral Patrimony of Humanity. The final section of the chapter will examine the significance of this recognition, particularly in providing a springboard for the current project of autonomy. The period of Spanish colonial rule and continuing coloniality in the republican period was characterised by a persecution of Kallawayas who adhered to their traditional medico-religious practices. For the Kallawayas, recognition by UNESCO is a vindication of these practices, and is seen by some as an important step in their recognition as an indigenous nation. I shall also examine here the importance of the Kallawaya organisations, many of which were set up in the wake of the UNESCO declaration, for authentication of Kallawaya identity.

4.2 The development of a multi-ethnic regional society

4.2.1 The pre-Incaic Kallawaya territory

As I have described in chapter three, it was not uncommon for people inside and outside the meetings I attended to invoke history as evidence of the legitimacy of one particular section of Kallawaya society calling itself Kallawaya, and denigrating the right of another group to do so. As Warnier (2013:83) notes, debates over authenticity of a regional identity are often explicitly related to history, and historicity is very often used to provide authenticity, because of beliefs that '[r]eally authentic things are those that come to you by heritage (Warnier 2013:87).

I was once told proudly by an informant in Amarete that Amarete had been Kallawaya 'since the time of the Incas'. Meanwhile, when I asked Fortunato, the CONAMAQ authority from the Aymara-speaking highland community of Qotapampa, about the origins of the *Nación Kallawaya*, he suggested that Amarete was not Kallawaya precisely because it could trace its occupancy in the region *no further back* than the Inca period. Fortunato identified the Kallawaya Nation to me as originally deriving from the pre-Incaic 'Qolla Nation', (the Qollas being an Aymara subgroup) which had once stretched from Puerto Acosta in the highland shores of Lake Titicaca to Moxos in the Bolivian lowlands. He identified the communities of Chari, Khanlaya, Huata Huata and Inca Roca, in the valley lower down, as having been part of the Qolla Nation. In these communities today though, there is a complete dissociation with the Aymara-speakers as being Kallawaya. When I would walk up from the valley to Fortunato's highland community of Qotapampa, people in the community of Chari below would ask me in a bemused fashion why I was going there, because they insisted that the Aymara-speaking highlanders were not Kallawaya (and thus they could not understand why any foreigner would be interested in them). The differences of opinion arise from the nature of Kallawaya society as multi-ethnic. This section will endeavour to explain how it came to be so.

Fortunato's identification of the Kallawayas with the Qollas follows various authors who have done so. Bastien (1985:1) calls the Kallawayas 'a special cultural subgroup of the Aymara nation', and chooses to call them Qollahuayas in reference to the *Qollas* (see also Crandon-Malamud (1993:42)). Bastien followed Bravo (1988[1889]), Díaz Romero (1988[1904]), Oblitas Poblete (1963:14) and Otero (1991[1951]) in portraying the

Kallawayas as belonging to a wider Aymara culture. Several authors (e.g. Zeballos Pasten (1988[1951]); Ballivian (1988[1926])) have identified the etymology of 'Kallawayaya' in Aymara as meaning 'carrier of medicines' (qolla=medicine; huaya=carry), an apparent description of the medical specialist travelling with his medicines in his bag (*capachu*) under his arm. For this reason Fortunato told me that Kallawayaya meant 'Qolla capachu' in Aymara.

Ethnohistorian Thierry Saignes, on the other hand, questions this etymology, and suggests that one possible derivation of Kallawayaya could be from the name of a hallucinogenic plant found in the region, named Kalawala (1985:190).

Another ethnohistorian, Rodica Meyers (2002), worries less about the etymology of the name, but finds the origins of the label applied to the territory as deriving from the Inca province of Calabaya. Before the Inca conquest, according to Meyers, the Kallawayaya space was a 'territorial continuum,' defined by the mobility of the groups within it. At its most expansive, this space stretched from Omasuyus on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the highlands to the river Beni in the Amazon Basin. At its most delimited, it became, under Inca control, the province of Calabaya (*ibid.*:47). Meyers (2002:52) describes the pre-Incaic Kallawayaya continuum as the lower half of a territorial duality, in which Aymaras occupied the upper half called *urcusuyu*, and the Kallawayaya space was its opposite, lower portion of *umasuyu* ('suyu' means subdivision in Aymara, and 'urcu' and 'uma' mean masculine and feminine respectively (see Bouysse-Cassagne 1986)). For the Aymara, *umasuyu* was the land of the *chunchos*, who in contrast to themselves, living in the dry cold highlands, lived in wet conditions without agriculture. The Kallawayas were part of the self-sufficient moiety of *umasuyu*, but living at an altitude between the highland Aymara and the lowland *chuncho* groups, in valleys and *yungas* (tropical lower valleys).

Bastien (1985:97) writes that '[a]ccording to Qollahuayas, *chunchos* are uncivilised lowland Indians who are naked, don't eat salt, and hunt with a bow and arrow which Qollahuayas consider inferior to agriculture and herding'³¹. A Kallawayaya legend recounted by Bastien (1985:98) distinguishes the Kallawayas as civilised Christians from the *chunchos* as

³¹ Dillon and Abercrombie (1988:69) write that controlling domesticated animals is considered by Andean people the basis for being civilised. Salomon (1983:422) also examines the association of the highlands with civility and culture and the lowlands as uncivilised, outside the power of the state. Being inside or outside the state is theorised by Clastres (1977:169) as what distinguishes civilized from savage society.

uncivilised pagans. This legend classifies the Kallawayas as originating on the summit of the mountain and living on its three levels between 8,000 and 17,000 feet, while the *chunchos* live at between 3,000 and 8,000 feet and below 3,000 feet.

Since Bastien's book was published massive migration has taken place from the highlands and valleys to the yungas area identified by Bastien as the habitat of the *chunchos*. When I accompanied one informant, Feliciano, from the valley community of Niñacorín, to visit his brother Antonio in the yungas community of Ñiquis (see chapter six), Antonio told me about an encounter which his children had had with people who were described like *chunchos*. One day, in the mid-1980s, soon after Antonio's family had moved to the house which he had recently constructed by the road, his children came running back home frightened, telling him that they had seen naked people. Feliciano added that another time his wife had seen naked people where they were constructing the road by Camata (a community which marked the Incaic frontier between the Calabaya and Chuncho provinces). He remarked that these were the real *originarios* (as opposed to his migrant brother), and that it was *they* that I should be studying.

The *chunchos* are represented in the Kallawaya dance *chatre*³² in which men dance dressed as *chunchos*. In the dance I witnessed in Amarete, two of the men banging drums wore green khaki jacket and trousers, with a dark black mask and a small mirror on their head. The other men played *pinkillos* (flutes). Each wore various *winchas*. *Winchas* are ordinarily worn by women, and therefore symbolically represent the wet, feminine, lowlands where the *chunchos* live (in opposition to the dry, masculine, highlands).

³² Oblitas Poblete (1963:331) calls *chatre* the favourite dance of the Kallawayas.



Figure 11: Chatre being danced in Amarete during the Corpus Cristi festival.

The inhabitants of the Eastern slope of the Andes prior to the arrival of the Incas are thought to have spoken Puquina, a language related to the Arawak spoken by groups in the jungles below (Saignes 1985:192). By the seventeenth century, the language had completely died out but it is thought by some to have been preserved in part in the ritual language of the Kallawayas, 'Macha Juyay', which is constituted by a Puquina lexicon and a Quechua syntax (Saignes *ibid.*:193). However, according to Aguilo (1991:vii) the Kallawayaya language now contains more Quechua roots and almost as many Aymara ones as those from Puquina. In the yungas, Antonio, showed me pots which he told me he had uncovered in his garden in Ñiquis



Figure 12: A 'Puquina' pot and tupus.

in 2009 with spoons inside them similar to the silver spoons (*tupus*) worn by Kallawaya women in their traditional dress (*aksu*). He declared these pots to be 'Puquina'. In doing so he seemed to be attributing them to Kallawaya ancestors who by being categorised as Puquina could be seen as distinct from the Aymaras above and the *chunchos* below, and identifying a continuity between living Kallawayas and Puquina ancestors.



Figure 13: 'Puquina' pots in Antonio's garden.

Meyers suggests that the yunga-Kallawaya groups living in this intermediate zone (the *chawpi* in Quechua or *Taypi* in Aymara (see Bouysse-Cassagne 1986)), acted as intermediaries in a trade of salt (venerated by lowlanders, who did not possess it, as representing fertility), metals from the highlands, and coca, corn, medicines and liturgical goods from the lowlands (2002:56). This intermediate zone was also, according to archaeologist Sonia Alconini (2013:281), inhabited by colonies of Aymara groups from the highlands who would have migrated to the region to gain access to the goods of the

lowlands. The exchange of products which would have occurred between these pre-Incaic groups is something which still occurs today between communities of the region at organised events such as saints' day festivals and football tournaments, at the markets, as well as visits to other communities expressly to exchange products (see chapter six).

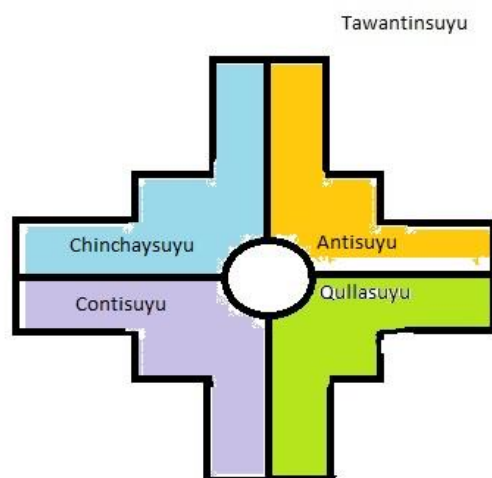
Meyers (2002:86) believes that the successful self-sufficiency which the Kallawaya region obtained prior to Inca expansion provoked a desire in regional traders to enrich themselves as a form of prestige, leading to the expansion of the trade in metals, medicinal and liturgical items to the coasts of what is today Peru, Chile and Ecuador (*ibid.*:77). This situates a pre-Incaic trade as the precursor to later Kallawaya itinerancy.

4.2.2 Incorporation into the Inca Empire

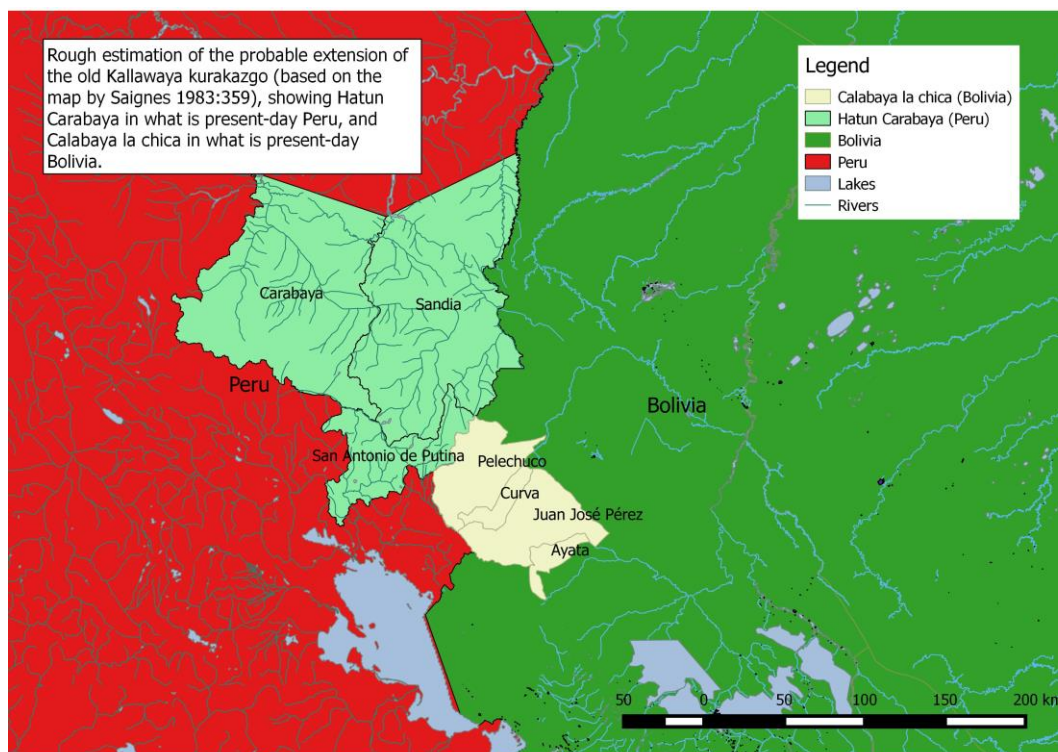
Upon the expansion of the Inca Empire in the fifteenth century, the Kallawaya region became strategically important to the Incas as a gateway to the tropical lands below. The Inca empire had grown strong on the control of multiple ecological levels (see Murra 1980, 2002), and institutionalising the status of the merchant intermediaries (such as Salomon (1986) describes for the *mindalaes* in the north of the empire) ensured that trade flowed directly to the Inca capital Cuzco. Rather than rebel against Inca expansion, as the neighbouring Qollas had done (and were punished by being sent to the outposts of the empire (Meyers 2002:97; Kolata 1993:213), the Kallawaya *kuraka* (lord) Api Kapajaque assisted the Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui in expanding the Inca empire into the territory of the *chunchos* (Saignes 1985:194; Meyers 2002:64), with the yunga-Kallawayas subsequently acting as intermediaries for the tribute in coca and dyes that the *chunchos* were obliged to send to their new lords.³³ In return for this service, according to Saignes (1985:194), he was given the honour of being carried on a litter through Cuzco by forty Indians. Bastien (citing Guaman Poma 1936:331) also alludes to Kallawaya diviners from the *ayllu* of Kaata having carried the Inca's litter in the fifteenth century. Loza (2004:44) speculates that this may have been connected to the Inca's need to have religious experts on hand, and was therefore recognition of their expertise. Oblitas Poblete (1963:15-16), who disputes that Macha Juyay is derived from Puquina, believes that the Kallawaya ritual language may have been learned at the Inca court and brought back to the Eastern Andes.

³³ Clastres (1977:167) suggests what what had marked out Amazonian society from the Indians in the Inca Empire was that the former produced to live, whereas the latter produced for their masters.

The Kallawaya continuum became incorporated into Tawantinsuyu, the empire of four administrative units. The dual world of the Aymaras was transformed into a world divided into quarters (Bouysse Cassagne 1986:215). The significant difference between the two systems was that although both territorial systems saw the significance in a central point (the *taypi* in Aymara, or *chawpi* in Quechua), the Inca's was organised around the centre of four points, while the Aymara's had been organised around a North West to South East axis, high to low, with the valley as the central point. This meant that two conceptions of space – the Aymara and the Inca - worked simultaneously. The ancient Puquina-Qolla continuum was divided as the territorial sector of the Omasuyus-Kallawaya region (the highlands and valleys) became the province of Calabaya and part of the quarter of the empire known as Qullasuyu, while the tropical yungas valleys and lowland *chuncho* region became part of another quarter of the empire, known as Antisuyu (Meyers 2002:103). The communities of Camata and Carijana established the boundaries between the Incaic provinces of Calabaya and Chunchos (ibid.). The province of Calabaya itself was divided into an upper half (Hatun Calabaya) and a lower half (Calabaya la chica) (Saignes 1985:189).



Map 7: A representation of the division of space into to four and three.



Map 8: Probable extension of the old Kallaway Kurakazgo (based on the map by Saignes 1983:359) indicating rough area in what is present-day Peru and Bolivia..

The Kallaway region under the Incas was subjected to the installation of contingents of *mitimaes*. *Mitimaes* were populations transferred *en masse* from one part of the Inca Empire to another as a punishment for rebelling against Inca rule or to themselves pacify rebellious regions (Antezana 2011:59). Thus the already multi-ethnic nature of the Kallaway region was accentuated, as Chachapoyas arrived from what is now Peru, and Canas and Canchis from the elsewhere in the Bolivian highlands (Saignes 1985:194). The *mitimaes* brought with them the Quechua language, which was not the mother-tongue of all, but as the language of administration of the Inca Empire became the *lingua franca*. The *mitimaes* were located in the high valley of the Kallaway region, in strategic areas of access between the highlands and valley, and their role was that of an agent of control, to ensure that the prestigious ceremonial goods arrived directly in Cuzco, without being diverted to traditional Kallaway trading routes (Meyers 2002:115, 129). As Platt (2009:35) explains, the introduction of *mitimaes* transformed the vertical model from an isolated self-sufficient functioning unit to one transcended by the 'State economic, military, and political strategies'. According to the Aymara Fortunato the Incas had brought the descendants of the present-day Amareteños and placed them in the high-valley to act as a bulwark against

the Aymara: 'Because the Aymara were advancing too much towards Apolo. So this is what they were defending... they were put there like a rock, like a door, the Amareteños.'

Another informant, Aurelio, from the community of Lunlaya (a 40 minute walk from Charazani), believed the Amareteños had been brought 'to protect [*cuidar*] the Kallawayas'

When I asked an informant from Amarete, Alipio about the origins of Amarete, he told me:

Originally we believe that one of the peoples of Amarete is in Ecuador. So, with our knowledge, in the Inca period, we were brought as advisors of the Inca... and when there was some problem, so that we would kill everyone, ...we were brought to this region, because you see that between the mountains is a very special place, ... where you can find all kinds of plants, and its related, because it has these minerals, with the energy, because of that they brought us here... even in Amarete there are various ethnicities. I don't know why they brought *mitimaes*. In Amarete in Chacahuaya³⁴, there are *mitimaes*. There are two cultures in Amarete. In Chacahuaya they have another way of speaking Quechua. When they speak it's the same, but the tone is different. We don't know why they were brought together. Were they brothers?³⁵

Although the *mitimaes* were brought by the Incas over five hundred years ago, as I have shown in chapter three, the historical memory of their ancestors' arrival in the region is still used by Amarete's neighbours to question their credentials as *originarios*.

One of my closest friends in the town of Charazani was a man named Felix from the Sayhuani, a *sullk'a ayllu* of *athun ayllu* Amarete. He came to work in the *alcaldia* a decade previously, when Alipio was *alcalde*, had married a woman from Charazani, and eventually became a small businessman (during my fieldwork he owned and ran the town's internet café). Felix assisted the town's main ritualist in collective ceremonies to feed the

³⁴ Although one of the minor *ayllus* of Amarete, Chacahuaya is treated as slightly removed from the other three *ayllus*.

³⁵ See appendix: interview with Alipio Cuila: 12th November 2012, lines 526-541

pachamama, and the gods of the landscape, the *achachilas*, and conducted rituals in his own right outside the region. He was also proud to demonstrate to me extensive knowledge of medicinal plants and that his knowledge had been certified by a Kallawaya association named SOMOMETRA (Sociedad Boliviana de Medicina Tradicional), which had given him an identity card as a credential as a healer. However, after Felix once offered to teach me to make medicines, other people in the town were sceptical about this, because Felix was from the *ayllu* of Amarete, and ‘they are *manka lluta* [pot-makers]’. The allusion to Amarete as specialising in pot-making references traditional specialisations of the Kallawaya *ayllus*, which Loza (2004:26-7) and Meyers (2002:144) suggest emerged during the Inca period. The strength of the traditional specialisations has diminished in recent years, but informants still talk about, for example, Amarete as pot-makers, Chajaya and Khanlaya working with jewels, Niñocorín specialising in Kantus music and textiles, and Quiabaya as builders, in addition to communities specialising in healing.

4.2.3 The Spanish colonial period

The beginning of the period of European colonisation is when an ongoing Kallawaya ethnogenesis can be said to have begun. *Mitimaes* did not return to their lands of origin, and the ethnic composition created by the Inca Empire became the established order (Meyers 2002:147). The different groups living in the Kallawaya region identified themselves equally before the Spanish as descending from the same mythic kuraka, Cana Auqui, the Kallawaya lord at the time of the incorporation of the Kallawaya *Kurakazgo* (the territory ruled over by the *kuraka*, the ethnic lord) into the Inca Empire. Meyers (*ibid.*) sees the province of Calabaya as therefore becoming an adoptive mother, and generator of a common ethnic label. According to one informant (like Alipio, an *ex-alcalde*) from Amarete, the communities at the time of the Spanish conquest had all been grouped either within the Athun (large) *ayllu* of Amarete (*hanansaya*) or the Athun *ayllu* of Kaata (*hurinsaya*). The two Athun *ayllus* were separated by the river running down through the valley of Charazani.

The Kallawaya lords cooperated with the Spanish as they had done with the Incas, by facilitating access to the kingdom of the *chunchos* in the forests below. In 1561, *corregimientos* were established as new territorial entities which formally separated the two halves of the old Calabaya *kurakazgo*, as the upper part became the *corregimiento* of

Calabaya, to be ruled from Cuzco and later incorporated into Peru, while the lower half became Larecaja and was ruled from La Paz, later becoming part of Bolivia (Saignes 1985:197).

Inside the *corregimiento*, *pueblos de indios* were created, following the Toledan census in 1575, called *reducciones*. These were administrative centres to which the populations of Andean communities were forcibly relocated. In Larecaja four *reducciones* were established: at Umanatta in the highlands, Charazani and Moco Moco in the high valley, and Camata in the *yungas* (Meyers 2002:137). Despite their houses being burned to encourage them to settle in the urban areas, within ten years of the establishment of the *reducciones*, most people had returned to their previous dwellings in their *ayllus* (Saignes 1985:197). Saignes (1985:198-9) identifies the existence of eight Kallawayaya *ayllus* in the seventeenth century, which were divided into *hanansaya* (upper) and *hurinsaya* (lower) moieties, grouped around the district and town of Charazani. The members of the *ayllus* had double domicile within their *ayllu* and in the town where they came for fiestas, and payment of tribute.

The Catholic Church provided the ideological basis for the *reducciones* as a place of religious indoctrination (Schulte 1999:105; Orta 2013:115; Gose 2013:ch.4 and 5). Colonial authorities and religious orders brought with them a ‘civilizing mission’ which was ‘profoundly urban in character’ (Salvatore 2013:25). The objective of the towns was to culturally transform the indigenous population, disciplining them into observing what was known as ‘*buena policia*’—that is Spanish norms of good conduct—in model Spanish towns with grid-like streets around a central plaza (Abercrombie 1994:102-3), and by assimilating Andeans to European behavioural norms, ‘strengthen the ground for an acceptance of Spanish political hegemony and moral superiority’ (Turino 1994:261). The idea of civility as pertaining to urban manners is in the etymology of the Latin word *civitas*, a translation of the Greek *polis*. Buen Policia, was used by Spaniards to indicate ‘something they had and the savages didn’t’ (Taylor 2004:3535-6). Civility became associated with proximity to an urban state, something Scott (2009) posits as an intrinsic property of expanding states.

One day when I was with Feliciano in his community of Niñocorín, he pointed out to me on the hill opposite, the ruins of a building in which he told me the functionaries of the colonial administration would interrogate local people regarding their religious practices. Indians were not officially subject to the Inquisition after 1571 (Griffiths 1994:19; Silverblatt 2004);

however, priests (whose methods of interrogation took inspiration from the Inquisition) were sent to indigenous communities to 'extirpate' idolatrous practices. Another informant, Aurelio, told me that the Spanish used to burn Kallawayas alive if they suspected them of witchcraft, resulting in the latter hiding their traditional practices within Catholic religion (for example, by making offerings to the Virgin Mary in representation of the Pachachama), practising them only clandestinely.

'There are some aspects of being Kallawaya which are hidden inside the Catholic religion... Because if it weren't like that there would be no Kallawaya culture. Because when the Spanish arrive, they grab the Kallawayas and call them witches. They burn them alive. They say that we speak with the devil and that's it.'³⁶

Aurelio's description of the local extirpation gives the impression that the abilities of local shaman may have been taken seriously. However, according to Griffiths (1994:30), the extirpation defined native shamans as '*hechiceros*' or sorcerers, in Spain considered to be nothing more than a charlatan. Missionaries wanted to convince Andeans that their religious beliefs were false, rather than to acknowledge that their shaman had actual abilities. Loza (2004:52-61) finds that the attitude of the local colonial administration towards 'pagan' beliefs, led to accusations and counter-accusations of idolatry between rivals in a legal dispute over the inheritance of the Kallawaya kurakazgo passed down from Cana Auqui. As Gose (2013) shows, the extirpation of idolatries not only led Andeans to hide ancestors, but when extirpators destroyed mummified ancestors and shrines and replaced them with crosses which still dot the landscape the crosses on the mountains came to represent the ancestors, the worship of which the extirpators had tried to stamp out as idolatry. Thus extirpation transferred the ancestral powers to the cross and 'resacralised' the landscape (*ibid.*:274).

The colonial encounter brought together societies with different approaches to reality. Prehispanic 'idolatry' conveyed a 'distinctly indigenous understanding of the world' (Gruzinski 1993:150). The punishment of the Extirpation of Idolatries was 'essentially

³⁶ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 1453-6

corrective' (Foucault 1977:179), designed to colonise the very way that indigenous people viewed the world (Klor de Alva 1991; Shah 2013). In this sense, '[t]he Extirpation of idolatry was not a religious issue, but an epistemic one' (Mignolo 2011:165-6). The *Buen Policia* of the *reduccion* and the Extirpation of Idolatrous practices as an institution of the colonial State, operated what Foucault calls a 'micro-physics of power' (1977:26) on native Andeans as 'docile bodies'. Docile Bodies, according to Foucault (1977:136) are bodies 'that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved.' The colonial administration attempted to change the Andean person, which identified as *runa*; that is someone who is constituted in relation to others in the *ayllu*, into another kind of person. Using a Foucauldian analysis (1977:29) we can suggest that priests were actively attempting to produce native souls, 'through methods of punishment, supervision and constraint'. This would have contrasted with the Kallawaya experience under the Inca Empire, which despite demanding allegiance to Imperial deities, allowed ethnic groups to continue to pay homage to their own gods (Silverblatt 2004:191). While the Inca Empire had been particularist, taking ethnic groups as the smallest unit of the empire, the Spanish legal code categorized all non-Spanish simply as Indian. Thus one effect of colonization was to remove ethnic identity from the colonized peoples, and replace it with the Spanish image of the 'other'. Native Andeans were taught to see themselves through what Du Bois (1965) describes for Black Americans as a 'veil of colour', by viewing their own culture negatively through the eyes of others, resulting in what he calls a 'double consciousness', of two souls warring in the same body (1965:2).

Nowadays, the functionaries of the Spanish colonial administration are remembered in Charazani through the Awki-Awki dance, on 3rd May during holy week, the Fiesta de la Cruz, which ostensibly celebrates the cross as a Christian religious symbol, but is as much a celebration of the *Chakana*, the Southern Cross. In the dance, men and boys wear masks with pointy noses, old-fashioned Spanish colonial-style clothes (including wide-brimmed sombreros) that are in many cases too big for them (many of those dancing were children) and carry curved and bent walking sticks. The dance involves shuffling forwards and backwards in the manner of an old person walking. When the music (being played on *zampoñas* and drums by a band) stops, all the dancers fall down theatrically. Informants at the time told me that these were '*los abuelos*', 'the old people', and that 'they are small

because they are the people from before, the *awkis*³⁷. Lukyx (1999:276) describes this as one of a number of dances in Bolivia that arose as a ‘social commentary on colonialism’. The Mary Knoll Aymara dictionary describes the clothes and manner of walking as ‘making fun of the eminent Spaniards of the colonial period’ (Cotari, Mejía and Carrasco 1978:43).

Gose controversially (2013:298) proposes that the Spaniards were remembered by Andeans not as conquerors but as ancestors. He suggests that mountain spirits were thought to sometimes take the form of *mistis* or *hacendados*. According to Gose (2013:302, citing Mendizabel 1966), *awkillas* are both white-bearded old men walking with canes and pre-historic mummies. This would explain how the *awkis* can represent both Spaniards and the ancestors (the *chullpas*). The merging of mountain spirits with Spanish authorities or *gringos* representationally has also been attributed to ‘the similarity of their power over the common people’ (Earls [1969], cited in Harris 1995:14).



Figure 14: The Awki-Awki.

³⁷ Awki, according to Gose (2013:283-4) was a name for the pre-Christian people known as *chullpas* or gentiles.

The multi-ethnic nature of the Kallawaya region was further added to by migration across the Andes during the colonial period, as newcomers arrived to escape the labour draft of the Potosí mines known as the *mit'a*. According to the Visita General of 1583 in Charazani there were 683 tributaries described as 'naturales caravayas' to which were added 300 who had 'come from different repartimientos'³⁸ (Saignes 1985:199). By a century later, the numbers of 'originarios' in the eight Kallawaya *ayllus* had been reduced by half compared to the previous census (Saignes 1985:200-1).

Within this multi-ethnic polity, it is not clear how any professional specialisation as *herbolarios-curanderos* (healers) was passed on. However, Saignes (1985:200) speculates that the retention of the Puquina language helped to keep their knowledge as secret, and to therefore maintain a monopoly over their profession, passing their knowledge onto family members and excluding all those who did not understand the language. The formation of a multi-ethnic society dominated by Quechua- and Aymara-speakers, many of them relatively new arrivals, provided the conditions for the profession of itinerant healers to take on an exclusive status, as they were able to pass on their knowledge without their neighbours (often neighbours residing in the same community) being able to understand them.

Although nowadays a common label is often used politically to describe all those living in the region as Kallawayas, I found that there are healers whose knowledge has been passed down to them through their family who regard themselves as distinct from those around them who speak Quechua, but not the Kallawaya language. Aurelio told me once: 'as Kallawayas we are surrounded by Quechua families... because when you arrive in a community, not everyone is Kallawaya. There are Kallawaya families in the middle of Quechua families. But we live together just the same.'³⁹ "Kallawaya families always have lineage⁴⁰, because our grandparents have been Kallawayas. For example, I am Aurelio Ortiz, he is my grandfather Lucas Ortiz [pointing to a picture in a book by Loius Girault]. They

³⁸ The *repartimiento* was the administrative territorial unit through which forced labour was extracted under Spanish colonial rule in America.

³⁹ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 1467-71.

⁴⁰ The notion that being Kallawaya is connected to one's family name has two causes. Firstly, the tradition that itinerant Kallawayas learned the medicinal knowledge of their fathers and grandfathers within the family, by taking journeys with them from an early age. The other is that itinerant healers come from certain specific communities.

arrived to the Panama Canal. Kallawaya families have lineage, yes we have lineage. It is for that reason that one thing is to be born Kallawaya and another is to make oneself Kallawaya. These are two distinctions that I always make.⁴¹ I queried this, because I knew an Aymara teacher of traditional medicine (who taught classes in La Paz) who had told me that if one applied oneself (sufficiently to learn the applications of over five hundred plants), one could acquire the requisite knowledge to heal in a matter of three years (though he also pointed out that, ultimately, knowledge was in vain without authorisation from the *achachilas*⁴²). Aurelio furrowed his brow: 'But well, not knowing two, three plants, and saying I am Kallawaya, no. You have to have a long trajectory. This includes knowing yourself. Experimenting the plants on yourself first. And not just that, but learning – learning and patience. Peace and science.'⁴³ Aurelio also told me that in Amarete he had a *compadre* who was a good maestro⁴⁴, but that he felt depressed because he could not speak Macha Juyay, such was the importance of the ritual language, and that Aurelio had been trying to teach him with cassettes. Aurelio's details about his *compadre's* frustration seem to illustrate a perceived hierarchy of Kallawaya characteristics, which placed healers who could speak the Kallawaya language, from a lineage of Kallawaya healers at the top.

Often, when I went to look for Aurelio in Lunlaya, he was out travelling, had just returned, or was just about to leave again. For Aurelio, this was fundamental to what it means to be Kallawaya: 'The Kallawaya knows how to use amulets. The Kallawaya cures with plants and travels. The Kallawaya reads coca. So the Kallawaya is a doctor. Doctor. We travel throughout South America, and we can bring back a little bit of money for our children to send them to school, for a little bit extra for the house, a little bit of extra food... most of all we are travellers.'⁴⁵

⁴¹ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 1491-5.

⁴² An experienced Kallawaya will read in the coca leaves whether their initiate will receive authorisation or not, from which of the *achachilas*, and will then accompany him to the relevant mountain top to perform the ceremony. This mountain, I was told would then be the Kallawaya's own shrine.

⁴³ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 1497-9.

⁴⁴ Maestro/a is often used as a term to refer to the most experienced healers and ritual specialists (see Burman 2011:55).

⁴⁵ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012, lines 1473-7.



Figure 15: The statue of a Kallawaya in a plaza in the town of Charazani.

As Girault (1988[1974]:403) notes, there is only one written reference in the bibliographic record at all of the Kallawayas as specialising in medicine or as travellers during the colonial period. This is part of a report by Martin de Landaeta in 1766, who notes that ‘the Indians of Charazani do not dedicate themselves to agriculture because they do not have a market in which to sell their products. They are travellers and they can be seen on the paths weighed down with bulky bags of herbs, doing all kinds of work, without interrupting their journey or stumbling.’⁴⁶ Otero (1991[1951]:147) proposes that in the Kallawaya’s shoulder bag he not only carried medicinal plants to sell, but also gold which had been panned in the rivers descending from the local mountains and which communities in the region from the

⁴⁶ ‘Los indios de Charazani no se dedican a la agricultura porque no tiene Mercado donde vender sus productos. Son viajeros y se les ve por los caminos cargados de abultadísimos sacos de mate, haciendo toda clase de labores, sin interrumpir su marcha no tropezar.’

highlands to the lowlands still pan regularly for today using much the same tools as their ancestors. Guaman Poma (1978) makes several references to the gold mines of Carabaya, even describing the gold as the finest there is (1978:48).

4.2.4 The Republican era

Bolivia became independent from Spain in 1825, but it did not become a nation-state.

Following Aníbal Quijano (2008), a nation-state is expressed as an identity because of the democratic participation of its members in the control of power. He does not consider the Andean states to have been nations because they were founded upon colonial domination. They became 'independent states of colonial societies' (2008:213).

After independence Charazani experienced new administrative changes. In January 1826 the province of Caupolican (later Franz Tamayo) was created containing the missions of Apolobamba, Pelechuco and Apolo and the highlands of Ulla Ulla. Ulla Ulla had been the highlands to Charazani's valley, but they were separated when Charazani remained in Larecaja (Caro 1985:138,154). In October 1826 though, Charazani left that province to become part of the new province of Muñecas. There it remained until 1948, when it left Muñecas to form with the districts of Amarete, Curva, Chullina and Carijana, the new province of Bautista Saavedra. At the same time, the town of Charazani was renamed as Villa General J.J. Pérez, though the inhabitants continued to use the traditional name of Charazani.

The demography of the valley of Charazani continued to be affected by migration. Loza's (2004:88-95) analysis of the census data from 1832-71 shows that among the tribute-payers at that time, in addition to the *originarios* (those who inherited their land through their ancestors within the community) there were also large numbers of *agregados* (who may or may not possess land within the *ayllu*, but are permitted to reside there by passing through the communal positions of responsibility like other *ayllu* members). A rise in the number of originarios between 1832 and 1871 suggests that the *agregados* became *originarios* (Loza 2004:95). While some male Kallawayas were away on journeys *agregados* might till their fields, fulfil the *originario's* obligations to the community, contribute to tax revenue, and eventually perhaps, gain access to the land which the wife or child of the *originario* did not cultivate themselves, or by marrying the daughter of an *originario* with no sons (Platt

1987a:302). The distinction currently recognised between *originarios* and *agregados* defines the former as those who received confirmation of their tenancy in the last *revisita* in the 1880s, while *agregados* are those who entered the community after the last *revisita* and before the agrarian reform (Schulte 1999:128). It is somewhat ironic that the constitution refers to *originarios* (as part of the phrase '*indígena originario campesinas*') as peoples whose connection with their territory predates the Spanish invasion, and yet the category itself owes its origin to the colonial bureaucracy. Decolonization as a process cannot even be achieved without using colonial labels.

Saignes (1985:204) interprets the journeys of Kallawayas during the republican period as a means of acquiring economic resources not available within the local economy, and of escaping the strong social control exercised by the *mestizo* population. Between 1866 and 1899 the governments of several different Bolivian Presidents enacted a number of legislative changes designed to attack the *ayllu* as a corporate entity (Platt 1987a; Antezana 2011). Most notable were the decrees of President Melgarejo in 1866, which declared the dissolution of the *ayllu* and each community-member as absolute owner of their land (though this law was overturned by the following government), and the *Ley de Exvinculación* in 1874, which after resistance from indigenous communities was finally enacted in the 1880s, and followed along the lines of the Melgarejo decrees by declaring the State to be the owner of all land and dividing *ayllu* land into parcels which could be sold off individually. The changes to the legal status of *ayllus* allowed *criollo* townspeople to buy *ayllu* land directly from the State. Rather than eject the populations of *ayllus* from their land they were generally allowed to keep their original parcel of land in return for working three days a week for the hacendado (Antezana 2011:63). The biography of Alvarez Mamani (a prominent political figure in the indigenous movement of the 1930s to 1950s and originally from the Kallawayaya community of Khanlaya) lists eight haciendas just in the valley of Charazani, and the owners of these haciendas, according to Mamani, were forever attempting to advance into the lands of the *ayllus*, without even making them offers of purchase (Ranaboldo 1987:36). Those Kallawayas who remained in their communities tended to be too scared of the threats of the landowners to claim rights that were enshrined in law.

The liberal land laws, which attacked the community as an institution, were effectively a continuation of the colonial policies of *Buena policia*, which aimed to transform Andean people (*runa*) living in the *ayllu* into another kind of person. By making *ayllu* land alienable the *ayllu's* territorial and communitarian basis was denied. Rather than simply a continuation of the colonial State though, this represented a deterioration in indigenous peoples' relationship with the State, as the colonial State had respected communal property, because it had depended on the tribute it received from *ayllus* (Howard-Malverde and Canessa 1995:232).

According to Alvarez Mamani, before agrarian reform was finally enacted in 1953, the *ayllu* members and estate peons (*colonos*) barely had any contact with one another (Ranaboldo 1987:38). When *colonos* and *comunarios* did meet it could be during disputes over the border between a hacienda and an *ayllu*. *Colonos* took the side of *hacendados*, who would tell them that if they advanced into *ayllu* territory they would increase their land (*ibid.*).

One such dispute, which took place in 1888, is remembered around the valley to this day. An *hacendado* named Valencia was the owner of several estates in the region, one of which, named 'Jichawichin', lay just inside land traditionally pertaining to the *ayllu* of Amarete. Leonardo⁴⁷, from the community of Jatichulaya, whose riverside community lies within sight of Jichawichin on the hillside above, related to me that Valencia had obliged people from the nearby community to work for him for free in harvesting potatoes, corn, wheat and cereals, which he would sell in the market at Ulla Ulla (on the border with Peru). Despite having a productive estate, Valencia wanted to expand his lands further inside the territory of the *ayllu*. According to Ginés Pasten⁴⁸, a *vecino* of Charazani, and a member of the autonomy assembly, on the 29th September, when Valencia was returning from the fiesta of San Miguel in Chullina (San Miguel is Chullina's patron saint) he observed on the hillside opposite, a mass of red (the colour of the hats worn by men in Amarete) by the river Atique, where Amareteños were attempting to recuperate their land, by destroying all of the walls erected by Valencia. Seeing this from afar, he returned to his home in Charazani, collected firearms, and made haste to his estate on horseback. As Valencia got close he began firing towards to

⁴⁷ See appendix: Interview with Leonardo Barrerra: 4th January 2012, lines 2157-2439.

⁴⁸ Although Ginés gave me a version of these events himself, a fuller version of Gines' account can be found in Rösing (2003:485-93).

the Amareteños to scare them off. The Amareteños though, apparently tried to talk peacefully to Valencia and persuade him to return their lands to them. Despite this, when Valencia reached the massed crowd (according to Ginés there were around 500, while Leonardo told me there were 3-4,000) he began attacking them from his horse, provoking one man to hit him with a slingshot which knocked him to the ground and evidently killed him. According to Leonardo, the Amareteños then decapitated Valencia, cut up his body, and ate it like *chicharrón* (pork crackling) - this was supported by a similar version of the story told to me by an informant in Amarete. A variation of the story is told by Ginés in Rösing (2003:489), in which the Amareteños decapitate Valencia, drink *chicha* (fermented corn) from his skull, and bury the body headless (decapitation may be a theme common to Andean cannibalism, as Platt [1987b:172] refers to trophy heads in Macha having been found buried without the corresponding corpse).

Afterwards, both Charazaneños and Amareteños were fearful. The Amareteños, worried about the consequences of their actions, feared the arrival of more *mestizos* from Charazani, bringing with them police from La Paz. In Charazani meanwhile, no *mestizo* had any intention of approaching Amarete for fear that the same fate befall them as had done Valencia; rather they were afraid of the Amareteños descending on the town *en masse*. To avert the arrival of a troop of police from La Paz, the entire *ayllu* of Amarete climbed to the summit of Isqani, the mountain most sacred to Amarete, to offer sacrifices in the hope that this would ensure the police to not come. When the police did arrive the Amareteños could see them from the mountain getting lost and taking the wrong road. The Amareteños celebrated for three full days (Rösing 2003:490-493).

The cannibalism of the *hacendado* may have been in itself a form of protection against the revenge of the *mestizos*. Platt (1987b:165) writes that in Macha the blood of one's enemy is licked to help protect against vengeance by witchcraft of their *ayllu*-mates and kin. Platt (*ibid.*) also suggests that cannibalism may form a kind of 'eucharist', strengthening the eaters and renewing them as one body. Langer (1990:246) proposes that cannibalism in disputes by indigenous communities over land may be a way of them expressing their sovereignty, to 'delimit their world from that of their oppressors'. If we read some significance in the event having occurred on the day of fiesta of San Miguel, we could surmise that the archangel, who in legend is a warrior with sword in hand who leads

celestial armies in a battle of good against evil (Absi 2005:103), is being invoked to aid the *ayllu*-mates in their struggle against Valencia for their land. Eating the head specifically could be a way of gaining control of the power residing in the head of the person eaten (Arnold and Hastorf 2008:48); this could include power of the law. Thus cannibalism may be a way of asserting land rights.



Figure 16: The view from Chullina towards where 'Jichawichin' would have been in 1888.

Further insight on the episode may be provided by taking into account Szemiński's (1987) analysis of cannibalism during the Túpac Amaru uprising. According to Szemiński (1987:169) 'Andean tradition condemns cannibalism. If a part of a Spanish body was eaten, either the act must have had a magic meaning or the Spaniard was considered nonhuman.' I would like to consider the latter possibility, that when Valencia was eaten he was considered not to be human, or at least not to be the human in the sense that those consuming his body understood the term. The closest Quechua term for human is *runa*, but it is a particular type of human being, or as de la Cadena (2014) explains the word, '*not only human*'. *Runa* are human beings who are defined through their intersubjective relationship with what she calls *tirakuna* or 'Earth beings', what my informants called 'sacred places', '*achachilas*' or '*machulas*'. *Runa* and *tirakuna* mutually constitute one another. The colonial project was, by extirpating the behaviour of natives in which they related to the other beings in the *ayllu*

as subjects in their own right, to mould them into a different type of human being. If the Amareteños cannibalism of Valencia expressed the distinction which they still felt as *runa* towards the descendants of the colonizers, then this could be taken as evidence for the failure of this project. In the chapter that follows I will show that this distinction still remains.

Although when Leonardo related this story he finished by telling me that the *mistic* of Charazani never again dared to enter Amarete, informants from Amarete nevertheless told me that there had continued to be disputes between Charazani and Amarete concerning townspeople from Charazani in positions of power demanding animals and crops from those in the *ayllu*. By the 1980s there was such tension in the relationship between the town and the *ayllu* that, according to Alipio Cuila, in 1984 or 85, a number of Amareteños went down to Charazani to protest in the square against ‘abuses’ committed by the townspeople against them. Alipio told me with a chuckle that all of the townspeople closed their shops in the plaza and boarded up their windows because they were afraid that the Amareteños were going to eat them.

4.3 Official Recognition of the Kallawayas

In 1908, the State formalised the penalisation of traditional healing practice by putting place regulations through the Direction General of Public Health which meant that no one could practice legally without a professional title (Loza 2004:127). This does not mean that Kallawayas did not overtly practice medicine, and many Kallawayas practised medicine in the Bolivian sanitary corps in the Chaco war in the 1930s (Loza 2004:133-4). Besides, many people preferred to consult Kallawayas than enter unhygienic hospital buildings where they would be as likely to contract an illness as be cured of one (Zulawski 2000:114). However, the Kallawayas had a dubious reputation. They were seen by many as witches or charlatans (a reputation probably handed down by the Extirpation), and many of those who practised outside Bautista Saavedra did so covertly, for example, whilst working in other professions in the city (see Ranaboldo 1987:255; Loza 2008:44). One Kallawaya told me that in order to prove that he could heal he had always requested references from his patients, with which he could validate his professed abilities. It was in order to counter a perception of many that

the Kallawayas were charlatans that from the 1980s to 2000s, some Kallawayas lobbied for legislative changes that would allow them to practice legally, and later for recognition of their capabilities.

In 1979, Walter Alvarez, a Kallawaya from the *ayllu* of Khanlaya, upon returning from university study in Cuba, was appointed the first Secretary of Health in the newly-formed CSUTCB. He soon began to lobby the government for the legalisation of traditional medicine in Bolivia, and continued to do so with greater force after being elected as a deputy to parliament in 1982 (Loza 2004:133-4). Alvarez's lobbying, combined with hyperinflation which saw the cost of synthetic medicines rise by 5,000-6,000 percent in 1983-1984, resulted in the Ministry of Health supporting the use of indigenous medicine for the first time (Healey 2001:48). In 1987, parliament approved proposals by Alvarez for the creation of the Bolivian Institute for Kallawaya Traditional Medicine, and the declaration of the province of Bautista Saavedra as the capital of traditional medicine, in addition to rules that would regulate the practice of traditional medicine in Bolivia. Despite an official acceptance of traditional medicine by the Ministry of Health from the 1990s onwards (see Loza 2008), according to Loza (2004:139) there were no substantive changes in the working conditions for Kallawayas and in plans for the improvement of health services traditional healers were never consulted. Sixteen years after the legalisation of traditional medicine, meetings were held between Alvarez and other Kallawaya healers, as well as with academics, the two *alcaldes* of the municipalities in Bautista Saavedra, the provincial union leaders and the Ministry of Culture concerning ways in which they could raise their profile.

Their solution was an appeal to UNESCO to recognise their cultural practices. The idea had been put to the ancestors of the Kallawayas via the Kallawaya ritual experts and, through the readings of guinea pig entrails, coca leaves and the smoke of offerings in Kallawaya communities, the idea had been found to meet with their approval. In 2003 the Ministry of Culture sent a document to UNESCO compiled by Kallawaya healers and Bolivian academics, which asked them to recognise the 'Andean Cosmivision of Kallawaya Culture' as 'Oral Patrimony of Humanity'⁴⁹. The title is intriguing, since it implies recognition of Kallawaya

⁴⁹ The idea for UNESCO's patrimonies of humanity is one that emerged at the International Consultation on the Preservation of Popular Cultural Spaces convention in Marrakesh in 1997. Besides the Patrimony of Humanity,

culture as something specific, and yet at the same time bearing the characteristics of a cosmovision common to people across the Andes. However, the way that they distinguished themselves from other Andean groups was by the emphasis on their specialisation in medicine. The document which was sent to UNESCO describes the medicinal knowledge of the Kallawayas as the result of a long process of experimentation and transmission dating back to the before the Incas, placing importance on the inter-generational transmission of knowledge from father to son. It acknowledges that Kallawaya culture is the result of hybridisation, stating that ‘the Kallawaya knowledge and cosmovision is testament to a cultural process which has synthesised the medical-religious knowledge of South America’ (Viceministerio de Culturas 2002:22-8, 44). It even admits that the Kallawayas share many of their magical-religious beliefs with other Andean peoples, and so devotes several pages to describing the talismans of the Kallawayas, which it says are unique to them (*ibid.*:22-8). Medicine was not merely defined through curing by plants, even one of the dances typical of the Kallawaya communities, Kantus, was described as ‘musicotherapy’ (*ibid.*:42).

The document distinguishes two types of specialists in curing: *sacerdotes-medicos*, who use natural remedies, and *adivinos (yachaq)* who feed the earth and ancestors, stating that the two are never mixed: the *herbolario* does not feed the mountain, and the *adivino* does not cure with herbs. It is very rare that one can become an expert in both professions, because of the level of specialization required in each⁵⁰. It specifies the Kallawaya *ayllus* which specialize in each profession: Chari and Curva are *ayllus* of *sacerdotes-medicos*; Kaata is an *ayllu* of *adivinos*, and Chajaya and Khanlaya provide the pharmaceutical products (Viceministerio de Culturas 2002:21). It identifies nine Kallawaya *ayllus*: Amarete, Chajaya, Chari, Chullina, Curva, Inca, Kaalaya, Kaata and Upinhuaya. Rather confusingly it goes on to state that eight of these *ayllus* are exclusively dedicated to the practice of medicine, but

three other categories of award were created, which were: Living Human Treasures; Endangered languages; and the Traditional Music of the World program (UNESCO 2003: 1-2, cited in Viatori 2009:80).

⁵⁰ This follows Bastien’s (1985:9-10;55) distinction between the two professions. He stipulates that one can never become a specialist in both professions, because of the level of skill involved. Rösing (1996:65) takes a slightly different view of the separation between the two professions. She stipulates that an itinerant Kallawaya, such as there is in the communities of Curva, Chajaya, Chari, Inka, Huata Huata is not necessarily also a collective ritualist, but neither is there necessarily either a separation of roles. I myself found that though the traditional healers might not have also conducted collective rituals, the collective ritualists (*wata purichiq*) that I met certainly know how to cure with plants.

names several *ayllus* which are not in the first list (Curva, Khanlaya, Chayaja, Tilinguaya, Chari, Huata Huata, Inca Roca and Sajanajón) (*ibid.*:11).

UNESCO has been accused of paternalistically ‘construct[ing] “traditional cultures” as museum pieces that must be preserved within the maelstrom of globalization in order for “us” to know what “real” culture is like despite our position within a culturally homogenous modernity’ (Viatori 2009: 80). However, UNESCO constructs culture in conjunction with those who make the submission for recognition. The document sent to UNESCO emphasises the medical specialisation of the Kallawayas, but does not make any claim that Kallawayas culture includes only the medical specialists and ritualists. It does, after all, point out that Kallawayas knowledge is expressed not just through medicine, but in practices of magic, textiles and the transmission of myths. The impression relayed is rather of a kind of synecdoche, in which the healing specialist represents Kallawayas culture as a whole.

The purpose of the candidature, according to the document, was to ‘halt the irremediable loss of collective memory, owing to acculturation and globalisation’ and to create a plan of action which will permit the conservation and revitalisation of the Kallawayas cosmovision’ (*ibid.*: 45). In practical terms it was unclear how they would use the recognition of UNESCO to further these aims. The plan outlined in the document mostly involved strengthening already existing organisations of Kallawayas healers, and adding to their number. The *Sociedad Boliviana de Medicina Tradicional* (SOBOMETRA) had been created by supreme resolution in 1984, and was followed by the creation of the Institute for Kallawayas Medicine in 1987. I was told by Aurelio that it was following the UNESCO declaration that other Kallawayas organisations were formed, of which there were at present eight.

After a thirteen-person panel had met in Paris to discuss the postulation, the declaration of the ‘Andean Cosmovision of Kallawayas Culture’ as ‘Oral Patrimony of Humanity’ was made in front of television cameras on the 8th November 2003. Alipio Cuila, who was the alcalde of Charazani at the time of the UNESCO declaration, saw the postulation to UNESCO as the beginning of the Kallawayas’ process of constituting themselves as a nation: ‘it was with that that we started. We were documenting ourselves; all our knowledge that was verbal, even though it had been written down, it hadn’t been written by us. Even now there isn’t’⁵¹.

⁵¹ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila: 12th November 2012, lines 506-508.

Alipio signalled the recognition by UNESCO as vindicating the Kallawayas as a people, whose cultural practices had been oppressed by the Spanish. In Alipio's speech to the press he told them: 'now we are proud because no one will humiliate us. Before no one took any notice of us. They made fun of us: 'condor hats' they would call us. Even now there are racial problems. The townspeople of Charazani still think of us as serfs, but when it suits them they come to us to cure them. Now that we have won the title of Patrimony, they will have to respect us'⁵² (Loza 2004:154-5). I found the recognition by UNESCO to be taken as a kind of decolonising measure by others too, for example, when I spoke to another Amareteño, Ramón Yujra, who had been sub-governor of the province at the time of the UNESCO declaration, he, almost in the same breath as telling me about the incident between the *ayllu* of Amarete and the *hacendado* Valencia in 1888 told me that they had fought against the *mistis* until 2003, that in 2003 there were no more Spanish, and emphasising that 'it isn't patrimony of the Spanish, it is patrimony of the *indígenas* of Charazani.' The Spanish had suppressed many of the traditional Kallawayaya practices through the Extirpation, the Bolivian State in the early twentieth century had legally prohibited the practice of traditional medicine, and now the Kallawayas felt their traditions were being vindicated.

Nevertheless, there is nothing in the declaration by UNESCO which defines the Kallawayas as a nation, and the document sent to UNESCO only makes one oblique reference to the Kallawayas in this way, in a quote from French writer H.A. Wedell in 1852, in which he says that the 'indios Callahuayas... constitute a special nation' (Viceministerio de Culturas 2002:44). Although I was told by some, such as Alipio, that 'we have always been the Kallawayaya Nation', the term only began to be used in any official sense in the Constituent Assembly in 2006 (as referred to in the previous chapter). After the constitution was written the national and departmental parliaments were recomposed to allow for the election of representatives of indigenous peoples. The Kallawayas have a representative in the plurinational assembly of La Paz. They are also represented in the national level though indirectly, as one representative is elected for the combined grouping of the Kallawayas, Afrobolivianos and the Lecos. Jorge Challco of Amarete, an ex-mayor of Charazani, told me

⁵² 'Ahora estamos orgullos porque ya nadie nunca más nos va humillar... Antes no nos tomaban en cuenta. Se burlaban: *lluch'u* de cóndor, nos decían. Hasta ahora hay problemas raciales, los vecino de Charazani siguen creyéndonos *pongos*, pero bien que cuando le conviene van para que les curen. Ahora que hemos ganado el título de Patrimonio nos van a tener que respetar.'

that this was the purpose of declaring themselves a nation, so that they could be represented in parliament. The next step, I was told by Jorge, was in March 2009, when the Ministry of Culture emitted a Ministerial Resolution recognising the province of Bautista Saavedra as the Kallawaya Nation. On the 29th March 2009, the men and women from communities of various parts of the province travelled to La Paz to present dances from their community. In the records of the libros de actas of the community of Niñacorin for the rest of that year it shows there was much discussion of what it means to 'reconstitute' the Kallawaya Nation, and indeed what the 'Kallawaya Nation' meant.

The recognition of Kallawaya cultural identity has been important for a blossoming Kallawaya self-confidence and self-consciousness of themselves as an ethnic group, because it 'affirms what they are not allowed to be as a result of coloniality' (Dinerstein 2015:49). The candidature was part of a deliberate effort to manage the Kallawaya ethnic image, changing the discourse concerning what it meant to be Kallawaya, and thereby combat oppression which the Kallawayas felt as a group, as 'ethnic discourse is explicitly geared toward changing a situation for the better for its members' (Diskin 1994:160). As Taylor (1999:48) notes, 'our identity requires recognition by others'. The Kallawaya postulation of themselves as an ethnic group was a rejection of the homogenising 'Indian' colonial category, and a call to be recognised as distinct. It represented a throwing off of the colonial veil, and was part of a campaign of consciousness-raising, other elements of which shall be examined in the next chapter, and which aimed to overcome the colonial double consciousness and foster a Kallawaya consciousness.

4.4 Conclusion

Debates over identity have taken place in the context of the Kallawaya communities (or at least representatives of them) coming together to define how they see themselves collectively. In writing their statute together they have been effectively *imagining* their community (Anderson 1983). A community is not imagined the same way by everyone though. In deliberately imagining the Kallawaya community for the political purpose of autonomy, power is at stake, and the way that Kallawaya identity and society is imagined can, as Cameron (2012:2) notes, have an impact on the way that institutions are formed thereafter, and the autonomous territory governed. Perspectives on culture depend on one's position within the culture. Even with regards to nationalism, 'there are usually

several different nationalisms which claim to represent the same nation at the same time' (Bosworth 2007:58). A review of the history of the Kallawaya region makes clear that what could have been imagined as the Kallawaya ethnic territory, ethnic identity or national identity would vary depending on the epoch one studied. The way that the Kallawaya Nation is being defined today is largely in conjunction to the quasi-colonial territorial boundaries of the province and municipality. However, the notion of the Kallawaya nation has also emerged in a way which expresses a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1983:7) as a form of 'resistance to coloniality and modernity, understood as acts of decolonisation' (Prada 2010:53). The chapter which follows will examine the processes which united Kallawaya communities together politically from the 1980s to 1990s in solidarity, to create their own forms of political autonomy from the townspeople, and which have created the foundations for the current project of Kallawaya nationhood.

Chapter five. We wanted to be respected as *runa*: how the Kallawayas changed their social reality through education

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with social and political changes in Kallawayaya society, which, following the lead of my informants, I interpret as a precursor to - and the local spark for - the current Kallawayaya autonomy project. I develop here an examination of the social structure of Kallawayaya society, begun in the previous chapter in which I showed the legacy of colonialism for the Kallawayaya communities to have been a social structure deeply divided between two categories of people. One were the Spanish-descendants, known as *mistis* or *vecinos*, who lived in the town of Charazani. The other were *runa* (in Quechua, in Aymara *jaqi*), whose identity was constituted by their relationship with the other beings in the *ayllu*. In this chapter I examine a period in the recent history of the province of Bautista Saavedra in which a fundamental shift occurred in the power relations between the *mistis* living in the town of Charazani, and *runa*, the indigenous majority⁵³.

The changes which occurred in social relations were the result of the confluence of *runa* in Kallawayaya communities - who had already been organising themselves to try to resist and alter the relationship of exploitation which they experienced in relation to the *mistis* in Charazani - taking advantage of national-level legislative changes to reconfigure the social institutions on which this exploitation was based. The legislation referred to is the Law of Popular Participation (1994), which created 311 new municipalities across Bolivia and resulted in people from indigenous communities being elected as mayors of many of them. At the same time as the LPP, education reform was also enacted, through which the Ministry of Education for the first time emphasised intercultural as well as bilingual education. In Bautista Saavedra, it was Ayni Kusun, an independent school which was set up by peasants themselves with the aid of a Belgian agronomist, and which taught a

⁵³ I shall use *runa* as shorthand for both the Quechua and Aymara speakers unless one or the other is specified.

‘revolutionary’ education, which was one of the catalysts for social change. Teachers in the school educated peasants on the potential for change which the LPP brought about, and encouraged them to use this as an opportunity to transform their relationships with the *mistis* in Charazani. I will examine the transformative nature of the alternative education provided by this school, and compare it with the rural schooling offered by the State.

I will use the narratives of my informants to tell the story of the changes which occurred in the early to mid-1990s, and in which the year 1995—when the first indigenous mayor was elected—was a particular turning point. I feel led to focus on three themes in this chapter—the local alternative education school called Ayni Kusun, the LPP, and changes in relations between *mistis* and *runa*, and the connections between the three themes—because the connections were made for me in conversations with a number of key informants, many of whom I call friends. During the course of my fieldwork I came to know a number of men, almost all of them at the time of my fieldwork occupying a position of authority at the level of their community, within the autonomy assembly or at another level, who had been ‘facilitators’ (teachers) in the school Ayni Kusun. All of them drew my attention to the role that the school had both in educating people about the benefits of the LPP, and of encouraging people in communities throughout the province to use education to alter the relationships they had with the townspeople. I will use the narrative of one of these facilitators in particular, Feliciano, and use contributions from other facilitators at the school.

5.2 Compadrazgo

Towards the end of my time conducting fieldwork, Feliciano and I were close enough friends that I suggested to him that we become *compadres* as a way of formalising our friendship. Feliciano assented and proposed that I become godfather to his 8-year old son, Kanawke (named after the Inca-era Kallawaya Kuraka mentioned in chapter four). In the Kallawaya, Quechua and Aymara communities of Bautista Saavedra, as elsewhere in the Andes, *compadrazgo*, or coparenthood is one of the most important familial relationships. It is established through a person (usually, in fact, a married couple) sponsoring a ritual rite of

passage. This is usually sponsorship of a marriage, a water-baptism in a church⁵⁴ or a first hair-cutting called, in Quechua, *rutucha*. Although some ethnographies (for example, Allen 1988) make a distinction between ‘baptism’ (that is, a baptism with water in the church) and other rituals such as ‘*rutucha*’ which mark the passing from the stage of *guagua* (baby) to *lloqalla* (child), in Kallawaya communities, a water-baptism, a first-haircutting, and other rituals called *paskakuy* and *ligia* which also create ties of godparenthood all seemed to be defined as a type of baptism, though Feliciano, for one, distinguished the baptism with water in the local church as being less *originario*, and something which *runa* performed for the benefit of their standing within the Catholic church or ‘mainstream society’ (Bolin 2006:48). Because Kanawke already had a godfather through *rutucha*, and I did not have time to attend the courses in the local church that would be required before we could conduct a Catholic baptism with water, Feliciano suggested an alternative, which was for me to become godfather through *paskakuy*.

The *paskakuy* required me to place a cross round Kanawke’s neck, return a week later to remove it, and then place it once more. The ritual was nearly foiled by Kanawke’s ingenious ability to accidentally remove and lose the necklace over the course of the intervening week, but by the time I returned eight days later, it had been found, and he was once again wearing it. I also had to buy a jumper in a local store in Charazani and place it on Kanawke (this was apparently known as *ligia*). The jumper represented Kanawke’s wings, which would help Kanawke to enter heaven. Bastien (1985:111) indicates dressing the godchild for the first time is of great significance in strengthening ties between godparent and godchild since ‘[t]he godparents assume the first responsibility of parents to clothe their child’. Feliciano told me that this was a more ‘*originario*’ ceremony than conducting the baptism in the church would have been. When I pointed out to Feliciano that this ‘*originario*’ ceremony used a necklace with a cross attached, which was clearly associated with the Catholic Church, he remarked to me that this was ‘dissimulation’, though he did not offer any suggestion as to what might have been used instead of a cross in pre-colonial times if the ritual was pre-hispanic. When I later asked the priest of the church in Charazani about *paskakuy*, he told me that it was originally a Jewish ritual, and explained to me that

⁵⁴ In fact, as Feliciano told me, the law requires godfathers for baptisms and weddings.

paskakuy came from the Spanish *pasar*, and signified to pass from one stage to another.

The sense of passing from one stage of life to another is characteristic of the meaning given to all of the baptism rituals used by the Kallawayas, and across the Andes. In his ethnography of the Kallawayaya *ayllu* of Kaata, Bastien (1985:96) describes a belief that unbaptised babies are dangerous because an unbaptised baby's soul will go into limbo, and limbo is also a source of hail, therefore if a baby died without being baptised it could bring devastation down on the crops of the community (because of this belief, Kaatans sometimes bury babies who died before baptism in their enemies' fields (Bastien (*ibid.*)). According to Bastien, the belief that only baptised babies would enter heaven was taught to the Kallawayas by sixteenth-century missionaries. The Kallawayas reinterpreted the baptismal rite as a passing from being uncivilised (like the *chunchos*, their jungle-dwelling neighbours), to being civilised (*ibid.*)⁵⁵ At a baptismal ceremony in a church, salt is put on the baby's tongue and they are dressed in a robe⁵⁶. This is interpreted as signifying that the baby is no longer a *chuncho* who does not eat salt (see chapter four), but a civilised Kallawayaya. The interpretation of the non-baptised as uncivilised is far from confined to the Andes. Gudeman, in his Panamanian ethnography describes the unbaptised as seen in the same terms as animals, in that children and animals both lack God's grace (1976:200).

Kanawke was actually my second godchild. My first was the daughter of a friend named Luis in the community of Chullina. We became *compadres* by *rutucha*. The *rutucha* though, incorporated both the *paskakuy* (placing the cross) and *ligia* (buying clothes for the child), in addition to the haircutting. That the *rutucha* may in one community incorporate the *paskakuy* and *ligia*, while in another they are considered separate rituals may be indicative

⁵⁵ According to Platt (2002), until they are baptised, in Macha fetuses are believed to be the reincarnation of pre-Christian ancestors, who enter the mother's womb through sacred rocks (*kamiris*) in the ground. Pagan Andeans have therefore continued to be converted for every generation since the sixteenth century, never leaving behind their status as 'New Christians', originally pagans. Platt (2002:129) believes that in doing so they affirm both their hybridity and their autochthonousness. One of the dictionary definitions of the verb *paskay* is to absolve a penitent of their sins (Ajacopa 2007), indicating that although Feliciano may see *paskakuy* as an *originario* ritual, it is very much based in the Catholic ideology of original sin.

⁵⁶ Platt (2002:144) reports that rubbing the baby with salt and water is the last stage in the baby becoming a Christian. According to Bolton (personal communication) in San Pablo in Sud LÍpez, Southern Potosí, the *compadre* marks the sign of the cross with salt and water on the baby's head shortly after birth.

of the cultural differences between different communities only hours' walk away from one another within a region identifying as pertaining to a common Kallawaya culture (though further research would be needed to determine whether this is the case or whether there are differences between individuals in the same community). The first time that I met Maritza, my goddaughter, she was falling over repeatedly as she attempted to walk. Although I saw her stumbles as the consequence of the stage of development she was at physically, according to Luis, Maritza was wobbly on her feet because she was clumsy due to not yet having been baptised. The baptism rituals then are seen as a passing from a stage of incompetence into one of being capable of doing things that adults do, such as walking; they mark the 'civilising' of a child. Canessa (2006:81) describes the *rutucha* as 'the ritual which formally introduces the *guagua* to the community' (for this reason the *rutucha* is often a communal affair held to coincide with a fiesta) as well as marking their passing from infancy to childhood, and into a phase of life in which they become a social being and can be assigned responsibility, such as chores around the house. The ability to work is an important part of being a person, of being *runa*, for 'being a person isn't something one is, but something one does, and as a consequence becoming a person is a process' (Canessa 2006:82).

When a godparent is chosen for a child it is not just the relationship between the godparent and child which is important, but equally important is the relationship established between parent and godparent, making them *compadres*. Three kinds of relationship are created when a baptism is sponsored: between child and parent; between child and godparent, and between the parent and the godparent (Mintz and Wolf 1950:341). Usually, as Allen (1988:87-90) notes, bonds of *compadrazgo* are formed between two couples rather than a single man, as I was, though whether the usual 'rules' were relaxed because as a foreigner I was a godfather of high-status, or whether there was some inherent flexibility in them I did not know. When I agreed to become godfather to Kanawke, our agreement had to be formalised through *pikcheando* (chewing) coca, and drinking beer (Allen 1988:87-88 also describes the 'deal' to become *compadres* being formalised through coca and alcohol). After this, Feliciano never again called me by my first name, but always simply '*compadre*'. We had become spiritual kin (see Gudeman 1976:190-229).



Figure 17: Feliciano and Kanawke.

Two kinds of *compadrazgo* (coparenthood) can be distinguished, and the parents of the child will have differing reasons for entering into each. The first is horizontal *compadrazgo* (Mintz and Wolf 1950), tying together members of the same class. This type of *compadrazgo* may be entered into simply to create a formal bond between friends (Rockefeller 2010:104) or for Kallawayas may often be entered into by two healers to allow for a mutually beneficial exchange of information about their methods for curing certain illnesses (see chapter six). The second kind of *compadrazgo* relationship Mintz and Wolf (1950) call vertical *compadrazgo*, as it links members of differing social classes. *Compadres* are often chosen because they are of high socioeconomic status (Bolin 2006:48) or well-educated (for example, one of the Spanish descended families in Charazani) who might be

able to defend the family if they experience problems with other townspeople in the town of Charazani, or assist them in their dealings with State and local bureaucracy⁵⁷. Vertical *compadrazgo* is in theory supposed to be mutually beneficial: the godchild does chores for their godparents around the house and looks after them when they are sick, and in return the godparents provide school supplies and give help and advice to their godchild and the godchild's family when needed (*ibid.*:48). Bastien, writing around thirty years before I conducted my research, described ritual kinship linking Charazani and Kaata as being common. The relationship was entered into by each party through self-interest: 'the mestizos receive ample produce and service from their ritual kin, and the Indians in return receive the protection of a godfather and godmother' (Bastien 1985:31). However, the inequality inherent in vertical *compadrazgo* means that each *compadre* does not benefit equally from the relationship (Rockefeller 2010:104).

It was particularly through a number of conversations with Feliciano that I began to understand the importance the relationship of godparenthood or *compadrazgo* had had for the *vecinos* in being able to exert an element of control over life in the surrounding communities. Feliciano described to me what life had been like when he was younger (he is now in his 50s), in the 1980s and 1990s, and in particular the relations with the *mistis* in Charazani.

They had to be subprefects; they were even peasant leaders. They abused us from the *alcaldía* – even worse as it [their work in the *alcaldía*] wasn't paid. They wanted us to play Kantus [the music typical of the Kallawaya region] in their fiestas. They would just call us from Charazani and we would have to go, taking music and food for them. They didn't give us any food.'

Me: 'Didn't they pay you?'

⁵⁷ Looking back on my field diary I noted a conversation with a man in Chullina in which he asked me if I had relatives there, and when I told him that Luis was my *compadre* and that his daughter was my goddaughter, he told me that this was good for me because I had someone to defend me ('Que bien que tienes ahijada, entonces tienes alguien para defenderte'), which suggested to me that this relationship could potentially be one in which the roles of protection were reversed. I understood this in a practical sense when sitting in a meeting in Chullina and Luis spoke up for my presence there as a student

Feliciano: 'They didn't pay us. That's why we organised the Kantus board. It was too much. The godparents also took sheep, lambs, right in front of us, as if it were nothing out of the ordinary, as if it were an egg. "Come on Sunday - bring a rabbit, goddaughter," and the poor goddaughter had to take her best rabbit and go to visit. "If not, don't come" [they would tell her]. They were annoying. And when their goddaughter arrived "do this, do it this afternoon, afterwards you can go".⁵⁸

Various other informants confirmed the nature of this relationship, one telling me that in addition to giving the godparent the best produce, they might also be obliged by their godparent to work in their fields for them. Although the relationship with their *compadre* might be exploitative one of the reasons for *runa* establishing a relationship with one particular *misti* was that in their *compadre* they would have someone to defend them against the incursions of other *mistis* onto their land and property. Another reason was that it was advantageous at times for *runa* to have a formal relationship with a literate couple in Charazani when they needed assistance with the State bureaucracy. This is one reason Bastien (1985:99) cites for a couple he knew in Kaata having entered into such an arrangement. The institution of *compadrazgo* then was one which it was possible for both sides to benefit from, and for this reason it was common both for *mistis* to suggest establishing the relationship to *runa* and vice versa. However, in contrast to Bastien's description of vertical *compadrazgo* as mutually beneficial, as I have shown, my informants viewed the relationship as one-sided to an exploitative degree. Vertical *compadrazgo* is an 'enchanted relationship' (Bourdieu [1977] 2010:191), which symbolically disguises domination. Agrarian reform had made direct overt unpaid exploitation of *runa* by *mistis* illegal, so social domination was reinforced more subtly, through *compadrazgo*.

The reasons why *compadrazgo* was beneficial to *runa* were connected to the imbalances of local power. It was because *runa* were badly (if at all) educated by comparison to the *mistis* that they needed the help of literate *mistis* on occasion. Likewise it was because *mistis*

⁵⁸ See Appendix: Interview with Feliciano Patty: 19th February 2013, lines 3600-3606.

controlled local political power that they were able to act with impunity towards *runa*, and therefore it was useful to have a *misti* compadre who could defend one in disputes with other *mistis*. Vertical *compadrazgo*, as Weismantel (1988:71) notes, is important in maintaining social relations in which *mistis* keep indigenous peasants subordinated. The rest of the chapter examines how a new kind of education and local dynamics of political power enabled *runa* to alter the nature of their social relations with *mistis*, particularly with regards to *compadrazgo*.

5.3 *Ayni Kusun*: A Revolutionary Education

Feliciano would often refer to himself as having spent the 1980s ‘fighting against the *patróns*’ who lived in Charazani. Feliciano had been one of the directors of a school called ‘*Ayni Kusun*’, the main focus of which was alternative education for adults, and which taught in Quechua and Aymara, and also held political workshops in communities. It was via the school that much of the ‘fighting against the *patróns*’ happened. The name means ‘to do *Ayni*’, which is an arrangement of reciprocal assistance from one person or group of people to another. The school was founded by a Belgian agronomist named Stanislas Gillès, known by everyone I spoke to as Stanis, who had arrived in the region in 1979 and lived and worked as a volunteer initially in the community of Chullina, where he supervised the installation of drinking water and was involved in the establishment of a mining cooperative, before widening his activities to other communities, notably Niñacorín, also assisting with the installation of drinking water there. This was evidently with the support of a Belgian government agency or NGO. In 1983, using the contacts he had made during his first few years living in the province Stanis brought together men and women from various communities to form the Educational Association of *Ayni Kusun*. Amongst the founding members were Feliciano, and Rufino, the President of the Autonomy Assembly during my time doing fieldwork. The institution was formally inaugurated the following year on land bought in the riverside community of Playa in the centre of the province. The education offered by *Ayni Kusun* was structured into three pedagogical sections: literacy, farming and technical skills.

When I met with Stanis in his house in La Paz he told me that the school was set up in order to benefit communities throughout the province by allowing all of their children to finish

secondary schooling, which was not at that time possible anywhere in Bautista Saavedra. The only people who completed their education and left as *bachilleres* (high school graduates) were the children of *vecinos* in Charazani who could afford to send their children to finish their schooling in La Paz. Even those children who attended school locally were given a foreign-oriented education designed by urban Bolivians to 'mould people to their way of thinking'. Stanis viewed existing schools as 'killing' local culture for the children they were educating. The schooling which Ayni Kusun provided for local adults and children aimed to be a contrast to what was already on offer in this respect.

Rural education in Bolivia in the twentieth century was based on an ideology at the level of the State of 'civilising' the indigenous population of the countryside through teaching them to speak Spanish (Choque and Quisbert 2006; Larson 2003). Early twentieth century education from 1905 until education reform in 1955 had the slightly paradoxical aim of bringing the 'Indian' into national culture through Hispanicising them, while keeping them stuck to their rural environment (Larson 2003:197).⁵⁹ This was not unique to Bolivia; Garcia (2005), for example, describes a very similar process of cultural assimilation through the imposition of the Spanish language occurring in Peru during the twentieth century. As the indigenous population were the main labour force in Bolivia, education was aimed at perfecting their manual skills and making them 'useful' members of society⁶⁰. The civilising schooling campaigns which sought to remake Indians 'into a docile, moral and productive workforce' (Larsson 2003:185) also entailed exterminating indigenous languages, art, customs and traditions (Choque and Quisbert 2006:60) through a process of forced *mestizaje* which included changing the way that they dressed, using primary education as a starting point. Teachers were the 'judges of normality' (Foucault 1977:304), and what was judged to be normal was mestizo culture influenced by Western ideas of man dominating nature (Choque and Quisbert 2006:122). In a similar way to the colonial *reducciones*, Indians

⁵⁹ The division of education into rural and urban can be traced intellectually to Franz Tamayo's *Creación de la Pedagogía Nacional* (1910), which suggested that Indians were naturally suited for physical professions, and should be educated accordingly, rather than to educate them in a way that might encourage them to leave their rural ambit.

⁶⁰ Rural education was sharply divided from urban education, falling under separate departments within the ministry of education with separate normales (teacher training colleges) and teachers' trade unions (Yraola 1995:82).

were to be transformed into docile, productive bodies. Although for indigenous people, education was connected to land rights and the collective subject, for *criollo* educators it concentrated on the bodily hygiene of the individual student which was compared to the 'norm' of *modern* white bodies (Stephenson 1999:118-120).

Those schools which incorporated some level of political education, such as the school at Warisata near the town of Achacachi in the department of La Paz, were attacked and accused of sowing sedition in the countryside by *hacendados* and *vecinos*, uneasy at what an educated workforce could mean for the stability of the local class structure, and by the government who accused them of failing to provide a productive workforce for the nation (Choque and Quisbert 2006:168; Larsson 2003:193-4). Early twentieth century rural education taught in Spanish had little effect on literacy. By the time a new educational programme was launched in 1955, illiteracy was 70% nationwide and in the countryside it was 85% (Larson 2003: 185).

Despite this (and despite research which shows that children taught initially in their first language attain a greater fluency in their second language, and perform better in school generally (Contreras 2003:261; Garcia 2005:91)), the 1955 Education Reform Code confirmed Spanish as the language of instruction in schools throughout the country. Cultural *mestizaje* continued to be the goal of the post-Revolutionary State, and education one of the methods by which 'Indians' were to become peasants. Education was taught completely out of context, mentioning battles and other dates which had no relation to the socio-economic reality of people in the countryside, never mentioning the fight of indigenous peoples, whether because of a deliberate attempt to erase their history, or to place them as peoples without history (Choque and Quisbert 2006:194; Yraola 1995:84). The aim was Bolivianisation of the rural sphere, through the school teacher, inculcating metropolitan values and building a national consciousness (Howard-Malverde and Canessa 1995:234-5). Education therefore served only to alienate students from their own culture. Bastien, writing of the education experienced in Kallawayá communities only a few years before the Ayni Kusun school was opened, noted: 'Bolivian education belittled Qollahuaya culture and the teachers taught them to speak Spanish, to dress like Westerners, and to value modern ways. The educated children laughed at the traditions of the old folks and moved to the

cities where life was easier, or so they thought' (1985:106). The rural students' alienation from their own culture, caused by their primary education, Bastien (*ibid.*) blames for an increasing migration to the city to look for work, something also noted by Choque and Quisbert (2006:164-5).

As Bourdieu (1984:16) shows, education reinforces the dominant culture, through the curriculum. The curriculum impacts directly on the cognitive structures of the students, internalising social structures and imparting their view of the world (*ibid.* 470). In school, students become aware that they lack what Bourdieu refers to as the 'symbolic capital' to be able to participate in national society, and so begin to look down on their own culture. Bourdieu ([1977]2010) theorises that the school curriculum produces symbolic goods which reinforce and justify the established order. What the Bolivian rural school curriculum did was to teach students that the domination of the *mistis* was natural because *mistis* had access to symbolic goods which *runa* lacked, and the only way to move out of the dominated position was to access these symbolic goods in the city, shedding traits which made them *runa*.

Although bilingual education was introduced into rural schools up to third grade in 1985 (Choque and Quisbert (2006:188), it was not until 1994 that educational policy at national level was properly reformed, when the National Education Reform Law was passed by the government. This included the controversial Bilingual Intercultural Education (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (EIB)), which promoted the use of indigenous languages alongside Spanish in schools. Although it resulted from demands of indigenous movements, it came to be associated for many with the neoliberal agenda of the time. Arnold and Dios Yapita (2000:18-20; 2007:402-411) criticise the EIB for privileging a Western, individualistic, text-centric and monocultural idea of literacy and therefore Western assumptions about the person. Felix Patzi (1999), the architect of a new education reform under the Morales government, also criticised EIB for continuing to teach the values of the dominant culture by teachers with an urban-oriented outlook, simply in the native tongue. Drawing on Bourdieu, he saw the EIB as continuing the symbolic violence against indigenous people as a continuation of the State project of '52, simply using *interculturalidad* as a new mechanism. Gustafson, on the other hand, refers to Guarani scribes who wrote EIB textbooks as

‘unsettling epistemic, linguistic, and political orders by virtue of their very existence’ (2009:70), and shows that although this criticism may be justified, the EIB for the first time allowed students to be taught in their own language, changed the culture of teaching, through teachers who shared the mother tongue of their students and were less violent towards them. Although Gustafson shares unease at the reforms support from neoliberal organizations such as the World Bank, nonetheless he sees EIB as having ‘initiated a decolonizing shift in regional and national languages of the state [which] generated conditions for a new dialogue on citizenship’ (2009:256). Another paradox of the EIB, as Howard (2009:585) points out, was that in asking teachers to set aside the teaching habits of a lifetime and make their teaching more pupil-centric, the EIB charged those who were the products of the system to change that very system themselves. From 1994 onwards, the ministry of education provided schools directly with material in indigenous languages (*ibid.*:198). However, this policy was carried out in broad brush strokes, meaning that, for example, in the Quechua-speaking Kallawayá communities it is not uncommon to receive material in Aymara simply because they are part of the predominantly Aymara-speaking department of La Paz, and even the material that does arrive in Quechua tends to be written in the Quechua spoken in Cochabamba, rather than the Kallawayá Quechua which is closer to that spoken in Cuzco. However, the creation of Ayni Kusun as a bilingual school was prior to the education reform.

The first Ayni Kusun educational centre was initiated in Playa (riverbank) in the valley, and was followed by two other subcentrals in other areas of the province. The first sub-central was inaugurated in the highland community of Villa Amarqha on the 21st June 1990, and the second in Qotapampa, also in the highlands in September of the same year. With the establishment of these three schools, in June 1992 the National Director of Adult Education awarded Ayni Kusun three *items* (meaning three teachers, one for each of the educational centres that had been set up). Although the school was initially entirely independent, around 1991, Ayni Kusun joined the CETHA (Comunidades Educativas Técnico Humanístico Agropecuarias) network of schools providing an alternative education in the FERIA (Facilitadores de Educación Rural Integral de Adultos) association of the CEE (Comisión Episcopal de Educación), which had been supporting Bilingual Education in conjunction with the Ministry of Education (who paid the teachers) in a handful of mainly Aymara-speaking

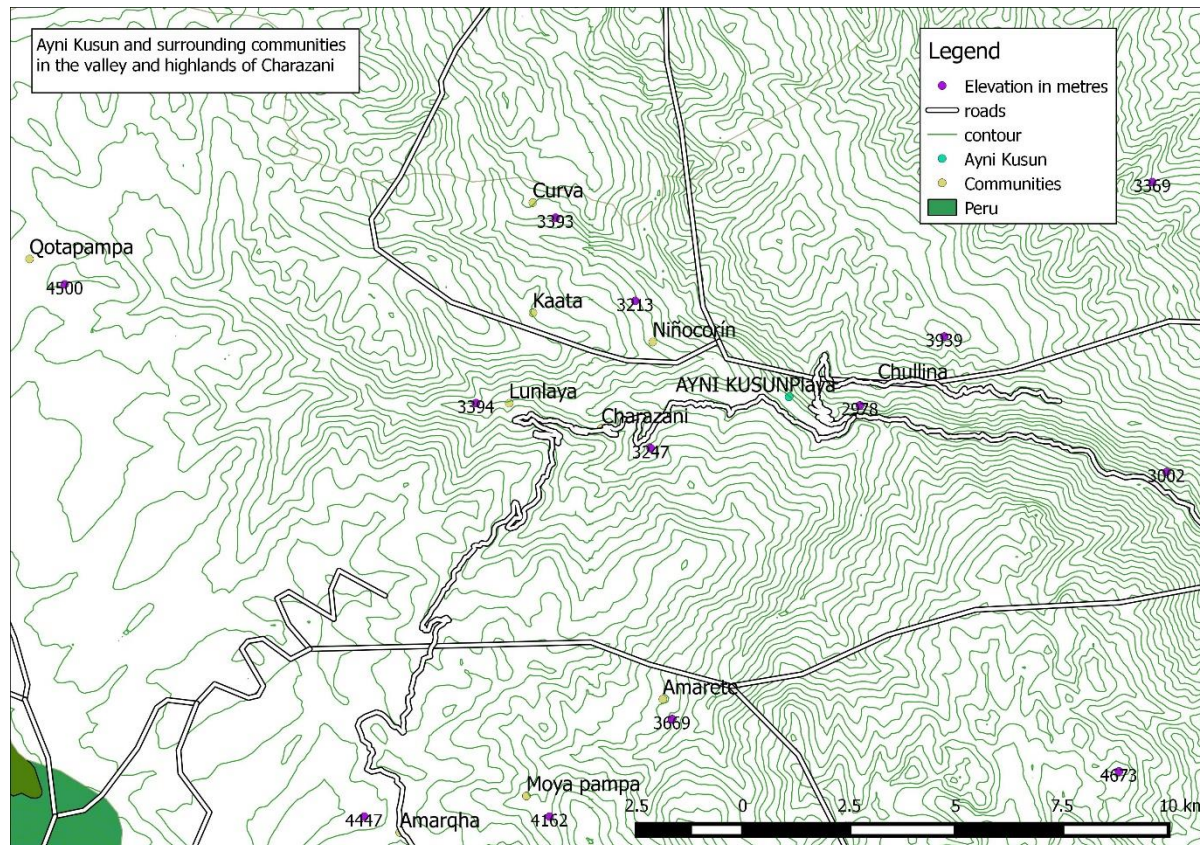
communities, since 1981 (Yraola 1995:13). In January 1992, Ayni Kusun was granted legal recognition from the National Director of Adult and Non-Formal Education (falling under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture), alongside other schools within the CETHA umbrella. Despite the church's desire to influence the school's pedagogical approach, in its teaching Ayni Kusun remained independent. In addition to the solidarity of being part of the CETHA network, according to Stanis, around 1992 Ayni Kusun was also receiving financial support from the German State.



Figure 18: The Ayni Kusun centre in Silic Playa.

Although Ayni Kusun was supported by NGOs, particularly THOA, Stanis told me that they tried to remain as independent from the NGOs as possible, in order to avoid clashes with organisations with a different way of thinking. Stanis's aim was ultimately to withdraw (as he did in 1995 when he went to live permanently in La Paz) leaving the executive board of the school to run the school themselves. Stanis himself fits Rappaport's (2005)

characterisation of *colaboradores*, who are not quite ‘inside’ and not quite ‘outside’ (2005:56), who do not speak *for* a subordinated sector, but speak *with* them (2005:62): they are the ‘outsider-within’ (2005:81). He was not the only outsider to the Kallawaya region involved in the school: students from Cochabamba would arrive periodically as volunteers to help by teaching particular subjects. The role of Stanis and the volunteers at Ayni Kusun is reminiscent of that of Elizardo Pérez, the *mestizo* who founded the *ayllu* school at Warisata in collaboration with local Aymara leader Avelino Siñani (Gustafson 2009:248). Stanis made it clear from the beginning that he only intended to provide the spark, but that the running of the organisation was ultimately down to the other members of the organisation (this was confirmed to me by other members of Ayni Kusun). Although Stanis himself insisted that he intended Ayni Kusun to be an institution in which community members taught each other, rather than outsiders teaching them from the viewpoint of a cultural outsider, my informants who were directors and ex-students of the school (who without exception spoke with great affection of Stanis) insisted that they had learned much from Stanis, notably regarding punctuality, and this had influenced their own conduct thereafter.



The activities of Ayni Kusun were grouped into three educational programmes:

1 – Alternative Education for Women and children: this attempted to establish the foundation for an education orientated towards the rural world through a programme called Taller Educativo del Valle (TEV).

2 – Integral Training of Youths and Adults: this was designed for adolescents under 16 years of age, and adults, an integral intercultural bilingual training that allowed them to finish their secondary school studies.

3 – Education and work in the communities: through mini workshops, education and work groups in communities which attempted to invigorate integral development in the communities, with the participation of teachers and students from the previous two programmes.

There were also two support programmes that involved training community educators, and producing educational material. In order to include the whole province in the school, the organisation asked each community to send *promotores* to Ayni Kusun's school in Playa, who went back to their communities to teach skills of reading and writing. At one point they had as many as 60 *promotores*. This concept of bringing education to the communities where the students lived evolved into the creation of various sub-schools. At the school, each teacher was known as a *facilitador*, rather than *profesor*, which Stanis told me was because '*el profesor enseña, el facilitador facilita el proceso*' (the teacher teaches, the facilitator facilitates the process). The facilitators, teaching not just literacy, but a consciousness of their social situation and analysing how to change it, fit Gramsci's definition of an 'organic intellectuals' as someone who has 'a responsibility to produce knowledge and/or instil that knowledge into others...so that a given way of seeing the world is reproduced' (Gramsci 1971:8, cited in Viatori 2009:40), they influence 'the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong' (*ibid.*). The organic intellectuals in Ayni Kusun, the facilitators and the community authorities educated by and working with the school, shaped and directed a consciousness of Kallawayá communities' unequal relationship with the *vecinos*, in order to change this situation. This idea of educators as consciousness-raisers is something which Paulo Freyre expounds upon in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* ([1970]2009), and indeed both Feliciano and Stanis mentioned Freyre to me as an inspiration on their work in the school.

In an information leaflet on the school that Stanis showed me, one of the objectives of Ayni Kusun was described as the transformation of the Kallawayas communities 'into productive-educational communities who create a dynamic integral development in the zone.' The characteristics of 'Integral Development' included: defining for themselves a just model of life based on their own experience of life and values, and the integration of contributions from other worlds. These elements were identified as lacking in the education already being provided in the province. Basing education on their own life and values meant firstly teaching literacy both in the language spoken by the students, and with reference to the students' own way of life. Illustrations in the teaching materials showed Kallawayas in typical activities within their *ayllu*, such as sitting down chewing coca, and working in their fields. The material was designed locally by the facilitators (Feliciano wrote the content) to emphasise 'valuing the culture, the family structure and the work of the women', rather than the material provided by the State in which all the content was oriented towards Europe. They had material in Quechua and Aymara for every level of schooling up to graduation. The aspect of Integral Development which included integrating contributions from other worlds also placed the *ayllu* traditions at the heart of the learning process. The education looked outwards from the *ayllu* in an intercultural dialogue with Western culture, rather than ignoring *ayllu* traditions and using Western culture as a starting point. Choque and Quisbert (2006:43) note that up until now in the *ayllu*, sacred mountain tops, known locally as Achachilas or Machulas are seen as tutelary divinities. This is because it is traditionally the elders of the *ayllu* who educate children, and the *achachilas* or *machulas* are seen by Kallawayas as their ancestors. The members of Ayni Kusun attempted to provide an education which revindicated what they saw as threatened *ayllu* traditions including this relationship with the mountain divinities.

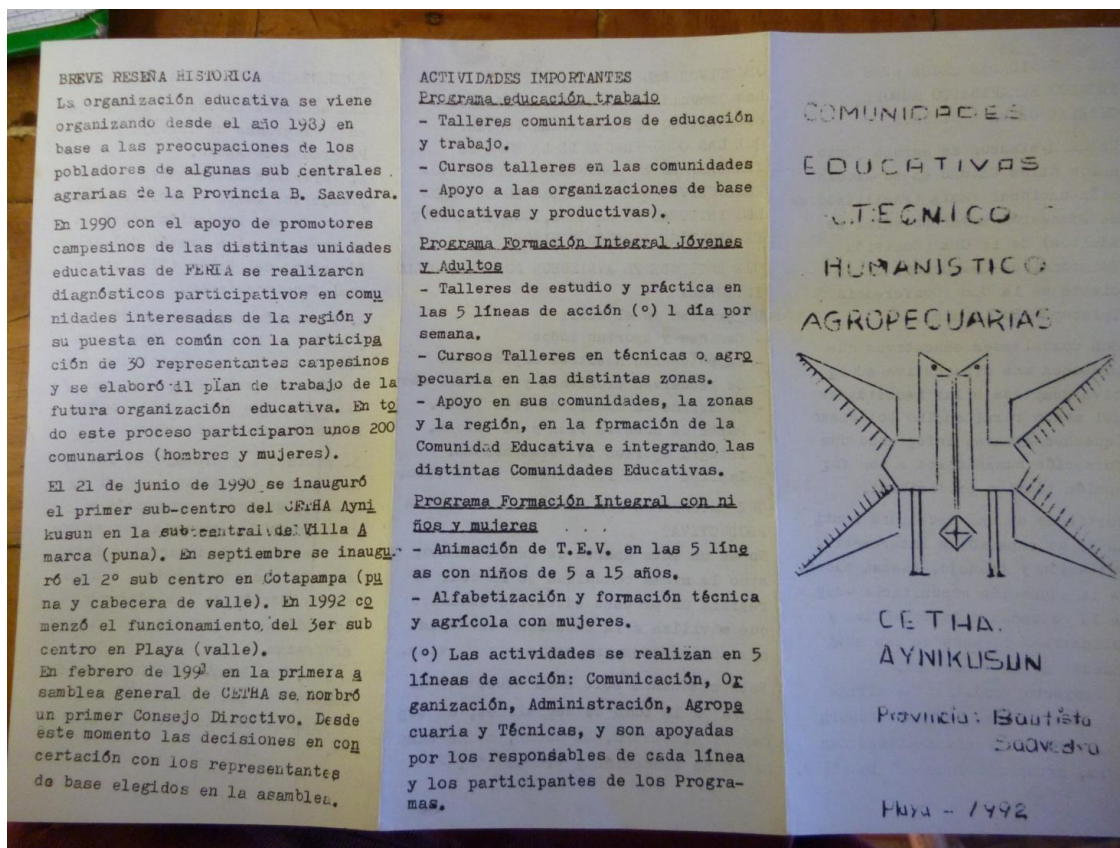


Figure 19: An Ayni Kusun information leaflet.

One of the most innovative aspects of the school was the leadership training programme, which held monthly workshops in communities to strengthen the peasant organisation around the province. At the community meetings, Stanis told me, they conducted an ‘analysis of their reality and how to change it’. Authorities from disparate communities the length and breadth of the province would be collected by truck and taken to these meetings. One of the topics of debate, according to Alipio, who was to become the first *alcalde* of Charazani after the LPP, was how to ‘disconnect themselves from the townspeople of Charazani, break the ruling clique’⁶¹. Another former student of Ayni Kusun who was to become a regional authority within CONAMAQ, told me that he saw the objective of Ayni Kusun as being for them to be able to take power locally, governing themselves, rather than being dependent on the *vecinos*. According to Feliciano, the prospect of creating their own local autonomy, such as became legislated for nationally in 2009, was discussed within the school as early as 1985. As discussed in this chapter and by Gustafson (2009), mass-schooling in Bolivia in the twentieth century, and particularly after

⁶¹ ‘desconectar de la relación con los vecinos de Charazani... romper la rosca.’

1952 formed an important part of a nation-building project of the State. By contesting the form in which indigenous peasants were inserted into the national education system, and by creating a real alternative to this system of education, Ayni Kusun contested the relation of indigenous peasants to the State itself. In their meetings the community authorities discussed the need to re-vindicate their traditional culture, and linked their own debates locally to the wider discussion nationally and trans-nationally around the anniversary in 1992 of Columbus' landing in America, and the 500 years of resistance which followed.

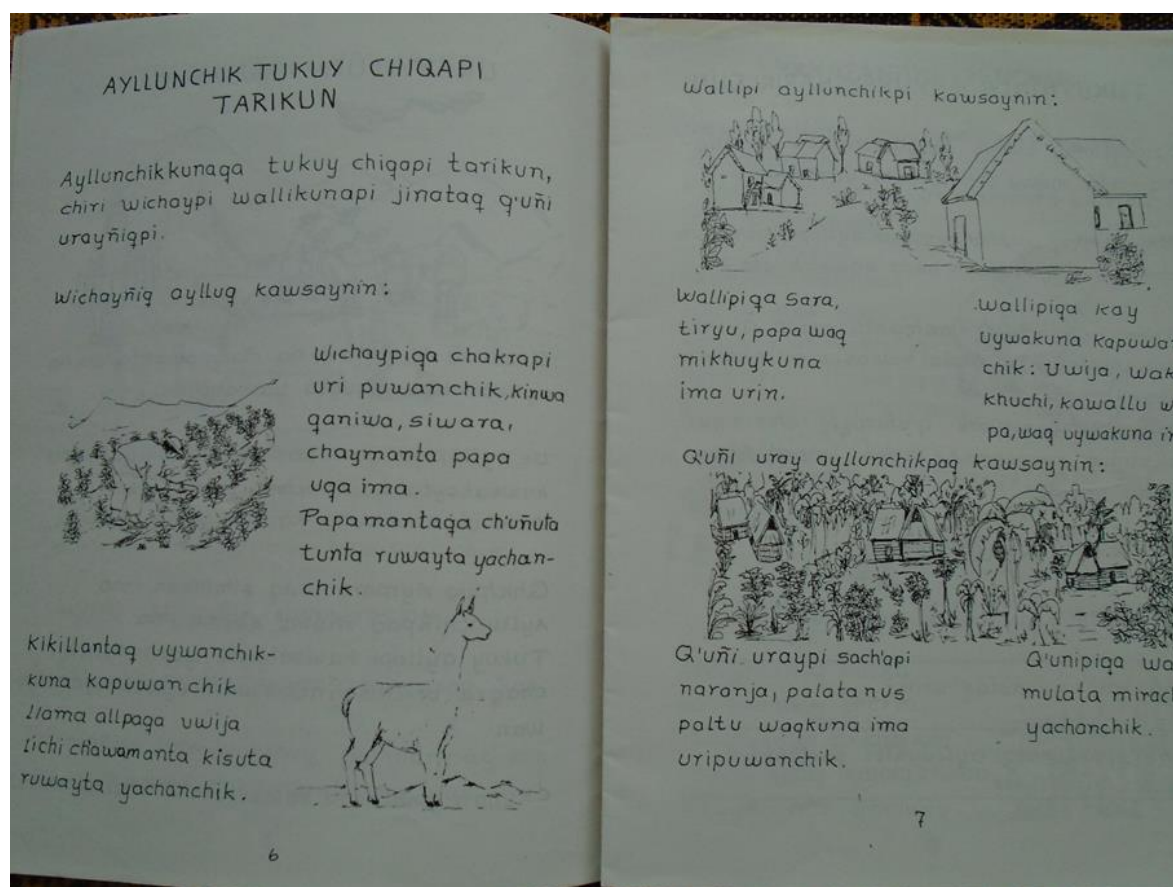


Figure 20: An Ayni Kusun textbook.

One of the ways in which the communities stood together jointly through the school, was in opposition to the chemical fertilizer which the children of *vecinos*, who had trained as agronomists and engineers put pressure on the communities to buy from them. Instead of using these chemical fertilizers, the school taught the communities to use organic fertilizers made from a plant called *muña*. Feliciano told me that he was accused by *vecinos* of agitating the communities against them, though he insisted to me that they had only been defending their own traditional knowledge, and chemical-free agricultural production. The

teaching of literacy skills was also itself a strategy in the fight against the power of the local patrons. Once some of the children had completed their secondary education at Ayni Kusun (*salir bachillerato*), others in the province also wanted to do so. If there was greater literacy within communities, then they would not need to rely on *vecinos* to assist them in dealings with State bureaucracy, but would be able to help one another. This was the aim of Ayni Kusun: to assist one another, to produce for themselves, rather than for the *vecinos*. For this reason Aurelio referred to Ayni Kusun as having provided a 'revolutionary' education: 'you have to educate yourself to live better... And how to live better? By producing for yourself.' If one was working for oneself, then one wasn't working for the *misti*, and this was a revolutionary concept around Charazani as late as the 1980s and early 1990s. Another *facilitador* at Ayni Kusun, Leonardo, told me that their vision was 'to recover their past, their present and their future', using the bilingual – revolutionary – education to alter local social relations.

Such was the animosity of the *vecinos* towards the school that at one point they called the army to arrest Stanis (according to Alipio on the basis that he was training 'guerrillas'), and Stanis had to leave the country for several months for his own safety. Alipio told me that one of the benefits for community authorities of meeting in Ayni Kusun was that it was a place where nobody was listening to them. However, they had to be careful where they held the meetings, especially when discussing anything overtly political. According to Feliciano, they often had to meet away from the centre of the province, for example in Amarete, because lower down in the valley, everyone had their *compadres* in Charazani, and there was always a risk that through the *compadre* the content of the meeting would make its way to *vecinos*. Feliciano told me over tea at his house that:

One could talk in Amarete, there was space. Meanwhile [closer to Charazani] they could quickly warn the *subprefect*, the police... In Amarete, Kaata, there was space... They betrayed us, because if I do [political activities] in Quillabaya, they quickly warn the agents [agentes cantonales, authorities appointed by the *alcaldía* in each community]. The next day, they are watching us. Who was doing what? Stirring up trouble.

We have this history, but it isn't written down.⁶²

Feliciano described to me how the Aymara speakers in the highlands played an important role in lending solidarity to their counterparts in Quechua-speaking communities in the valleys around Charazani, particularly because they had kept their social relations with the *vecinos* more at arm's length:

Some of them strengthened us, because they live apart, so they come to criticize more strongly. And we live side by side. When we join together we are stronger. Most of them aren't godchildren.

Me: They aren't godchildren. What does that mean?

Feliciano: The social relations between the *vecinos* and the peasants. A *vecino* is always asked to be godfather, you understand, don't you? He is a *compadre*... so there is a society above, and a society below, the peasants.

Me: Is that why the peasants in the communities close to Charazani never rebelled much, because they have the relationship of *compadrazgo*? As though they were the same family?

Feliciano: Because of that they quickly warned of meetings that were being prepared.

Me: They warned their...

Feliciano: *Compadre*... that was what it was like, and hardly any of them [the Suni] were *compadres*; at first there were; then bit by bit there weren't. That was it, power relations. They also contributed to patriarchal relations... because when you marry as a peasant, you have a godfather, so the day of the wedding he would make recommendations. Now you have to show

⁶² See appendix: Interview with Feliciano Patty: 13th September 2012, lines 706-710.

respect.’⁶³

Feliciano told me that the closeness of his community to the *vecinos* in Charazani (both socially and geographically) meant that he had had to leave Niñacorín, and live in Playa where his sister and brother-in-law’s family also lived, and his family had returned to live in his own community as recently as 2004. ‘Who was going to want me here? They might have betrayed me. My support was Amarete, Kaata and the valley. They covered my back. Here, no. They were controlled by godchildren.’ That Feliciano’s family did not themselves form relations of *compadrazgo* with *vecinos* also made it easier for Feliciano to work freely in the school.

Ayni Kusun, then, was an instrument for education, but also, an important medium of consciousness-raising, and a platform for bringing together authorities from around the municipality in an arena in which they could discuss their common concerns that were connected to the education of themselves and their children, improvement of their production, and the fraught relationship that all communities had with Charazani. Pallares (2012:31) refers to ethnic-consciousness-formation in Ecuador having occurred in antagonism with other groups through political struggle. She believes ‘a sense of collective consciousness is developed in the context of mobilization, as activists respond to and educate their constituencies, hold internal debates in which they air their differences, and interact with the State and other social and political actors.’ She uses Bourdieu’s concept of *doxa* to analyse the relationship between Cacha Indians and local townspeople (2012:110-120). *Doxa* describes that which is unquestioned, those social structures that perfectly match mental structures (Bourdieu 1977:66). In Ayni Kusun, *runa* began to question the *doxa* of the social relationships that tied them to the *vecinos*. This opened up alternatives to this *doxa* for *runa* (what Bourdieu calls heterodoxy; that is a questioning of the prevailing order of subordination and dominance). Bourdieu (1977:169) theorizes that *doxa* remains in place until the dominated have the material and symbolic means to analyse the imposed social classifications as arbitrary, and reject them as such. One of the most important aspects of the school was exactly the way that it brought together authorities from the communities of the region to be able to work together, and gave them a space in which they

63 See appendix: Interview with Feliciano Patty: 18th November 2012, lines 739-754.

could discuss their common problems openly. One of their problems was their relationship with *vecinos* in Charazani, formalised through kinship relations of *compadrazgo*.

One day at the parish church, as I was attempting to investigate local *compadrazgo* relations myself, I asked the deacon of the parish about the prevalence of vertical ties of godparenthood between *vecinos* and *runa*. Although I was disappointed to be shown in the baptisms book of the parish that no record was kept of the place where the godparent lived, I was intrigued when he told me that up until roughly 1995 people from communities all over the province looked for *vecinos* as *compadres*, but that afterwards the number of relations of this kind which were created dropped away sharply. 1995 was the year that the first indigenous *alcalde* was elected in Charazani after the Law of Popular Participation had been passed the previous year. Later that same day I saw Feliciano in the plaza in Charazani and I asked him about this. He told me that there had been a conscious decision taken by community authorities, before Alipio had been elected, to break the dependency on the *vecinos* of Charazani. This then was the way that Kallawaya communities laid the foundations for autonomy, by loosening their social ties with the *vecinos* in Charazani. In the next section of this chapter I shall examine how this national level legislative change, which coincided with the period in which Ayni Kusun was in operation, allowed Kallawaya communities to change their relationship with the town so dramatically.

5.4 The Law of Popular Participation

The Law of Popular Participation (LPP), passed on the 20th April 1994, had a grand aim: it attempted to transform the relationship between the State and civil society, inverting to a large extent the centralism of the State apparatus, and including in the political life of the State, groups of people who had been marginalised since the creation of the Republic of Bolivia – women and indigenous peoples (Ayo 1999:19). Porfirio Torrico, the writer of a thesis on the effects of the LPP within Charazani, calls it ‘one of the most transcendental laws of recent times’ (2011:9) and Mayorga (2000:vii) refers to it as the foundational act in the contemporary history of the country. Indeed, until 1994 there was no legal conception of indigenous peoples in the constitution (Calla and Molina 2003:56). The LPP provided the instruments with which indigenous communities could ensure that they were legally recognised by the State, through OTBs and DMIs (see below). Within the *Plan de Todos*, the

LPP, in confronting Bolivia's social problems, is often seen as a counterweight to the particularly unpopular Capitalization Law, despite being created from the same ideological standpoint, with its aim of implementing largely unpopular free-market reforms (Ayo 1999:28, 30-35). Although it was socially progressive in many ways, the law itself, according to Ayo (*ibid.*:27-8;30) was not created as a direct response to any calls for reform from social organizations, but was 'born in a golden cradle' (*ibid.*:30). That is, its authors worked in central government in La Paz. In common with the allowance for the creation of AIOCs within the 2009 constitution, one reason for the LPP was to weaken regionalist projects by giving more power to people at a lower level of governance than Bolivia's nine departments (Ayo 1999:35; Kohl and Farthing 2006:99), which have throughout Bolivia's history complained of the centralized nature of the State and have often attempted to negotiate the transference of more power to the regions.

The principal facets of the LPP were the following:

1. 311 municipalities were created across the country using as their basis the old sections of provinces. Previously, the term municipality had been associated only with urban areas (Calla and Molina 2003:74; 65-6) – until 1994 there were only 24 municipal governments and they were all more or less urban (Rojas 2009:254). The two sections of the province of Bautista Saavedra, Charazani and Curva, became municipalities (Calla and Molina 2003:74).
2. Financial resources were given by the State to each municipality based on the number of inhabitants each had. Rojas (2009:54) credits this with effecting a radical change in the migration pattern of rural-dwellers to urban centres. He cites census data as indicating a rise in the rural population compared to the population of the cities, in comparison to the previous two decades which had seen the urban population rise and the rural population fall.
3. The municipal government was formed by an *alcalde* (mayor) and a *concejo municipal* (council) which was made up of *concejales* (councillors). The *alcaldes* and *concejales* were all voted in through election, and in order to stand for election, had to belong to a political party.
4. The geographical and administrative area of the municipality was divided into districts, which took on the administrative and geographical space of what had

previously been known as *cantons*. In the municipality of Charazani, for example, the *canton* of Chajaya simply became the district of Chajaya, without any change in boundary (as far as I am aware). In addition, a novelty was introduced in the form of the Indigenous Municipal Districts (*Distritos Municipales Indigenas* – DMIs). Unlike the other type of urban and rural districts, DMIs could be formed according to ‘*usos y costumbres*’ (traditional customs) and they could also nominate the *subalcalde* for the district themselves according to their own *usos y costumbres* (it was the *alcalde* who nominated the *subalcaldes* for other districts) (Calla and Molina 2003:78). Calla and Molina (2003:80) question the indigenous nature of the DMIs, given that the system of municipal *cargos* – including the post of *subalcalde* – was not based on the traditional form of shared authority between a man and his wife. The district of Amarete, in the municipality of Charazani, was the second district in Bolivia to become a DMI, after Charagua, in the department of Santa Cruz. Charazani currently has nine districts.

5. Oversight Committees (*Comités de Vigilancia*) were created to scrutinize the administration (particularly spending) of the municipal government. One person from each of Charazani’s nine districts is elected to the Oversight Committee.
6. OTBs (*Organización Territorial de Base* – grassroots territorial organisation) became the legally recognised actors within both urban and rural municipalities (Ayo 1999:71). Within Charazani and other rural municipalities it was the smallest level of *ayllus* that became OTBs. A requisite of becoming an OTB (the body legally recognised by the State) was to obtain *personería jurídica*. *Personería jurídica* (legal personhood) granted a community full collective rights, and the community would be obliged to refer to its *personería jurídica* in relating to bodies outside the municipality, such as NGOs, when applying for projects to come to their community. One of the problems with applying for *personería jurídica* was that it did not recognise discontinuous territories, and therefore it was difficult for a whole *ayllu* to be given *personería jurídica*, because by their nature *ayllus* tend to be made up of discontinuous territories (Calla and Molina 2003:80). The result was a ‘decollectivisation of larger sociocultural units’ (Ayo 1999:77). The State did not recognise the right of peasant unions to become OTBs either, and because of this the national federation of peasant unions, the CSUTCB initially opposed the LPP, as it

believed that the parallel organisations would undermine the union (Kohl and Farthing 2006:100). Formal opposition from the CSUTCB diminished over time though, as they recognised the LPP as creating new opportunities for them to participate politically (*ibid.*:133).

5.5 The election of the first indigenous alcalde of the municipality of Charazani

The indigenous mayor elected after the LPP was Alipio Cuila, whom I spoke to on several occasions in La Paz and his own community of Amarete. The *ayllu* of Amarete is by far the largest in terms of its population, and since Alipio's election in 1995, through elections it has come to dominate municipal politics in a similar way to the *vecinos* of the town of Charazani previously. Prior to the LPP, the *alcaldía* of Charazani, was administered by the Spanish descendants in Charazani. Alipio described these *mistis* to me as a *rosca*⁶⁴, meaning that they simply rotated the different positions of official authority in the locality between themselves: 'It was just between them. They exchanged between themselves. For example, you were judge, I was subprefect, in the next term you can be subprefect, it was a merry-go-round—a *rosca*⁶⁵ Despite the beginning of democratic municipalities in 1987 (Kohl and Farthing 2006:126) *runa* did not participate as candidates. According to Torrico's informants, this was because they did not know that they *could* legally participate, either by standing for election, or by voting, and indeed the *alcalde* had previously been elected from amongst the *vecinos* of Charazani (Torrico 2011:69-71). Before 1995, according the principal concern of the *alcaldía* was the loss of livestock (Torrico 2011:74-76). The *alcalde* did not receive a fixed salary, but could levy fines in the form of sheep or cows or their equivalent in money, which went directly to the *alcalde*. Not only was there a lack of confrontation between *mistis* and *runa* for control of the municipal government because it was taken for granted that a *vecino* would always be *alcalde*, but Torrico identifies a lack of interest during this period on the part of *runa* in entering municipal politics (*ibid.*:76).

⁶⁴ A screw

⁶⁵ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila, 12th November 2012, lines 346-7.

[P]ublic positions were predestined only for the townspeople, as the municipal structure was part of their Western cultural identity, while the peasants simply did not have access to these jobs; in fact culturally they were not interested, because it was not part of their traditional culture and customs, the municipality was alien to them, because for them it represented extortion, fines and submitting to a culture they were not a part of. The *alcaldía* was an institution which existed only to exploit the peasants.⁶⁶ (Torrigo 2011:79, my translation)

Torrigo (2011:79) suggests that those *runa* who did vote had to follow their *compadres'* instructions in terms of who to cast their vote for, something which Alipio also alluded to when he told me that the *vecinos* took decisions for *runa*, controlling them through *padrinazgo* (godparenthood). After the LPP, electoral control through *padrinazgo* ties still impacted local politics, as Spedding and Llanos (1999:257) indicate that in the years immediately following the introduction of popular participation those *vecinos* who occupied positions as municipal councillors were able to influence communities into electing their ritual kin as their communities' representatives on the Oversight Committee.

With the LPP, the municipality of Charazani received 1,498,900 bolivianos, which meant that the way decisions were taken inside the municipality changed somewhat. In order to access the money, the *alcaldía* had to present plans for investment in the communities. The *alcaldía* suddenly began doing public works in communities without even consulting them, because they apparently had no time to do so, but had to begin work in order to access the money. However, this also ushered in corruption as contracts for public works were

⁶⁶ '...los cargos públicos estaban predestinados solo para los vecinos por cuanto la estructura municipal era parte de su identidad cultural occidental, mientras que los campesinos sencillamente no tenían acceso a estos cargos, en los hechos culturalmente no les interesaba por qué no era parte de sus costumbres y tradiciones culturales, el municipio les era ajenos, para ellos representaba la extorsión, las multas y el sometimiento de una cultura del cual no eran parte; La *alcaldía* era una institución que solo sería para explotar a los campesinos.' (Torrigo 2011: 79).

awarded on the basis of family relations, and projects were planned, but not carried out - according to Torrico (2011:88-89) in 1994 out of 20 planned public works only 6 were even started. As a result of this, there was such public dissatisfaction that on the 17th August 1995 a *cabildo abierto* (public meeting) was held in which the *alcalde* was suspended for 'misuse of funds'. In the meeting various peasants put forward the opinion that it was they who should now enter as *alcalde*, rather than another *vecino* (Torrico 2011:90-92).

After the promulgation of the LPP, workshops were held in various communities around the municipality of Charazani by organisations such as *Ayni Kusun* and the THOA, to inform people living outside the urban centre about their right to participate politically. Indeed, according to Spedding and Llanos (1999:259) community leaders complained that the number of these events which they were invited to attend took up too much of their time. When details about the LPP were relayed by authorities to their communities it was the assignation of economic resources to the municipality which especially awoke the interest of people in Kallawayá communities. According to Torrico (2011:95), the replacement of the *alcalde* was a result of this, never mind that until the municipal election in December of the same year he was replaced by another *vecino*. *Runa* prepared to be candidates for the *alcaldía* and compete with the *vecinos*; in doing so 'they began to appropriate not only the discourse, but to adapt to a culture that marginalised them' (Torrico 2011:96).

Regarding his election as *alcalde*, Alipio told me that 'there hadn't been a campaign, but rather a social agreement.'

First there was consultation. In the consultation we talked about how we were going to assume public office for the first time. If we were going to take public office, how were we going to administer it? The consultation was with the communities. Leaders of each community were named, and they transmitted our plan. The consultation was carried out by these leaders. What did we want first? The question was 'what did we want?' 'What are we going to enter public office for?' The problem was always the *rosca* - Charazani, and the

community members only obeyed. We followed orders without being able to make our own decisions.⁶⁷

For community authorities one of the reasons why they were unable to make decisions for themselves was the existence of the kinship ties that connected *runa* with *vecinos*.

Alipio: So this was our motive for visiting the communities. What were our problems?

Me: You wanted to change the relationship with Charazani?

Alipio: Yes, of course, it wasn't just about revenge, we just wanted respect. For us to respect them as *vecinos* and for them to respect us as *runa*. That was what we wanted. For that to happen we had to disconnect ourselves from *padrinazgo*. Because it was through that that they had control.

Me: So it was a decision taken by the communities.

Alipio: No more godparents. We are also capable ourselves of being godparents.⁶⁸

At the election in December, 93% of the candidates were peasants (Torrice 2011:98). However, despite the array of candidates, as I learned from Alipio - the winner of the 'contest' - the reason that there had not been a campaign as such was that the election was a foregone conclusion.

He told me 'I assumed office, not politically, but socially, because I was chosen before the election. There were traditional customs that were not part of the law, but part of our own procedures. We got together in a meeting and... [I was elected] with a show of hands... through consensus.'⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila: 7th December 2012, lines 998-109.

⁶⁸ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila: 7th December 2012, lines 1042-1051.

⁶⁹ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila: 7th December 2012, lines 361-368.

Despite having been elected by popular consensus within the municipality, legally Alipio could only be elected as *alcalde* if he stood as the candidate of a political party.

So we suddenly had to look for a political party, because there was no option... I was already elected, but when we came to the court, they didn't accept us. They told us I had to follow the requirements in the regulations, and the regulations say that one has to [belong to a] political party. At the time, there were no indigenous movements; a party that talked about the indigenous was called 'Clean Wheat', a new party. They more or less talked about the indigenous, of land and territory. So we looked, and [joined] this party, and went to talk to the authorities like this. They didn't want us to participate... but with the label of 'Clean Wheat', they accepted us. And the others, like the MNR, the large ones didn't accept us. The parties didn't want indigenous people, but this one received us. So we went with them, and only in the elections did we become official.⁷⁰

The LPP, then, allowed the indigenous communities to participate in governance of the municipality – the lowest form of official government bureaucracy – but not on their own terms. Community leaders – particularly those about to enter the most important positions of leadership in their community – are chosen by consensus after long discussion within their community. Charazani's indigenous communities, though, could only enter the political sphere that had recently become open to them, under the terms of an alien culture, whose norms they would have to adhere to. However, once inside the *alcaldía*, Alipio told me, his aim was to govern the municipality in the spirit of cooperation in which community authorities had been working together in their meetings in Ayni Kusun. The municipal government worked in what Alipio called '*equipo comunitario*' (community team). In effect, what this meant was that many of the *mestizos* who worked in the municipal government

⁷⁰ See appendix: Interview with Alipio Cuila 12th November 2012, lines 368-379.

and in other posts of authority were replaced by people from the communities around Charazani. According to Alipio, the *alcaldía* governed in direct response to the needs of the communities. An important aspect of this was dividing the budget of the municipal government equitably between the communities within the municipality according to their population.

One of the problems with this approach has been that the projects the municipal coffers finance have tended to be small. Because the money is split according to population, in small communities, the amount of money to spend on a project means that the public works which can be commissioned are correspondingly small. While in other municipalities such as Chulumani, also in the department of La Paz, OTBs agreed to rotate their funds in order to finance larger projects, the strong identity of individual communities in relation to their neighbours as well as the lack of trust from communities that any agreement to rotate funds would be respected meant that in Alipio's first mayoral term, according to Spedding and Llanos (1999:259), no such agreement was made between communities in Charazani (at least in the first few years following the introduction of the LPP) and they tended to receive funding only for small projects such as footbridges and refurbishment of existing infrastructure. During my fieldwork from 2012 to 2013 both *vecinos* and *runa* complained of public works not being carried out where they were living⁷¹ and the response of the *alcalde* at the time was to blame this partition of municipal funds between the municipality's communities according to population, making it difficult to finance large projects for the benefit of the municipality as a whole. This approach to the spending of municipal funds may also have contributed to competitiveness between sections of the municipality which has eroded 'intercommunity solidarity' (Blanes 2000:53). This I saw manifested at the time of the census, when each community put pressure on its members to be present, because of the awareness that spending depends on numbers counted (Schulte 1999:108). The census took place on the 21st of November 2012, and in early November I witnessed the authorities

71 Blanes (2000:52-3) states that the LPP changed the meaning of public works in communities. Previously they were considered benefits to be won by some caudillo or gifts from above, whereas after the LPP they were considered a right.

in Amarete putting up a large banner, which covered most of the face of the *subalcaldía* in Amarete and which informed all '*residentes* and *vecinos* of Athun Ayllu Amarete' that they were 'invited' to be present on the day of the census, 'for the development of their dear village [pueblo],' and warned them that if they did not participate the people would determine a suitable response according to their 'own norms and procedures.' This way of spending funds according to population seems to have contributed to a degree of animosity felt by other sectors of the municipality towards Amarete, because of a feeling that Amarete benefits to a greater extent from municipal funding due to their sizeable population. The division of resources between communities in the municipality seems to have provided an outlet for the expression of rivalries that may have previously been subdued by the peasant union which, with its hierarchical structure, does not encourage internal competition (Blanes 2000:7).

Resentment also seems to have been caused by the dominance of Amarete in the administration of the municipal government. Since the LPP, the majority of the *alcaldes* of Charazani have been from Amarete. There have been four municipal administrations since 1995. In the first two of those Alipio was elected as *alcalde*, while the *alcalde* from 2010 to 2015 was also from Amarete. The other term was split between the four *concejales* (councillors), who served a year each as *alcalde*. Two of the four were from Amarete (the other two were from Kaata and Qotapampa). One informant from Chullina compared Amarete's dominance within municipal politics to that enjoyed previously by the *vecinos*. Although he celebrated the governance of Charazani by indigenous communities since Alipio was elected, he also told me that it had only been for the benefit of Amarete, because '*ya no han soltado el cargo; antes no soltaban Charazani, ahora Amarete*' ('now they haven't left office; previously it was Charazani, now it is Amarete').

The work of John Holloway is relevant in analysing theoretically what happened in Charazani before and after taking control of municipal government. Holloway (2010) sees taking control of the State as the very antithesis of self-determination, because to do so means recognizing the State as sovereign. Holloway characterises the aim of revolution as 'to dissolve relations of power, to create a society based on the mutual recognition of people's dignity' (*ibid.*:20). The aim of taking power of local government, according to Alipio, can be

characterised in just these terms: to create a relationship of mutual respect between *vecinos* and *runa*. However, by taking control of local government, they were entering the system that supported the hierarchical domination they were fighting against. Although they displaced the *vecinos* at the top of the local hierarchy, the system of representative democracy created another hierarchy between *runa*, which was based on strength of numbers and encouraged competition between them as opposed to arriving at a consensus. The LPP then, ultimately may have helped *runa* to alter local hierarchical social relations, but only in terms of who was at the top, as it appropriated indigenous people to the cause of the State, which is to favour some groups as the expense of others.

In particular, what *runa* wanted, effectively, was to be treated as equal but different. But the LPP, and even the EIB, do not do this. What they did was to allow Bolivia's excluded majority to become part of the existing Hispanic hegemony. *Runa* took control of local government with a common consciousness of themselves formed in opposition to the *mistis*, which following Barth's (1969) analysis of ethnic group identity formation, we can take to have been formed precisely in opposition to and interaction with, the *mistis* who were regarded as a distinct ethnic group; however, this consciousness seems to have fragmented somewhat by competition engendered by the State-electoral system. The LPP can be seen as a stepping-stone towards autonomy, in which the Kallawayas would elect their leaders through consensus, rather than competition. Nonetheless, it seems to have been at least partly responsible for fomenting the competition between different Kallawayas groups which I had seen stall the autonomy project.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how and why the dynamics of social relations between *runa* and *vecinos* changed in the mid-1990s, as a precursor to present-day demands for autonomy. The Law of Popular Participation was an important factor in allowing *runa* access to local political power, something which had previously been monopolised by the *vecinos* in the town of Charazani. Controlling the municipality politically had made it easier for *vecinos* to maintain exploitative social relations with *runa*. Simultaneously, *compadrazgo*, through which unequal power relations between *vecinos* and *runa* were both reflected and reproduced, made it possible for the *vecinos* to keep *runa* subjugated politically, because if

runa voted at all they would be instructed who to vote for by their *compadre*. The LPP then, which resulted in the election of the first indigenous mayor, was undoubtedly a turning point in the relationship between *runa* and *vecinos*. By making it possible for someone from an *ayllu* to be elected as mayor, it became possible for *runa* to think about how to change their circumstances in ways not just related to the formal governance of the municipality. However, *runa* could only take local power by assimilating politically to the existing form of State politics. This was not de-colonization as such; rather indigenous people entered the apparatus of the neo-colonial State. It did act, though, as a precursor to autonomy in which *runa* should be able to govern themselves on their own terms.

The LPP was not enough, in itself, to encourage *runa* to break a relationship through which though they were exploited, but they also used for support. One of the reasons why *runa* had less need to form alliances with *vecinos* was the increasing bilingual education of themselves and their children through the school Ayni Kusun. As more *runa* became educated, they were able to rely on each other, rather than on *vecinos*. Social change became possible through a 'revolutionary' education. That the school also acted as a venue for community authorities from communities around the province to meet meant that by the time of the LPP they were united in an idea of what they wanted out of governance of the municipality, and felt themselves, despite certain cultural and linguistic differences from one community to another, to have common concerns and a common sense of purpose, as *runa* taking over control of local power from *mistis*. That sense of ruling the municipality together as one community, has clearly eroded somewhat since 1995, as it has become taken for granted that *runa* govern the municipality, and inter-community rivalries for power have become at times just as much a source of tension as the relationship between the *runa* and *mistis* prior to 1995. These inter-community rivalries have expressed themselves in the Indigenous Autonomy process, particularly in relation to the antagonism many feel towards Amarete's dominant role in the process. However, that local politics is now marked by tension between different sectors of the municipality's majority indigenous population and the *vecinos* have been marginalised (something which they have attempted with limited success to overcome in the Indigenous Autonomy process by forming a common front against Amarete with communities close to Charazani) feels like progress when contrasted with the situation prior to 1995, in which the minority *misti* population in

Charazani controlled the local political administration and influenced life in the communities through their *compadres*.

Chapter 6. Living Well without the State: the Kallawaya economy of reciprocal exchange

6.1 Introduction

I ended chapter five by noting that there had been a fracturing of Kallawaya solidarity as a group since the LPP, following the cooperation between communities that led to the election of the first indigenous *alcalde* of the municipality of Charazani in 1995. Although much of this thesis deals with intra-ethnic conflict between different groups of Kallawayas, as well as conflict between *runa* and *mistis*, adding to the large body of work on resistance and conflict in Anthropology (some, such as Brown 1996 argue a disproportionate amount), this chapter will examine the aspects of cooperation and reciprocity that connect the Kallawayas socially as one body. While the relationships examined in the previous chapter between *runa* and *mistis* were viewed by my Kallawaya informants as exploitative this chapter deals largely with relations between *runa*, the basis of which is balanced reciprocity and complementarity, and are idealized as part of living well for the Kallawayas.

The stated purpose of the AIOCs, as examined in chapter two, was to make it possible for indigenous nations and people to live their interpretation of *Vivir Bien*, (Living Well). As an Ecuadorian theorist of the concept, Alberto Acosta (2013:64) notes, there is no single conception of what *Vivir Bien* means (the concept is not a synthesis of a monocultural proposal of Living Well, but is encapsulated by epistemological plurality). This chapter, and the next, add to theoretical conceptions of *Vivir Bien*, by providing the perspective of my Kallawaya informants. Living well, essentially, is understood to be expressed in the practices of reciprocity and complementarity, which strengthen bonds of solidarity between participants and express an identity as *runa* in the *ayllu*. This chapter will examine how the

reciprocity characteristic of the *ayllu*, economically involving bartering, interacts with the market. Well-being seen in terms of economic exchange can be contrasted with welfare (James 2008). While the latter infers a State-redistribution of resources towards the needy, the former is engaged in by individuals or groups of people who exchange for their personal benefit. This is well-being *without* the need of a State. Clastres (1977:167-169) identifies one of the characteristics of societies without a state as people producing for themselves, and supplementing their own produce through exchange and reciprocity, rather than being alienated from their own labour.

Living Well will also be examined in this chapter in terms of the cohesive functioning of the various parts of the social body. Here I draw on the metaphor of the *ayllu* as a body. This is a metaphor which Bastien uses in his ethnography of Kaata, Mountain of the Condor (1985), in which he compares the mountain *ayllu* with the human body (see chapter seven). Ina Rösing (1995:198-80) is critical of Bastien's use of this metaphor, because she did not find it being used by her own informants (suggesting that he engaged in 'mute investigation', that is, he arrived at it through making his own interpretations central to his work, rather than those of his informants). The bodily metaphor for the *ayllu* was, however, articulated to me unprompted by some informants (i.e. Feliciano explained to me his community, Niñocorín, as the breast on Mount Kaata). Here I would like to add my own interpretation though, to view the Kallawaya *ayllus* *collectively* as one body. Although this was never enunciated to me in these terms, the codependent functioning of the different *ayllus* together as one body seems to enact a collective sense of Living Well as the Kallawaya Nation. In contrast to the research of Schulte (1999:101), who questioned whether the Kallawaya region could be taken as one unit, I will argue that there is a degree of regional integration, largely fostered by economic relations. Economic exchanges between communities and ritual exchanges between *runa* and *achachilas*, form them as one body.

When staying in the house of one of the leaders of the autonomy assembly, Nazario, in Carijana, Nazario's father explained to me a conception of the community in which each member works together to form one body. His description emphasised the interconnectedness of the various parts. We had just finished eating dinner, and I remarked that I was full. 'Full stomach, content heart' he told me. He went on to illustrate to me the connectedness of the body, by describing it as if it were a community of people. He told me

that in the body there are four families: one in the right arm, one in the left arm, one in the right foot, and one in the left foot. Although he called them families, he also referred to them as children, with the torso as the parents, giving nutrition to the rest of the body. They come together to eat, and then they separate ('después de comer, divide'). The fingers and toes, he told me, are grandchildren, the fingers on the right hand being brothers, and on the left sisters. The right arm, he told me, was masculine, and the left arm feminine, and they have to work together on tasks, because one acting alone is useless ('hay que trabajar juntos; uno solo no se puede'). He demonstrated this by acting out the action of digging, which needed both hands and arms working together, as well as both legs and feet, to perform a common task. This seemed to encapsulate the belief in the community as one body, which needed each of its members working together in order to function properly. The metaphor also seemed to encapsulate relations within the Kallawaya Nation: a segmentary hierarchy of interrelated communities in which work was more efficient when all sectors worked together. Nazario's father's metaphor also emphasised the significance of coming together to eat in terms of forming one body. Durkheim (2008) theorizes that 'communion' is vital in creating a social body, and this will be examined further in chapter eight (and has been examined in chapter four in the episode of the cannibalism of the hacendado Valencia by *ayllu* Amarete).

The Kallawaya *ayllus* function at a variety of different levels, like Russian dolls (Harvey and Knox 2010:131), or Chinese boxes (Rivera 1990:100), one *ayllu* inside another. Allen (1997:81) calls the *ayllu* an example of synecdochal thinking, common throughout Andean culture, in which the world is comprehended 'in terms of mutually enveloping homologous structures that act upon each other'. Taking *ayllu* Amarete (the largest sector of the municipality of Charazani by population) as an example, the largest *ayllu* is the *Athun* (large) *ayllu* of Amarete which contains a number of *sullk'a* (small) *ayllus*; one of which is the town of Amarete itself (the *Athun ayllu's* capital, at its geographical centre) which is subdivided into four zones, which function as even smaller *ayllus*, and at the smallest level, the family household is also an *ayllu*. *Athun ayllu* and the *sullk'a ayllu* are what Platt (1986:230-31), with reference to Macha calls maximal and minimal *ayllus*. At each level, the *ayllu* is divided into two: Janaq/masculine/upper and Ura/feminine/lower (the town of Amarete with its four zones is a recent anomaly, as until the 1940s it was divided into only two sections,

Rösing, 2003:677). This applies from the level of the *Athun ayllu* down to the special organisation of the family house (Arnold 1998; Platt 1986:230-31). At each *ayllu*-level similar relations are maintained between *runa* and *achachilas*, which *runa* pay homage to at mountain shrines, shrines within their community, and in the patio of their house. Though the Kallawayas are divided into distinct *ayllus*, what unites them as one people is a shared worship of the same shrines (Bastien 1985:57) and a shared understanding of the sacred properties of the lakes and mountains around them. The manner in which a ritual relationship with the *achachilas* unites *runa* will be discussed in both this chapter and the next.

6.2 The household and the intra-community economy

The smallest unit in the *ayllu* is the married couple. Canessa (2012:139) explains that ‘it is marriage that confers on an individual the status of person on a social and practical level’, as a ‘union that completes the person’. In a practical sense, an individual becomes a person in their own right only when they marry. It is at this point that they are able to take on the responsibilities of becoming an authority in their community (Blumtritt 2013:8). The importance placed on married couples is connected to a general belief in the importance of pairs (almost nobody marries in an odd-numbered year), and an avoidance of single entities (it was often commented on that I myself must be sad because I was alone). ‘One thing by itself – *chullaña* – is intrinsically lonely and incomplete, like one hand without the other’ (Allen 2011:87). Once, when given coca to chew whilst drinking with friends from the highland community of Qullpani, I asked one of the men, Leo, whether it was obligatory to give two coca leaves, as most of the men seemed to have given me. He told me: ‘one mustn’t give only one coca leaf ...because it doesn’t make any sense... it is like half... it is like giving a cup half full... one has to always give two or four or more leaves... but it has to be an even number’.⁷² Platt (1986:245) refers to the importance of ‘par’ in Aymara as *yanantin*, which can roughly be translated as ‘helper and helped united to form a single category’. Neither is complete without the other, and only achieves some measure of autonomy

⁷² ‘No hay que dar un sólo hoja de coca’

Me: ‘¿Porque?’

Leo: ‘Porque no tiene sentido... es como la mitad... es como dar una copa medio lleno.’

‘Hay siempre que dar 2 o 4 o más hojas’

‘Pero par tiene que ser’

together. In the Autonomy Assembly meetings, when the Kallawaya philosophy was being discussed, this relationship was described as one of complementarity. This 'complementarity' is most in evidence in the household economy in which the husband and wife have distinct productive roles in the production of the household.

The married couple I knew the best were Victor and Maria Elena, whose family I lived with for several months in Amarete between October 2012 and January 2013. This period of the year was notable for being house-building season (houses are constructed after August when people have finished harvesting their crops, and they attempt to get them finished before the All Saints festival at the beginning of November, which in Amarete lasts for a week). Leading up to All Saints every couple was busy at work making clothes for the men to dance in. There is a particular division of labour between couples according to which clothes are made. The men knit their hats standing up, with the hat (*lluch'u*) which they are knitting in one hand and the thread resting on their neck and their shoulder, and woven with the other hand. The women meanwhile sit on the floor to weave *unkus* (jackets) (on a horizontal loom) which their husbands will dance in during All Saints. The mayor of the municipality suggested to me that I should ask Maria Elena to weave me an *unku*, because it is the women's role, in Amarete, to make men's clothes for festivals.

This particular division of labour is taken for granted but not unexamined. In one conversation I had with Victor and Maria Elena, while they were weaving separately, Victor standing, and her sitting, we discussed this division.

'Can you weave like that?' Victor asked me, pointing towards Maria Elena sitting on the floor. 'I don't think so, I don't know how to', I told him. 'You can't', Maria Elena interjected, 'men can't weave like this; they only knit hats.' 'Why?' I asked her. 'They say it's because men can't sit on the floor' replied Maria Elena. 'Men can't sit on the floor?' I queried. 'They say. But you can sit on the floor, can't you?' Somewhat amused by the thought that I might not be able to sit on the floor I told her 'I think that all men can'. Apparently vindicated, she told me and Victor, 'you see? Men can, they are just lazy to sit on the floor.' Men tend to work standing and women sitting (Allen 1988:77). When Maria Elena complained to me later of back pains, she said that she thought it was because of having been sitting too much on the floor.

During my stay with Victor and Maria Elena in Amarete I helped Victor and his father and siblings, by making adobe bricks, to construct a new section of their house, and a house next door for Victor's younger brother and his prospective wife. While we constructed the house, Maria Elena and Victor's mother first sat on the floor weaving, and then cooked lunch. Victor told me that in the past everybody in the neighbourhood came together to help one another construct their houses in an unpaid reciprocal exchange of labour known as *ayni*, but that now this is uncommon. However, the male relatives of Victor and Maria Elena did assist Victor in laying the foundations of the house; labour which one of Victor's relatives told me did represent *ayni*. Whilst the men of the neighbourhood were at work, their wives were cooking lunch (soup) at home, which they brought to Victor and Maria Elena's house to share with the work party. This communal exchange of food is another form of *ayni*.



Figure 21: Victor knitting his *lluch'u*, and Maria Elena weaving Victor's *unku*.

After eating lunch we sat around *pikcheando* (chewing coca) for a while, then Victor and his father set up a fire on a mound of earth in the centre of what would be the floor of the

house, on which a Kallawaya ritualist, who seemed to be in his eighties, performed a *mesa blanca*. This was an offering to the *achachilas*, consisting of sweets, petals and llama fat (see chapter seven). As well as burning the offering, llama fetuses were buried by the ritualist in the corners of the house as an offering to the *achachilas* to protect the house. The protection of the local gods in exchange for offerings is another form of *ayni* (Astvaldsson 2000:270). Each of the relatives had brought guinea pigs and these were also buried in the house's foundations. Victor's relatives brought male guinea pigs and Maria Elena's relatives female guinea pigs; the males were buried at the front and right of the house (as viewed from the front door) to demarcate it as the masculine side, and the female guinea pigs at the back and left of the house to demarcate its femininity.

Guinea pigs can be both an offering and an element of cleansing, in asking the *achachilas* to safeguard the health of the house (Rösing 1996a:98); offering up one's guinea pig to someone is also a declaration that one would like to deepen and formalise a relationship between one's household and theirs (Weismantel 1988:131), so the guinea pigs represent a strengthening of the bonds between the households of those present. After this, everybody



drank beer and made an offering (called a *ch'alla*) of much of it to the pachamama. As the men and women gradually got drunk into the evening this acted as another kind of offering to the *achachilas*, as through over-eating and drinking one passes the ingested substances onto the souls of the dead, the material body acting as a conduit (Allen 1982:193). The ritual thus acted both as a communion between those from the neighbourhood sacrificing their guinea pigs, and as an offering, Durkheim's two essential elements

of sacrifice (2008:254), and by doing so, strengthened the bonds both between the men and women of the neighbourhood, and between them and the *achachilas*.

Figure 22: A Kallawaya ritualist making an offering of guinea pigs to the achachilas during a ceremony to mark the laying of the foundations of Victor and Maria Elena's house.

6.3 Ayni through compadrazgo

After laying the foundations only one man continued to regularly help Victor with the construction of the house. I asked him one day if he was a relation, and he told me that Victor was his godson. He had been *padrino de matrimonio* (the sponsor) at Victor and Maria Elena's wedding. As described in the previous chapter, bonds of *compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo* create family ties between two people or two couples. However, unlike the vertical *compadrazgo*, which is weighted in favour of the *compadre* or *padrino* who is from a higher social class, bonds of *compadrazgo* and *padrinazgo* between *runa* are based on reciprocity (Allen 1988:88 suggests that couples who become *compadres* owe each other *ayni*). It is the practice of *ayni*, economically, which separates *runa* from *mistis* (Gose 1994:228; Spedding 1994:116).

Outside Amarete, another informant, Aurelio explained to me that there were two kinds of horizontal *compadrazgo* that are formed in and between Kallawaya communities. The first was what Aurelio described to me as 'Quechua *compadrazgo*', which simply involved a respected member of the community becoming part of their spiritual family. 'Kallawaya *compadrazgo*' he told me, was different, and involved creating relationships of trust and mutual assistance between Kallawaya healers:

'For example, you have cured leprosy, but the other hasn't been able to cure it, or maybe you have seen another type of illness that he hasn't seen, so he says, 'look, let's become *compadres*, because I'd like you to share some of your knowledge with me. And for example I have seen a strange illness, what plant do you cure it

with?’ ‘If we aren’t *compadres* I won’t tell you,’ he says. In this way they become family.’⁷³

Kallawayas *compadrazgo*, according to Aurelio, entails forming relationships of trust with other Kallawayas, through which they could exchange information. Knowledge concerning the uses of medicinal plants is the tool of their trade for Kallawayas healers. Creating ties of *compadrazgo* enables the sharing of information because the ties of reciprocity mean that the *compadre* is obliged to give something back in return. *Compadres*, according to Fioravanti-Moliné (2011:225), are also often chosen from a community at a different ecological level, in order for exchange to take place. Exchange between different ecological levels will be looked at in the next section. I have shown in both this and the previous chapter that an obligation to share information and provide assistance plays a significant role in (both vertical and horizontal) *compadrazgo* relationships. The difference in obligation, however, is that in vertical *compadrazgo* the obligation appears one-sided, with *runa* sharing information that benefits their *misti compadre*. In contrast, the obligation to share information in horizontal *compadrazgo* is mutually beneficial.

The economy of the *ayllu* is based on complementary and reciprocal exchange of labour, and is contrasted to the unequal relations with those outside the *ayllu*, such as the relations of vertical *compadrazgo* connecting the Kallawayas communities and the townspeople. Horizontal, reciprocal relations maintain economic autonomy within the *ayllu*. To be successful economically one needs to invest in maintaining this web of social relations through reciprocity, particularly *ayni*, the reciprocal exchange of labour. Indeed, ‘[a]n adult person’s responsibility in life is to use acquired skills in order to participate in a web of reciprocal exchange’ (Allen 1997:76).

6.4 Inter-community economic relations

Mutual assistance takes place both within and between *ayllus*, in the form of exchange of products between communities at different ecological levels. In Amarete, Maria Elena remembered her father travelling to Camata and Carijana (a day’s walk there and another

73 ‘Por ejemplo, tú has sanado lepra, pero el otro no ha podido sanar, o tal vez ha visto otro tipo de enfermedad que no ha visto el, entonces te dice, ‘mira, hacemos compadres, porque quiero que me conoces algunos de tus conocimientos. Y por ejemplo he visto un raro enfermedad, ¿y con qué planta le haces curar?’. ‘Si no somos compadres, yo no te aviso,’ dice. Entonces, así se familiaricen.’

back again) with a mule once or twice a year, taking with him potatoes, chuño, corn on the cob, and oca, which he would exchange for rice. It was a 'treat' for her to eat rice or pasta. According to her father-in-law Alberto they would also typically exchange clay pots, of which Amarete were considered specialists (but now the young people are embarrassed to make them). Schulte (1999:110) observes that it was such bartering which created a regional culture, in which the diversity of the different communities was integrated. Bastien suggests that bartering integrated communities across a wide region, from the highlands to Apolo in the lowlands. In the 1970s, people from the high valley communities of Kaalaya and Cañizaya in the municipality of Curva would travel seven days down to Apolo three times a year to exchange their produce for coca, which they would then distribute throughout the southern altiplano in exchange for charque (dried meat), potatoes, pots and salt, though by the mid-1980s they simply flew from La Paz to Apolo and then sold the coca directly in the markets in La Paz (1985:33).

At *ayllu*-level, Bastien wrote in 1985 that the communities of *ayllu* Kaata (Niñacorín in the low valley, Kaata in the high valley, and Apacheta in the highlands) 'exchanged produce from level to level and provided each other with the necessary carbohydrates, minerals and proteins for their balanced subsistence' (1985:41), but that this exchange of produce had been less prevalent since the 1953 Agrarian Reform, which recognised each community as autonomous entities and defined clear boundaries between them. Bastien writes that the reformers saw the differences between the three communities in terms of size, language, animal husbandry and crops as reasons for their administrative separation, rather than evidence of their complementarity. Roads were constructed which connected each community with Charazani and La Paz. As a result all three levels of the *ayllu* began selling more goods directly in La Paz than they exchanged with one another (ibid:33).

The first time I spoke to Aurelio about autonomy he was adamant that they had 'always been autonomous' because 'the economy worked'. 'We have our own economy. You give me bread, I give you coca, this is *trueque* [bartering]. We call this our own economy. If a neighbour opposite wants wheat and has corn, but I have wheat. He gives me corn, and I give him wheat. We exchange.' When I mentioned to Aurelio what I had read in Bastien's book about the diminishing of bartering, he told me that some bartering did still take place, though agreed that it was less than before. The llama and alpaca herders used to come

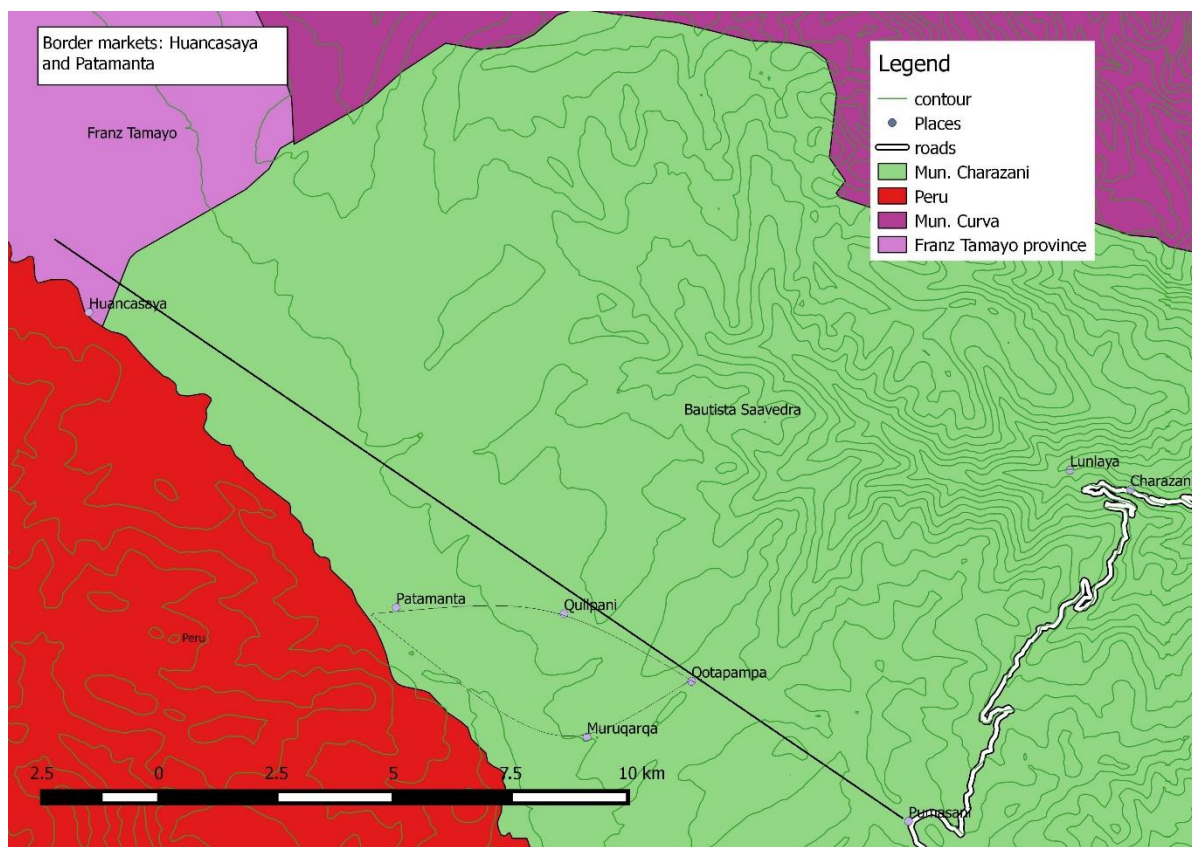
down to Aurelio's own community of Lunlaya to barter with wool. Now, however, they only sell wool across the border in Peru, because the market price means it is no longer economically worthwhile for the herders to barter wool for valley products, such as corn and wheat.

In the past, when the Kallawaya communities around Charazani had tried to sell products for cash they had had to fight exploitation by the townspeople. 'We fought so that our economy could continue. We fought in the shops of Charazani. The businessmen bought one arroba (twenty five pounds) of wheat for an unfair price, almost gifted. Our brothers, carrying their wheat, their corn, their peas, went from shop to shop, because the businessmen came to an agreement between themselves about the price. They held meetings - they only bought at a certain price, and they didn't pay anything more; that was very bad for us.' The *vecinos* acted as intermediaries controlling peasants' access to the market, and at the same time (see chapter five) the *vecinos* were part of the system of subsistence through *compadrazgo* (Schulte 1999:106, 124). The construction of the road, however, has allowed peasants to by-pass the *vecinos* and to sell their produce directly in La Paz. At the same time the traditional complementarity of production became less important than the complementation of community life with the market and urban life (Schulte 1999:182). It has become more important to know people in La Paz to stay with when going to sell products or look for work, than having fields at other ecological levels because the products can also be bought in La Paz or in a regional market.



Figure 23: The Huancasaya market.

Several informants told me the construction of the road from La Paz to Apolo in 1983, passing through Charazani, had been significant in diminishing the number of bartering trips, something that Schulte (1999:185) and Bastien (1985:33) also observed. However, one effect of the road is that it is not only easier for people from Kallawaya communities to travel to La Paz to sell their products, but also to the weekly regional markets, strengthening them as vehicles for regional exchange. The towns of Charazani and Amarete both have Sunday markets, where products are mainly bought and sold with money, but also exchanged for other produce. There are also two weekly regional markets on the border with Peru, Huanca Saya (named after the community on the Peruvian side of the border as the market takes place on both sides of the river Suches which divides the two countries at this point) in Ulla Ulla (in the province of Franz Tamayo), and a smaller one at Patamanta organised by the *ayllu* of Qotapampa.



Map 10: Border markets.

These markets, along with the market at Wila Cala on the road to La Paz are called by Schulte (1999:100) the most important centres of communication and commerce in the region. Each Thursday, people with produce to sell from highland, valley and tropical communities get up at various times during the night to huddle into transport taking them to the Huanca Saya market, in time to set up stalls and start selling their produce by 6am when it gets light. When I accompanied someone from Charazani to help them sell bread in Huanca Saya we left at 3.40am. We were among a group of people from the town selling bread, fruit and vegetables. There were also groups from other communities selling produce, including from yungas communities, such as Camata, selling fruit. On the way back I noticed that everyone carried cheese with them. Someone had even asked me if they could exchange cheese for the bread I was selling. Indeed, people seemed go to the market with the intention of exchanging their produce for cheese from Peru. The second time I went to the border markets it was to help Natalio from Qullpani (*ayllu* Qotapampa) sell alpaca meat at Patamanta (as his assistant I helped him weigh the meat being sold) before

going to Huanca Saya later the same day. I was not surprised when, upon arriving in Charazani later the same day, I was asked if I had brought cheese with me.

In addition to the weekly markets, another event at which people from different communities come together are football tournaments. These are held the day before community fiestas, and usually involve the invitation of 8-12 teams from other communities, of which one generally represents the mayor's office (the mayor at the time of my fieldwork was a keen footballer). These are also occasions for bartering or selling produce. Although I disagree with Schulte (1999:114), when he declared that there was no regional unity, he did observe (1999:165) that football tournaments represented an important form of integration between communities.



Map 11: The Kallawaya region.

Communities also travel to play one-off football matches with one another. In May, when visiting Nazario, an autonomy assembly leader, in Carijana in the yungas, I learned that a team from Qullpani in the highlands would be coming the following week to play football against Carijana. Having witnessed in my stay with Nazario two men from Amarete come to the house with a sack of potatoes which they swapped for an arroba of chirimoyas, soon followed by two girls from the valley community of Jatichulaya who bought oranges with bread and cash, I was curious what kind of produce Qullpani might bring to exchange with

Carijana, and returned the following week for the match. When I arrived, Nazario's wife wasn't there because she had gone to Amarete to '*cambiar papas*'. Nazario's daughter told me this meant that her mum had taken a bag of chirimoyas and oranges to exchange for the same weight in potatoes. This is typical of bartering, in which one person usually travels to the home of another (whom they already know) to perform the exchange (Bradby 2007:115-6).

When the team from Qullpani arrived, they were invited into the community hall, and



Figure 24: The Qotapampa players accepting 'ancestral' coca.

Nazario and Natalio (at the time the mallku of the Marka Suni) gave short speeches. Natalio made reference to this outing for them being more than about football: it was a community exchange, but also a way of performing *trueque* (bartering), which he said that some of the younger generation had forgotten

about. He joked about one of the youngsters being from the United States and needing to be educated in bartering. Nazario emphasised the importance of exchange through sport, telling them he had made many friends in other communities through playing football. He also urged them to make themselves at home, and that as Carijana was an area of fruit, people were perfectly used to strangers coming to make exchanges. Later the team from Qullpani were presented with a pile of coca from Carijana. 'This is coca from Carijana', the Carijana man emphasised as he put the coca on the table. Natalio repeated this, adding, 'ancestral coca'⁷⁴. The men (and their families) from Qullpani arrived in Carijana with potatoes, chuño (dehydrated potatoes), and cheese (bought from Peru in one of the border markets), and left with corn on the cob, avocados, chirimoyas and oranges, as well as a little coca. Everyone seemed to leave with around 200 oranges. When I asked Natalio about the

⁷⁴ This seemed to be a reference to the attempts of the province's coca federation to get the coca grown locally recognised as ancestral coca, and therefore exempt from the eradication programmes which are part of law 1008, as the article 384 of the constitution legally protects ancestral coca as 'cultural heritage'.

exchanges he confirmed that they had mostly paid with cash, but that they had also bartered with cheese, potatoes and chuño. Later I saw evidence of this, in the shape of the enormous amount of cheese occupying Nazario's house. He had exchanged with Natalio one roll of cheese for half an arroba of Chirimoyas.

That the cheese (which is not produced anywhere in the province and therefore can only be purchased at the markets from Peru⁷⁵) played such a central role in the bartering exchanges is testament to the way that the subsistence economy and the market economy combine. Schulte (1999:110,114) observed that it was the highland llama and alpaca herders, those most connected to the market, who had been the principle protagonists of regional integration through bartering, and were those who had most continued the habit of making trips. When I visited Qullpani I was surprised to be given corn and beans to eat; Natalio's brother Valerio told me they had got these from the valley in Muñecas (the neighbouring province), and that in the time of their grandparents they would walk two or three days with a mule to barter in Muñecas. Now they take 4x4s or motorbikes, which they purchase with money they make from gold-mining. Caro (1985:283) writes that herders viewed bartering trips to exchange as much as a public service for the valley communities as a way of provisioning for their own household, though I never heard such a statement expressed explicitly. The highlanders' engagement with the market could be seen as 'rational' (Platt 1995:286); they have withdrawn from the traditional bartering with their near neighbours because they can get better rates of exchange selling their alpaca meat, skin and wool to Peruvians in the markets close by. However, their engagement with the market is not totally at the expense of non-monetary exchange. They use products they purchase from the market in continued exchanges that maintain social relationships with the communities at other ecological levels.

⁷⁵ I was told by a woman in Camata that this was because there are few cows in the region, and that the cheese from Peru is in any case tastier than the cheese from La Paz which becomes watery very quickly. Somewhat contradictorily the woman also told me the cheese from Peru is sheep's cheese.



Figure 25: Carijana vs Qullpani.

The following week I accompanied the men from sub-tropical Carijana up to the cold of highland Qotapampa for a return match. When they were met in Qotapampa they were asked straight away whether they had brought any fruit to exchange, and many people were visibly disappointed that although they had brought quite a quantity of oranges, there were no chirimoyas. Before playing football, all of the players were invited into the community hall for alpaca soup, along with potatoes and chuño, which were placed on inkuñas (mats for carrying food) on the floor in the middle of the hall. Natalio seemed genuinely overjoyed to receive the visitors, and was effuse in his welcome speech, emphasising the importance of the exchanges between the different ecological levels. After we had eaten, everyone made their way out to the (rock hard) football pitch, where a big sack of oranges was given by the Carijeños to Qullpani to eat before the game. Four games were played and I played a half for each side, though felt as if my lungs were going explode, playing at 4,400 metres above sea level. Many of the team from Carijana seemed to feel the same.



Figure 26: Qullani vs Carijana.

The road has evidently reduced the number and importance of journeys on foot for the purpose of bartering between communities, and by lessening the isolation of the region has made such relations less necessary. However, from another perspective it has facilitated such trips, making it easier both for communities to attend the weekly markets, and to exchange socially and economically through football matches and tournaments. The connection that the road created between the province and La Paz has severed the control of the *vecinos* as a conduit between the subsistence economy and the market (see Harvey 2005:134). However, it did not sever the connections between communities, but transformed them. As we shall see in the section that follows, it created the conditions for the extension of the *ayllu* through migration from valley communities to the sub-tropical sub-region.

In this section I have not examined one *ayllu* with maximum control of a variety of ecological niches as Murra (2002) describes, but autonomous communities engaging with one another economically in a mutually beneficial way, as Platt (1987c:489) found to be the

case amongst the *ayllus* of Lipez in the 19th century. Through this exchange communities also strengthen social bonds with one another, renewing relationships which make them complementary members of one body. The next section, however, will examine migration from the highlands and valley to the tropic, which effectively created a version of Murra's (ibid) vertical archipelagos, albeit one in which the primary purpose of the colonization was not to provide exchange for their *ayllu*-mates above, but rather their own economic necessity.

6.5 Migration: The Kallawayaya Nation in the *Trópico*

In February 2013, I accompanied my *compadre* Feliciano on a trip from his community of Niñacorín to visit his brothers Emilio and Antonio and their families in the yungas community of Ñiquis. Feliciano was travelling to Ñiquis because he had a *lote* (plot of land) there, next to those of his brothers. Feliciano's responsibilities as *mallku* of Niñacorín had meant that he had not had time to cultivate the *lote* and so his brothers had advised him that he needed to defend his right to it in a community meeting. As Schulte (1999:127) notes, in the Kallawayaya region there is a concept of property over land in which property is established only through work. Because Feliciano had not been working the land, his right to retain it was being questioned by others in Ñiquis.

Feliciano's brothers had moved down to Ñiquis in 1982-83 when the road joining La Paz with Apolo was being constructed. This road passed through Charazani, and made movement between the valley and the tropical communities suddenly much easier. Previously the road only extended as far as Camata and Carijana. Ñiquis is *más adentro* (further inside) than these communities – this was the phrase used by informants to describe being further away from Charazani, and closer to Apolo, inside the tropical zone of the North of the department of La Paz. As alluded to in chapter three, there had been a long history of relations between Charazani and Apolo, which have pre-Incaic origins. According to Antonio though, before the road was built, people would walk along the tops of the mountains, and it would take them six days to get from Niñacorín to Apolo. Now by bus, it should only take around 9 hours from Charazani (though when I made the journey the bus took around 16 hours to arrive in Apolo, because it continually got stuck in mud once we were past Ñiquis).

The possibility of migration solved one of the main problems afflicting people in the valley communities around Charazani around that time, which was the scarcity of land. Times had been tough for Antonio and his family in Niñacorín. Before migrating, a group of young men led by Antonio had asked the authorities to arrange an equitable distribution of land. Antonio had a young family, and his was one of several who found themselves landless at the time. Not having land is serious, because it means not having a direct relationship with the *achachilas* of the community (Burman 2011:210). Having found the community authorities unresponsive, the landless families left Niñacorín, some to live in La Paz, and others, with Antonio, to create the settlement of Ñiquis in the yungas of the province. According to Feliciano, around thirty percent of the population of Niñacorín have now moved to Ñiquis, accounting for nearly all of the twenty-eight families Antonio told me were then living in the community. Schulte (1999:127) describes the struggle for land as constant, which notoriously led to familial fighting in Amarete. Everyone I spoke to who had migrated to the yungas, whether from Niñacorín, Amarete, or another community, gave similar reasons for migrating. A change of residence to another ecological level can often be a solution to such problems over land (Harris 2000:83), but without necessarily cutting ties with the community of origin. One Amarete man who had migrated to the community of Calzada, about an hour and a half's walk from Ñiquis, told me that he had moved to the yungas because 'there is no life' in his home community. He returns to Amarete every month to see his house, visit family and collect potatoes from the plot of land he still retains.

In Ñiquis, every family has a *chacra* (cultivable land) 100 metres wide, which stretches from the top of the mountain down to the river. This is their *lote*. In Antonio's *chacra*, the main crop is coca, but they also grow mandarins, bananas, coffee and mango. People sometimes come from the communities higher up to exchange barley, *chuño*, peas, and ceramic pots for Antonio's fruit. Usually though, exchange takes place between family members. For example, one morning when I ate breakfast with Antonio and his family, we ate oca which Antonio's wife Lucia had brought from her family's community of Upinhuaya, near Niñacorín. When I left Ñiquis with Feliciano we took an enormous bag of coca with us.

Coca is the main crop; a cash crop. Coca is such a good cash crop because it only takes 2-3 three months to harvest, two months in the wet season, and three months in the dry

season, with the same plant giving coca several times. As I discovered, picking coca, leaf by leaf, can be backbreaking work. After being picked, the leaves then have to be dried in the sun, and every family has to have a reasonably large flat area in which to do this. Once dried, the coca is weighed, bagged up, and taken by bus to be sold in La Paz. Some coca is also sold locally in Charazani, but very little, because the amount that can be sold there is so trifling compared with La Paz that it is not worth the coca-growers' while to bother.



Figure 27: Laying out coca to dry.

Feliciano told me that he could not imagine living in Ñiquis for long because of the capitalist mentality associated with growing coca: 'it seems to me it would be impossible to stay here, because I have a different vision; not to live only to make money.' As I shall examine further in chapter seven, this capitalist mentality which Feliciano complained of is seen by some as related to a loss of relationship with the land of the *ayllu* and the spirits that inhabit it, and by migrating, the people living in the tropic become distant from the gods of their *ayllu*. These migrants were caught in a catch-22 situation though, as they were being forced to leave precisely because of the lack of available land in their *ayllus*.

Upon returning to Feliciano's house in Niñocorín I dreamt that I was in Feliciano's garden but that it was unrealistically large, stretching down in altitude, and becoming more humid at the bottom where Antonio and Emilio were living. The dream seemed to illustrate the stretching of *ayllu* relations to include communities and relations at some distance from one another, taking advantage of the produce produced at different altitudes. Feliciano's family was attempting to maintain parcels of land at different levels, effectively engaging in dual residence (Platt 2007:35).

In March, I paid a second visit to Antonio in Ñiquis, this time without Feliciano. I accompanied Antonio up to his coca fields, but rather than picking coca, as I had done before with his family, we walked to a side of one of the coca fields in the shade, and Antonio showed me how to make *ligia*. *Ligia* is made from burning *chillca* (kindling) wood, and is an important part of chewing coca. *Ligia* is put in the mouth and chewed alongside the coca leaves, adding flavour to that of the coca, and according to Antonio, making the coca itself healthier to *pijchear*. Antonio told me, 'if you don't have *ligia*, it's better to not *bolear*'⁷⁶. 'The old folks tell you off, "it [the malignant effects of the coca] enters the heart," the old folks say'.

According to Antonio, *ligia* mixes with the coca to form a defence against malignant 'Others' (Burman 2011:176). Shortly after his family came to live in Ñiquis, they had been camped out on the hill, at the top of the *chacra*, when they heard the low purring of what Antonio called a tiger (though this was more likely to have been a puma). At the time they were alone with just a tent for protection. Their only defence was the coca. Antonio told me they chewed so much that fire came out of their mouths and the 'tiger' stepped back. They said to themselves that they would have to ask the ancestors for protection for themselves, their grandchildren, asking them to 'keep this animal, this cat away from the place'. After some time it moved away. There was a lightning flash, a clash of thunder, and the tiger, presumably afraid, left the place. 'There was no other weapon, only coca. One has to use coca.'

'Coca is a defence?' I queried.

⁷⁶ *Bolear* is the word many people use for chewing coca, because of the ball of coca that they wedge in their cheeks periodically.

'It is the only defence' he told me, 'there isn't any other'. 'When you sleep at night, on the hill, if you *bolea coca* with *ligia*, the evil [el mal] will come close, but will see fire in your mouth and will not touch you'. 'In difficult moments the coca defends you. You are on the point of being defeated but you come through'.

When Antonio and his brothers and a few others from Niñacorín had been building their houses in Ñiquis, there had been other migrants from Amarete, who were creating their own settlement in Sotopata (whilst most people in Ñiquis are from Niñacorín, almost everyone else in the nearby communities has migrated from Amarete) a half an hour's walk from them. The closeness of the two settlements had led to conflict between the two groups of migrants, and Antonio remembers dynamite being used in fights between them. According to Antonio, the manner in which they defended themselves in conflicts with Sotopata was by *pikcheando coca*.

Antonio seemed to be well regarded locally for his ability as a healer. One morning when I was staying at his house two men came to consult with Antonio because they or their wives were ill and needed advice. Afterwards I asked Antonio how he had come to be an expert in healing with plants as I had not heard Feliciano speak of other members of his family as healers (having in mind that healing knowledge is traditionally passed down by Kallawayas from father to son). Antonio had got ill, with pneumonia and other things, and had consulted with the old folks about what he could do. 'It was good that I got ill', he reflected. From what Antonio himself told me, he did also seem to be well-regarded in the region as a *sabio* (wise man). In the Kallawayas communities it is traditional, Antonio told me, for a father to look for a bride for his son. He does this by asking for advice first from relatives, but he would also go to the *sabios* or *yatiris* ('wise man' in Aymara) to ask for advice on a match. Twice 'Amareteños' had come asking Antonio's advice regarding a potential marriage. Although he didn't say as much I surmised they approached him so that he would read the coca leaves for them.



Figure 28: Antonio making medicine.

It is worth noting Antonio's reference to the inhabitants of the other tropical communities as Amareteños. Antonio was the assistant to the *wata purichiq* (the collective ritualist) of the yungas region (the duties of the *wata purichiq* will be explained in more depth in the next chapter). The *wata purichiq* was Julián Vega, an Amareteño, who had migrated to the community of Quita Calzon, an hour and a half walk from Ñiquis in the direction of Charazani. Antonio showed me photos of them performing a ritual in La Paz together on the National *akulliku* (coca-chewing) day (declared as part of the government's campaign for international legalisation of coca). Together they had performed the rituals to the Pachamama and sacred places, on behalf of the yungas communities (according to Julián,

‘to feed the pachamama, for greater production of coca, to soothe the coca production, and so that Evo Morales would not pressure them’). However, they did not always agree on the best way to perform the rituals, because of cultural differences, which Antonio characterised as differences in thinking between the ‘Kallawaya Nation’ and Amarete (see chapter four). ‘Sometimes we clashed’, ‘as they, according to the history are from another culture, brought by the Inca, they have another way of thinking, sometimes we understand one another, at other times not.’⁷⁷

Antonio explained to me that he and Julián had differences in approach to creating a ritual ‘*mesa*’ (the table of offerings for the *pachamama* and *achachilas*), when they were making an offering to the sacred places. In Amarete they would create an offering in which all of the ingredients were mixed together, rather than divided into different plates. All over the *istalla* (the offering mat on which the *mesa* was made) coloured wool would be spread out (as I had seen in the house-building ritual in Amarete, described earlier in the chapter). In contrast, for Antonio, the correct way to make a *mesa* of offering, was to divide the ingredients between various plates, each of the plates being made of cotton wool, and each meant to be blown by the *ankari* (the wind messenger) to a different destination (see Rösing 1993:125-163 for a detailed analysis of the differences in the way that Kallawaya communities prepare *mesas*). Ritual, asserts difference; how one performs ritual can define ‘us’ versus ‘them’, how ‘we’ do things, rather than how ‘they’ do things, and so is a powerful marker of identity (Bell 1992:102; Kertzer 1988:92). Ritual, since Durkheim (2008), is often perceived as encouraging solidarity between its participants, but when the participants of the ritual do not agree on how it should be performed then it has the potential to highlight the differences between those taking part. In Kallawaya society, interpretations over the ‘correct’ way to perform ritual highlighted differences between Kallawaya *ayllus*, when *ayllus* came together to perform ceremonies in concert. That being said, despite differing in their interpretations on the correct way to perform the rituals, the fact that Antonio and Julián came together at all to perform ceremonies before the *yungas* communities as one group does seem to demonstrate the potential for ritual to produce solidarity, where there is at other times social conflict.

77 ‘A veces [yo y Julián] chocamos’ ‘como ellos [los de Amarete] dicen la historia son de otra cultura, traídos por el Inca, tienen otro pensamiento, a veces nos entendemos, a veces no.’



Figure 29: Antonio and Julián performing a mesa blanca at the acullicu in La Paz (photo courtesy of Antonio Patty).

One thing which Antonio and Julián agreed on was the importance of coca. The first time that I met Julián, on the bus to Amarete he told me ‘without coca, there is no Kallawaya’. As Canessa (2012:154) explains coca ‘is the shaman’s key tool in communicating with the *achachilas* and is a basic element in any offering to the dead’, and chewing coca is itself an offering ‘to the *achachilas* and a way of bringing the *achachilas* closer to people’ (*ibid.*:157). Coca not only provides a livelihood for Antonio and the tropical communities, but it gives them signals to assist them in how to live. ‘If [the coca] is bitter, your idea will go wrong’, ‘when it is uncomfortable like a stone it means that in a week’s time someone will die’, Antonio told me. Antonio suggested to me that, rather than a gift from the gods; anyone could read coca leaves (though my friend Aurelio disagrees with this in chapter seven). ‘It isn’t just Kallawayas, for example, you could be the one who reads coca in your nation’. He went on, ‘it is like writing, coca is also written, just the same. This is what it says, it is a path that becomes clear. Sometimes it is indirect... you’re going to have a journey, you’re certainly going to buy... so you have to do your own reading. That’s why some doubt the

coca. But however the coca comes out, I don't know how it will accommodate itself when I come to read it.'⁷⁸

Although the migrants to the *trópico* come from different communities in the valley or high valley, with some differences in culture in respect to their communities of origin, what unites them is coca. Coca is a social glue, giving them a common purpose and common identity. Not only does it provide them with an economic income, but coca forms the central ingredient in the Kallawaya ritual and diagnostic toolkit. Chewing coca in all Kallawaya communities creates solidarity between those who share the leaves.

6.6 Julián

I got to know Julián in Amarete, where he had recently moved back to, having lately been employed by the town's hospital as a traditional healer. He was Victor and Maria Elena's next-door neighbour. Once, when I popped next door, he told me about how he became, in his words, a *yatiri* (one who knows – Abercrombie 1998:71). When he was a child, he would help his grandfather to look after their sheep, and sometimes when sheep got lost his grandfather would find their location by reading coca leaves. His grandfather could also diagnose the cause of an illness by reading coca. Julián learned by watching how his grandfather read coca. Then one night he and his grandfather got back late and a sheep was missing, but instead of his grandfather reading the leaves, Julián did. He found the sheep so precisely that his grandfather told him he would have to be careful. “Now you know, damn it! Boy, you'll have to be careful of the *quejo*” Julián's grandfather told him. ‘*Quejo* is lightning. Boom Boom.’ ‘For ten years I learned like this. Coca is a great exam for me. Looking, finding. Now I am like my grandfather.’

“You should be careful. When you read it so well, it means you have been chosen” his grandfather told him. ‘To be a *yatiri* you are chosen, if you are not going to be *yatiri* they don't choose you. You can't study to be a *yatiri*. You are named by the *achachilas*. You can study medicine; you can't study to become a *yatiri*.’⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See appendix: Interview with Antonio: 6th March 2013: lines 3891-3969.

⁷⁹ See appendix: Interview with Julián Vega: 3rd February 2013, lines 3049-3054.

One day, he and his friends were called to carve up a cow that had been found lying in a field. They carved up and ate the cow as quick as they could. However, afterwards Julián realised that the cow had been hit by lightning and that they therefore should have performed a ritual called *waqta*, to give thanks to the lightning. Sometime later, when Julián was sent out to look for his uncle's cows, he was hit by lightning himself. He believed that he was being punished for the previous oversight. 'The thing is the cow that we had carved up before had died of being struck by lightning. When it gets you like that it is a signal. When one doesn't pay a ritual, when the cattle is there, we have to pay *waqta*... ritual... so that the cattle will multiply, also so that the place will be protected. That's why the cow was killed. So without doing that, without doing anything, we had carved it up, so we had owed something. The next time the lightning had punished me...' ⁸⁰81 Afterwards Julián was sick for some time, even after the *yatiri* in Amarete had performed a ritual offering to placate the lightning. His wife gave birth to twins, a sign that someone has been chosen to be a *yatiri*. When his wife gave birth, all the authorities of the community came to his house. Along with the syndical authorities came the *wata purichiq* of Amarete, who read the coca leaves. He exclaimed to Julián: "Aha, aha! Julián, you're a bloody *yatiri*! You haven't cured people. This is why you are getting ill all the time. You have been chosen to serve. You have to serve the *achachilas*, the *cabildo*, everything! You have to do rituals, ceremonies for people who get ill... you have to provide assistance. It's because of this, because you haven't remembered, that you have two babies." ⁸²83

Julián was told that he had to work for the good of the community. "Now come here, you're going to read coca here", the *wata purichiq* says. "Fellas, he will tell us when it is going to rain, when it will snow, everything." "Sure," I told the authorities. I came here. I read the coca... "Aha! Now look! You know very well, don't you?" Then I read once more... "Now take it, take coca. You can read everything". I only needed three. In three readings I told them everything. "Right, now you are ready. I will give you my own materials. Mullas,

⁸⁰ See appendix: Interview with Julián Vega: 3rd February 2013, lines 3075-3078.

⁸¹ Rösing (1996a:50-2) notes that lightning demands respect and if one does not pay respect to where the lightning has fallen then calamity can befall one. Being touched by lightning is a sign that one has been chosen to follow a vocation as a healer, or a ritualist. See also Platt (1986:242; Allen 1997:78; Canessa 2012:131).

⁸² A twin birth is another sign of a having been chosen. A woman is said to give birth to twins because her baby has been parted in two by lightning while in her womb. (Rösing 1996a:21,163-4,173).

⁸³ If someone who receives their calling ignores it then the *achachilas* can remind them and if they still ignore it then the *achachilas* may punish them (Burman 2011:58, 82).

kunchas, half. Half when you go to..., you will replace me. I am old now. I am suffering. You will be able to do it. I will give you all my material”’. So I got my ceremony ready, and I took it up. In Apacheta, they conducted a ceremony with me, where they named me. Now I am authorised, now I am. Afterwards, when the union all know, they come to have their fortune read. They come, and I started healing. Not like they work in Charazani, but as it should be; they travel, they trick people. Someone who knows has to heal in his family, in his community. It has to start with that. After that... they know me, and I didn’t get sick again. I only got flu a couple of times. I don’t get ill, because I am serving the *achachilas*, the *cabildos*, all of them. Now I am healthy. My wife must be suffering, all I do is cure the sick.’⁸⁴

Julián’s story emphasises the perceived difference between the two professions (see chapter four), of being *yatiri*, and of simply being a healer: that one can learn to become a healer through taking an interest in medicinal plants. ‘I love to investigate plants!’ Julián told me very animatedly, telling me how he had first acquired knowledge of medicinal plants from his grandfather, which he broadened through courses in the city. The medicinal knowledge he had picked up because of his own interest, but he had become a *yatiri*, someone to perform rituals to pay the *achachilas* because they had chosen him themselves.

Although Bastien (1985:55) emphasises a distinction between *curanderos* (‘religious specialists who cure with plants’), and *yachaq* (‘those who heal by reading coca and feeding the earth shrines’) because the expertise required in both professions necessitates a level of specialisation through apprenticeship that means there is no time to dabble in both, Julián’s story seems to demonstrate that it is possible to be an expert in both healing with plants, and feeding the shrines. Julián’s idea of how a Kallawayaya healer should work—primarily in their community—also contrasts with the view of his *compadre* Aurelio⁸⁵ of a Kallawayaya healer primarily as itinerant.

I have included Julián’s story concerning how he was chosen as a *yatiri* in this chapter because it demonstrates an important aspect of exchange for the Kallawayayas: exchange between the living and the gods, the *achachilas*, and the *pachamama*. If one receives good fortune – particularly as a result of the direct actions of the gods – then one must thank

⁸⁴ See appendix: Interview with Julián Vega: 3rd February 2013: lines 3107-3129.

⁸⁵ Incidentally, Julián is not the *compadre* of Aurelio mentioned in chapter four.

them, or suffer the consequences. Julián's illness indicates that living well in terms of physical well-being means fulfilling obligations to the gods.

6.7 Conclusion

The discourse on autonomy incorporating the idea of 'living well', seemed to be mirrored the way that my informants spoke to me about the goals of autonomy. Reciprocal exchange for my informants was part of what it meant to live well in the Kallawayá Nation. When we were out in his field making *ligia*, Antonio gave me his suggestions for autonomy. '[The statute] has to be written in a different way, with different words... At the moment it is official, it's just like other statutes. For example, the position of the *alcalde* has to be in a *cabildo*⁸⁶, a *cabildo* in a field, that's where he has to be sworn in. Not based on the law, but based on the culture, to promise the Pachamama that he isn't going to steal, and he is going to be good, fulfil his promises, with a *mesa*, that's how it has to be according to the culture.' 'Afterwards, it can be done according to the law as well, but first it has to be done according to the culture, where there are *cabildos* and everything, in a sacred place. He has to be sworn in there, for example the *alcalde* could be sworn in in Qalla Qallan, rather than in Charazani, which is just the seat of government. This is what has to be written in the autonomy, the sacred place, alongside his councillors, his *cariño* [this can be translated as his kindness, but is also a word used to refer to a gift outside of usual *ayni* relations], everything, a *mesa*, ceremony, this is the Kallawayá Nation.'

Antonio was also keen that autonomy should facilitate further opportunities for bartering. He suggested that political meetings be arranged in which communities each contribute produce, and that they have an annual market in Qalla Qallan, which will be declared 'Artesanal and Cultural Market, Intangible Heritage of Qalla Qallan.' We can go up with coca, with wood, with work tools, everything for bartering, a great fiesta, with a band, once a year. This is our idea.' Although there is already an annual fiesta in Qalla Qallan in September (Bastien 1985:67), at which I am told bartering does still take place (on the day of the fiesta I arrived too late in the day to see for myself), Antonio suggested the creation of another fiesta on the 7th of November, the date on which UNESCO had recognised the Kallawayá culture. He told me that 'the *yatiris* from around the world had arrived at Qalla

⁸⁶ See chapter six.

Qallan on this date to perform rituals, and had left two stones each as their contribution, every elder had left two stones, every nation we can say...⁸⁷ They had collected the stones from the same place and had collected them in a pile, and that means that it is a symbol, so every leader of their nation had left an ideology, two contributions... We have to put these stones back up and declare a *cabildo* at a world level, this is what I am thinking of.' 'This was a contribution from the elders, from Latin America and the world, that's what has to be expressed in the statute. They haven't even put that in. At the moment the statute is quite simple, like any other statute, not like the Kallawaya Nation.'⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Feliciano told me that this referred to an event in 2008 called the 'Circulo espiritual abuelas y abuelos sabios del planeta' in which elders went from Q'uyusiki, a hill above Charazani where there is now a chapel, to Qalla Qallan, leaving a pile of stones in Qalla Qallan as a show of support.

⁸⁸ See appendix: Interview with Antonio Patty: 7th March 2013, lines 4047-4102.

Chapter 7. Living Well as relatedness in the Kallawaya *ayllus*

7.1 Introduction

In April 2012 a meeting of the municipality's Autonomy Assembly was held in the highland community of Amarqha. This meeting had been scheduled in order to approve the Autonomy Statute in principle, meaning that it would then only need to be approved in detail and it could be sent to the Legislature in Sucre for final approval and the AIOC could be born from what was the municipality of Charazani. However, the statute was not approved that day (though it would be approved in principle just over a month later, in June). The reason was that this meeting was overshadowed by another which had taken place in the Ministry of Autonomies in La Paz a week previously, in which several of the leaders of the Autonomy Assembly had made the decision to change the name of the proposed autonomy. Until then, the statute had been emblazoned with the words "Originary Peasant Autonomy Statute of the 'Kallawaya Nation'", and within the meetings of the Autonomy Assembly, there had been constant reference to the Kallawaya Nation. As alluded to in chapter two, the Kallawaya nation represents a territory greater than just the municipality of Charazani, and by common consent corresponds to the whole of the province of Bautista Saavedra (Charazani and Curva), in addition to parts of the provinces of Camacho, Franz Tamayo and Muñecas. The decision taken to change the name was in response to complaints from the other municipality in the province, Curva, whose communities took umbrage at what they perceived as their neighbours appropriating the term Kallawaya for autonomy project of Charazani (for if there is a nation of the Kallawayas, then by definition those outside the border of said nation must be less Kallawaya).

The name that was chosen was 'Isqani Qalla-Qallan of the Kallawaya Nation'. Isqani and Qalla Qallan are two places which are part of the local landscape and are sacred to all the Kallawayas, but which lie specifically within the area of the municipality of Charazani. The 'of the Kallawaya Nation' made reference to the idea of a wider group of people and landmass of which Charazani was only a part. At the meeting in Amarqha the change in

name caused consternation for two reasons: firstly, because this change—along with others made to various articles within the statute—had been made without consultation with the assembly as a whole; but secondly, some assembly members were concerned about the name itself. Isqani and Qalla-Qallan are sacred sites where collective rituals are held, the first is a mountain belonging geographically to *ayllu* Amarete⁸⁹, and the second is a sacred place on Mount Kaata and therefore belonging geographically to *ayllu* Kaata⁹⁰. One assembly member from a tropical community complained that the name of the autonomy should include a third mountain – from his sub-region, as Qalla Qallan is in the valley sub-region, and Isqani is where the valley meets the highlands. Several suggested that the name now seemed rather long, and that it should be reduced to one word, which led the President of the assembly to put forward, with his characteristic wit, some odd sounding portmanteau words which were an amalgam of the two. In the end it was decided that neither the addition of a third mountain in the name, nor the reduction of the name to one word made sense, because the use of two mountains fitted with the importance in the Kallawaya identity of '*par*', or pairs. However, the most interesting intervention came from the direction of the assembly member for the community of Khanlaya, Orlando. He remarked with some concern that Isqani and Qalla-Qallan were sacred places, and had no place within an autonomy statute. Although within the meeting little was made of his comment, outside the meeting when I asked Orlando to elaborate, he told me that these were powerful places, 'so powerful, that they could turn men into women'.

This chapter examines the Kallawaya relationship with the mountains, and the manner in which this relationship is mediated through ritual. I demonstrate that the manner in which Kallawaya ritual practices are structured acts as a collective representation of Kallawaya society (Durkheim [1912]); Lukes 1975), through showing that the structure of the Kallawaya ritual relationship with the mountains has undergone modifications which match changes in the way that Kallawaya communities are structured as a body.

⁸⁹ Isqani is the sacred site for the festival of wakan wañu, celebrated one week before the new moon in May, which is celebrated by *ayllu* Amarete (see Rösing 2003:484-579).

⁹⁰ Qalla Qallan was described to me by an informant from Niñacorín (one of the communities on Mount Kaata) as a *cerro* (mountain), despite being it being clearly part of Mount Kaata. Qalla Qallan is the most sacred site for the community of Niñacorín, and known as a place where products from around the region are exchanged at a fiesta on the 8th September every year.

7.2 The achachilas

The mountains are generally referred to by Kallawayas in Quechua as *machula* or Aymara as *achachila* (though I recall the Aymara mother-tongue speakers only using *achachila* to refer to the mountains, the Quechua speakers seemed to use *achachila* and *machula* interchangeably—as Rösing (1996a:15) notes, because the Quechua-speakers are surrounded by the Aymara, they have tended to be appropriate words from their neighbours within their vocabulary); they are also sometimes called sacred places or *lugarniyuq*, a hybridization of Spanish and Quechua which means owner of the place, the *-yuq* being a possessive suffix in Quechua (Rösing 2003:185). I am using *achachila* rather than *machula*, for reasons of consistency, and because although the majority of my Kallawaya informants were Quechua speakers, *achachila* was used by speakers of both languages. Rösing seems to use the words interchangeably, with no discernible difference in meaning, and this is indeed how they were used by my informants.

I found the words to have a variety of different meanings for the Kallawayas. I was told that they could be used to refer to mountain divinities, such as Akhamani or Isqani; but I had also been told that they could refer to the *chullpas* (long-dead ancestors) that walk at night, and I had also heard them used to refer to grandparents (see Allen 1988:123; Astvaldsson 1997:275-6). Rösing (1996a:232) describes *achachilas* as the lords of the sacred places and the highest in the hierarchy of the Kallawaya ancestors, those who have been the longest dead and whose names have been forgotten. *Achachilas*, then are ancestors who are conflated with the mountains themselves, they both ‘inhabit and are the places’ (Astvaldsson 2006:111). Gose (2006) controversially contends that this identification of the mountain with local ancestors is of colonial rather than pre-colombian origin. This association of the ancestors with the mountain may have been a literal fusion, not just in meaning, but also physically, as mummies were buried at the tops of mountains and became petrified (Gose 2006:31). Gose suggests that mountains were not seen as deities in themselves, but came to be identified as such over time because the shrines of the ancestral spirits which were seen by Andeans as having sacred properties were made untenable.

Following de la Cadena (2010:351), who refers to the mountains and other elements of the landscape that could be thought of (indeed, seemed to be thought of by the Kallawayas) as being ‘more than one and less than two entities’, which participate in ‘partially connected

worlds' as 'earth beings' or '*tirakuna*', I see the Kallawaya *ayllus* as constituted in the intersubjective relationship between *tirakuna*—or as Rösing (1993:195) calls them, 'transpersonal beings'—and *runakuna* (the plural of *runa*) which de la Cadena (2014:255) posits as characteristic of the *ayllu*. In his ethnography of the Kallawaya *ayllu* of Kaata, Bastien (1985) describes the *ayllu* and mountain as synonymous. The mountain is the *ayllu* and the *ayllu* is the mountain. Bastien highlights three important aspects of the *ayllu*. Firstly, vertical relations: three communities at different altitudes are united as part of the same social and territorial organisation because the communities exchange women, they exchange produce, but most of all because they each share in feeding the same thirteen shrines up and down the mountain. Secondly, being part of the same *ayllu* means being able to trace one's lineage back to a common ancestor (see also Gose 2006:31). According to Loza (2004:27) all Kallawaya *ayllus* see themselves as spiritually descended from a mountain god; however, local ancestry is less important than the practice of living on the land and caring for the dead of the community, because one can become part of an *ayllu* by living there and feeding its shrines (Bastien 1985: xxiv, 193). Thirdly, Bastien explains the *ayllu* as analogous to the human body. The highlands represent the head, with the wool of their communities' llamas representing the hair, lakes representing eyes, and various other geographical features representing breasts, legs and other parts of the human body (ibid:47). According to Bastien, Kaatans believe that animals and people originate from the head of the mountain, travel all over the mountain during their lifetime and die at its foot, before returning to the head of the mountain after death (ibid). Kaatans see their body as mirroring the world around them (ibid.:43). Blood and fat are vital forces, the circulation of which powers both the human body (Bastien 1985:45, 53, 64), and the *ayllu*. Ritualists circulate blood and fat around the mountain *ayllu* by feeding its shrines (ibid.:54).

7.3 The political organisation of the *achachilas*

All Kallawaya communities maintain a relationship of reciprocity with the *achachilas* through certain ritual behaviour. According to Oblitas (1963:28, 42) Kallawayas believe that once they die, if they have led a good life, then they will be reincarnated in the lakes, rivers and forests (if they have led a bad life then they can expect their soul to wander for eternity), and the spirits of the most notable men during their lifetimes are reincarnated in the mountains (Oblitas 1963:104), according to Rösing (1993:50-51), they are the spirits of

the best healers, and to Burman (2011:127-131), in the Aymara world they are believed to be the souls of the wise men and women alive at the time of the conquest, guarding sacred knowledge. As the spirits of human ancestors they have the same qualities and defects as humans (Oblitas 1963:104) they can become angry, jealous, and enjoy receiving gifts. Most of all they do not like to be ignored, and may punish travellers who pass by without acknowledging them (Rösing 1996a:151-2). Kallawaya healers always make an offering to the *achachilas* before setting out on a journey, in order that no mishaps befall them on the road (Gifford and Lancaster 1988:6).

Achachilas as a category are male. This accords with the Andean view of the world as divided into masculine/upper (*janaq*) and feminine/lower (*ura*). The *achachilas* as/at the peaks of the mountains are part of the upper masculine world and are in complementary opposition to the *pachamama* in the lower, female world (Harris 2000:166). However, male mountains can have either a male or a female personality, depending on what they represent; this is because men and women each have both male and female characteristics that can mean that they are more male or more female depending on the context (Allen 1988:83). For example, *Isqani* as a mountain is male and represents lightning which is also male, as is *Akhamani*, which represents the wind and snow. *Qalla Qallan*, on the other hand, as a commercial site represents abundance, and is therefore feminine; the mountain of *Tuwana* is responsible for food, which is a feminine characteristic, and is therefore feminine (Rösing 2003:101-2). *Sikkink* and *Choque* (1999) also illustrate, by comparing the descriptions of the mountain deities in two Andean myths, mountains can be either male or female depending on whether they are regarded as local (male) deities or a foreign (female) ones. Lakes meanwhile, are considered to be female, but have both a male (right) and a female (left) side (Rösing 2003:102), and when there are pairs of lakes, one will be male and one female. As *Rösing* (2003) describes in the Kallawaya *ayllu* of *Amarete*, multiple genders also affect people.

Achachilas not only have human-like personalities, but also engage in similar activities to *runa*. One informant, *Juan*, told me that in a similar way to the local peasant union, the *achachilas* hold meetings between themselves, and that like the peasant union each mountain holds a particular position of authority or 'cargo' within their own similarly structured union, for example there is a General Secretary, a Secretary of Relations, a

messenger, etc (Rösing 1996a:35, calls this council of the *machulas*, the unity of various beings – the *achachilas*, the lords of the sacred places, the sacred peoples, that protect and punish people). Juan saw the human peasant union as a copy of the structure of the *achachila* assembly. Juan lives in the town of Charazani in the valley part of the Kallawayas region, where syndical politics is still strong. The syndical institution is clearly a recent imposition and yet despite this Juan transposes the imposed structure onto that of the Kallawayas' spiritual ancestors. It is perhaps precisely because the *achachilas* are the ancestors that their organisational structure must therefore be primary in Juan's eyes, and that the human syndical structure is interpreted as a copy of theirs. Nonetheless, in this chapter I choose to take a Durkheimian position, that deities are imagined in the image of the societies that worship them ([1912]2008:271), and I demonstrate that changes in the social structure of society affect how the supernatural world is perceived to be structured.

The *runa* and *achachila* authority structures are not parallel organisations. Astvaldsson (1997) demonstrates that the *achachilas* are at the top of a hierarchy of *ayllu* authorities, and that the humans and *achachilas* are in fact part of one body. It is from the *achachilas* that the political authorities of the community receive their own authority (ibid). Julián Vega, as described in the previous chapter, was chosen by the *achachilas* to serve his community as ritualist and healer. He was unwilling to follow this calling at first, but eventually had to put a calling from the highest *ayllu* authorities before his own desires.

I had similarly seen a new authority unwillingly accept his fate in the *ayllu* of Qotapampa, after being elected as *jilacata* by consensus. Hilarión, the man chosen for the position looked disconsolate as he was announced as the new *jilacata*. The man next to me in the meeting told me that Hilarión was protesting that he had kids and could not afford the responsibility – the responsibility was being forced upon him. He had to be more or less dragged kicking and screaming to the front of the hall to be, I was told, 'posesionado'. *Posesionado*, in this context can be taken as being possessed by a higher power who has taken control of Hilarión, similar to the way that Julián was given responsibility by the *achachilas*. The mallku of the Suni, Natalio placed a *chicote* (whip) around Hilarión's shoulders, and everyone in the room snaked round to shake hands with Hilarión to congratulate him on his new responsibility. When Hilarión got up to say a few words he looked devastated. His turn had come to take on a position of authority, and as a member of

the *ayllu*, he had to do so, whether he liked it or not. This represented the ‘the suppression of individuality and the glorification of the community spirit’ (Canessa 2012:163), as Hilarión’s personal wishes regarding his desire (or lack of it) to take on the role as an *ayllu* authority were disregarded for the good of the collectivity. This relegation of individual will to the collective consensus is one of the aspects which make one *runa* or *jaqi* (a person) in the Andes (*ibid.*).



Figure 30: Hilarión speaking after being ‘posesionado’ as an *ayllu* authority.

According to Juan, *achachilas*, like Kallawayá *runa* who hold meetings in which they elect their leaders for the year, hold their own meetings in which they elect their particular leaders, but by throwing rocks. In Spanish, a public meeting is often referred to as a *cabildo*⁹¹, and this word is also used to designate the particular spot in the patio of a Kallawayá house where the family makes offerings to the spirits of the house and *achachilas* in general, though it has been Quechuan-ized to *kawiltu*. The *kawiltu* is a direct link to the *achachilas*, and some *kawiltus* have a connection with specific *achachilas*. The complementary pair of (male) Isqani, for example, is a (female) well in one of the patios of Amarete, known as Q’owa Kawiltu Isqani, which is considered the most sacred place within

⁹¹ Cabildos were town councils introduced as part of the Toledo reforms of the 1570s and 1580s which regrouped indigenous Andeans into *reducciones* (Saignes 1999:63).

the community, and where offerings are made to Isqani (Rösing 2003:170-1 and information from an Amareteño informant).

In a human *cabildo*, each of those present at the meeting is fed and watered, and similarly the offerings made to the *achachilas* are an offering to them to come and eat and drink. The *achachilas* hold their own meetings in the *kawiltu*, discussing what has been going on in the local communities. When offerings are made to the *achachilas*, they are done so through ‘an idiom of feeding’ (Sax 2011:37-8). Feeding Mountain spirits creates relationships of obligation of reciprocity: ‘To feed someone is an attempt to draw them into a social relationship in which the other is obligated to give something in return’ (*ibid.*:38). That is, by receiving ritual foods, the *achachilas* are therefore indebted to whoever is giving the offering and obliged to give something in return (Abercrombie 1998:349-50). This could mean an excellent harvest for the coming year, or good health, wealth and prosperity for the person providing the ritual food.

I may have been guilty of interrupting just such a meeting after my friend Aurelio had performed a *mesa blanca* for me. A *mesa blanca* (white offering) is a ritual addressing a person’s ‘fundamental wellbeing’, ‘belonging to their body, spirit and soul, their family, house, patio, fields, livestock, relation with nature, and transpersonal beings’ (Rösing 1993:185), which aims to ‘strengthen the immune system of the soul’ (Rösing 1995:265). A few days before performing this ritual, Aurelio had read coca leaves for me, which had indicated that I had a very promising future ahead, something which Aurelio suggested I should thank and recognize the *achachilas* for, through the *mesa blanca*, which would also solicit their continued protection. He had done so by dropping coca leaves three times (once for the past, once for the present, and once for the future) onto a piece of cloth called an *istalla*, which Aurelio told me served as a point of connection between the material and spiritual worlds. The *istalla* was described to me by Aurelio as being like a bridge, connecting the Kallawayas with the ancestors and other nonhuman forces in the *ayllu*. For Green (2005:129), an anthropologist working on the ambiguous ‘gaps’ represented by the Balkans, bridges and crossroads are gaps that connect, and epitomise relationships. Bridges connect people from on one side to another, allowing those from one side to cross and have an effect on the other side. This bridge is a point of connection between the Kallawayas and the *achachilas* in which they are able to communicate with one another. Significantly,

bridges are also a point in the middle of two places. In Quechua, this middle point is known as the *chawpi*, which in the Andes has significance as the middle point between two complementary opposing sides (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986; Nell 2014). Physical crossroads (such as the crossroads at highland Pumasani) are also of significance for the Kallawayas, because powerful magic (often black magic) can be performed there. This ritual, then, acts as a bridge connecting *runa* and *achachilas* in mutual recognition.

Aurelio dropped the leaves from a height of around 50cm so that the *ankari* – the wind, messenger of the *machulas* (Rösing 1996a:89), could affect them as they descended. The Kallawayas believe that coca joins human beings with the earth (Bastien 1985:56) and so it is through the coca that the deities of the earth communicate with human beings. Laughing, Aurelio emphasised to me that one had to not just look at the coca, but really *read* it:

*'cualquiera puede ver la coca. Hasta tu ves la coca'*⁹² (this contrasts with Antonio's view in

chapter six).⁹³ Before dropping nine leaves, he took five of them and bit out pieces to represent love, health, career, children and myself; the other four were used to give meaning. The third time he dropped the leaves they all landed green side up, and this was taken as a positive sign. The leaves representing career, children, myself and love fell close to each other, so Aurelio told me that in the future I would be happily married, have one child, and that our relationship would probably be connected to our place of work. It



Figure 31: Aurelio performing the mesa blanca.

⁹² 'Anyone can see the coca. Even you can see the coca'

⁹³ According to Burman (2011:77) in many parts of the Andean world it is believed that only a maestro (an expert in rituals who has been chosen by the *achachilas*) can read the coca leaves, and if someone else tries to read them, then they will be punished by Inal Mama, the spirit of the coca. However, as shown in chapter four, this notion of expertise is not unchallenged.

seemed plausible; I might have predicted the same without the use of the coca leaves. I decided to follow Aurelio's suggestion and perform the *mesa blanca*, though more to show gratitude to the *achachilas* for the incredible experiences I had had during the previous year in the field (this was my last week in the Kallawayaya region).

Aurelio had given me a shopping list of things to buy and bring with me from Charazani to his community of Lunlaya, a forty minute walk from the town. This included coca, flowers, llama fat, sweets, incense, gold and silver paper, a small bottle of wine, a *chillchu* mesa (confetti-like paper), and cotton wool. The cotton wool was used to make 'plates' (it was arranged in the manner of a bird's nest), and the other items were the ingredients in the



Figure 32: The plates burning on the Kawiltu.

feast. Six large plates were set out in front of me, two for me and my family; two for the sacred places, and another two for the Kallawayaya *yatiris*, including the deceased *yatiris*. There were also two plates set aside for the *ankari* (the wind). I personally sprinkled wine over each of these plates, naming the Kallawayayas that I knew and asking for what I wanted for myself from the sacred places. Aurelio asked me what sacred mountains we had where I was from, and the only mountain I could think of was Ben Nevis in Scotland, so that too was named as one of the sacred

places to receive the offering (Ina Rösing, 1996a:205, writes that in all ritual mesas there is a plate for the sacred places of the person being healed). All the while that Aurelio and I were doing this, Aurelio's wife was creating smoke in a *sahumerio* (incense-burner), using incense which I had brought from Charazani, and had started a fire in their *kawiltu* on their patio.

When the fire was well underway each of us threw two plates into it, and Aurelio went back for the two smaller plates for the *ankari*. Aurelio had told me to blow on the plates three times before throwing them in, something which I forgot to do, though I didn't like to tell him, or ask him what difference it made at the time, for fear that I may have ruined the whole occasion. The number of times I should have blown appears significant. The number

three is, according to Allen (2011:92), an excessive, but perfect number, and the only exception to the rule that only pairs are good numbers and a number signifying 'wholeness and completion' (Urton 1997:58). In 'ritualized intoxication' it is the third drink which 'opens channels of communication with the Earth and sacred places. The third, apparently extra, drink is the one that does the job, that transgresses existential boundaries and makes the ritual effective' (Allen 2011:92-3).

Once we had thrown our plates into the fire, Aurelio took the *sahumerio* and placed it over the head of myself and every member of his family as we knelt in front of him. Each of us wafted both the fire and the incense towards us. Later on in the evening, as I was crossing the patio to brush my teeth before going to bed, Aurelio stopped me and advised me that I should not look into the fire of the *kawiltu*, because the *machulas* were all *compartiendo* (sharing) together. *Compartiendo*, I took to mean that they were sharing the food and drink which had been offered to them in the *kawiltu*, and that they were in the midst of discussion, and would therefore not welcome the intrusion of an observer to their discussion. I remembered what Juan had told me once in Charazani, that one shouldn't watch the *ch'alla* (the feeding of the *achachilas*) because one could end up with a stomach-ache. According to Rösing (1996a:131) it is permissible to look into the fire if one is only accompanying the *curación*, but the person being healed must not do so, or they will become ill.

7.4 The *watayuq* and the *watapurichiq*: the mountain for the year and the one who makes the year walk

The peasant union and *ayllu* are structured hierarchically. Each community has its own authorities who change annually, and who elect the provincial-level authorities who in turn have to attend department- and national-level meetings in La Paz (Pape 2009:110 suggests that CONAMAQ's superstructure was purposely designed to mimic that of the CSUTCB). Likewise, the *achachilas* have their own hierarchical structure, with national level-leaders, all the way down to a mountain that holds authority within the community. Like their human counterparts, the *achachilas* do not continue as authorities indefinitely, but rather rotate positions of authority, so that one *achachila* holds authority over a particular community in a certain year. This mountain is almost always one of those directly

surrounding the community (Rösing 2003:527). The *achachila* that holds authority for a particular year is called the *watayuq*, which means literally the ‘owner of the year’ (‘wata’ means year and ‘yuq’ means owner of). The *watayuq* is the protector of the community (Rösing 1996b:338). Each community has a particular mountain that is especially sacred to them (for Amarete, for example, it is Isqani), which they always feed in their rituals, and therefore never becomes the *watayuq* (Rösing 2003:529). The *watayuq* is also fed in every community ritual over the course of the year, because of the influence the mountain has in determining the community’s wellbeing. The *watayuq* is one of the most important influences over the weather (Rösing 2003:187, 601), so the *watayuq* must be fed well in order that they are kept in good humour and provide weather that will be beneficial to the community’s harvest.

Community authorities generally change at regular annual intervals, though on occasions, for example when there is some particular political change and when the community believes that it would be beneficial for the authority to stay in place for longer—because they have done a good job, or have accumulated indispensable knowledge about a process of political change which it might be difficult for a newcomer to pick up immediately—their community might ask them to retain their post for longer. Similarly, the *watayuq*, although by definition they are in place for one year, may have their own mandate extended. It is not though the human Kallawayas who ask the *watayuq* to stay in authority, but rather *achachilas* who decide it amongst themselves.

Each *achachila* has their own characteristics, and the characteristics of the particular *watayuq* for that year will characterise the production of the community for that year. For example, Isqani is associated not just with lightning, but with courage, though according to Aurelio is also somewhat sad; Tuwana is associated with food, and is the shrine for women; and Akhamani is associated with silver. It is important to a community which mountain becomes their *watayuq*, because of their differing characteristics (Rösing 2003:528-9). As Tuwana is associated throughout the region with an abundance of foodstuffs, it the ‘*watayoq par excellence*’ (Rösing 1996b:338), and preferred by all communities over a mountain associated with lightning, rain or hail, such as Isqani. Because they stand to receive the most veneration and the tastiest offerings over the coming year, the sacred places compete vehemently with one another for the role of *watayuq* (Rösing 2003:527).

How then do the Kallawayas become aware of the identity of the *watayuq* for the coming year? Traditionally, each Kallawayaya community has a *wata purichiq*. He reads the coca leaves to tell his community which *achachila* will be the *watayuq* for that coming year. He must read the coca leaves a minimum of three times to determine the *watayuq* (Rösing 2003:530), but if he is in any doubt, the process can take days, as he reads the coca over and over again (Rösing 2003:601). The *wata purichiq* can influence which of the mountains becomes *watayuq* because he chooses which mountains to make candidates (Rösing 2003:529); for example, Rösing (1996b:338) cites a previous *wata purichiq* of Kaata as never including Sunchuli as one of the coca leaves because Sunchuli represents the underworld. Thus, '[t]here are no innocent readings, for interpretation entails both seeing what is there (the text, whatever form it takes) and projecting it upon one's own cognitive assumptions, derived from particular experiences' (Astvaldsson 2006:110). Rösing (2003:602), however, believes that no ritualist would claim that there is a person on earth who could *really* influence the election of the *watayuq*. The reason for this is that Kallawayas believe it is the *achachilas* that ultimately choose the *watayuq*, not human beings.

Wata purichiq literally means 'the one who makes the year walk'. He is a collective ritualist (Rösing 1996b:64) who makes the year walk by ensuring that his community plants and harvests at the right times, and he knows when the right time to do this is by reading the coca leaves (Bastien 1985:14-15). The *wata purichiq* influences the life and growth of the *ayllu* by circulating blood and fat around the mountain (Bastien 1985:53-4). Along with planting and harvesting come certain agricultural rites that have to be performed as a community, which involve feeding shrines of the *watayuq*. One informant told me that his community makes offerings to the *watayuq* so that there will not be hail or rain. In addition to ensuring that agricultural rites are performed correctly, the *wata purichiq* is also in charge of paying homage to *achachilas* whenever there is a disaster, such as a drought (Oblitas 1963:107-112). In this case, the *wata purichiq* has to discover first through the coca which of the *achachilas* they have angered and a commission must go out to take the *achachilas* gifts, and ask forgiveness. The *achachilas* are in a sense the guardians of the morality of the community; they can take offence at the behaviour of one community member and decide to punish the whole community (Oblitas 1963:56-60) when they get news of something that annoys them through their messenger the *ankari*. If the *watayoq*

does not have a beneficial effect on the weather, then it is sometimes the duty of the *wata purichiq* to counteract their effects, and he may be blamed for not doing so sufficiently well.

The *wata purichiq* plays an important role of mediating between the Kallawayas and the *achachilas*, by effectively listening to the conversations of the *achachilas* to discover what mood they are in. The *ankari*, brings the *wata purichiq* news from the *achachilas*' meetings by blowing coca leaves this way and that as they leave the *wata purichiq*'s hand from height and drop on his *istalla* in a certain position which will give him a report of the agenda of the meeting, and the observations of the *achachilas* as they watch over *runa*.

The *wata purichiq*, and his faith, uses the *istalla* as a meeting point with the *achachilas*. Bastien portrays the person of the *wata purichiq* himself as a physical connection with the mountain as a physical entity. When the *wata purichiq* in Kaata ritually ate thirteen servings of food, then through him the thirteen shrines on the mountain were fed (Bastien 1985:65). Because of his position as spiritual mediator the *wata purichiq* has to be a particular kind of person to take on the role. He must be the foremost ritualist and the wisest man in his community, but not only that, he must also be an all-rounder with expert knowledge of medicine and the various aspects of life in the community. Aurelio's brother-in-law, Fidel, told me that 'the *wata purichiq* is an expert who has to know everything, if you are ill he has to cure you... He has to be able to use medicinal plants, [to know how to use] everything, the white offering, the grey offering, the amulets to transfer magical powers'. Fidel portrayed the *wata purichiq* as someone of an almost saintly disposition. He told me that if you are hateful, jealous, or you aren't happy, then you couldn't be a *wata purichiq*. He went as far as to tell me that Jesus Christ was a *wata purichiq*. Perhaps because of the all-round knowledge needed for the position, the *wata purichiq* tends to be one of the older, more experienced ritualists in their community, though in my experience they are certainly not elderly. Of the four *wata purichiqs* I have personally come into contact with, two must be in their 60s or 70s, one in his 50s and the other in his 40s.

The rituals of the *wata purichiq*, as already touched on, form a bridge, which maintains the relationship between *runa* and *achachilas* and ensures the continued well-being of the *ayllu*. The significance of this for the Kallawayas region as a whole, which encompasses distinct *ayllus*, each traditionally with their own *wata purichiq*, will be examined in the next section.

7.5 ‘La sifilización’

One day at Aurelio’s house he explained to me how the hierarchy of the *runa* and *achachila* authorities within the *ayllus* had traditionally worked at regional level for the Kallawayas. The Kallawayaya region is generally understood to have three altitudinal levels (cf. chapter three): highlands; valley, and yungas. In addition to each community having its own *watayuq*, each altitudinal level would have also have a *watayuq* – the Janaq (upper) *watayuq*, chawpi (middle) *watayuq*, and Ura (lower) *watayuq*, and the presidency of the *achachilas* of the whole Kallawayaya region would rotate between the three of them. A shared *watayuq* was something that unified the Kallawayaya region, and the *wata purichiqs* from around the region would meet annually to discover through the coca the single most important *watayuq* for the Kallawayas for the coming year. However, according to Aurelio, the *wata purichiqs* had not met for the last five or six years, and so the custom of having a single unifying *watayuq* had recently fallen into disuse.⁹⁴

The practice of the unifying *watayuq* has been lost at the same time as the province has broken up politically. The *Única* had been the only unifying federation at provincial level until 1994 when the coca-growers in the tropical part of the province broke away to form their own federation, called FOYCAE (Federación Originaria Yungas Carijana Agro-Ecológico), and then more significantly when the highland communities also broke away from the *Única* to join CONAMAQ (Confederación de Ayllus y Markas de Qullasuyu) in 2007 (see chapter two). This left the *Única* only representing the communities of the valley, meaning that the communities of each of the three generally recognised ecological levels in the region were now represented by a different federation.

On my next visit to Aurelio I asked him whether there was any connection between the failure of the *wata purichiqs* to meet over recent years, and the break-up of the province’s communities which had once been unified within a single organisation. ‘But of course there is!’ he exclaimed. Previously, when all the communities had met together it had been the job of the syndical authorities of the communities (collectively known as the *Consejo de Kuraq Warayuqs*) together to convoke the council of the elders (*Consejo de Ancianos*), the

⁹⁴ Antonio told me that *wata purichiqs* from around the region all look for this unifying *watayuq* independently without consulting each other at their own fiestas of Qallay that takes place just after Todos Santos.

spiritual leaders of the Kallawayaya communities, but now this was not happening. Aurelio blamed this on two causes. Firstly, the community leaders no longer spoke with one voice, and simply did not meet together as one group any more. Secondly, he believed that the community authorities have become too materialistic. Instead of focussing on spiritual matters, they were more concerned with travelling to La Paz to look for 'development projects' for their community. Over the last twenty to thirty years peasants in Kallawayaya communities have engaged more in life outside the province, as their ability to travel easily to and from the nation's capital has improved, owing to the construction of roads in 1983 and 1994 linking Kallawayaya communities with La Paz. Political reforms (particularly the 1994 LPP) have also made it possible for their communities to be legally recognised, and therefore to engage with national-level agencies, such as NGOs.

In my conversations with Aurelio he would frequently refer to community authorities who were focused on money as having become '*sifilizado*', and loss of tradition in Kallawayaya communities he would refer to as '*sifilización*', connecting modern behaviour with the disease syphilis, as though to highlight modernity as a disease which attacked *ayllu* traditions. Aurelio would use *sifilización* to refer to anything from the potential of television programmes to distract young minds from life in the *ayllu* (he seemed particularly exercised at the prospect of them watching Spiderman), to the road built from Charazani to Chari, which passed through his community of Lunlaya. When there were landslides, which affected Lunlaya the year I was in the region, he shared with me his feeling that they were being punished for scarring the pachamama by the construction of the road. For the Kallawayayas, the cause of all illnesses or misfortunes can be found in a lack of attendance to obligations with the sacred places (Bastien 1985:129). *Sifilisación*, for Aurelio is such an illness, damaging relationships within the *ayllu*. Burman (2011), who uses the concept of 'colonial modernity' which he takes from Escobar's (2003:61) analysis that 'there is no modernity without coloniality,' writes of his Aymara informants in a similar vein equating colonialism with illness and decolonisation being the cure. 'Decolonization' has become one of the key official objectives of the State since Evo Morales was elected as president of Bolivia in 2006. Decolonization, following Walter Mignolo's definition (2011:53-54), describes the territorial struggles of states to free themselves from capitalism and

communism. Decoloniality, meanwhile, proposes a decolonization of knowledge: an epistemological autonomy.

The Kallawayas, like other Andeans, believe the cosmos is divided into three *pachas*, or worlds. These are (in Quechua) *janaqpacha* (the upper world), *kay pacha* (the terrestrial world), and *ukhu pacha* (the dark world of spirits) (*alajj pacha*, *aka pacha* and *manqha pacha* in Aymara). The beings of the three worlds are able to penetrate every aspect of our being in ways which affect our health (Rösing 1995:231-3). Like the wider cosmos, human beings are also commonly believed to be divided in three (Spedding 2004:50). Many authors identify a belief that human beings have three souls or *sombras* (shadows) (Crandon-Malamud 1993:13; Fernandez Juarez 2008:112; Canessa 2012:135) (though as Fernandez Juarez (2008:111) explains, some people identify more). The names given to these shadows vary, but they are most commonly referred to as *ajayu*, *animu* and *coraje* (Fernandez Juarez 2008:11). These three animating properties of the body reside in the heart, according to Fernandez Juarez (2004:191). The most important of the souls is the *ajayu*. This is otherwise known as the *ajayu grande* (Fernandez Juarez 2008:110) and is the prerequisite for life (Burman 2011:117). When it leaves the body the person becomes seriously ill, and this can lead to death. The *animu* (also known as the *ajayu pequeño*) can also leave the body, though calling it back is relatively simple (Fernandez Juarez 2008:112). According to Aurelio, the belief in these two *ajuyus*, and averting the loss of the *ajayus* forms the basis for Kallawaya ceremonies. The *animu* and *ajayu* fulfil a function of agglutinating the different parts of the body together in a sense of unity. *Coraje* is of lesser importance, its loss being temporary and resulting only in a minor incident (Fernandez Juarez 2008:113). If any of the souls is threatened, therefore, the unity of the body is put at risk (Fernandez Juarez 2008:133). According to Burman (2011:120), the *ajayu* is also what integrates the human beings in the wider network of the cosmos, making all beings people. Losing one's *ajayu* therefore means losing one's ability to relate to the wider world. According to Burman (*ibid.*), Aymaras see the stresses of modern life associated with the city as likely to be responsible for the loss of a person's *ajayu*, because their lifestyle breaks the connection between themselves and the spirits of their *ayllu*. This can lead to loss of identity. A foreign spirit is then able to take its place, in the form of foreign mental, ideological or religious doctrines (*ibid.*:92). The fundamental idea here is that 'colonialism isn't something that

belongs to outside social, political and economic structures, but imposes on the body and spirit itself' (*ibid.*, my translation). As examined in chapter four though, these foreign mental structures have been systematically imposed by the colonial State from the outset of colonization.

When Aurelio talked of solving the local political problems, he posits the problems in terms of illness caused by an abandonment of *ayllu* traditions and embracing capitalist modernity and the cure in terms of rituals which would unite the three unions with each other and the sacred places of the Kallawayas. He told me that the leaders of the three provincial federations were all 'sick', citing the nylon clothing they wore, a desire to earn money and a loss of spirituality on their part, and suggested that representatives from the *Suni* come to him with llama fat and from the *yungas* with coca and they perform a ritual to ancestor spirits.⁹⁵ Sickness, in the Andes is seen as a disequilibrium between the spirit and body (Timmer 2001:284), and healing this sickness therefore requires rebalancing this equilibrium. By bringing the political leaders together in a ritual ceremony, Aurelio proposes rebalancing this equilibrium and creating solidarity between them, the ingredients from the three levels uniting the Kallawayas as one body.

Following agrarian reform in 1953, the introduction of union politics had a profound effect on the authority structure of the Kallawayas communities. According to Aurelio, traditionally in the *ayllu*, the *wata purichiq* had been the most prominent member of the community, and at the top of the hierarchy of authorities, with other community authorities such as the *Kuraq Warayuq* – known in Spanish within the union as the General Secretary (referred to by Aurelio as the political authorities) considered of inferior status. However, the effect of the union was to invert this hierarchy, as the union's status as the intermediary between the peasantry and the State increased the status of the political authorities and decreased that of the spiritual authority, the *wata purichiq*. Even in *ayllu* Amarete, considered by many in surrounding communities to have best maintained their traditions, I noticed a lack of reverence towards the *wata purichiq*. At a fiesta on New Year's Day, when the *wata purichiq* was trying to talk to me, I was advised by one of the *jilacatas* (the authorities of Amarete),

⁹⁵ See appendix: Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 16th March 2013, lines 4244-4267.

that I shouldn't listen to him because he was a crazy old man. This seemed to support Rösing's assertion, writing in 2003, that the role of the *wata purichiq* was diminishing. This is connected to a concomitant diminishing in the significance of the *watayuq*. When previously everyone in the community would have known which mountain was the *watayuq*, by then not even every authority of the community knew which it was (2003:604). When once the significant bridge for *runa* was the *wata purichiq* who would connect them through rituals collectively to the *achachilas*, he was being replaced by the 'political authorities' which connected peasants with the State.

One reason why the Council of the Elders wasn't being convened seemed to be that in many communities there simply were no longer any *wata purichiqs*. The effect of this is that in some communities, such as the Khanlaya, where I spent carnival, the ritual offering was made by the General Secretary (the local union leader) of the community. When I asked a friend in Khanlaya about this, he told me that the community had not had a *wata purichiq* for the last ten years due to 'city thinking'. The majority of the people who own land in the community live most of the time in the city, and they decided when the last *wata purichiq* died that they would abolish the post entirely.

Those who live permanently in the city, but still have a house in their community, are known, paradoxically, as '*residentes*'. Most *residentes* only return to their community for fiestas (Bradby 2007:108). The first time I met Feliciano was shortly after the festival of Corpus Cristi, and he lamented to me the behaviour of the *residentes* during the festivities. Feliciano told me that there were 53 families still living in Niñocorín, compared to 75 families who were *residentes*. The *residentes* did not take part in playing *Kantus* music with others from the community (they contracted a Morenada group from the city instead), and were much more interested in simply drinking, and dancing than in ritually remembering the *achachilas*. 'We wanted to integrate them', Feliciano told me, 'but they had a different way of thinking. For them it is like the '90s when the *ayllu*, the ritual ideas, were supposed to be obsolete'. In short, *residentes* no longer behaved as *runa*, but as *mistis* (Albó et al. 1983:67). As Fanon puts it, their 'phenotype undergoes a definitive, absolute mutation' (Fanon 2008:9).

As *runa* had moved to the cities, Feliciano told me, they had lost a sense of the sacredness of the pachamama and the *achachilas*, and were losing their habit of relating to them

through their *kawiltus* (however, as mentioned in chapter six, many of those who migrated from the community did so precisely because of the lack of land, which entailed a gradual severing of ties with the local *achachilas*). The attitude of *residentes* who return also has an effect on the behaviour of those still living in the community (Timmer 2001:243). Canessa (2012:285-8) refers to the way that the younger generation, not just those that have moved to the city, but those living permanently in the countryside, are losing the sense of awe in the landscape that their parents and grandparents felt, but that this is regarded ambivalently. One of his informants remarks that when nobody pays attention to the *achachilas* then there will be no more *jaqi (runa)*, but that on the bright side, whilst the children were paying less attention to the sacred places, they were learning to read and write. However, as described in chapter four, the Ayni Kusun school demonstrated that it was possible for people to become literate without having to reject the *ayllu*.

Feliciano showed me a notice which he had created to call the *residentes* to a meeting, to discuss the situation. Representatives of only three families had actually shown up. He had wanted to arrive at a consensus between the *residentes* and those living in Niñocorín to act together as an *ayllu*. The notice read: ‘an *ayllu* community is a space where divinities (*lugarniyuq, apus, kawiltus*), our Mother Earth Pachamama who provides us with food from the production and rearing of animals, nature and the existence of humanity with an ancestral cultural identity live side by side, in a constant exchange (*ayni*) of affection, behaviour and complementarity’.⁹⁶ That so few attended the meeting seemed indicative of an estrangement from the *ayllu* among *residentes*.

This ‘city thinking’ or ‘*sifilización*’, then, was contrasted by Aurelio and others to the way of thinking of the *ayllu*, in which spiritual relations were given prominence. Aurelio emphasized to me that without a *wata purichiq* there was no *ayllu*, because it was the job of the *wata purichiq* to ensure that the relations between the spiritual and material worlds were maintained. According to Bastien (1985: 57), the life or death of the *ayllu* itself depends on

⁹⁶ ‘Ayllu comunidad es un espacio que conviven las divinidades (*lugarniyuq, apus, kawiltus*), nuestra Madre tierra Pachamama que nos dan alimentos producción de los productos y la crianza de animales, Naturaleza y la Existencia de la humanidad con una identidad cultural ancestral, convivimos constante intercambio (*Ayní*), cariño, comportamiento y complementario.’

how well the *wata purichiq* feeds the shrines. If this is the case, then without the *wata purichiq* it is the *ayllu* itself which dies – killed by ‘city thinking’.

7.6 Conclusion

A relationship with the *achachilas* is fundamental to belonging to a Kallawaya *ayllu*. Isqani and Qalla Qallan seem to have been invoked in the autonomy process precisely because of their significance as sacred places in a traditional Andean territorial structure. What is more, they are regarded by many Kallawayas as being political actors in their own right, and are ever-present witnesses to the events in Kallawaya communities. Not only that but they are actors in those events themselves, with the ability to punish a person or community that does not respect them, and whose opinion and permission must be sought. This may have been the reason for one assembly member to doubt the wisdom of using their names in their autonomy statute (and doing so without asking their permission), and why additionally some informants complained to me that the wise men of the communities, the *wata purichiqs* were not included in the decision-making of the autonomy assembly. The lack of involvement of Kallawaya ritualists in the autonomy process has also meant that the assembly has lacked ritual ceremonies to bring together otherwise conflictive groups in solidarity. If we follow Kertzer (1988:78) that ‘Ritual plays an important political role in bringing about solidarity where consensus is lacking’, then the lack of involvement of the ritualists could be a significant factor in the failure to reach agreement over autonomy (chapter three).

The ethnographic findings of this chapter suggest that the Kallawayas adapt their ritual practices in accordance with changes in their social structure. Far from ritual necessarily having a conservative bias (Kertzer 1988:12), then, the ritual relationship with the *achachilas* has adapted to the fragmented structure of Kallawaya regional society. The relationship with the *achachilas* through the *watayuq* has thus changed to take into account the new political reality (*ibid.*:95) in which the Kallawayas do not come together as one group politically. Following Durkheim’s ([1912]2008) analysis of ritual as creating ‘collective representations’ of society, we can say that the *watayuqs* are a collective representation of the structure of Kallawaya society. In this, I follow Lukes (1975:301), who suggests that ‘political ritual should be seen as reinforcing, recreating and organizing’ collective

representations (Durkheim's term), 'that the symbolism of political ritual *represents, inter alia*, particular models of political paradigms of society and how it functions.'

The belief that the landscape is an actor in local politics represents what de la Cadena (2010) calls a cosmopolitics. That is, nature is not seen as an apolitical entity. She follows Latour (2011:34) in positing a separation between politics and nature as one of the 'guarantees of modernity'. In the Kallawayaya political sphere, there is not such separation. Through the rituals of the *wata purichiq* in particular (in collective rites), *runa* are connected to *achachilas* as one body (see Bastien 1985). Ritual acts as a bridge connecting *runa* with the *achachilas*. Just like a human body, it can be well or ill, depending on how well blood and fat is moved around the body of the *ayllu*. For Aurelio, it is because *runa* are seeking the trappings of modernity, and forgetting their ritual obligations to the ancestors that they, and by extension the *ayllu*, are becoming ill—*sifilized*.

Seen through the metaphor of illness, administering a cure for *sifilización* consists in returning from foreign to native (Burman 2010:93). That is, a renovation of the *ayllu* and the relationship with local deities; something Aurelio sees as a necessary objective of the proposed Indigenous Autonomy. This entails re-establishing spiritual unity across the Kallawayaya region that has become fractured through political disintegration. One of the long-term political aims of the President of the Kallawayaya Autonomy Assembly is to reunite the three federations that Kallawayaya communities belong to. This would in turn make possible the spiritual reunification desired by Aurelio. Following Aurelio's thinking, uniting themselves ritually would enable the Kallawayayas to once again operate as one body.

Chapter 8. Symbolic relations with the State

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I examined how the Kallawaya regional society has become fragmented, and how this is reflected in ritual practice. Although in chapter seven I indicated that the Kallawayas had ceased to function as one body, politically or ritually, there are still occasions when the Kallawayas come together to represent themselves as one group before outsiders. This chapter will examine two such occasions, when the Kallawayas came together as a group before a representative of the State, the governor of La Paz, Dr. César Cocarico. In doing so, I return to the topic directly addressed in chapter two, which is the relationship between indigenous people and the State, and the meaning of the Plurinational State itself. Here I examine the way that the Kallawaya relationship with the State is experienced and mediated symbolically through ritual. The events in question are commemorations, which are significant because they provide those who participate in them with ritual narratives reminding them of their collective identity (Connerton 1998:70).

The first event I describe is the anniversary of the foundation of the province of Bautista Saavedra, which was marked by an all-day event held on the 17th of November in Charazani, which included parades, speeches from the authorities (including the governor of the department of La Paz), and a dancing competition involving communities from around the province. The second anniversary was the ninth anniversary of the declaration by UNESCO of the Andean cosmovision of the Kallawaya culture as the Oral Patrimony of Humanity. This latter anniversary was actually on the 7th of November, but was celebrated on the 14th of December because it was planned that Bolivian President Evo Morales would attend a ceremony in Curva, and this was the date when the President had sufficient time in his schedule to pay a visit. Rather than being held in the town square, as was the case with the anniversary of the province in Charazani, the main part of this event was held atop a hill outside Curva. Instead of parades and speeches, the main activities were dancing and rituals to feed the Kallawaya gods.

The events to mark the two anniversaries bring together several themes running through this thesis. The first is the relationship that the Kallawayas have and would like to have with the State. Both events brought a representative of the Bolivian State, the governor of La Paz, to the Kallawayas region; the anniversary of the province also brought the deputies of the plurinational parliament of La Paz. The engagement that the Kallawayas had with these State representatives gives meaning to their conception of the Plurinational State, which will be examined in this chapter. Secondly, the events described in this chapter show the Kallawayas acting together as one body. In the second chapter I examined debates amongst the Kallawayas concerning their conception of the Kallawayas Nation, and in chapter seven I examined the manner in which a regional ceremonial structure that has unified the Kallawayas as one body has been breaking down. The events I describe in this chapter show the Kallawayas coming together collectively in relation to the State. In this chapter I engage with a question posed by Schulte (1999:101), who asked whether the Kallawayas region could be said to exist as one unit. He concluded that the largest unit of action and organisation was the individual community (*ibid.*:265), due to the lack of any event of a regional nature to integrate the region ceremonially (*ibid.*:165). However, since 2003, the recognition of the Kallawayas culture by UNESCO (see chapter four) has provided such an event through the anniversary of the declaration, celebrated annually. I will examine to what extent the commemoration of the UNESCO declaration does act as an event that creates solidarity between the participants, fomenting a 'Kallawayas consciousness'.

Taking a Durkheimian (2008:287) approach to commemorative ceremonies, we could view the gathering together of the disparate *ayllus* as the most significant aspect of the events, in so doing, providing an opportunity for them to renew a sense of themselves as one social body. However, I shall argue that the manner in which the Kallawayas *ayllus* perform their rites separately with the governor of La Paz, reinforces a sense of the Kallawayas as a society of disunited *ayllus*.

8.2 The anniversary of the province

The first visible indications that a special event was going to take place was when I walked into the plaza of the town of Charazani and saw women from communities around the province sat on the floor on one side of the plaza with their wares in front of them as on market days. Many were the regular fruit vendors who come from the *yungas*, and vegetable sellers from valley communities. This was unusual, since it was Saturday and market day is every Sunday in Charazani.



Figure 33: Vegetable vendors setting out their wares.

By 10.30am many of those who had gathered in the plaza gradually made their way up to Largapata - the part of the main road from La Paz to Apolo which passes directly through the town of Charazani. In addition to authorities from each of the *ayllus* of the province, there were also representatives of Kallawaya associations, and the State institutions of the province, the hospitals and schools. Many of the *ayllus* brought musicians with their authorities, who played as they marched down to the plaza. Most of the groups present came waving *wiphalas* (the Andean flag), though some (including Feliciano's *ayllu* of

Niñoscorín) held Bolivian flags. The presence of both flags, but predominance of the former, matched the symbolic dominance given to the *wiphala* at many official events where indigenous people were in the majority, ever since Evo Morales became president. All of those in the parade walked once round the plaza and came to a stop in front of the table which had been set up for the dignitaries for the day to sit behind. Parades create an image of 'unity and discipline' (Harvey 1997:28), demonstrating the power of the state to order indigenous bodies. Scott (1998:2) theorizes the state as seeking to make society 'legible'. The more legible people become, particularly with regards to ethnic groups, the more 'civilized' they are regarded to be (Scott 2009:101). Parades effectively function as an inspection by state representatives of those under their power. As Harvey (1997:29) theorises, parades can be seen to 'represent the state as an effective source of power. The order in which people file through the village square implies a particular categorisation of the population into groups which all refer in some way to the agency of this power.'



Figure 34: The parade winds down to the plaza, led by the alcaldes, and governor of La Paz.

As the parade finished, two over-worked police officers tried to arrange the assembled masses in an orderly fashion in front of the makeshift stage. Another three police officers sat behind the dignitaries through the ceremony. The latter were the governor of the department of La Paz, Dr. César Cocarico, the *alcaldes* of the two municipalities of the province, Charazani and Curva, and the representatives of the Kallawayas in the Plurinational Assembly of La Paz (the assembly member for the province, and the assembly member representing the Kallawayaya Nation), in addition to some of the *concejales* of the municipality and the sub-governor of the province (the last of whom should theoretically have been in charge of proceedings, yet seemed to play very little part at all). In front of the dignitaries were at least two-dozen chairs occupied by the Plurinational Assembly members from other provinces in the department of La Paz, who had come as honoured guests.



Figure 35: Feliciano (left, with hands crossed) leading the community of Niñocorín in the parade.

Effectively, a session of the Department Assembly was held then and there in Charazani, as a roll call of the assembly members was taken, and then an official from the highways agency of La Paz addressed the assembly members (and all those in the plaza) on the subject of better integrating the roads of the province into the network of the department. The assembly members were asked to vote on this in a resolution. Road-building is one of the defining activities of the state, rendering people more open to state control, increasing their 'legibility' (Harvey 2005).



Figure 36: Three Kallawaya healers, Julián nearest the camera.

This was followed by a vote to pay homage to the province of Bautista Saavedra. The homage was a physical document, which was signed by each of the plurinational assembly members present, and handed over to the *alcaldes* of Curva and Charazani, and the sub-governor. The written nature of the homage could be taken as symbolising the importance

of literacy in the constitution of the state subject and their relations with the state. This can be seen in other ethnographies such as the disappointment Harvey (2005:136) relates the people in the community of Ocongata in Peru felt when President Fujimori visited, but left without signing the *libro de actas*, because they had come to expect dealings with the state to be made official through written documents, and the obligation which Catherine Allen's (1988:67) hosts feel to allow her to stay in Sonqo because she is *documentayuq* (possessed of documents).

The plurinational assembly of La Paz is made up of representatives of each of the indigenous nations of the department, plus representatives of the provinces (so for Bautista Saavedra there were two assembly members, one for the province and one representing the Kallawayas as a nation). Through the homage, representatives of indigenous nations were effectively recognising the borders of the republican State. This very act seemed emblematic of the half-way house which was the re-founding of the Bolivian State: a plurinational assembly incorporating representatives of indigenous nations working alongside representatives of the provinces, recognising the continued validity of these republican-era territorial entities. The Plurinational State did not replace the Republican State, but overlaid it. The commemoration of the founding of the province attempted, then, to re-confirm in the minds of those present the idea of the province as a significant territorial entity.

After the brief session of the Plurinational Assembly had come to an end, all the dignitaries and the assembled masses stood to attention as the flags of Bolivia, the *wiphala*, and those of the department of La Paz and province of Bautista Saavedra were raised and the national anthem sung with gusto by all those present. Singing the national anthem, combined with allegiance to the flag is an important ritual reminding people of their place within the department and nation, and binds indigenous and non-indigenous people alike symbolically to others who also pledge allegiance to the flag as a symbol. Flags are symbols which condense the meaning of the thing they represent, in this case the state and administrative entities (Kertzer 1988:11). Adherence to them symbolically represents an unquestioning loyalty to the nation. The ritual allegiance to the flag, and singing of the national anthem, are part of what Connerton (1998:70) refers to as a 'master narrative', reminding those present of their identity, in this case, their identity as Bolivians.



Figure 37: The alcaldes and Plurinational Assembly members at the end of the parade.



Figure 38: The dignitaries inspecting the parade.

This was followed by speeches from the two *alcaldes*, the new provincial union Executive (introduced as Kuraq Mallku) and his departmental equivalent, and finally by Cocarico, who referred in his speech to the bartering that has traditionally taken place between his town of Escoma in the highlands near lake Titicaca, and Charazani: *charque* (dried meat) and fish being exchanged for corn. Cocarico was presented with two gifts: a poncho from the *alcalde* of Charazani, and a *guardatojo* (miner's helmet) by miners from the community of Khazu. Cocarico related in his speech how in his own community it was now rare to see people wearing their traditional clothing. He was therefore impressed to see most of the Kallawaya men dressed in ponchos; he also recalled his visit to the *alcalde's* own community of Amarete, when he saw all of the children dressed traditionally (girls in *polleras* (large one-piece skirts), boys in *lluch'us* (pointed woven hats)), rather than the standard school uniform seen in the city (or indeed the town of Charazani).

The presence of representatives of each of the indigenous nations of the department of La Paz gave a sense of the pluricultural nature of the department, and their inclusion in the collective decision-making of the department symbolically represented the new inclusiveness of indigenous nations in the Plurinational State. However, in another sense Kallawayas that day may have observed that very little had changed in the way that politics worked. I was struck by how the event was very much a stage managed show, with those who had arrived from the province's *ayllus* mere spectators while their elected representatives and other elected politicians from around the department of La Paz voted on a law amongst themselves without wider consultation, much as had happened previously in State governance. This included a lack of consultation of the local gods, the *achachilas*, and the pachamama, who are usually consulted when a major decision has to be made (for example the postulation to UNESCO (see chapter four)). When roads are built, it must be with the cooperative of local divinities, particularly the pachamama, who are offered sacrifices every step of the way (Harvey 2005:134; 2010:125). What this seemed to show was how *representative* democracy 'separates representatives from the represented' (Holloway 2010:229), as part of a wider state which acts '*on behalf of*' the community, the former substituting itself for the latter in decision-making (*ibid.*:232).

After the various dignitaries had given their speeches, the crowd were treated to an inter-*ayllu* dance competition. The most eye-catching, and the winner of first prize in the

competition (various agricultural tools), was a dance from the community of Huato, in the furthest part of the province, around four hours walk from Amarete and seven from Charazani, near the frontier of the province, bordering Muñecas. The dance, music and dress of the dancers from Huato seemed to be particularly enjoyed by the Kallawayas because it is different from that of most other communities, even Amarete, to whom it is relatively close in terms of distance. Kallawayas recognise the Huato dance as being characteristic of Mollo culture, rather than Kallawayas, and it was appreciated for its exoticness. Contact with a group viewed as different culturally, may reinforce Kallawayas identity. Barth (1969:9) theorizes that contact between ethnic groups is the foundation for distinct identities. The distinctiveness of the dancers from Huato, more characteristic of the traditions of the neighbouring province than the Kallawayas communities of most of Bautista Saavedra (see Boero Rojo 1992), highlighted the arbitrariness of the provincial borders, which as well as including a community with cultural traditions closer to the Mollo culture of Muñecas, also excluded populations such as Camata (in Muñecas) and Pelechuco (in Franz Tamayo) which had historically been an important part of the Kallawayas world (see chapter four). The presence and distinctiveness of the dancers from Huato highlighted precisely that the event was not a commemoration of Kallawayas culture, but of the province and that although there was some overlap between Kallawayas identity and an identity connected to belonging to the province, they were not the same. As Gluckman (1940:27) notes, ‘one person may be a member of many groups, sometimes opposed to each other, sometimes united against another group, and [...] many relationships and interests may intersect in one person’.



Figure 39: The Dancers from Huato, dancing (left), and receiving their prizes (right).

While the dancing was going on I joined some men I knew through the autonomy assembly in drinking outside a shop in the plaza. Although in the downtime outside the assemblies, assembly members tended to stay with others from their own *ayllu*, here I found men from various communities socialising together. Drinking is a way of expressing and strengthening bonds of solidarity (Harvey 1997:38) (though Harvey (*ibid.*) notes that when it leads to drunkenness it can also reveal the fragmentary nature of society). Alcohol is drunk communally, with one person pouring beer into the same plastic beaker to one by one invite each member of the group to share with them. ‘Here the connotation is that those who drink (and eat) the same substances together are of the same (communal) body’ (Sax 2011:73). The event to celebrate the anniversary of the province itself provided an opportunity for people from the different Kallawayas communities to come together as one body, and in the context of the mutual recognition of themselves as being part of the body of the province. On many occasions I had heard friends express to me the differences they felt existed between the different communities, which made it difficult for them to work with one another, but this event provided an opportunity for them to come together to celebrate what they shared.

The rituals which the Kallawayas took part in on the anniversary of the province—such as parades, the singing of the anthem, and adherence to the flag—had the effect of binding them to one another, and to the Bolivian State and other Bolivians because these rituals were done in common by all of those present. Participating in these acts encourages a consciousness of belonging to the Bolivian nation-state. From a Durkheimian standpoint it is the simple act of taking part in the same acts which forms this ‘national consciousness’ (2008:287). Arguably one of the problems of the Plurinational State is that it does not overturn the structures of the republican state, but rather the programme of ‘decolonisation’ through autonomies is occurring exactly through these structures. In a somewhat contradictory and muddled manner it recognises both republican borders and the Indigenous Nations whose territory may bear little relation to these borders. Emblematic of this was the creation of indigenous autonomies through the conversion of existing municipalities. The constitution of autonomies along the lines of the municipalities ignored the fact that cultural boundaries do not follow municipal ones. As I will show in the section which follows, the two municipalities of Charazani and Curva were intimately linked

ritually. I will examine to what extent the rituals which Kallawayas took part in on this day contributed to a developing of a 'Kallawayaya consciousness', and if we are speaking of the Kallawayas as a nation, even a 'Kallawayaya *national* consciousness.'

8.3 The anniversary of the UNESCO declaration

Collective rituals have been considered by Durkheim (2008) and more recently Connerton (1998), as a vehicle for creating solidarity. Durkheim (2008:258) argues that the mere ability of rituals to bring individuals together, to increase contacts between them 'in itself causes a change of consciousness'. In this section I will ethnographically examine the applicability of this view of ritual to the collective *Kallawayaya* rituals I witnessed (as opposed to those state rituals described in the previous section of the chapter). In the anniversary of the UNESCO declaration the Kallawayas did come together, but they represented themselves ritually before the State as separate *ayllus*, conducting separate, distinctly interpreted, rituals.

The 11th of November 2012 was the ninth anniversary of the declaration by UNESCO of the Andean cosmovision of the Kallawayaya culture as the 'Oral Patrimony of Humanity'. To celebrate the anniversary of the recognition by UNESCO, every year a celebration is held to commemorate the declaration. This particular year the event was held in Curva, the second section of the province. However, it was postponed until the 14th December in order that Bolivian president Evo Morales would attend.

I took a bus from La Paz to Charazani the day before the event in Curva. As the bus wound down the road from the highlands to the valley I got talking to the white-haired man sat next to me. He told me in a grumbling tone that though he was from Khanlaya, a community close to the town of Charazani, he usually lived in El Alto, and he had come for the anniversary because he had been warned by the Kallawayaya association of which he was a member that he would face a fine if he did not attend. Before the bus turned down towards the valley, we passed Pumasani, a crossroads Kallawayas consider sacred. At this moment the man, whose name was Fernando, made the sign of the cross. He told me that he had done so because we were surrounded by *achachilas*. '*Hay que hacer pago... si olvidamos, ellos olvidan a nosotros*' ('we have to pay them... if we forget them, they forget us'), he explained to me.

The event at Curva the next day was taken by those present as no more than a mixed success, because the president failed to arrive. I arrived early in the day in a minibus from Charazani with my friend Felix and his wife, owners of a *pensión* (small restaurant) in Charazani, who had taken advantage of the assembled crowds as an opportunity to sell food. I left them at around 10am to follow people walking up the hill, more in hope than expectation that Evo might arrive. He had been due to arrive by helicopter, but the cloud cover that day meant that it would have been impossible for him to land, and so the representative of the Bolivian State was once again the governor of La Paz, Dr. César Cocarico who presumably arrived the previous day by car. He effectively replaced Morales as the guest of honour. The main part of the event took place around midday on the hill of Usich'aman, a short walk from the town of Curva.



Figure 40: Julián with Kallawayá healers from Lunlaya.

Although there had been a sense of foreboding from many present as we had climbed the hill of Usich'aman in the morning from Curva as we looked at the clouds and sensed the diminishing likelihood that Evo would be coming, at the top of the hill there was

nonetheless a large presence of Kallawayas gathered together in groups according to their community. As the event was taking place in Curva, the majority of those present were from communities from that section of the province. There were though, many people from communities in the first section of the province, some of whom I recognised. I bumped into Julián, the healer from Amarete, who was not socialising with others from his *ayllu*, but with men from Lunlaya, who were members of the same association of healers as himself.

At around 11am, a delegation of authorities began climbing the hill, stopping every so often to have their photographs taken by the assembled photographers (there were also television cameramen and reporters). Dr. Cocarico was accompanied by the *alcaldes* of the two municipalities, the two assembly members representing the province and the Kallawayas in the



Figure 41: Dr. Cocarico receiving smoke from the *Sahumerio*.

Plurinational Assembly of La Paz, and the provincial Executives of FOYCAE and the *Única*, as well as several Kallawayas ritual authorities⁹⁷. As the group arrived at the top of the hill and walked from one end of the summit to the other, they were greeted by one group after another of Kallawayas, each representing a different community. As the dignitaries stopped before each they were presented with garlands of flowers and had an *istalla* (coca mat) put in front of them, on which offerings were made for the *achachilas*, the ashes of which would continue to burn in a *sahumerio* (incense burner), and which were wafted towards Cocarico. The communion which Cocarico was engaging in with the *achachilas* Kallawayas engage in on an everyday basis when eating meals, which they waft towards the landscape deities to enjoy as well. In a similar manner, the contents of the *sahumerio* were wafted towards

⁹⁷ The Aymara Mallku of the Kallawayas Nation in CONAMAQ was not in attendance, and nor did I see any other Aymaras from the province, which may have been because they attached the label of Kallawayas less readily to themselves, or simply because, as my friend Valerio had told me, Curva was a long way to go for them and entailed a lot of expense, when they could be working that day in the mine instead, or it could have been because of the critical stance which CONAMAQ was taking towards the government at that time.

Cocarico for him as a State authority to enjoy along with the *achachilas*, for the State authority and the Kallawaya authorities to share together.



Figure 42: A Kallawaya mesa.

Incense is a symbol of purity. Rösing refers to the patients of Kallawaya healers being ‘washed’ with incense (Rösing 1996a:152). This suggests that Cocarico was greeted as a representative of a state which needed to be cleansed. The *maestros* that Burman (2011) worked with told him the very buildings used by the Bolivian State have become sick because of the centuries of foreign dominance. When the American-educated President of Bolivia Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada was expelled from Bolivia after a popular uprising in 2003, this was

thought of as a ‘*limpieza*’, (a cleansing) of the State (2011:185). However, strange, malignant spirits, called *saxra*, which attack the *ajayu* of a person still inhabit these spaces (2011:242). Even though the MAS government of Evo Morales was broadly regarded as one representing indigenous people (although some of my informants were at times critical of Evo Morales, they still regarded him as ‘their President’), the people working in government, from the President downwards, and their agenda in government, could become infected by these spirits, and therefore needed to be purified (*ibid.*:24). Curing the ‘*patria*’, writes Burman (2011:249), means indianising it, incorporating it into Aymara society, and transforming it into something genuinely native. When I later discussed the event in Curva with Aurelio he confirmed to me that the use of incense was used to purify Cocarico, telling me that it was to transmit good energy and omens to the State ‘so that there are no deaths’. This seemed to be a reference to deaths of protestors against the government of Sánchez de Lozada during the uprising against him, for which the current Bolivian administration is attempting to get the former President extradited from the USA. That the current government could be seen as also capable of causing deaths attests to the perceived susceptibility of their *ajayus* (see chapter seven).

The location on top of the hill overlooking the valley, and surrounded by other mountains, seemed like the perfect location from which to make an offering, which would easily be carried by the *ankari* to the spirits at the top of the mountains. At the top of the hill the *achachilas* and the pachamama could be fed directly. It is, Aurelio told me, the location for many collective rituals. This contrasted markedly with the event in the plaza of Charazani, in which the local gods were not part of the official ceremony. Rösing (2003:239) relates how when the plaza was constructed in Amarete, the centre of the plaza overlaid the area where the *wata purichiq* used to make offerings, so that now there is nowhere to make the offerings during Corpus Cristi. Plazas, originally created around colonial *reducciones*, therefore create a barrier in the relationship between local people and the gods. The plaza could be seen as a prime location for a State ritual precisely because it excluded the *achachilas*, and excluded the possibility of connecting with them. In this sense it also



Figure 43: Aurelio (left of photo with leather jacket and hat); Feliciano (centre, behind dancers, taking photograph).

excluded the Kallawaya experts in ritual mediation as authority figures. However, in Curva it was Kallawaya ritual experts who presided over the ceremony, enacting rituals which in contrast to those at the previous anniversary which narrated what it meant to be Bolivian, represented Kallawaya 'national' identity. As examined in the previous chapter in my conversations with Aurelio and Feliciano, they fear that others in their *ayllus* are 'forgetting' what it means to live in an *ayllu*. The rituals on

Usich'aman act as narratives of

identity (Anderson 1994:205) which remind those present of the relationships which bind them together as an *ayllu*, to one another and to the *achachilas*.

Amongst the first groups from Charazani that I noticed on Usich'aman (one of the first which greeted the group of dignitaries) were the coca-growers, represented by 'Asociación ARCOPCOCA - MK' who had come with a large banner identifying themselves. Their presence seemed notable for two reasons. Firstly because by representing themselves as coca-growers as part of the Kallawaya culture they were identifying with an inclusive definition of Kallawaya culture, which partly associates the Kallawayas with the territory rather than being embodied in the Kallawaya healer as Girault (1988[1974]:403) assumes; this identification may also in part be because the coca-growers contribute materially to the Kallawaya medicine which the healers use—I often heard the phrase 'without coca there is no Kallawaya'. Secondly, their presence was notable because of the reason why they had attended. They had not just come to listen to speeches, as had been the case at the event to mark the anniversary of the province, but to actively engage with the State's representative. When I had visited the subtropical community of Carijana a couple of weeks previously some of the men there remarked to me that they would be coming to Curva to petition the President regarding their demand for the coca grown in the sub-tropical part of the province to be given ancestral status, which would mean that it could be grown legally. It is significant that the coca growers had chosen to petition the head of state in an event where ritual ceremonies were being conducted to pay respects to the local gods. The way that Kallawayas petition their gods is through ritual *mesas*. But on this occasion, it was not just the *achachilas* who were being fed, but through the smoke of the *sahumerio* which was wafted towards him, it was also Cocarico. As referred to in chapter seven, feeding creates reciprocal obligations. Through the *mesa blanca* ritual as a mediating force the Kallawayas could be viewed as attempting to re-order their relationship with the State, enmeshing Cocarico and the State in a web of reciprocal obligation in which they were expected to repay the offerings paid towards them.

After participating in the offerings to the *achachilas*, Cocarico and the Kallawaya authorities joined in dancing being performed by several other Kallawaya communities, each of which performed a different dance. He was then led to one side of the summit, where a fire was being prepared. Many community authorities then greeted Cocarico in turn, while ritualists in front of him slit open a *cuy* (guinea pig), whose blood was poured onto the fire along with

alcohol. The man doing most of preparation of the ritual was Fernando, who I had met on the bus the day before. More *platos* (plates - as the collection of ritual food on a layer of wool is known) than I had seen before in any other ritual were burned as offerings for the *achachilas*. According to the programme that had been printed out to mark the day, the aim of this ceremony was to transfer Kallawayaya energy to the President, Evo Morales (whose place was taken by Cocarico), and to name him as '*Kuraj Paqu Kallawayaya*', the highest position of authority among the Kallawayas (Rösing 1996:28-30). The *Paqu* is able to call all of the owners of the sacred places, to talk with them, and if they are angry to find out who has upset them and why (*ibid.*). The *Paqu*, as are all of the Kallawayaya authorities, is at the bidding of the *achachilas*, the highest Kallawayaya authorities, and therefore if a petition is made successfully to the *achachilas* then he must see their wishes carried out. Aurelio would later tell me that this was a *mesa blanca* ceremony, with several purposes. The ritual aimed at strengthening the Kallawayaya culture, so that it would survive. It also generally aimed to strengthen the agricultural production in the region. Lastly, so that Cocarico's own government administration would be successful.



Figure 44: Representatives of the coca-growers association 'Arcopcooa - MK'.

The Kallawayas have never been able to communicate with the State on their own terms. Prior to 1953 it was the landlords in Charazani who were the intermediaries between themselves and the State. Following 1953 agrarian reform it was the peasant union through which relations between rural communities and the State flowed. Although agrarian reform in 1953 and the imposition of the union was supposed to diminish the power of the local landlords, and create a direct conduit between indigenous communities and the State, I was told by my *compadre* Feliciano that *misti* landlords remained powerful partly because they entered the union themselves and took on positions of authority. Goudsmit (2006a;2006b) found that in Torocari, the landlords and mountains were seen as analogous. Landlords and mountains had more power to affect the lives of those within communities nearby than the distant state. Kallawayas entered into relationships with both, which would affect their wellbeing. However, as I have shown in chapter five, it was through the relations with the townspeople that the power of colonialism continued to be felt, and changing this relationship was the priority of Kallawayas in the 1980s and 1990s. As I have shown in chapter six, the intermediary which remained, the peasant union, was not an autochthonous form of governance. The authorities which the Kallawayas recognised as governing over them were the mountains, the *achachilas*. Autonomy for the Kallawayas could be seen as represented by a relationship with the State which is mediated neither by *misti* townspeople and landlords, nor by a union imposed from above, but rather a relationship with the State through their own *ayllu* authorities. However, what I have shown in this and the preceding chapters is that the intermediaries between the Kallawayas and their divine authorities are the ritualists (the *wata purichiqs*) and the rituals themselves. The *mesa blanca* rituals which they perform join all those who partake of the ritual food in one body, that is, joining *runa* with *achachilas*. By planning to make the President (and in his stead, the governor of La Paz) a ritual authority, then this makes the State an effective intermediary between *runa* and the forces that affect their lives on an immediate basis.

Bastien (1985:xxiv) suggests that membership of an *ayllu* can be fluid, that one does not have to have been born there, but can become a member of an *ayllu* by living there and feeding its shrines. By taking part in the rituals of each Kallawayá community which greeted him, by dancing their dances, and feeding the Kallawayá ancestor spirits, the governor of La Paz seems to have been received into the Kallawayá Nation as part of the greater Kallawayá *ayllu*. This appears to be a way of connecting the State with the *ayllu*, of transforming a foreign element into something native



Figure 45: The final mesa blanca.

(Burman 2011:248). Through ritual feeding, which creates a relationship with the *achachilas*, the Kallawayás appeared to be trying to diminish the distance between themselves and the State. This may seem contradictory at a time when the Kallawayás are in a process of gaining autonomy from the State. Indeed, the Kallawayás' adherence to national symbols such as the national flag (alongside the wiphala) and anthem, in the event to mark the anniversary of the province (as well as during meetings of the Autonomy Assembly) demonstrated that the desire for autonomy was accompanied by no great desire to be any less Bolivian or to withdraw from the State. Their relationship with the State very often leads ethnic groups to form what Hale calls a 'contradictory consciousness', by which he means that ethnic groups neither fully submit to, nor fully resist the forces that oppress them, rather 'ethnic group members' resistance to subordination generally involves the assimilation of hegemonic ideas' (Hale 1994:202). Dinerstein (2015) takes 'contradiction' to be a mode of indigenous organising, that indigenous people 'demand both autonomy from, and inclusion into, the (new) State' (*ibid.*:161). The question has also been asked (by Dinerstein 2015:10) whether autonomy is always a praxis fluctuating between rebellion and

integration. Indigenous autonomy is not anti-state, but is against colonial oppression often sustained by the state (*ibid.*:11, 33) and an expression or the desire for territorial sovereignty to be recognised and respected. Thus indigenous peoples desire both inclusion into and autonomy from the state, referred to by Dinerstein (2015:54, citing Gutierrez Aguilar, 2008:113) as ‘dual intentionality’, ‘i.e. ‘a simultaneous demand to be left alone (autonomy) and to be included’. As the state is a mediator of collective autonomy (Dinerstein 2013:167), for example through being able to enact legislative such as the LPP, and to enable the creation of the AIOCs, then it makes sense for a representative of the State to be made a Paqu, one who mediates with those who ultimately have power—the *achachilas*. Autonomy for the Kallawayas can be represented by a negotiated relationship with (at present) a reasonably sympathetic state. One of the significant ways in which this relationship is negotiated is through ritual symbols.

If the Kallawaya rituals sought to affect their relationship with the State, what effect did performing the ceremonies have on each of the *ayllu* representatives present? Did taking part ritually in the commemorative event together draw different *ayllus* together, strengthening a Kallawaya consciousness? Durkheim theorises that one of the effects of rites is consciousness-formation on those who participate in them. What is essential in analysing the power of rituals to shape consciousness is that ‘individuals should be reunited, that common feelings should be experienced and expressed by common acts... To become conscious of itself, the group... must commune through the same thought and the same action; but the kinds of thought or action in which this communion takes place are of little importance’ (Durkheim [1912]2008:287). The commemoration of the UNESCO declaration that day did serve as an opportunity for the different Kallawaya *ayllus* to renew themselves socially by gathering together in the same place for the same purpose, and they did all engage in ritual offerings. But it is questionable whether these rituals really constituted ‘common acts’ in the sense of each participant in the ritual participating through ‘the same thought and the same action’ (*ibid.*). Each *ayllu* greeted the governor separately, and their ritualists prepared their own interpretation of the *mesa blanca* ritual (see chapter six). What I saw on Usich’aman was not one ritual (or one dance) in which everyone took part together, and which joined the Kallawayas as a (homogeneous) body, but many differently interpreted separate *mesas blancas* (and dances specific to particular communities danced

by that community), which perhaps confirmed the Kallawayas as one group, but a fractured one. While ritual is often argued to be useful for political organisation because it produces bonds of solidarity without requiring uniformity of belief because it does not require critical thinking (Kertzer 1988:67-9), the way that different groups participate in or interpret ritual nonetheless has the potential to confirm social cleavages (Lukes 1975:300-1). The Kallawayaya consciousness that was renewed on Usich'aman then was a consciousness of Kallawayaya identity as fractured.

After the ceremony, all of those gathered up on the hillside made their way down to the plaza of the town, many dancing down the hill. In the plaza, around a dozen more dances were performed in front of a stage where Cocarico and the other dignitaries sat. This was followed by speeches from Cocarico, the two *alcaldes*, departmental assembly members, and Walter Alvarez, the architect of the candidature to UNESCO. Both Javier Tejerina, the assembly member for the province, and the *alcalde* of Charazani, Martín Canaza, speculated on the reasons why Evo had not arrived. Canaza devoted much of his speech to bemoaning climate change which he perceived as caused by the evils of capitalism. He blamed this for the atmospheric conditions which had made the president's flight too risky. Canaza's point regarding the forces of capitalism having caused the president to alter his plans pointed to structural forces that were beyond the control even of the head of the Bolivian government. Evo Morales as president may have an agenda to decolonize the State, but his presidency is temporary and the structures behind him are permanent.

Evo Morales has argued at international conferences that the biggest factor in provoking climate change is capitalism, and the State discourse of *Vivir Bien* is put forward as an alternative economic model to extractivist capitalism. Indeed, the Framework Law for Mother Earth and Living Well was passed on this basis. However, Morales' government itself has been accused of acting against its own discourse, and of being 'capitalist, extractivist and abusive' (Laing 2015:160). The key moment when the discourse and practice of the State have come into conflict has been the government's plan to build a road through the TIPNIS national park, which was met by resistance from indigenous groups such as CONAMAQ and CIDOB in alliance with urban environmentalists (see Laing 2015). Even ex-ministers, until recently part of the State apparatus, have accused the MAS government of acting in the same fashion as their neo-liberal predecessors (McNeish 2013:232). The

conflict over the TIPNIS also highlighted the tensions between different sections of the indigenous movement, as the CSUTCB remained supportive of the government, while the conflict heightened existing tensions between CONAMAQ and CIDOB and the government. It illustrated what Dinerstein (2015:165) calls 'the 'Janus face' of the Plurinational State': 'the developmental of the capitalist face and the plurinational indigenous face. While the latter sets the basis for the recognition of different 'nations' within the same territory, the former carries the functions of development in the hands of the capitalist state.'

However, Kallawayas believe that the *achachilas* control the weather, so Canaza's comment could be taken as meaning that he believed that the *achachilas* had caused the excessive cloud cover as a response to capitalism. This could be because capitalism and the state threaten their very existence (de la Cadena 2010:32). According to Burman (2011:139) some maestros see natural disasters such as climate change as a punishment from the *wak'as* or *achachilas* for allowing the native traditions to be forgotten. The weather that day could be taken then either as the result of the sickness of the Bolivian State or the Kallawayas forgetting their traditions, through *sifilization*.

Javier Tejerina meanwhile, attributed Evo's failure to arrive to the scheduling of the event on a Friday, traditionally an unlucky day for Kallawayas (one in which black magic happens), and certainly a surprising choice of day on which to have scheduled as event such as this. I had been told by my friend Juan, who lives in Charazani (and others had made similar statements), that when anything is programmed for a Tuesday or Friday then it is unlikely to turn out as planned (Burman 2011:170). Juan told me 'when I am given a job to start on Tuesday or Friday it will go badly. If someone can do you harm they will, even your friends' ('*Cuando me dan un trabajo o empezar un trabajo, nos va mal el martes y viernes. Si alguien te puede hacer mal, incluso un amigo*'). Evo's journey then, programmed for a Friday, on this basis was always in doubt. Tuesday and Friday are *saxra uru* (days of *saxra* – malignant spirits) (ibid:170). These are also the days when *ch'allas* are made by miners to *el tio*, the devilish divinity in Bolivia's mines, in order to appease him and harness his powers (Abercrombie 1994: 118). These are days on which rituals are usually only performed to receive power from malignant sources or to combat that power, that is to counteract witchcraft or spells (Fernández Juárez 1997:148-159; Timmer 2001:286). Thus, the holding

of the event on a Friday supports the idea of the rituals as cleansing the *saxra* which have power over the *ajuyus* of the State, as a kind of exorcism.

That Evo failed to arrive then can be seen as testament to the power of the (colonial - capitalist) *saxra* over the structures of the State, preventing him from being cleansed. Although Cocarico took part in the rituals, two aspects of this are worth considering: firstly whether he made the offerings to the *achachilas* as himself or on behalf of the State; secondly, the faith that was involved in making these offerings. Juan had told me that when making the offerings one had to believe: 'if one doesn't believe, it doesn't work', he told me. For healing to work, the patient should have faith in the treatment, and the question is whether the State 'wants' to be cleansed. Leaving to one side whether Cocarico believed in the efficacy of his offerings, because 'to enact a rite is always, in some sense, to assent to its meaning' (Connerton 1998:44), the continued extractivist basis of the State has caused many to openly question the sincerity of the pro-pachamama declarations of Evo Morales and his government, and therefore the meaningfulness of the wider rhetoric of decolonization. In practice, in terms of 'developing' Bolivia, the State still displays a way of thinking about the pachamama through the lens of an epistemology marked by coloniality as an object to be exploited (Mignolo 2011:11-15, 167-8). The rituals to cleanse the State attest to a vision of autonomy for the Kallawayas that is deeply involved with the State in the manner of doctor caring for their patient. The State has the ability to affect the relationship between *runa* and native gods, the *achachilas* and the pachamama. A healthy state would therefore be an agreeable mediator.

8.4 The Kallawayaya Patrimony

The recognition by UNESCO has been an effective springboard for the Kallawayas for their autonomy project. As Albro (2006:403) points out, '[h]eritage has become an effective coalition-building device across historically indigenous and political projects'. In a similar way to the anniversary of the province, the anniversary of the recognition by UNESCO brings Kallawayas together who otherwise disagree on a common cultural identity, in a shared celebration of that identity. As reflected on in the previous section of this chapter, the Kallawayaya communities are generally autonomous units, often competing with one another, but an event such as the anniversary of the UNESCO declaration unites the Kallawayas both

in celebrating the particularities of their communities and the joint identification of the communities as Kallawayaya. By coming together to feed the *achachilas* at the same event, the representatives of the different Kallawayaya communities also seemed to be reaffirming themselves as pertaining to a common identity. They all affirmed themselves as *Kallawayas*.

When looking at the Oral Patrimony as a springboard for autonomy it is also significant in analysing what the word patrimony – *patrimonio* – signifies in Bolivia.

‘The etymology of ‘patrimonio’ derives from the medieval Spanish legal parlance stipulating property inherited from one’s father. Specifying rules of family estate inheritance, for modern Bolivia refers to inherited legal jurisdictional rights over land... Indigenous movements in Bolivia have sought to expand the state’s limited concept of ‘land’, understood simply as a factor in agricultural production, to a larger conception of ‘territory’ as the location for the social reproduction of collective identity’ (Albro 2006:393-4).

Read in this way the celebration of the ‘*patrimonio oral*’ by the Kallawayas was also a celebration of their right to land and territory. The annual invitation to the President of Bolivia to the event to mark the anniversary of the declaration by UNESCO, an event at which the president (or the other State representative in his stead) would pay respects to the Kallawayaya gods which mark their territory, is an invitation to the State to recognise their territorial rights and jurisdiction as *ayllus*. The choice of location was significant precisely because it is the mountains and other landscape deities that mark the Kallawayaya territory. One could read into Albro’s definition above an idea of possessive individualism (Leach 2007) contained in ‘*patrimonio*’, as the term can entail the passing on of private property in families through a male heir. It certainly entails the idea of something privately owned. At first glance this may appear problematic in an Andean context, as although property (land) in Andean communities is passed on through family lines, just as important are decisions by community authorities over allocation of land, for example to strip people of land that is not being productively used (see chapter six). As Leach argues, the idea of one individual being responsible for the creative output and being able to claim responsibility for its production is a peculiarly Western notion, and the patrimony of the Kallawayas is the sum of its parts. However, as is demonstrated through Kallawayaya *compadrazgo* (see chapter six), there is a

strong element of possessive individualism at work in the way that Kallawayas pass on knowledge through kinship. Kallawayas usually pass on knowledge from generation to generation through their family. To access a Kallawayas' knowledge, one must therefore become their kin. The patrimony over Kallawayas knowledge is based on these kinship networks as on any protection from UNESCO.

8.5 Conclusion

The two events described in this chapter show flows of recognition between indigenous people and the State. In the first event, the anniversary of the province, indigenous nations, in the form of the members of the plurinational assembly of La Paz, recognised the legitimacy of the republican State by paying homage to its existing administrative entities. In the second, the anniversary of the declaration of UNESCO, it was the State, represented by the governor of La Paz, Dr. César Cocarico, who recognised the validity of Kallawayas authorities, and the autonomy of Kallawayas politics, through offerings to the *achachilas*. By making a representative of the State a *paqo*, the highest Kallawayas authority, they connected up the State and the *ayllu*, as part of the same segmentary hierarchy of authorities; the one recognising the other. However, the scheduling of the event seemed to demonstrate a lack of faith in the powers of these same *achachilas*. A half-hearted recognition of Kallawayas authorities has been mirrored in a diminishing enthusiasm for the creation of AIOCs. As I write this in 2015, five years after the process started, the indigenous autonomy to be constituted in Charazani has stalled and the government seems to have lost any desire it may have had to give its powers away.

Having been present at the two events, I was struck at the marked differences between the ways in which the two anniversaries were celebrated. The biggest contrast was in the interaction the governor Cocarico had with the Kallawayas on both occasions. At the first event, to mark the anniversary of the province of Bautista Saavedra, the Kallawayas present had been passive; listening to the speeches of Cocarico and the other authorities stood in the middle of the plaza. The workings of the departmental democracy of La Paz were shown to the Kallawayas through the presence of the plurinational assembly members and their brief session. At the second, the State as represented by Cocarico became Kallawayas through feeding the Kallawayas ancestors in ritual offerings. In the ceremony in which

Cocarico became a Kallawaya Paqu, he was shown the way that Kallawaya politics works, with the involvement at all times of the Kallawaya ancestors. The location for this ceremony was indeed significant in this respect, as at the top of the mountain both the mountain of Usich'aman could be fed directly, and the *ankari* (the wind messenger) would be able to carry the offering to the other sacred mountains. The plaza in Charazani, as it is paved makes it less suitable for offerings to be burnt as there is no connection to the earth, and the buildings on all side act as a buffer to the wind; besides this, the plaza of Charazani is representative of colonialism because plazas were created around *reducciones* formed by the Toledan reforms.

It is also worth examining the nature of the two homages, the one made to the province, and the other to the *achachilas*. The homage made in writing by the Plurinational Assembly members represented the way in which the State and its administrative bodies accept communication with itself, that is, in writing. Written text is also how Andeans have come to expect the State to communicate with them (see Fujimori's pledge in Ocongate, Harvey 2005:136). The form of 'writing', however, which is used to communicate with the *achachilas* is coca. It may be significant that the coca-growers of the province used this occasion to communicate their demand for recognition of their coca as ancestral and therefore able to be legally grown, as this was an occasion when Cocarico would have seen many offerings being made to the gods using coca, the tool of the trade *par excellence* for the Kallawayas for communicating with their own authorities.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

9.1 Kallawaya autonomy in the context of indigenous politics in Latin America

I have sought to show that the autonomy of an ethnic group has a long trajectory; an ethnogenesis without a definitive beginning or end; which involves both inter-group and intra-group negotiation, struggle, conflict and cooperation, towards the formation of an ethnic consciousness which is by no means uncontested by those who share it. I cannot present the Kallawayas as coming to an eventual agreement regarding autonomy. The lack of completion of the autonomy process perhaps supports Böhm et al. (2015)'s description of autonomy as an (im)possibility; that is as something always strived for and never achieved. However, the Kallawayas' lack of consensus has presented a rich opportunity to examine particular themes in this thesis relating to the indigenous group formation and organisation and the relationship between social structures and ritual structures; the contested meaning of indigenous autonomy for an indigenous group, and (closely related), divergent understandings of the *Good Life*.

As a case study of the trajectory of autonomy, this thesis builds on, and contributes through ethnography, to a body of work on indigenous citizenship in Latin America. Yashar (2005), from a post-structural perspective, examines the manner in which ethnic identity in the five Latin American countries with the largest indigenous populations—Mexico, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Peru—has been socially constructed in interaction with the institutions of the state. Her analysis is that corporatist citizenship regimes which developed around the middle of the twentieth century in these countries created spaces for the autonomous organising of indigenous groups and direct channels of communication between indigenous people and state institutions. The neoliberal turn, however, closed down these spaces of autonomy and formal ties between peasants and the state. In this context, what she calls 'ethnic cleavages' became politicised, as peasants—now identifying more strongly as ethnicities, demanded the right to be recognised collectively, and at the same time proposed changes in the constitutions of those states themselves to allow for a citizenship which recognised difference as well as equality. Yashar took what she called a meso-level

approach to the study of ethnic-state relations. That is she studied the development of national-level peasant organisations and their changing relationship with a state they desired to change as their identity became more ethnicised. At this level of analysis Albó (1987, 1994, 2008) examines national-level peasant federations as splintering along class and ethnic lines, which have come to define differences in indigenous and peasant politics until the writing of the constitution for the Plurinational State in Bolivia, as Schavelzon (2012) describes, until now. The evolution of citizenship rights in Latin America has also been studied at a more macro-level by Yrigoyen (2010), who analyses the role of international legislation such as ILO 169 and the 2007 UN declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples in influencing the legislation of states.

My research adds to studies such as these by contributing a micro-level analysis of indigenous identity and autonomy. In a similar manner to Pallares (2002) in her research on the development of ethnic consciousness in Ecuador, by examining the Kallawayas narrative of autonomy from the ground up, I have been able to examine how local struggles over identity and power feed into national ethnic politics. I have attempted to narrate the local process of autonomy from different viewpoints within Kallawayas ethnic society. The perspective I portray on autonomy may appear at times to be contradictory and fragmentary. This is because the Kallawayas *perspectives* are indeed contradictory, fragmented—and very much contested.

Through ethnography, I have examined the meaning of autonomy for an indigenous group, the Kallawayas. Although autonomy is generally taken to emphasise a political detachment from the state, it would be a mistake to view autonomy solely in these terms. Elsewhere in the Andes, in Peru, Mallon (1987) has written of peasants siding with landlords against an exploitative state, preferring the exploitations of the landlords to the double exactions of the state on top of the landlords. The experience of the Kallawayas though, appears closer to that of the Toracarí peasants in the Bolivian department of Potosí (Goudsmit 2006a; 2006b), who did not feel the State's presence. Rather, it was the landlords and the mountains who had the power to affect the lives of the peasants and it was their power which was recognised ritually. For the Kallawayas, autonomy was experienced in their social relations through freeing themselves from exploitation from local landowners and townspeople, as I have described in chapters four, five and six. Ethnographically, this thesis

illustrates the point made by Dinerstein (2013) that—through legislation like the LPP, and ultimately the provision of the AIOCs—the state can be a mediator in the construction of collective autonomy.

However, autonomy rests on the acceptance of multiple ways of life. Here is where autonomy from the monocivilizational state, with institutions like the school, which instruct on ways of living is crucial. Like the Zapatista autonomy project in Mexico (Nash 2001; Holloway 2010), the Kallawaya vision of autonomy is based on a plurality of ways of life, in which Kallawayas are enabled to live according to a vision of the world that is the *ayllu*.

In the sections which follow I shall attempt to do here is to tie together some of the theoretical points raised in the thesis, regarding indigenous consciousness-formation, indigenous citizenship, and Living Well.

9.2 Indigenous consciousness, group identity, conflict and cooperation

I have attempted to show two sides to the way that Kallawayas relate to one another as a group. Firstly, that Kallawaya identity is permeated by contestation. This was demonstrated clearly in the meetings in which the right of Amarete to call itself Kallawaya was openly questioned by others. Differing perspectives on Kallawaya identity owe much to differing historical origins of particular *ayllus* which all nonetheless call themselves Kallawaya. They owe just as much though, to current struggles over power, in which one section of Kallawaya society is thought by the others to be attempting to dominate the rest.

Since my period of fieldwork, there have been sporadic and - so far - unsuccessful attempts at reviving the autonomy process. However, the biggest stumbling block has continued to be the location of the government of the autonomy. In 2014 Charazani's statute was read by the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal (TCP), who returned it to Charazani's Autonomy Assembly to revise. The problem was that the seat of government was still undefined. When the autonomy assembly met in February 2015 to discuss the issue there was still no agreement.

In April 2015, the municipality embarked on new elections for the *alcalde* of the municipality of Charazani. The incumbent Martin Canaza of Amarete, representing the MAS

party, lost to Fortunato Calamani of Qotapampa, representing Unidad Nacional (UN). He did not lose, however, because of any affiliation with the party, or any unpopularity of the President. The President was still well-liked (and people in the region are disappointed that since his aborted attempt to come to the region in 2012 for the UNESCO anniversary he has still not paid a visit, and because the candidate representing his party lost, he is less likely to visit Charazani now). He lost, Aurelio told me, largely because Amarete, with the argument that it is a '*pueblo indígena*' still wanted to take the *sede*. I asked Aurelio whether it had any relation at all with the political party, and he told me '*nada que ver*' (nothing at all). On such practicalities and local struggles for power are the fates of territorial projects balanced.

Other sections of the thesis highlight the Kallawayas cooperating as one group, as *runa* – people connected by their *ayllu* residence, practices, and the ritual and economic structure binding their communities together. Despite their current failure to come to a common agreement, there have been several factors which have joined the Kallawayas as a coherent social group. As I have shown in chapter five, Kallawayas from different communities have acted together as *runa* in opposition to townspeople and landowners they identified as *mistis* in the 1980s and 1990s. They have cooperated economically in reciprocal exchange which has joined the Kallawayas *ayllus* from the highlands to tropical lowlands in an identifiably inter-dependent autonomous system of exchange, and which allowed Kallawayas communities to operate their own economic system autonomously of the markets which until relatively recently were controlled by Charazani townspeople. A common Kallawayas identity as *runa*, uniting Kallawayas *ayllus*, seemed to be particularly strong only for as long as there was another group (*mistis* or *vecinos* – the townspeople) whom they saw themselves in opposition to. This supports Barth's (1969:9) assertion that it is precisely in the interaction between groups that their identity is formed. As the Kallawayas have met in the Autonomy Assembly (largely) free from *misti* interference, so the differences and disagreements between their communities have become pronounced.

I have also examined in this thesis the role of ritual in connecting the Kallawayas *ayllus*. My analysis proposes that the effect of ritual is to confirm the existing social structure. Thus the structure of *watayuq* mountain authorities which ruled over the Kallawayas had a unitary *watayuq* which ruled over the other *watayuqs* and united the Kallawayas as a group. Once the provincial peasant federation split into three groups, this was confirmed ritually, by the

abandonment of the unifying *watayuq*. Similarly, a fractured Kallawayaya consciousness seemed to be manifested in the way that the Kallawayaya *ayllus* performed rituals separately with Dr. Cocarico at the UNESCO anniversary, highlighting that since the Law of Popular Participation each *ayllu* can relate separately to the State. My thesis, in this respect contributes ethnographically to anthropological literature on ritual, which suggests that what ritual does is to symbolically represent society (see Durkheim [1912]2008; Connerton 1998). However, I show ethnographically the power of ritual not simply to unify groups into one collective consciousness, but (as Lukes 1975 suggests), by the manner in which they enact ritual, also to institutionalise differences. Thus, the manner in which the Kallawayas enact the collective ritual to commemorate the anniversary of the UNESCO declaration separately, and Antonio and Julián's disagreements over the correct way to perform the same ritual congeal a sense of Kallawayaya consciousness as fractured. But by the same token, Aurelio suggested to me that the Kallawayaya authorities from the different *ayllus* come together to enact a ritual to the *achachilas* jointly, precisely to symbolically connect them as a group.

9.3 Indigenous citizenship and the Plurinational State

This thesis has attempted to delve into the meaning of autonomy for indigenous people. We cannot understand why an indigenous people desire autonomy without understanding the nature of their relationship with the state. Colonization imposed a monocivilizational project on Andean peoples. Through religious missions, Extirpation, and *buen policia* of the *reducciones* Europeans attempted to mould Andeans to their behavioural norms and world view. The Republican State continued in this vein in their treatment of indigenous peoples, imposing metropolitan values on land tenure, indigenous knowledge and behaviour which told them that in order to become 'modern' and take part as citizens of Bolivia they would have to also adopt metropolitan beliefs and behaviour. To quote Walter Mignolo (2011:205-6), 'Modernity is constituted by rhetoric: the salvation by conversion, civilisation, progress and development. But in order to implement what the rhetoric of modernity preaches, it is necessary to drive a juggernaut over every single difference, or opposition to modernity's salvation projects.'

I showed in chapter two, the inclusion of indigenous peoples within the State through assimilation eventually led to two indigenous projects, the aim of the first to take control of the State (the result of which was the election of Evo Morales as President), and the second which sought autonomy from it (the result of which was the allowance for the creation of AIOCs). These two indigenous projects match two forms of equal rights identified by Charles Taylor (1994:38-43), firstly of 'difference-blind' universal human rights, and secondly, a notion of the right to be different. The first kind of rights were applied to indigenous people in Bolivia through the twentieth century in the name of *mestizaje*, which attempted to fit indigenous people in Bolivia into the metropolitan mould. Demands for the right to difference have arisen as a response to the 'difference-blind' homogenizing project of the State.

However, the two projects are not entirely opposed but represent part of an indigenous perspective which sees autonomy as the rejection of this state-imposed homogeneity, which is a legacy of colonisation. Whilst one project, represented by the CSUTCB and the MAS attempts to create this autonomy for indigenous peoples by changing the State, the other indigenous project seeks autonomy by distancing itself from the State. As Dinerstein (2015:11) remarks, 'Indigenous autonomy is not anti-state, but it is against a system of colonisation that has been sustained by the nation-state and the law.' The Kallawayas are not anti-State, but their historical experiences of the State from the Extirpation to the repression of the practice of traditional medicine give them every reason to be suspicious of it. The Kallawayas relationship with the State is demonstrated at the anniversary of the UNESCO declaration. The ceremonies which I presented in chapter eight could be taken as rituals to heal and protect not *the State* but Dr. Cocarico: to protect him from *the State*. This seemed to suggest a recognition that for indigenous people to govern *the State* is to enter into a Faustian pact, and supports the suspicions enunciated by John Holloway (2010) towards the idea that it is possible to change society through taking control of the State. Cocarico is related to as a patient, who is in danger as an indigenous person entering a position of power within the State.

However, as a representative of the State he is also related to as a potential powerful ally. As an indigenous representative of the State he can use the energy of the State to the advantage of indigenous Andeans. The Kallawayas are not anti-state because it is through

the State and the law (e.g. the LPP, and the postulation to UNESCO with the Ministry of Culture) that the State has proven an ally to the Kallawayas in decolonizing their reality. This is because it was in large part due the LPP—alongside educating themselves—that the Kallawayas were able to decolonize their social relations as *runa* with *misti* townspeople. In entering municipal government in Charazani though, Kallawaya *runa* themselves were incorporated into a particular way of doing politics, through representation and competition, rather than attempts to reach consensus which is characteristic of *ayllu* meetings. By entering the State political system, *runa* negated the alternative to it. Holloway calls the state the movement of oppressing the alternative to itself (2010:217). Dinerstein (2015:10) asks whether autonomous organising is ‘a praxis that fluctuates eternally between rebellion and integration’. This thesis would support this idea, especially given the MAS governments’ waning enthusiasm for the AIOCs.

Returning to the two indigenous projects for incorporation into the state and autonomy from it, Dinerstein (2015:161) argues that Aymara people want both because they wish to participate within the Bolivia State, but according to their own way of life. I have found nothing in my research to argue counter to this view with regards to the Kallawayas. Kallawayas have a layered identity which owes itself to a segmentary politics. Each *sullk’a ayllu* governs themselves autonomously within each *athun ayllu*, and then each *athun ayllu* in term governs themselves autonomously within the provincial federation. The manner in which each *ayllu* conducted separate *mesa blancas* in front of Dr. Cocarico at the anniversary of the UNESCO declaration illustrated that they were autonomous *ayllus* with subtly particular perspectives on the world, but which joined together before Cocarico within a broader Kallawaya perspective, through the *mesa blanca*. My interpretation of the Kallawaya desire for autonomy is to be part of a plurinational state which allows for this layered epistemological autonomy. If the Plurinational State is successful, then this will be its legacy for indigenous peoples: allowing alternatives to the ‘pensamiento único’ decried by indigenous peoples like the Zapatistas in Mexico (Dinerstein 2015:24,82), but within some form of the state.

9.4 Living Well

Epistemological autonomy for indigenous peoples is, of course one of the objectives of the AIOCs in the form of *Vivir Bien*. I have posited autonomy in this thesis in terms of living well as *runa*. Living well, living according to one's idea of authentic self, and autonomy are wrapped up together, because one's idea of living well is deeply connected to one's sense of the person, connected, for the Kallawayas, to what it means to be *runa*. Interpretations of personhood are a preoccupation in Social Anthropology, and therefore I agree with Lambek (2008:115), who asks whether well-being is not always implicit in the subject of our work. For the Kallawayas, as healers, well-being, with its connotations in terms of bodily health is particularly connected to a sense of what it means to *live well*.

Nigel Rapport, in his research with hospital porters, found that he had to offer an interpretation of what well-being meant for them, since it was 'unvoiced' by them (2008:96). To a degree, in focussing on a Kallawayaya perspective on the Good Life, I have also had use my own interpretation, as informants were not given to telling me that the 'x' represents *Living Well*'. However, through their Autonomy Statute, the Kallawayas did indeed discuss what it means to them to 'live well', and it is worth citing passages from the statute here.

Living Well is described in articles 12, 13 and 14, which deal with the 'spirituality', 'cosmovision' and 'vision of the autonomies'. Article 12 states that in the territory of the Kallawayaya Nation 'the man and woman live in constant contact and harmony with the natural cosmos, the Pachamama (mother Earth) the Achachilas-Machalus (ancestor spirits), Watayuq-Maranis, illas (stars), wak'as (shrines), tata inti-willka (sun), mama phaxi-killka (moon), Wayra-thaya (wind), Uno-Uma (water)'. In article 13 that the Kallawayaya nation 'has a holistic conception of reality which has developed a way of existing, seeing, feeling, perceiving, projecting and relating with the world and all forms of life'. Finally in article 14 that the Kallawayaya Nation 'achieves its integral development in the framework of *Vivir Bien* as harmoniously living with and alongside mother earth among others'.

The good life for the Kallawayas could be defined in terms of a balanced equilibrium. This means a balanced exchange of products, rather than forced sale of products at low prices to mestizo traders (chapter six), and an equilibrium between market exchange and bartering

(chapter six). It means the balanced exchange of favours between *compadres*, rather than to be taken advantage of by townspeople (chapters five and six). It means remembering and recognising the ancestor gods, the *achachilas*, and the one's territorial connection with them, taking their wishes into account in one's own actions, rather than acting as an isolated individual (chapter six and seven). This last point means acting with solidarity towards non-human actors, treating them as political actors in their own right, whose wishes are to be respected (chapters six and seven).

This vision of Living Well is essentially relational: one cannot live well alone, but only lives well alongside others, fulfilling ones obligations towards others and maintaining webs of reciprocity. A failure to do so means that one no longer acts as *runa*—one's very personhood is in doubt. This Kallawayaya vision of living well therefore contributes to anthropological studies of well-being such as those of James (2008), Jackson (2011) and Scheldman (2008), which posit well-being in terms of being with others.

My informants identified well-being within the *ayllu* in terms of a *lack*. Perhaps it is only through a lack of well-being that it can be identified. When Aurelio refers to people becoming *sifilized*, he identifies well-being through the ideals of the *ayllu* which are not being fulfilled. Jiménez (2008:194) identifies a notion of well-being as 'by default a notion of a lack—of something that there is, but not quite in the proportion that we would like there to be'. Aurelio told me they had always been autonomous because they had always been an *ayllu*, and yet decried the dilution in *ayllu* practices. Following this idea then, autonomy for the Kallawayayas, would not mean a radical break from the State, but a safeguarding of the *ayllu* practices in order to ensure the ability of Kallawayayas to *live well as runa*.

9.5 Concluding thoughts

Ultimately, a decolonization of the *ayllu* would also mean the autonomy from the dualisms characteristic of colonial modernity. Rivera (2012), who is critical of the creation of indigenous territories which she believes essentialise and orientalise indigenous people, proposes that an 'Indian hegemony' can become possible through the combination of the Indian world and its opposite to produce a third possibility which she calls 'ch'ixi'. 'In this desirable society, mestizos and Indians could live together on equal terms, by adopting, from the beginning, legitimate modes of coexistence based in reciprocity, redistribution,

and authority as a service' (ibid:106). Such an autonomy, would not mean cutting the *ayllu* off from the wider Bolivian society (impossible in any case), but through networks of social relations, producing an 'indigenous modernity' by acting as an *ayllu* in the cities, rather than becoming 'sifilized'.

Bibliography

- Acosta, A. 2011. Solo imaginando otros mundos, se cambiara este. Reflexiones sobre el Buen Vivir. *Vivir Bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* Edited by Ivonne Farah H. and Luciano Vasapollo. La Paz: CIEDES-UMSA.
- Acosta, A. 2013. *El Buen Vivir: Sumak Kawsay, una oportunidad para imaginar otros mundos*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Abercrombie, T. 1994. To be Indian, to be Bolivian: 'Ethnic' and 'National' Discourses of Identity. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America*, Edited by Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Abercrombie, T. 1998. *Pathways of Memory and Power: ethnography and history among and Andean people*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI.
- Absi, P. 2005. *Los Ministros del Diablo: El trabajo y sus representaciones en las minas de Potosí*. La Paz: PIEB/IFEA.
- Aguilo, F. 1991. *Diccionario Kallawaya*. La Paz: MUSEF.
- Albó, X. 1987. From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari in Stern, Steve J., edited, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Albó, X. 1994. And from Kataristasto MNRistas? The Surprising and Bold Alliance between Aymaras and Neoliberals in Bolivia, in Lee Van Cott, Donna edited *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Albó, X. 2008. *Movimientos y poder indígena en Bolivia, Ecuador y Peru*. La Paz: CIPCA.
- Albó, X. 2011. Suma Qamaña = convivir bien. ¿Cómo medirlo? In *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* Ivonne Farah H. and Luciano Vasapollo (editors). La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.
- Albó, X., Greaves, T., and Sandoval, G. 1983. *Cabalgando entre dos mundos*. La Paz: CIPCA.
- Albó, X. and Ramiro, C. 2009. Autonomías Indígenas en la Realidad Boliviana y su nueva Constitución. La Paz: Vicepresidencia del Estado Plurinacional and GTZ-PADEP.
- Albro, R. 2006. The Culture of Democracy and Bolivia's Indigenous Movements. *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (4), pp. 387-410.
- Allen, C. 1982. Body and Soul in Quechua Thought. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 8(2), pp.179-196.
- Allen, C. 2011. *Foxboy: intimacy and aesthetics in Andean stories*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Allen, C. 1988. *The Hold Life Has*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Allen, C, J. 1997. When Pebbles Move Mountains: Iconicity and Symbolism in Quechua Ritual. In *Creating Context in Andean Cultures* (ed.) Howard-Malverde, R. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Allen, C. 2011. *Foxboy: intimacy and aesthetics in Andean stories*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Anderson, B.1983. *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso: London.
- Antezana, L. 2011. *Latifundio y minifundio en Bolivia*. La Paz: Plural.
- Apffel-Marglin, F. 2012. *Subversive Spiritualities: How Rituals Enact the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Arnold, D. 1997. Making Men in Her own Image: Hender, Text, and Textile in Qaqachaka. In *Creating Context in Andean Cultures* (ed.) Howard-Malverde, R. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnold, D. 1998. La Casa de Adobe y Piedras del Inka: Género, memoria y cosmos en Qaqachaka, in *Hacia un Orden Andino de las Cosas*, Arnold, D. Y., Jiménez Aruquipa D. and Yapita, J. La Paz: Hisbol.
- Arnold, D., and Hastorf, C. 2008. *Heads of State: Icons, Power and politics in the Ancient and Modern Andes*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Arnold, D. and Yapita, J. 2000. El rincón de las cabezas: luchas textuales, educación y tierras en los Andes. La Paz: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, UMSA/ILCA.
- Astvaldsson, A. 2000. *Las Voces de los Wak'a: Fuentes principales del poder político Aymara*. La Paz: CIPCA
- Astvaldson, A. 2006. Reading without words: landscapes and symbolic objects as repositories of knowledge and meaning. *Kay Pacha: Cultivating earth and water in the Andes* (ed.) P. Dransart. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Ayo Saucedo, D. 1999. *Los Desafíos de la Participación Popular*. La Paz: CEBEM.
- Ballivian, J. 1988[1926]. Los Callahuayas, médicos ambulantes. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayaya* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Barth, F. 1969. Introduction. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (ed.) Frederik Barth. Boston: Little, Brown and company.
- Bastien, J 1985. *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and ritual in an Andean Ayllu*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Bautista, S. 2010. *Que significa el Estado Plurinacional?* La Paz: Rincon Ediciones.

- Bilby, K. 1996. Ethnogenesis in the Guianas and Jamaica: Two Maroon Cases. In *History, Power and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (ed.) Hill, J.D. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Blanes, J. 2000. *Mallkus y Alcaldes: La Ley de Participación Popular en Comunidades Rurales del Altipano Paceño*. La Paz: PIEB.
- Blumtritt, A. 2013. Translocality and Gender Dynamics: The *Pareja* and the *Thakhi* System in Bolivia. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1. 3-16.
- Boero Rojo, H. 1992. *Iskanwaya: la ciudadela que solo vivía de noche*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.
- Bolin, I. 2006. *Growing Up in a Culture of Respect*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Böhm, S., Dinerstein, A.C., and Spicer, A. 2015. (Im)possibilities of Autonomy: Social Movements in and beyond Capital, the State and Development. *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 9:1. 17-32.
- Bouysse-Cassagne, T. 1986. Urco and Uma: Aymara concepts of space. In *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* (eds.) J. Murra, N. Wachtel and J. Revel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bouysse-Cassagne, T. and Harris, O. 1987. Pacha: En Torno al Pensamiento Aymara. In *Tres Reflexiones sobre el pensamiento Andino* (eds.) Bouysse-Cassagne, T. and Harris, O. Hisbol: La Paz.
- Bosworth, R.J.B. 2007. *Nationalism*. Harlow: Pearson.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London and New York: Routledge
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bradby, B. 2007[1982]. 'Resistance to capitalism' in the Peruvian Andes. In *Ecology and Exchange in the Andes*. Lehmann, D (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bravo, C. 1988[1889]. Clasificación de plantas medicinales usadas en la farmacopea Callahuaya o sea de los indios curanderos Aymaras que el comité departamental de La Paz remite a la exposición universal de Paris. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayaya* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Browman, D.L. 1978. Toward the Development of the Tiahuanaco (Tiwanaku) State. In D.L. Browman. *Advances in Andean Archaeology: 327-349*. Chicago: Sol Tax Ed.
- Brown, M.F. 1996. On Resisting Resistance. *American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 98, No. 4 (Dec.)*. 729-735.
- Burman, A. 2011. *Descolonización Aymara: Ritualidad y Política (2006-2010)*. La Paz: Plural.

Calla Ortega, R. and R. Molina Barrios. 2003. *Indigenas, Politica y Reformas en Bolivia: Hacia una Etnologia del Estado en America Latina*. Guatemala: Ediciones ICAPI.

Callahan, M. 2011. Signs of the Time: Kallawaya Medical Expertise and Social Reproduction in 21st Century Bolivia. University of Michigan: unpublished Ph.D thesis.

Cameron, J. 2012. Bolivia's Contentious Politics of 'Normas y Procedimientos Propios'. Paper presented to the XXX Congress of the Latin American Studies Association San Francisco, May 23-26, 2012.

Canessa, A. 2000. Contesting Hybridity: *Evangelistas* and *Kataristas* in Highland Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Andean Issue (Feb., 2000). 115-144.

Canessa, A. 2006. *Minas, Mote y Muñecas: Identidades e Indigeneidades en Larecaja*. La Paz: Editorial Mama Huaco.

Canessa, A. 2012. *Intimate Indigeneities: Race, Sex, and History in the Small Spaces of Andean Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Caro, D. 1985. 'Those Who Divide Use': Resistance and Change Among Pastoral Ayllus in Ulla Ulla, Bolivia. John Hopkins University: Unpublished Ph.D thesis.

Centellas, M. 2013. Bolivia's new multicultural constitution: The 2009 constitution in historical and comparative perspective. In *Latin America's Multicultural Movements: The Struggle Between Communitarianism, Autonomy, and Human Rights* (eds.) T.A. Eisenstadt, M.S. Danielson, M.J. Bailon Corres, and C. Sorroza Polo. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chambi, R. 2011. Desafíos para la Descolonización en Bolivia, in *Descolonización en Bolivia. Analisis y Debates*, Lara Barrientos, Marcelo (ed.). CEPA, CIPS and Latinas Editores, Oruro, Bolivia.

Chivi Vargas, I.M. 2010. Los Caminos de la descolonización en América Latina: los pueblo indígenas y el igualitarismo jurisdiccional en Bolivia, in *Pueblos Indígenas: constituciones y reformas políticas en América Latina* (ed.) R.Z. Yrigoyen Fajardo. Lima: Editorial Grafica Kwarto.

Choque, M.E. and Mamani, C. 2001. Reconstitución del ayllu y derechos de los pueblos indígenas: el movimiento indio en los Andes de Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* (6) 202-224.

Choque Canqui, R. and Quisbert Quispe, C. 2006. *Educación Indigenal en Bolivia: Un siglo de ensayos educativos y resistencias patronales*. La Paz: Unidad de Investigaciones Históricas UNIH-PAKAXA.

Chuquimia Escobar, R.G., Chambi, R. and Claros, F. 2010. La Reconstitucion del Jach'a Suyu y La Nacion Pakajaqi: Entre el poder local y la colonialidad del derecho indígena. PIEB, La Paz.

Clastres, P. 1977. *Society Against the State*. Oxford: Blackwell

- Clark, S. 2009. Pleasure Experienced: Well-Being and the Japanese Bath. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (eds.) Mathews, Gordon and Izquierdo, Carolina. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Comaroff, J. 1996. Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Difference in an Age of Revolution. *The Politics of Difference: Ethnic Premises in a World of Power* (eds.) E.N. Wilmsen and P. MacAllister. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Conklin, B.A. 1997. Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism. *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Nov), pp. 711-737.
- Connerton, P. 1998. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Contreras, M. 2003. A comparative Perspective on Education Reforms in Bolivia: 1950-2000. *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Merilee S. Grindle and Pilar Domingo. London and Cambridge Mass.: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University and Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London.
- Cotari, D., Mejía, J. and Carrasco, V. 1978. *Diccionario Aymara-Castellano*. Cochabamba: Instituto de Idiomas Padres de Mary Knoll.
- Crandon-Malamud, L. 1993. *From the Fat of Our Souls: Social Change, Political Process, and Medical Pluralism in Bolivia*. London: University of California Press.
- de la Cadena, M. 2010. Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond 'Politics'. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, pp. 334-370.
- De la Cadena, M. 2014. Runa: Human but *not only*. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic theory* 4 (2): 253-259.
- Díaz-Polanco, H. 1985. Un debate Internacional: la autonomía para los grupos étnicos. *Boletín de Antropología Americana*, No. 12 (Dic. 1985). Pp. 131-141.
- Díaz Romero, B. 1988[1904]. Enumeración de plantas medicinales. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayá* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Dandler, J. 1983. *Sindicalismo Campesino en Bolivia. Cambios Estructurales en Ucuireña 1935-1952*. CERES, Cochabamba, Bolivia.
- Dandler, J. and Torrico, J. 1987. From the National Indigenous Congress to the Ayopaya Rebellion: Bolivia, 1945-1947 in Stern, J (ed.), *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean peasant world, 18th to 20th centuries*. University of Wisconsin. 334-378.
- Damonte, G. 2011. *Construyendo Territorios: Narrativas Territoriales Aymaras Contemporáneas*. Lima: GRADE (Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo).
- Derné, S. 2009. Well-Being: Lessons from India. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (eds.) Mathews, Gordon and Izquierdo, Carolina. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

- Descola, P. 2014. *Beyond Nature and Culture*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Dillon, M. and Abercrombie, T. 1988. *The Destroying Christ: An Aymara Myth of Conquest*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Dinerstein, A.C. 2013. Autonomia y Esperanza: La Nueva Gramatica de la Emancipacion. In *Movimientos Sociales y Autonomía Colectiva: La Política de la Esperanza en América Latina* (ed.) Dinerstein, A.C. Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual.
- Dinerstein, A.C. 2015. *The politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organising Hope*. Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Diskin, M. 1994. Ethnic Discourse and the Challenge to Anthropology: The Nicaraguan Case. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1965. *The Souls of Black Folk*. London: Longmans
- Dunkerley, J. 1984. *Rebellion in the veins: Political struggle in Bolivia, 1952-82*. London: Verso.
- Dunkerley, J. 2003. The Origins of the Bolivian Revolution in the Twentieth Century: Some Reflections, in Grindle, M, and Domingo, P, (eds.), *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*. London: ILAS. Pp.135-163.
- Durkheim, É. [1912]2008. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Dworkin, Gerald 1997. *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dwyer, K. 1982. *Moroccan Dialogues: Anthropology in Question*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Earls, J. 1969. The organisation of power in Quechua mythology. *Journal of Steward Anthropological Society*: 63-82. Cited in Harris, O. 1995. 'The Coming of the White People'. Reflections on the Mythologisation of History in Latin America. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Special Issue: *Shifting Frontiers: Historical Transformations of Identities in Latin America (Jan.)*, pp. 9-24.
- Eckstein, S. 1976. *The Impact of Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of Mexico and Bolivia*. Beverley Hills: Sage Publications. In Dunkerley, J 2003. The Origins of the Bolivian Revolution in the Twentieth Century: Some Reflections, in Grindle, M, and Domingo, P, (eds.), *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*. London: ILAS. Pp.135-163.
- Eisenstadt, T.A. 2013. Reconciling liberal pluralism and group rights: A comparative perspective on Qaxaca, Mexico's experiment in multiculturalism. In *Latin America's Multicultural Movements: The Struggle Between Communitarianism, Autonomy, and Human*

- Rights* (eds.) T.A. Eisenstadt, M.S. Danielson, M.J. Bailon Corres, and C. Sorroza Polo. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elias, N.1982. *State Formation and Civilization*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Escobar, A. 2003. Mundos y Conocimientos de Otro Modo: El programa de investigación de modernidad/colonialidad latinoamericano. *Tabula Rasa*, No1, pp.51-86.
- Fanon, F. 2008. *Black Skin White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- Farah, I.H. and Vasapollo, L. 2011. *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.
- Fernández Juárez, G. 2004. *Ajayu, animu, kuraji*: el 'susto' y el concepto de persona en el Altiplano Aymara. In Spedding, Alison (ed.). *Gracias a Dios y a los achachilas: ensayos de sociología de la religión en los Andes*. La Paz: Plural/ISEAT.
- Fernández Juárez, G. 2008. *Kharisiris en acción: Cuerpo, persona y modelos médicos en el Altiplano de Bolivia*. La Paz: CIPCA.
- Ferrié, F. 2014. *Renaissance of the lost Leco: ethnohistory of the Bolivian foothills from Apolobamba to Larecaja*. St Andrews: Unpublished Ph.D thesis.
- Fillitz, T. and Saris, J. 2013. Introduction. Authenticity Aujourd'hui. In *Debating Authenticity: Concepts of modernity in anthropological perspective* (eds.) Fillitz, T. and Saris, J. Berghahn Books. New York, Oxford.
- Field, L. 1994. Who are the Indians? Re-conceptualizing Identity, Resistance, and the Role of Social Science in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review* 29 (3):237-48.
- Foucault, M. 1997. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin
- Freyre, P. [1970] 2009. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, London: Continuum.
- Fundación Tierra. 2012. Nuestra Tierra, No.9, September. La Paz: Fundación Tierra.
- Galindo, M., Cruz, B., Pardo, E. and Bueno, R. 2007. *Visiones Aymaras sobre las Autonomías: Aportes para la construcción del Estado nacional*. La Paz: PIEB.
- Garcés, F. 2010. Los esfuerzos de construcción descolonizada de un Estado plurinacional en Bolivia y los riesgos de vestir el mismo caballero con otro terno, en *Pueblos Indígenas: constituciones y reformas políticas en America Latina*, editado por Raquel Z Yrigoyen Fajardo. Editorial Gráfica Kuarto, Lima.
- Garcia, M.E. 2005. *Making Indigenous Citizens: Identities, Education and Multicultural Development in Peru*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Gay y Blasco, P. and Wardle, H. 2007. *How to read ethnography*. London: Routledge.
- Gellner, E. 1997. *Nationalism*. New York University Press: New York.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gifford, D.J. and Lancaster, E. 1988. *Tradition and Change among the Grass Roots of Callaway Indigenous Medicine*. Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St Andrews, St Andrews.

Girault, L. 1988[1974]. La Cultura Kallawayá. In Costa Ardúz, Rolando, *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayá*. 1988. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.

Gluckman, M. 1940. Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand. *Bantu Studies*, 14 (1), pp. 1-30.

Gose, P. 1994. *Deathly Waters and Hungry Mountains: Agrarian ritual and class formation in an Andean town*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gose, P. 2006. Mountains Historicized: ancestors and landscape in the Colonial Andes. Penelope Dransart (ed.). *Kay Pacha: Cultivating earth and water in the Andes*. BAR International Series 1478, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Gose, P. 2008. *Invaders as Ancestors: On the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish Colonialism in the Andes*. University of Toronto Press, London.

Gotkowitz, L. 2003. Revisiting the Rural Roots of the Revolution in Grindle, M, and Domingo, P, (eds.), *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*. London: ILAS. Pp.164-182.

Gotkowitz, L. 2007. *A Revolution for our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880-1952*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Goudsmit, I. 2006a. Praying for Government: Peasant Disengagement from the Bolivian State. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 25, No.2, pp.200-219.

Goudsmit, I. 2006b. *So far from God, so near the mountains: peasant deference to the state and landlords in the Bolivian Andes*. Goldsmiths College, University of London. Unpublished Phd thesis.

Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Green, S.F. 2005. *Notes from the Balkans*. Princeton Paperbacks, Princeton and Oxford.

Griffiths, N. 1994. 'Inquisition of the Indians?': The Inquisitorial Model and the Repression of Andean Religion in Seventeenth-Century Peru. *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*. 3(1) Winter.

Gruzinski, S. 1993. *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gudeman, S. 1976. *Relationships, residence and the individual: A rural Panamanian community*. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Gudynas, E. 2011. Tensiones, contradicciones y oportunidades de la dimension ambiental del Buen Vivir. In *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* (eds.) Farah, I. and Vasapollo, L. La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.
- Gustafson, B. 2009. *New Languages of the State: Indigenous Resurgence and the Politics of knowledge in Bolivia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Hale, C.R. 1994. *Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Hale, C.R. 2002. Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 34, No. (August), pp. 485-524. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, C 2006. Rethinking indigenous politics in the era of "indio permitido". In *Dispatches from Latin America: On the Frontlines Against Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press.
- Hale, C. and Millamán, R. 2004. Rethinking indigenous politics in the era of "indio permitido". *NACLA Report on the Americas*, vol. 38, no. 2, p. 16-21.
- Harris, O. 2000. *To Make the Earth Bear Fruit: Ethnographic Essays on Fertility, Work and Gender in Highland Bolivia*. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, London.
- Harvey, P. 1997. Peruvian Independence Day: Ritual, Memory, and the Erasure of Narrative In *Creating Context in Andean Cultures*, edited by Rosaleen Howard-Malverde. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, P. 2005. 'The Materiality of State Effects: an Ethnography of a Road in the Peruvian Andes.' In *State Formation. Anthropological Explorations* (eds.) Krohn-Hansen, C. Nustad, K, 216-247. Cambridge: Pluto.
- Harvey, P. and Knox, H. 2010. Abstraction, materiality and the 'science of the concrete' in engineering practice. In *Material Powers: Cultural studies, history and the material turn*, edited by Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce. Routledge, London and New York, 2010.
- Healey, K. 2001. *Llamas, Weaving, and Organic Chocolate: Multicultural Grassroots Development in the Andes and Amazon of Bolivia*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Hendricks, J. 1994. Symbolic Counterhegemony among the Ecuadorian Shuar. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Hickerson, N.P. 1996. Ethnogenesis in the South Plains: Jumano to Kiowa? In *History, Power, and Identity Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (ed.) Hill, J.D. Iowa: University of Iowa Press.

- Hill, J.D. 1996. Introduction: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992. In *History, Power, and Identity Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (ed.) Hill, J.D. Iowa: University of Iowa Press.
- Holloway, J. 2010. *Change the World without taking power: The meaning of revolution today*. London: Pluto.
- Howard, R. 2009. Education reform, indigenous politics, and decolonisation in the Bolivia of Evo Morales. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29. 583-593.
- Howard-Malverde, R. and Canessa, A. 1995. The School in the Quechua and Aymara Communities of highland Bolivia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 15, No.3. 231-243.
- Howe, J. 1994. The Struggle over San Blas Kuna Culture. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Ingold, T. 2011. Introduction In *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines* (ed.) Ingold, Tim. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Izquierdo, C. 2009. Well-Being among the Matsigenka of the Peruvian Amazon: Health, Missions, Oil, and 'Progress'. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective*. Edited by Gordon Mathews and Carolina Izquierdo (2009). New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Jackson, J. 1994. Being and Becoming an Indian in the Vaupés. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1994.
- Jackson, J. 1995. Culture, genuine and spurious: the politics of Indianness in the Vaupés, Colombia. *American Ethnologist* 22(1). 3-27.
- Jackson, M. 2011. *Life Within Limits: Well-Being in a World of Want*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- James, W. 2008. Well-Being: In whose opinion and who pays? In *Culture and Well-being: Anthropological Approaches to Freedom and Political Ethics* (ed.) Jiménez, Alberto Corsín. London: Pluto Press.
- Jankowiak, W. 2009. Well-Being Cultural Pathology, and Personal Rejuvenation in a Chinese City, 1981-2005. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (eds.) Mathews, Gordon and Izquierdo, Carolina. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Jiménez, A.C. 2008. Well-Being in Anthropological Balance: Remarks on Proportionality as Political Imagination. In *Culture and Well-being: Anthropological Approaches to Freedom and Political Ethics* (ed.) Jiménez, Alberto Corsín. London: Pluto Press.
- Katsiaficas, G. 2006. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday life*. Edinburgh: AK Press.
- Kertzer, D.I. 1988. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Klor de Alva, J.J. 1991. *Colonizing Souls. In Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*. Oxford: University of California Press.

Kohl, B. and Farthing, L. 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal hegemony and popular resistance*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Kolata, A. 1993. *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*. Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Kymlicka, W. 1998. Introduction: An emerging consensus? *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. Vol. 1, No.2, *Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Liberal Democracy (June)*, pp.143-157.

Kymlicka, W. 2001. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Laime, Ajocopa, T. 2007. *DICCIONARIO BILINGÜE Iskay simipi yuyayk'ancha*. La Paz: <http://futatraw.ourproject.org/descargas/DicQuechuaBolivia.pdf>

Laing, A.F. 2015. Resource Sovereignities in Bolivia: Re-Conceptualising the Relationship between Indigenous Identities and the Environment during the TIPNIS conflict. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp.149-166.

Lambek, M. 2008. Measuring—or practising—well-being? In *Culture and Well-being: Anthropological Approaches to Freedom and Political Ethics* (ed.) Jiménez, Alberto Corsín. London: Pluto Press.

Langer, E. 1990. Andean Rituals of Revolt: The Chayanta Rebellion of 1927. In *Ethnohistory*, Vol.37, No.3 (Summer). 227-253. Duke University Press.

Larson, B. 2003. Capturing Indian Bodies, Hearths and Minds: The Gendered Politics of Rural School Reform in Bolivia, 1910-52. *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective* (eds.) M.S. Grindle and P. Domingo. London and Cambridge Mass.: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University and Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London.

Latour, B. 2011. *We have never been modern*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.

Lee Van Cott, D. 2000a. A Political Analysis of Legal Pluralism in Bolivia and Colombia, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Andean Issue (Feb), pp. 207-234. Colombia University Press.

Lee Van Cott, D. 2000b. 'Constitutional Reform and Ethnic Right' in Latin America: constitutional reform and ethnic right. *Parliam Aff.* 53(1): 41-54.

Libro de Actas, ayllu Niñacorín. 13th June 1993.

Loza, C.B. 2004. *Kallawayaya: Reconocimiento Mundial a una Ciencia en Los Andes*. La Paz: Vice-Ministerio de Cultura.

Loza, C.B. 2008. *El laberinto de la curación: itinerarios terapéuticos en las ciudades de La Paz y El Alto*. La Paz: ISEAT.

Lucero, J.A. 2006. Representing 'Real Indians': The Challenges of Indigenous Authenticity and Strategic Constructivism in Ecuador and Bolivia. *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 31-56.

Lukes, S. 1975. Political Ritual and Social Integration. *Sociology*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (May), pp.289-308.

Luna Penna, G. 2014. Trayectoria crítica del concepto de entnogénesis. *Logos: Revista de Lingüística, Filosofía y Literatura* 24(2), 167-179.

Luykx, A. 1999. *The Citizen Factory: schooling and cultural production in Bolivia*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York.

MacIntyre, A. 2007. *After Virtue: A study in moral theory*. London: Duckworth.

Máiz, R. 2006. Los nacionalismos antes de las naciones. *Política y Cultura*, primavera 2006, núm. 25, pp.79-112.

Mamani Ramírez, P. 2009. Estado plurinacional. Entre nuevo proyecto y la factualidad neocolonial. In *Estado Plurinacional y Autonomías Desiguales* (ed.) Mamani, P. 31-68. Willka: Revista Anual, Año 3, No. 3, El Alto, Bolivia.

Mamani Ramírez, P. 2011. Qamir qamaña: dureza de 'estar estando' y dulzura de 'ser siendo'. In *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* (eds.) Farah, I. and Vasapollo, L. La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.

Mathews, G. and Izquierdo, C. 2009. Towards an Anthropology of Well-Being. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (eds.) Mathews, G. and Izquierdo, C. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Maybury-Lewis, D. 1994. Becoming Indian in Lowland South America. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

McNeish, J. 2013. Extraction, Protest and Indigeneity in Bolivia: The TIPNIS Effect, *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 8:2. 221-242.

Medina, J. 2011. Acerca del Suma Qamaña. In *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* Ivonne Farah H. and Luciano Vasapollo (editors). La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.

Meyers, R. 2002. *Cuando el Sol Caminaba por la Tierra: Orígenes de la intermediación Kallawayá*. La Paz: Plural.

Mignolo, W.D. 2011. *The Darker Side of Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Mintz, S.W. and Wolf, E.R. 1950. An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo). *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter, 1950). 341-368.

- Murra, J.V. 2002. *El Mundo Andino: población medio ambiente y economía*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Murra, J. 1980. *The Economic Organisation of the Inca State*. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.
- Nash, J. 2001. *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in an Age of Globalization*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Nell, C. 2014. *The Foodpaths of Chawpirana People: An Ethnography of Living Inbetweenness in the Bolivian Andes*. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of St Andrews.
- Niel, M. 2011. EL Concepto del Buen Vivir. Madrid: UNIVERSIDAD CARLOS III DE MADRID Instituto Universitario de Estudios Internacionales y Europeos 'Francisco de Vitoria'.
- Oblitas Poblete, E. 1963. *Cultura Callawayana*. La Paz: Camarlinghi.
- Oishi, S. 2009. Culture and Well-Being: Conceptual and Methodological Issues. In *International Differences of Well-Being* (eds.) Diener, E., Helliwell, J.F., and Kahneman, D. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Orta, A. 2001. Remembering the Ayllu, Remaking the Nation: Indigenous Scholarship and Activism in the Bolivian Andes. *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6(1): 198-201.
- Orta, A. 2013. Forged Communities and Vulgar Citizens: Autonomy and its Límites in Semineoliberal Bolivia. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 1. 108-133.
- Ortiz, M.V., and Bustillos Zamorano, I. 2010. *Autonomías Indígenas, un proceso a construir*. La Paz: FAM-Bolivia.
- Otero, G. 1991[1951]. *La Piedra Mágica: Vida y costumbres de los indios Callahuayas de Bolivia*. La Paz: Editorial 'Juventud'.
- Overing, J. 1989. Personal Autonomy and the Domestication of the Self in Piara Society. In *Acquiring Culture: Cross Cultural Studies in Child Development* (eds.) G. Jahoda and I.M. Lewis. London: Croom Helm.
- Pape, I S R. 2009. Indigenous Movements and the Andean Dynamics of Ethnicity and Class. *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 167, Vol. 36, No. 4, July. 101-125.
- Patzi, F. 1999. Etnofagia Estatal: Modernas Formas de Violencia Simbólica (Una aproximación al análisis de la Reforma Educativa). *Bull. Inst. fr. études andines*, 28 (3): 535-559.
- Platt, T. 1986. Mirrors and Maiz: the concept of yanantin among the Macha of Bolivia, in *Anthropological History of Andean Politics*, edited by Murra, John V, Wachtel, Nathan and Revel, Jacques. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Platt, T. 1987a. The Andean Experience of Bolivian Liberalism, 1825-1900: Roots of Rebellion in 19th-century Potosí. In *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (ed.) Stern, S.J.. London: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Platt, T. 1987b. The Andean Soldiers of Christ. Confraternity, organisation, the Mass of the Sun, and regenerative warfare in rural Potosí, 18th to 20th centuries. In *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. 73. 139-191.
- Platt, T. 1987c. Calendarios tributarios e intervención mercantil. La articulación estacional de los ayllus de Lipez con el mercado minero potosino (siglo XIX). In *La Participación Indígena en los Mercados Surandinos: Estrategias y reproducción social Siglos XVI a XX*, (eds.) Harris, Olivia, Larson, Brooke and Tandeter, Enrique. La Paz: CERES.
- Platt, T. 1995. Ethnic Calendars and Market Interventions among the Ayllus of Lipes during the Nineteenth Century. In Larson, Brooke and Olivia Harris (eds.), *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*. London: Duke University Press.
- Platt, T. 2009. 'From the Island's Point of View: Warfare and Transformation in an Andean Vertical archipelago.' In *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. 95, 2, pp. 33-70.
- Poma de Ayala, F.G. 1936. *Nueva Cronica y buen gobierno. Travaux en Memoires, vol. XXIII*. Paris: Institute d'Ethnologie.
- Poma de Ayala, F.H. 1978. *Letter to a King: A Picture-History of the Inca Civilisation*. London, Boston and Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Ponce Sanjinés, C. 1988[1950]. Los Callahuaya. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayá* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Prada, R. 2010. Umbrales y horizontes de la descolonización, in *El Estado: Campo de Lucha*. La Paz: Muela del Diablo.
- Puente, R. 2011. 'Vivir Bien' y descolonización. In *Vivir bien: ¿Paradigma no capitalista?* (eds.) Farah, I. and Vasapollo, L. La Paz: CIDES-UMSA.
- Quijano, A. 2008. Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Social Classification, in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate* (eds.) Moraña, M., Dussel, E. and Jáuregui, C.A. Duke University Press, Durham and London.
- Rabinow, P. 1977. *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. London: University of California Press.
- Rancière, J. 1999. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ranaboldo, C. 1987. *El Camino Perdido Chinkasqa ñan Armat thaki. Biografía del dirigente campesino kallawayá Antonio Alvarez Mamani*. La Paz: SEMTA.
- Rappaport, J. 2005. *Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation, and Ethnic Pluralism in Colombia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rapport, N. 2008. On Well-Being, Being Well and Well-Becoming: On the Move with Hospital Porters. In *Culture and Well-being: Anthropological Approaches to Freedom and Political Ethics* (ed.) Jiménez, A.C. London: Pluto Press.

Regalsky, P. and Ortega Breña, M. 2010. Political Processes and the Reconfiguration of the State in Bolivia. *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 37, No. 3, *BOLIVIA UNDER MORALES. Part 1. CONSOLIDATING POWER, INITIATING DECOLONIZATION (May 2010)*, pp. 35-50.

Reinaga, F. 2001[1970]. *La Revolución India*. La Paz: Ediciones Fundación Amaútica 'Fausto Reinaga'.

Rivera Cusicanqui, S. 1986. 'Sindicalismo campesino': ¿Unidad en la diversidad? Presencia. La Paz:ILDIS, pp.9-51. Cited in Ticona, E., Rojas, G. and Albó, X. 1995. *Votos y Wiphallas: campesinos y pueblos originarios en democracia*. La Paz: Fundación Milenio and CIPCA.

Rivera Casicanqui, S. 1990. 'Liberal Democracy and Ayllu Democracy in Bolivia: The Case of Northern Potosí', *The Journal of Development Studies* 26(4). 97-121.

Rivera Cusicanqui, S. 2003[1984]. *'Oprimidos pero no vencidos': Luchas del campesinado aymara y quechwa 1900-1980*. THOA, La Paz.

Rivera Cusicanqui, S. 2012. Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: A Reflection on the Practices and Discourses of Decolonization. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*. Winter. Durham: Duke University Press.

Rocha, J.A. 1999. *Con el ojo adelante, con el ojo atrás: ideología étnica, el poder y lo político entre los Quechuas de los valles y serranías de Cochabamba (1935-1952)*. Cochabamba: UMSS.

Rockefeller, S.A. 2010. *Starting from Quirpini: The travels and places of a Bolivian people*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Rojas Pierola, R.R. 2009. *Estado, Territorialidad y Etnias Andinas. Lucha y pacto en la constitucion de la nacion boliviana*. La Paz: Facultad de Arquitectura, Artes, Diseño y Urbanismo, UMSA.

Rösing, I. 1990. *Introduccion al Mundo Callawayaya: Curación ritual para vencer penas y tristezas Tomo I Introducción y Documentación*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.

Rösing, I. 1991. *La Mesa Blanca Callawayaya: Variaciones Locales y Curacion del Susto*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.

Rösing, I. 1993. *Las Almas Nuevas del Mundo Callawayaya: Análisis de la curación ritual Callawayaya Tomo II Datos y Análisis*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.

Rösing, I. 1995. *La Mesa Blanca Callawayaya: Contribución al análisis Observaciones intraculturales y transculturales*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.

Rösing, I. 1996a. *El Rayo: Amenaza y Vocación*. UKAS, Ulm.

Rösing, I. 1996b. *Rituales para llamar la lluvia: Rituales colectivos de la Region Kallawayaya en los Andes Bolivianos*. La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro.

Rösing, I. 2003. *Religión, Ritual y Vida Cotidiana en Los Andes. Los Diez Géneros de Amarete*. Madrid: Iberoamericana.

Saavedra, J.L. 2011. Perspectivas para la Descolonización en Bolivia, in *Descolonización en Bolivia. Analisis y Debates* (ed.) Lara Barrientos, M. CEPA, CIPS and Latinas Editores, Oruro, Bolivia.

Saignes, T. 1983. ¿Quiénes son los Kallawayaya? Nota sobre una enigma etnohistórico. *Revista Andina, No.2 (diciembre)*. Cuzco.

Saignes, T. 1985. *Los Andes Orientales: Historia de un Olvido*. Cochabamba: IFEA/CERES.

Saignes, T. 1986. 'En Busca del Poblamiento Etnico de los Andes Bolivianos (Siglos XV y XVI)'. *Avances de Investigacion No. 3*. La Paz: MUSEF.

Saignes, T. 1999. The Colonial Condition in the Quechua-Aymara Heartland (1570-1780). In *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Volume III South America, part 2*, (eds.) Salomon, F. and Schwartz, S.B. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salomon, F. 1983. Shamanism and politics in late colonial Ecuador. *American Ethnologist, Vol. 10, issue 3, pp.413-428*.

Salomon, F. 1986. Vertical Politics on the Inka Frontier. *Anthropological History of Andean Politics* (eds.) Murra, J., Wachtel, N. and Revel, J. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salvatore, R.D. 2013. Conclusion: Violence and the 'Civilising Process' in Modern Latin America. In *Murder and Violence in Modern Latin America* (eds.) Johnson, E.A., Salvatore, R.D. and Spierenburg, P.

Sanchez, C. 2010. Autonomía, Estados pluriétnicos y plurinacionales. In *Pueblos Indígenas: Constituciones y Reformas Políticas en América Latina* (ed.) Yrigoyen Fajardo, R. Lima: ILSA/IILS/INESC.

Sanjines, J.C. 2004. *Mestizaje Upside-Down. Aesthetic Politics in Modern Bolivia*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.

Sanjinés, J. 1969.. *Yawar Mallku* (film).

Santos, B. 2010. *Descolonizar el Saber, Reinventar el Poder*. Ediciones Trilce, Montevideo.

Sax, M. 2011. *An ethnography of feeding, perception and place in the Peruvian Andes (where hungry spirits bring illness and wellbeing)*. Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York.

Schavelzon, S. 2012. *El Nacimiento del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia: Etnografía de una Asamblea Constituyente*. La Paz: CLACSO, PLURAL, CEJIS, IWGIA, 2012.

Scheldman, G. 2008. Primed for Well-Being? Young People, Diabetes and Insulin Pumps. In *Culture and Well-being: Anthropological Approaches to Freedom and Political Ethics* (ed.) Jiménez, A.C. London: Pluto Press.

Schilling Vacaflor, A. 2008. Indigenous Identities and politico-juridical demands of CSUTCB and CONAMAQ in the constitutional change process of Bolivia. *T'inkazos*, Vol.4, La Paz.

- Schulte, M. 1999. *Llamereros y Caseros: La Economía Regional Kallawayá*. La Paz: PIEB/SINERGIA.
- Schoop, W. 1984[1988]. El Oficio de los Médicos Ambulantes. In *Compilación de estudios sobre medicina Kallawayá*. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawayá* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Scott, J.C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Scott, J.C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New York and London: Yale University Press.
- Scott, K. 2012. *Measuring Wellbeing: Towards sustainability?* London and New York: Routledge.
- Sikkink, L. and Choque, B. 1999. Landscape, Gender and Community: Andean Mountain Stories. *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Oct., 1999), pp.167-182.
- Silverblatt, I. 2004. *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Spedding, A. 2004. Introducción a la sociología de la religión en el contexto andino. In *Gracias a Dios y a los achachilas: ensayos de sociología de la religión en los Andes* (ed.) Spedding, A. La Paz: Plural/ISEAT.
- Spedding, A. 2010. 'Suma qamaña' ¿kamsañ muni? (¿Qué quiere decir 'vivir bien'?), in *Suma qamaña: Miradas críticas al vivir bien*. Fe y Pueblo Segunda época, No. 17, July 2010. La Paz: ISEAT.
- Spedding, A. and Llanos, D. 1999. 'No Hay Ley Para la Cosecha': Un estudio comparative del sistema productivo y las relaciones sociales en Chari y Chulumani, La Paz. La Paz: PIEB.
- Stephenson, M. 1999. *Gender and Modernity in Andean Bolivia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Tapia, L. 2008. *Política Salvaje*. La Paz: CLACSO/Muela del Diablo.
- Taylor, C. 1991. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, C. 1994. The Politics of Recognition. In *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, C. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.
- Thin, N. 2009. Why Anthropology Can Ill Afford to Ignore Well-Being. In *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (eds.) Mathews, G. and Izquierdo, C. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Ticona, E., Rojas, G. and Albó, X. 1995. *Votos y Wiphalas: campesinos y pueblos originarios en democracia*. La Paz: Fundación Milenio and CIPCA.

- Timmer, H. 2001. *Cosmología Andina: Sabiduría indígena boliviana en encuentro con la ciudad*. La Paz: ISEAT.
- Torrico, P. 2011. *'La Ley No1551 de Participación Popular y Los Efectos Socioculturales en la Relación entre Vecino y Campesinos por el Acceso y Control del Gobierno Municipal del Charazani, Provincia Bautista Saavedra, Departamento de La Paz, Bolivia'* (Tesis de Grado). Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Carrera de Antropología. La Paz.
- Turino, T. 1994. The State and Andean Musical Production in Peru. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Untoja Choque, F. 1992. *Re-torno al Ayllu I*. Ediciones CADA, La Paz.
- Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. 1994. Introduction: Indians, Nation-States, and Culture. In *Nation States and Indians in Latin America* (eds.) Urban, G. and Sherzer, J. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Urton, G. 1997. *The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philosophy of Arithmetic*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Uzeda, A. 2009. Suma qamaña. Visiones indígenas y desarrollo. *Revista Traspacios*. CISO, UMSA: Cochabamba. 1:33-51.
- Viatori, M. 2009. *One State, Many Nations: Indigenous Rights Struggle in Ecuador*. Santa Fe: SAR Press.
- Viceministerio de Culturas (2002). *Cosmovisión Andina de la Cultura Kallawayá. Candidatura de la República de Bolivia para su proclamación como Obra Maestra del Patrimonio Oral e Intangible de la Humanidad*. La Paz: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, Viceministerio de Culturas.
- Warnier, J. 2013. The Moral Economy of Authenticity and the Invention of Traditions in Franche-Comté. In *Debating Authenticity: Concepts of modernity in anthropological perspective* (eds.) Fillitz, T. and Saris, J. Berghahn Books. New York, Oxford.
- Weismantel, M.J. 1988. *Food, Gender and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Whitehead, N. 1996. Ethnogenesis and Ethnocide in the European Occupation of Native Surinam, 1499-1681. In *History, Power, and Identity Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (ed.) Hill, J.D. Iowa: University of Iowa Press.
- Yampara Huarachi, S. 2011. *Cosmovivencia Andina. Vivir y convivir en armonía integral— Suma Qamaña*. *Bolivian Studies Journal*, Vol. 18.
- Yashar, D. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yroala Burgos, A. 1995. *The Language of Quechua Rural Teachers in Bolivia: A Study of Bilingualism—Interlingualism among Rural Quechua Native Speakers*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of St Andrews.

Yrigoyen, R. 2010. 'A los veinte años del Convenio 169 de la OIT: Balance y retos de implementación de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas en Latinoamérica'. In *Pueblos Indígenas: Constituciones y reformas políticas en América Latina*. Editorial Gráfica Kuarto, Lima.

Zeballos Pasten, J. 1988[1951]. Los Callahuayas. In *Compilación de Estudios sobre Medicina Kallawaya* (ed.) Costa Ardúz, R. La Paz: Instituto Internacional de Integración Convenio Andrés Bello.

Zibecki, R. 2010. *Dispersing Power: Social Movements as Anti-State Forces*. Oakland, Edinburgh, Baltimore: AK Press.

Žižek, S. 1997. Multiculturalism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism. *New Left Review*, 225: 28-51.

Zulawski, A. 2000. Hygiene and 'The Indian Problem': Ethnicity and Medicine in Bolivia, 1910-1920. *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 107-129.

Appendix 1

Interviews

Interview with Feliciano Patty: 3rd June 2012

I asked Feliciano if there were Kallawayas in Niñacorín; he told me that although the *curanderos*, *sabios* or *sorteligos* were known as Kallawayas, 'por identidad todos somos Kallawayas' (in terms of identity, all of us are Kallawayas).

10 I asked him if he would therefore define everyone in Niñacorín as Kallawayas, and he said 'sí, por identidad; así estamos definiendo...tambien todos somos agricultores; Agripecuarias, no?...Y...estamos todos aglutinados ahí. Nadié puede escapar. Y ahí adentro se practica, la costumbra la cultura, entonces dificil que entra...ha entrado la iglesia catolica...esta entrando tambien [otros inglesias]' '...puede entrar, pero no van a aguantar. Claro, la católica, como esta un poco desmulando aguanta, como sea'

Religion and autonomy: 'La religión es propio del lugar; es la religión ancestral...bueno, eso de la autonomía tampoco esta tomando en cuenta. Son políticos, ellos. No pueden, porque ellos tienen que ganar la gente, eso es su preocupación de ser jefe, de ser caudillo adentro. Es una visión muy político. Hablando un poco de mentira, más.'

20 'No está tomando en cuenta pues mucho... en que es cosa natural sagrada de... no está muy incluida. Los que están llevando adelante son idea política... es que le gusta ellos no perder gente, no?...ganar gente, póstularse de autoridad, así. Autoridades pagados, no?'

He didn't go to the 'socialización' of the autonomy statute in Caata (where the meeting nearest to Niñacorín took place) but he did attend the meetings in Chullina and Charazani.

I tell Feliciano that I don't understand fully why the sindicato is so opposed to autonomy, but suggest to him that it is largely because they don't want to work with CONAMAQ or the ayllus that belong to CONAMAQ. He agrees with me on this point.

30

All decisions in Niñacorín are collective, and by consensus. Everyone participates in the decisions on the community, though this doesn't necessarily mean that everyone has to attend the meeting to approve the decision. Sometimes a proposal gets approved in the meeting because people don't want offend the person who is proposing it, but afterwards it might get revoked outside the meeting.

Feliciano used to work in 'ayni kusun', the adult education school that used to be in the Playa. He was one of the founders, and worked in it for twenty years until 2003.

40 The school operated using the Kallawayas culture as a guide, 'reafirmando la cultura de cada comunidad'. They taught in Aymara and Quechua. The education board were against the school.

He makes the link between the school and the current process of autonomy. 'Por eso ha surgido autonomía...hemos cautivado eso...la reconstitución de los ayllus, todo ya estaba mal' Autonomy was discussed since 1985 in the school in Silic Playa. 'Hemos planteado desde '85, así.' '85 era que los ayllus, ya no tenía valor... es obsoleto... es antiguo... para que..? Ya estamos en tiempo de civilización, para que lo pasado? Todo... no sirve. Ignorancia... ya!... realmente es porque Charazani estaba dominando; Charazani tenía mucha influencia. Fuerte! Como un planteamiento de que tienen que cambiar su cultura. Niñacorín ya tiene que ser pequeña ciudad, como igual que en Argentina, Chile, así, no? Así todos pensaban en el altiplano lo mismo. Eso es... frente a esa

- 50 movimiento, nosotros, los jóvenes, líderes hemos organizado. Ya opuesto ya. Peleando.’
 Me: ‘Peleando contra quién?’
 Feliciano: ‘Contra los vecinos de Charazani.’
 Me: ‘Como han peleado?’
 Feliciano: ‘Por ejemplo, nosotros hemos planteado ampliados, y uno de los temas era la revalorización de cultura. Hablabamos harto, que nuestra cultura vale, y a partir de la campaña de quíñientos años...de resistencia de quíñientos años... ahí hemos sumado, bueno en marzo todavía. Entonces... Desde el gobierno también había la intención de deshacer desaparecer, no? Y nosotros fácil enfrentamos, porque ya había un enemigo.’
 Me: ‘los vecinos?’
- 60 Feliciano: ‘Sí. Ellos eran autoridades. Eran jóvenes ellos también, no? Viejos jóvenes. Y nosotros, más jóvenes. [laughs]. Habíamos... por ejemplo hacíamos... este... manifestaciones sociales, no? Por ejemplo 2 de agosto,... era principal instrumento.’
 Me: ‘el 2 de agosto?’
 Feliciano: ‘2 de agosto - Día del indio’
 Me: ‘Ah...Como, que tipo de manifestación?’
 Feliciano: ‘Eso es, inclusive, rechazando... más que todo hemos hablado quíñientos años de dominación, quíñientos años de colonización, hay que descolonizar, esas cosas, no? Eso es nuestra manifestación. Y los autoridades en las comunidades no tiene que haber corregidores; ya tiene que haber mallkus; hemos... era secretarios generales antes...’
- 70 Me: ‘Y aquí en Niñacorín es sindicato, o es *ayllu*?’
 Feliciano: ‘*Ayllu* es, pero han impuesto sindicato. Aquí había sindicato. Han impuesto.’
 Me: ‘Y se ha vuelto como *ayllu*, o todavía es oficialmente sindicato?’
 Feliciano: ‘Nosotros tenemos la buena herramienta es el sincretismo. Bueno, estamos sindicato, pero seguimos actuando como *ayllu*. Solamente, cuando no estábamos muy afirmados, eso no más es. Lo mismo en la religión, no? Somos...parecíamos católicos, pero nosotros tenemos nuestra espiritualidad, ritualidad muy fuerte. Solamente para justificar que somos católicos, así. Un poco en la fiesta, procesión religiosa con el cura. El padre está insistiendo cada vez, 'ustedes están engañando, no es así la católica'... 'ya, ya padre' [laughs]. Sabemos rezar también, sabemos hacer signos también. Pero es en ese momento, no? Pero después, ya tenemos nuestra ritualidad, nuestra relación con medio natural, no? Y eso el padre no sabe. Y es el mismo en la política. Sí, sí con la reforma agraria estamos... eso es lo bueno... claro que en tiempos antiguos sabemos que han... que han... perseguido, que han matado a nuestros abuelos; todo, no? Esas cosas, en esa campaña hemos hablado. Y... pero peligroso. Yo era, ya en ese momento, ya guerrillero.’
- 80 Me: ‘guerrillero?’
 Feliciano: ‘Sí... es que hemos hablado mal, para ellos, no? Están agitando la gente. Entonces ya pescan a las personas claves, ya dicen que es agitador, o bueno, tratan de denominar como, para acusar, no? Aunque no es. Solamente nuestra culpa es revalorizar la cultura, nuestra organización política, nuestro conocimiento tradicional, nuestra producción sin químicos. Nos han querido introducir químicos, no? Porque eso es de... [I interrupt him – los vecinos?]. Sí, ellos tienen sus hijos ingenieros. En eso entonces, había los hijos ingenieros. Pucha! Querían meter puro químicos. Hemos resistido. Hasta ahora, no han podido. Han ido a trabajar en Santa Cruz...hemos resistido harto. En eso hemos sido guardianos [laughs], los jóvenes de ese.’
- 90 Me: ‘Entonces, usted no está en contra de autonomía?’
 Feliciano: ‘Ah, no, no, sino hemos provocado más bien, pero solamente, ahora, algunos políticos... de la derecha, siguen todavía ahí... están aprovechando, nada más. Pero como quien dice el pueblo por fin se defiende.’
 Me: ‘Quiénes están aprovechando?’
 Feliciano: ‘Algunos que estaban apoyando anteriormente a los gobiernos neoliberales, no? Y eran en ese entonces alcaldes, concejales, así.’
- 100 Me: ‘Están metido en la autonomía?’

Feliciano: 'Sí, por que no estaban tanto a lado del MAS, no?'

Me: 'Estás hablando de Porfilio?'

Feliciano: 'A-ha, sí...Porfilio' 'Mismo Jinés, no? Pastén, no?...viejito... bueno, se filtra ya. Un momento estaba en contra, ya esta en favor. Pero disfrazadamente viene.' 'Frente de nosotros esta bien...tratando de apoyar, pero en el silencio el trabaja pues. Tiene sus ahijado, tiene muchas familiares. Los indígenas son sus ahijadas; el es el papá de los indígenas [laughs].'

Me: 'De lo que yo veo no esta enfocando en lo que es netamente Kallawaya en el estatuto, pero mucho tiene la culpa los pueblos Kallawayas por que han decidido que no quieren participar. Deberían pelear!'

110 Feliciano: 'Si, no? Así está, entonces...Y muchas de los maestros, así amautas, sábios, están con una esperanza que esa redacción no va servir mucho; así. Sí, como... va haber todavía otro momento para que todos van a participar. Parece que estarán así, no son divididos, tampoco descriptados, no? Otros dicen callados, los maestros, así, bueno, que hagan lo que quieren los políticos. Nosotros callaremos, seguiremos haciendo nuestra ritualidad, aunque son algunos intelectuales tambien, pero han dicho así. Tienen ese manera de girarse a un lado...porque entrar ahí, meterse, pelea quiere producir. Para no provocar pelea, bueno, así [indistinct]. Va haber segunda vuelta, seguro; ahí van a participar. Eso es la esperanza de muchos hermanos que he hablado, tienen esa esperanza, porque... la gente, por ejemplo, como Fortunato..., como... por ejemplo algunos de Amarete... tratan de llevar sólo para buscar carules...'

120 Me: Carules?

Feliciano: 'Queriendo tener esperanza que algún dia ellos van a ser mallkus, y van a percibir sueldo... eso es su espera...Y por eso tratan de cambiar su manera de presentación. Antes eran mas servientes al neoliberalismo. Ahora ya quieren convertirse mas originarios, indígenas, Kallawayas, no?'

Me: 'El Fortunato era serviente al neoliberalismo?'

Feliciano: 'Sí... pero ahora está convirtiendose... como se dice? Se está reintegrando.'

Me: 'Bueno, los de Qotapampa están bien integrados al capitalismo, con sus mercados...viven de la feria de Huanca Saya, y todo es mercancia'

130 Feliciano: 'Sí, todo esa gente frontera, no? Tienen ideas muy capitalistas...y por ejemplo hasta... cuando visitamos, es diferente siempre, como estoy en... muy parecido tambien a Desaguadero, así frontera grandesa, estan llegando contrabando...'

Me: 'Esa región de Qotapampa es muy distinto a los otros partes del municipio... es muy capitalista. Es un *ayllu*, pero es un *ayllu* capitalista.'

Feliciano: 'Hay un intelectual, Ontoja, conoces? Tiene un libro tambien. Pero el indio tiene que ser capitalista, dice. Tiene que tener autos, así para igualar a los rícos [laughs] Tiene una manera, otra visión.'

Me: 'Ontoja es de allí?'

Feliciano: 'No, no..de Oruro. Pero, es un intelectual nacional, pero de otra... lleva una sistema capitalista...pero nadie ha hecho valer. Así es su libro no más. Pero así. Bueno esa parte. Así pues, bien, has participado es eso.'

140 Me: 'Pero había algo específico que quería preguntar también... he escuchado mucho hablar de los chullpas... y el otro día me ha dicho que había chullpas por aquí, que arqueólogos habían llevado... y que era la importancia de los chullpas aquí?'

Feliciano: No, ellos eran, había un convenio con la alcaldía, cuando era alcalde Luis Yanahuaya, por ahí, entonces han trabajado, han pedido permiso, en Caata, Niñacorín, Sacanacon, por allí. Entonces, nosotros nuestra planteamiento en Niñacorín tambien es tener museo... museo... tenemos todavía casa cultural.'

Me: 'Que tienen en la casa cultural?'

Feliciano: 'No tenemos nada, por que hubo un problema con...'

Me: 'Es ese edificio vacillo en la pequeña plaza?'

150 Feliciano: 'Es otra todavía... si es un edificio igual que esto, pero... nosotros teniamos en el principio, eso de '90, todo,... por ejemplo tener un museo para tener un museo para atender a los visitantes,

no? Entonces... y hemos hecho, pero nuestra planteamiento era hacer una construcción rústica, pero no hemos encontrado arquitectos aquí que trabajan con casas rústicas, y bueno la alcaldía ha cojido uno de esos ingenieros, ha mandado, [indistinct] la plata. Bueno, igual se ha salido... un cemento, un construcción como... no es lo que hemos anilado, no vé?’

Me: ‘Querían algo como el museo en Chari?’

160 Feliciano: ‘Ah, sí. Algo es todavía bien todavía, pero aquí no es. Pero por eso nosotros también queríamos a tener... tener materiales... [indistinct] a lado con esos arqueólogos, estudiantes, creo. Entonces, y su jefe, claro nosotros no tenemos tiempo para... dinero para abrir, no? Si haber si hay,... pero tampoco nosotros, no damos cuanta de que todo estaba enterado. Y cuando han tenido ese permiso, han empezado a trabajar, sí verdad hemos abierto algunos construccióncitos, unos puias.

Me: ‘Puias?’

Feliciano: ‘...Bueno, las cosas se están enterado a dentro, así... pero no se han encontrado muchas cosas. Encima, hay todavía muchos restos. Allí han destruido pues. Ya han hecho chajra.’

Me: ‘Oh, no es que... me han contado que había chullpas que los arqueólogos habían llevado.’

170 Feliciano: ‘No, nosotros hemos visto, no, no han llevado. Ese mismo, nos han devuelto también. Está en casa cultura. Son pedacitos de – como se llama? - ceramica. Han [indistinct] parece que dos... en dos etapas ahí han sido. Uno de los Incas, otro de los Tiwanakotas, dice, no? Son restos ceramias de Tiwanakotas dice, y otros restos de los Incas, dice. Algunos piedras, parece que habían. Después, no han encontrado, así, gente enterada.’

Me: ‘No había tumbas?’

Feliciano: ‘Tumbas... uno apenas, pero no creo. Tampoco abierto hartito. Entonces, eso se sca en eso, no vé, tierra [indistinct], aveces parece huesos, o aveces parece piedra, pero las cerámicas aparentemente son [indistinct].’ ‘mas bien, chullpa hay, debe haber, pero... nosotros ya cuando para este, no? Para tiempo de lluvia, hay demasiado lluvia, lluvia, entonces se busca chullpa se saca, se pone afuera, para que la lluvia se cesa, no?’

Me: ‘Que quiere decir con chullpa? Los huesos?’

Feliciano: ‘Los huesos hay que exponer a campo abierto; de [indistinct] manera ya va soplar, entonces no va haber mas lluvia. Sí, eso es como indicador, no?’

180 Me: ‘Siempre funciona?’

Feliciano: ‘Hasta del cementerio saca, no? Pero funciona.’

Me: ‘Funciona, que despues no hay lluvia...’

Feliciano: ‘Sí, porque... no hay lluvia... Bueno, son fenómenos, no? Que se presenta,... pero allí los arqueólogos no han sacado los chullpas.’

Me: ‘Yo había escuchado de que los arqueólogos habían llevado los chullpas y después en Caata decían que por eso había cambiado el clima; que ya hay más sol y más viento.’

190 Feliciano: ‘Mmm... Sí, porque ellos, mucha gente también poco información sobre calentamiento global, no es por eso hacer... eso también queremos compartir, socializar, pero no hemos hecho esos cursos de calentamiento global. Por ejemplo, aquí había antes 20 grados, 18; ahora debe ser 25, 26 grados; ya ha cambiado hartito. Por ejemplo, Durazno antes no producía; ahora produce, no? ... arboles que teníamos ya dan fruta, pero antes mismos arboles, solo arboles eran. Ahora dan fruta. Quiere decir que ha cam... subido.’ ... ‘El negativo es que de día, más caliente, no? De noche, más frío, porque en las noches sabíamos tener espacios de ensayos, espacios de comentarios, en calles, no? En la plaza, o fuera de la plaza también. Eso no es, ya no está activando, por que es demasiado frío. El noche mismo hemos ido a ensayar kantus, para este, corpus cristi; yo no toco en grupo, pero he ido, pero era demasiado frío! Solo han tocado tres piezas... bueno, el frío nos obliga descansar o irse a la cama. Antes amanecían por lo menos hasta ensayar un buen Kantu, no? Ahora, inclusive se piensa anoche, dicen: ‘haremos de día’ – es otra manera de expresarse, no? Nadie ha informado, nadie ha dicho: ‘el noche está frío ahora, haremos de día.’

200 Me: ‘El cambio de clima está cambiando la cultura, entonces.’

Feliciano: ‘Va cambiar. Entonces, claro, todo producción, entonces, eso han propuesto. Por ejemplo, en las vísperas amanecían la gente, pero ya se están descansando. El día... en la fiestas de Caata

había víspera tan frío, frío, los Kantus ya estaban en la casa. Se han venido, no?’

Feliciano: ‘En cada comunidad hay un problema... lo que es fiestas que se dice que es la fiesta de Niñacorín, por ejemplo, 8 de septiembre., pero nosotros intentamos de mantener la fiesta... pero, se está convirtiendo en una fiesta de consumo, y que antes no era, no?’ ‘Más borachera, y medio ciudadano, no? Los residentes de La Paz, los que se han ido aquí, ahí van a venir a bailar.... Ahora nosotros, ahora, somos más o menos 53 familias, aquí, casi parcialmente todavía, quedando aquí, no? Pero los residentes que son 75 familias, algo por ahí más... sería 65%, 66% por ciento, no?’

210 Son residentes, y menos, parcialmente, incluso.’

‘Pero, ese día van a venir. Nosotros, tampoco nosotros sus hijos ya nos conocemos, ya no. Ya se convierte una [indistinct] de personas, así, por la fiesta.’

Me: ‘Pero tienen sus casa aquí todavía?’

Feliciano: ‘Tienen familiares también, ya bailan, todo. Y los días siguientes, pierden, no? Nada dicen de Niñacorín. Por que nosotros autoridades hemos preparado espacios y todo, ellos solamente quedan esos días importantes, y bueno, los días siguientes se desaparecen. [indistinct] eso hemos querido provocar ano pasado, reunion de residentes. No nos a funcionado. Tres veces hemos hecho. Tengo... justo que tengo estos convocatorios.’

Me: ‘Estos residentes tienen que venir aquí en otros días además que solo en la fiesta?’

220 Feliciano: ‘Sí, esto es nuestra planteamiento. Y poder consensuar algunos ideas, todo. Pero no nos responde. Entonces, eso es lo negativo que existe, no?’

At this point he shows me convocatorias that had been written for a meeting with residents, which he said only three families turned up to.

Feliciano: Queríamos llegar a un consenso que todos los residentes y no residentes llegemos a un consenso de hacer un ayllu, con un idea de tengamos, por ejemplo, respetando nuestros deidades, no? Nuestros sagrados. Un poco, tenemos esa idea. [reading] ‘Ayllu comunidad es un espacio que conviven las divinidades (lugarniyuq, apus, kawitus), nuestra Madre tierra Pachamama que nos dan alimentos produccion de los productos y la crianza de animales, Naturaleza y la Existencia de la humanidad con una identidad cultural ancestral, convivimos constante intercambio (Ayní), cariño, comportamiento y complementario.’ Es decir que nosotros como comunidad, como ayllu, tenemos... un ayllu esta conformado no solamente de personas...’ ‘Entonces, no solamente personas. Personas tenemos también nuestra Kamasa, se dice...’

230 Me: ‘Kamasa?’

Feliciano: ‘Nuestras dioses. También podemos ser convertirnos como dios, nosotros, pequeños dioses, no? Tenemos esa fuerza como humanos. Tiene ese poder. Después, Otro poder que tiene es los cerros. Los cerros... tenemos Qalla Qallan, donde la iglesia, y el Akhamani, así cerros grandes, Akhamani, Iskani en Amarete, en Chullina también – como se llama? - Yumarán, Charazani, Jaramillo. Tenemos esos. Ya después, también los animales, la producción, y todos juntos, compartimos, no? Compatimos, y complementamos. Entonces por eso nuestras animales incluso, no hay caso de... es como estamos creando como mascotas. Bueno, mucha gente no nos entiende, ‘ustedes, por que creen tantos burros, y bueno, por que no venden? Acaso gana la plata?’ No estamos con la idea capitalista, no? Queremos tener burros, por que es parte de la casa, no? Inclusive animales, como ovejas, cabras, vacas...’

240 Me: ‘Que son parte de la familia?’

Feliciano: ‘Familia, que son parte de esa cosmovision, no? A veces cuando muere uno llora, no? Es cuando cae, sí, uno pierda llora. Y tampoco va vender cada vez. Es más o menos nuestra concepción que tenemos, no? A los residentes, queríamos integrar eso, pero ya habían tenido otro rubro, otro manera de pensar. Ya tienen... ya no viven de aquí, sino viven de su trabajo, entonces difícil ya van a venir. Y ya no van a integrarse. Para ellos es como años noventa que son obsoleto los ideas de la ayllu, las ideas ritualidades. Ellos van a la iglesia, son hermanos evangelistas...’

250 Me: ‘Estaban opuesto a eso entonces?’

Feliciano: ‘Sí,... me están queriendo hacer desgastar más bien, están pensando que yo salga de la ese, de la autoridad y bueno, después igual van a integrarse..., y los años rapida pasa, no? La gestión

es dos años no más, y estoy el Mayo 20 cumpla un año; apenas me resta un año, no más, y no sé si voy lograr. Bueno, los residentes tratan de desgastar a la idea un poco de lo que es ancestral. Ahora el problema es que no hay una política también bien definido del parte del alcaldía, la parte cultura, entonces, una voluntad de los autoridades, falta también. Claro en las elecciones, antes de las elecciones ya hacían rituales para ganar, así ponían sus vestimentas, a compartían en rituales, pero después, cuando ya son autoridades, todo su equipo ya no se recuerden, no? Solamente recuerden para que ya no les baja del cargo [laughs]. 'Entonces, ahora lo que te puedo decir es, eso es en realidad una de las cosas importantes, cada uno vivimos con nuestro cabildo, es uno de nuestros divinidades, no? Has visto algún cabildo aquí?'

Me: 'Sí, en Chullina'

Feliciano: 'Dónde se pone la coca, prepara fianza, pago.'

Me: 'No, que es un cabildo?'

Feliciano: 'Ah... un cabildo has pensado de la gente que se reúnen?'

Me: 'Sí'

Feliciano: 'Con la ideología de afuera,... ah, eso también es cabildo, pero nosotros, nuestra divinidad es nuestra cabildo, como uno de los dioses que tenemos, particularmente los Kallawayas. Todos tienen. Por ejemplo, yo tengo aquí en la esquina, bajo de la escalera, dónde se celebra la ritualidad. Cada casa tiene, y cada gente tiene.'

Me: 'Y cuándo usas eso?'

Feliciano: 'Cada día... bueno, siempre hay que pensar en cada día. No [indistinct] esa cosa es lugar sagrado. Cada año una vez hacemos una celebración.'

Me: 'Cada año, en que día?'

Feliciano: 'Bueno, puede ser en mayo, puede ser en agosto. Pero si alguna vez cosas graves pasa, rápida también hay que celebrar. Para viaje, siempre se pone, para reuniones, siempre se pone. Siempre... para los animales, para año nuevo, siempre. No hay que olvidar. Por ejemplo, a veces yo me olvido, entonces, no me va bien. Inclusive también, podemos orientarnos mediante la coca también. Como me va ir? Como puedo hablar? Lo que estoy pensando esta bien? O esta mal? Tiene que enfocar, saber manejar el respeto, no? A veces ya somos [indistinct] también. Un poco podemos tolerar, un poco podemos tolerar, podemos. Esas cosas... todas tienen, todos tienen, aunque con ideas capitalistas, con ideas... todos tenemos miedo, eso es nuestra debilidad, no? Y eso es lo que nos sostiene. Por eso no podemos pelear con todos [indistinct] no. Ya tenemos ese espacio. Algunos sostienen. Si no estaríamos peleados, así, sin respeto, no? Por que nosotros convivimos todos. Eso es la política hay que destruir, pero no ha podido.'

He told me that because of syncretism, there is no real adherence to Catholicism around here.

290 He calls Fortunato (the Kuraq Mallku of the CONAMAQ ayllus) neoliberal, because of his support for government policies when he was alcalde.

He says that climate change is changing the culture, because they now practise playing music during the day because of the cold, when previously they could practise at night.

Fiesta de Caata: 17 May

Fiesta de Niñacorín: 8 September (6 September: football tournament; 7 September: feria de Qalla Qallan; 9 September: corrida de toro)

300 53 families in Niñacorín.

75 families who are residents (i.e. they are from Niñacorín, but live elsewhere).

Feliciano complains that at fiesta time, the town is overrun with people who no longer live in Niñacorín, and as soon as the fiestas ends, they all leave without performing any of the obligations of the community the rest of the year round.

He showed me a piece of paper with a statement that had been written for a meeting that had been called with the residents at the last big gathering:

310 'Ayllu comunidad es un espacio que conviven las divinidades (lugarniyuq, apus, kawitus), nuestra Madre tierra Pachamama que nos dan alimentos produccion de los productos y la crianza de animales, Naturaleza y la Existencia de la humanidad con una identidad cultural ancestral, convivimos constante intercambio (Ayni), cariño, comportamiento y complementario.'

I asked him about the belief that Tuesday and Friday are bad days. He told me that on Tuesdays people can't pay the good gods, only the bad gods: 'No se puede pagar los dioses buenos, se puede pagar los dioses malos.'

320 He told me that in Kallawaya religion, 'wak'a' and 'saxra' means bad god, whereas in most Andean religion 'wak'a' means good god. 'Machula' or 'Apu' are the name for good gods. I've been told by others that 'machula' can mean the chullpas that walk, or the ancestors or grandparents. Feliciano told me that 'machula' can refer to the mountains (which are divinities) - 'machula Akhamani' or 'machula Qalla Qallan'.

330

340

350

Interview with Alipio Cuila en La Paz: 12th November 2012

‘Anteriormente siempre teníamos problemas con los *mistis*...siempre era una rosca antes. Era de ellos no más. Se cambiaban internamente ellos. Tu era, un ejemplo, no, juez, yo era subprefecto, en la proxima gestion, vos puedes ser subprefecto, era una ronda de ellos no más, una rosca.’

360 ‘Entonces los pueblos indígenas, nunca, no nos tomaban en cuenta. Solo eráramos como serviles no más. A pesar de que en Amarete no hubo hacienda. Pero donde ya entraba hacienda era más problema, porque ya eran sus pongos, eran la gente de hacienda ya, y todo de ahora mismo se han quedado en algunas comunidades, se han quedado como comunidad, las ex-haciendas. Por eso hay un problema en Charazani, por que no se entiende. Algunos no son indígenas. Debe tener indígenas, pero de otros culturas, más que [todo] Peruanas... pero nosotros consideramos como, de nosotros, ¿no? Aunque ellos no quisieran

370 ‘A pesar de todo esto, entonces en el... ha habido una reforma de constitucional; constitución política del estado Boliviano. Un artículo que nos [indistinct] dice que la igualdad de participación. Después salió la ley de participación, entonces son dos cosas que nos abre la puerta para acceder a cargos políticos.... entonces eso nos abre la puerta. Eso se ha reforma en 94, si 94. Reforma de la constitución y la ley de participación, con eso nos abre la puerta, entonces la primera vez que asumimos un cargo políticos un indígena. Yo era primero. Entonces, yo asumí, no políticamente, pero que ya era socialmente, porque a mí solo me eligen antes de la elección. Habían usos y costumbres de todo que no era en la ley, no era normativo, pero bajo procedimientos propios.’

Me: ‘Y eso fue en Amarete, o en todo?’

Alipio: ‘En todo’

Me: ‘Como se han eligido entonces?’

380 Alipio: ‘En un ampliado, así se juntaban y ahí... con mano... consenso, no? Y después buscamos recién, porque no había opción, digamos la única opción de normativa era que tenemos que estar de un partido... Ya era electo yo, entonces, pero cuando venimos al corte no nos aceptaban. Nos han dicho que usted tiene que cumplir los requisitos que dice la norma. Y la norma dice hay que... los partidos políticos no ve?... Entonces, buscamos un partido. En esa instante no había movimientos indígenas, partido que, algo que hablaba de indígena no había en esa época. Entonces más o menos hablaba sabes llamado ‘Trigo Limpio’, ‘Trigo Limpio’ se había un partido nuevo... Entonces más o menos el tenía que hablar algo de indígena, tierra territorio, algo hablaba. Entonces nosotros hemos buscado, y, ese partido, y fuimos hablar con los autoridades así. No nos querían participar pero con su siglo del partido Trigo Limpio. Y nos acepto. Y los otros como MNR, como grandes eran, no nos acepto.

390 Aquí los partidos no querían. No querían a los indígenas... pero ese nos ha recibido. Entonces allá vamos y solo en los elecciones hemos oficializado.

Me: ‘Y había otro candidato?’

Alipio: ‘Habían diez’... ‘Yo era primero. Gane mucho’ ‘Entonces empezamos la gestión. Era, para nosotros era un problema que los blancos en Charazani no nos aceptaban. No querían aceptar, porque él decía ‘No, que indio, que va ser un autoridad, que vaya a su pueblo a que sea autoridad, pero no aquí... no querían, pero ya estábamos constitucional, ya era legal.’

400 Y era un problema social, entre capitalismo y entre comunitario, porque nunca hubo ‘un autoridad. Entonces hemos trabajado más con los comunidades, todo entonces; en todo ese proceso cambiamos a todos los autoridades, empezando yo primero cambiamos sub-prefecto, hemos cambiado, que era blanco también, pero hemos cambiado por un indígena; después cambiamos a dirección distrital, que era de otro lado, no era de ahí, pero era de otro lado, de otro provincia.... cambiamos por uno de lugar que era de Chullina, después al juez... así hemos sido trabajando, hemos hecho los cambios, entonces y un poco y nos hemos reforzado. El trabajo era en equipo comunitario, pero ahora lo cambiaron también.

Me: ‘Que significa equipo comunitario?’

Alipio: ‘Equipo era varias entonces era estratégico’ ‘Eran de diferentes comunidades’ ‘Entonces eso

se dieron cuenta, y eso era mas o menos ya primera gestion que trabajé, los 4 anos, por que, primera, anterior ley era solo de cuatro anos. Despues modificaron la ley de municipalidades que ya eran de 5 anos.'

La primera gestion era de 95, por 4 anos. Despues ya era de 5 desde el ano 2004.

410 'Entonces como estaba trabajando, entonces era digamos nuestro forma de gobernar, mas que todo con ellos, con la comunidad, lo que decia la comunidad entonces se hacia, se cumplia. Era como un mandato; un mandato desde la comunidad. Entonces nosotros cumplimos eso, aunque no hay en la ley ese. En la ley dice otra cosa, dice distribucion equitativa nada mas. Nosotros internamente, por la cantidad de habitantes cuanto le tocaba eso se le daban. Entonces se sabian cuanto se tenian. Ellos se planificaban, 'yo tengo tanto, y me alcanza tanto'. Inclusive se [indistinct] entre comunidades, 'este ano se toca a vos, y al ano... se toca a mi''

Me: 'Y habia mancomunidad, no? Entre municipios

Alipio: 'Si, nosotros queriamos hacer una cosa mas grande, que municipio era pequeno, no?

420 Entonces queriamos hacer un mancomunidad grande, regional, y lo hicimos, pero, yo deje funcionando, pero despues el que entro despues de mi ya no hecho funcionar' 'Se quedo alli' 'Habia un programa, habia siempre, se llamaba PAC' (Programa Autodesarollo Campesino)... 'y era Union Europea apoyado'. 'Bueno, habia siempre, pero esa programa termino, y cuando termino, nos han transferido los bienes, eso es lo que esta en Charazani en el campamento. Y al final, con eso funcionaba ese... la mancomunidad' 'Teniamos dos mancomunidades – Norte La Paz era que justamente funcionaba con tranferencia de los fondos y los equipos. Ello pertenecia a la mancomunidad Apolobamba, solo de tres municipios;era de siete municipios, el Norte de La Paz.' 'Era de tres provincias, no cuatro provincias, Bautista Saavedra, Franz Tamayo, Munecas, y Camacho. Entonces de los 4 habia siete municipios habia.' Esto era la mancomunidad del norte de La Paz. Asi se llamaba, Norte de La Paz.

430 Me: 'Y porque no se seguian trabajando juntos despues?'

Alipio: 'No se, eso es el problema pues, cuando cambia de autoridades, puede que lo sigue funcionando, puede que lo deje entonces, [indistinct] despues habia la mancomunidad de Apolobamba... eso era mas de biodiversidad, era [indistinct] area natural Apolobamba, que son de Curva, Charazani y Pelechuco,... con eso se ha trabajado harto, con el otro igual se ha trabajado' 'Sigue, pero el problema es que no hace funcionar, porque cambio de autoridades aveces es bueno, aveces es malo. Entonces yo he dejado funcionando todo, y hemos logrado variias proyectos inclusive regional... pero despues lo dejaron igual asi... Aunque costaba caro los respuestos Europeos, teniamos todavia esa relacion todavia con la Union Europea, entonces nos daban tambien respuestos asi, pero despues [indistinct].

440 'Debe ser 2000 por ahi [que empezo la mancomunidad Apolobamba], exactamente no recuerdo. El otro es mas antiguo, este es 98 hasta mas o menos 2004'

Sobre el patrimonio Oral

450 'Ese era mi ultimo gestion; pero hemos peleado los siete anos!, para ser patrimonio, porque cual era el problema? Como nosotros como Nacion Kallawayas tenemos conocimiento de manejo de herbolario y cosmovision, tenemos propia cultura, que tu conoces, no? Entonces, mucho saqueo era antes, saqueo cultural, saqueo de vestimentas, saqueo de los ruinas, era un problema, que los blancos hacien, por de abajo, vendian, eran intermediarios.' 'Don Jinés, por ejemplo, sabe todo lo que es de las comunidades, el compraba, despues el lo vendia, al final habia un Ina Rosing, algo por ahi, se han hecho pomadas, no se que, y lo vendia todos los conocimientos, eso era el problema antes. Entonces, por eso hemos hecho el patrimonio, no habia una normativa Boliviana ni de otra normativa para la [indistinct]. Como no habia entonces, como aqui en Bolivia no funcionaba entonces hemos ido mas arriba... para frenar y para proteger, por eso ha hecho el patrimonio. Despues me sali, y bueno, despues cuando ya era un autoridad originario me nombraron como Mallku Nacional de CONAMAQ. Ese vez entonces en esa proceso contituyente, justo estaba en esa epoca (2007-2009). Ahora, recién hemos constitucionalizado los kallawayas. Ya esta en nueva constitucion kallawayas, como lengua, no como nacion.'

Me: 'Macha Jujay?, esta en la constitucion nacional de Bolivia?'

Alipio: Si, recien, a pesar de que en 2003 tenemos la declaracion, pero no estaba constitucionalizado... recien entra la nueva constitucion. Ahora, despues viene la autonomia. Ahora
460 en la autonomia, no hay voluntad politica y se quedo asi hasta el momento'

'Entonces con dos cosas no? La constitucionalisacion como Kallawaya, y la autonomia, hemos logrado en esa constitucion, la nueva constitucion... entramos a la constitucion Boliviana, recien en esta nueva constitucion, a pesar de que hemos sido declaratoria mundial, no estabamos, en la normativa Bolivina no estabamos, hasta esa fecha.' 'Antes de eso, pesar de que eramos declaratoria, no estabamos en normativa Boliviana. Solo valian el titulo y punto. Esta en articulo 5, despues esta en la articulo me parece 30, 35 de medicina traicional... la ley de autonomias. Despues esta en la ley electoral, que tenemos un escano indigena tambien. Tenemos un escano indigena en parlamento, un escano indigena en departamento.' 'En el departamental tenemos directo... [el representante para la provincia es Jose Mendoza de Chari] y a pesar de que era nuestro cupo para Amarete porque
470 Amarete es mas identificada culturalmente, y estaba en nuestra cultura originaria, pero ellos estaba en cultura sindical... ellos manusamente se entran al partido y salen, eso es el problema para autonomia. [Jose Mendoza] no se ha elegido, porque el partido ha definido que sea Mendoza, porque pertenecia al partido [MAS]. Hay funciona la manonaria. Por eso hay problema en autonomia, no hay consenso.'

'Todos estamos asi, eso nadie lo quita de mi. Pero tenemos diferentes estructuras: sindical, originaria, cocaleros, los bartolinas.'

Me: En comunidades por Charazani como Chari dicen que Amarete no es Kallawaya.

'El problema es que todavia no entienden, porque hay dos conceptos que manejan mal. Kallawaya piensan que es el que maneja herbolarios, no es asi. El Kallawaya en si es el territorio. Y al estar en territorio Kallawaya todos son Kallawayas. Entonces eso es lo que no quieren entender. No es que no quieren entender, sino es que es politicamente la conveniencia tambien... si lo definimos esto es Kallawaya, esto no es kallawaya, entonces Jose Mendoza es chau, vuela, entonces para no perder tienen que fabricar un monton de cosas'
480

Me: 'El sindicato ha dicho que tiene que ser Jose Mendoza porque es mas Kallawaya o algo asi?'

Alipio: 'No, es parte sindical, pertenece a sindical; el sindical no es original pues, es otra estructura. Tu sabes que viene de los estados unidos? Los Chicagos. Eso nos hemos apropiado.'

Me: 'Estoy interesado en porque Amarete habian salido de la Única para entrar a CONAMAQ, hace 4 anos, no?'

Alipio: 'Más. Habian estado de 2000. El Suni entro 2003, más o menos, Caata también 2003.
490

Me: Quien era el mallku o el dirigente de Amarete en ese tiempo? Quisiera preguntar porque habian...'

Alipio: 'Primero era Camata. Camata era dirigente. Como mallku de kallawaya estaba de Camata.

Me: 'Como representante de la provincia en CONAMAQ?'

Alipio: 'No de la provincia, de Kallawaya de nacion kallawaya; porque en originario no maneja provincia; manejamos suyu, por territorialidad. Provincia... por ejemplo, Camata no pertenece a la provincia, pertenece a Munecas, entonces asi originariamente sigue siendo nuestro territorio kallawaya, Camata. Las provincias, en la epoca republica, no le importaba [indistinct].'
500

Me: Parecia que la mancomunidad de los 7 municipios era mas o menos la nacion kallawaya'

Alipio: 'Lo que es nacion kallawaya era su area de accion.

Me: 'Como se define lo que es nacion kallawaya?'

Alipio: 'Todo lo que era mancomunidad era nacion kallawaya y su area de accion de [indistinct] eso era antes. Y eso llega hasta Peru, hasta Wilcabamba, hasta Wilcabamba llega. Un parte de la nacion Kallawaya esta en Peru.'

Me: Peru no hay mucha relacion (menos mercantil en las ferias) con el lado Peruano, no?

Alipio: 'Hay mas relacion Peruana. Es que la parte economia condiciona. Ahora que es monetarizada. Antes era trueque.' 'Eso [las ferias de Huanca Saya y Pata manta] no habia. Recien es esto. Más antes

era de comunidad a comunidad. Yo tenia que ir, digamos hasta cocata, llevando mis cosas, los de Cocata venian a mi comunidad llevando sus cosas, eso era. Huanca saya, Patamanta, no habia, no existia, imposible.'

510 Me: 'Desde cuando estan hablando de la nacion Kallawaya?'

Alipio: 'Se hablaba siempre antes, pero no habia algo uno respaldaba algo, solo era nuestra historia, nuestra identidad, pero no habia una norma que te permitia. Ahora que recién entramos a la nueva constitucion que hablamos a si, con normativa. Gracias al proceso de 94 que nos abre un poquitito eso. Eso era el mandato que a me me pusieron, para hacer esos cosas. Yo avance hasta cierto punto, para no habia terminado tampoco. Y sigue siendo proceso. Hasta que no termina autonomia, sigue el proceso. Seguimos trabajando.' 'Con eso [el patrimonio oral] hemos empezado. Estabamos documentandonos. Era todo nuestros conocimientos, que era verbal, aunque varias bibliografias se escribian, no era escrito por nosotros. Hasta ahora no hay. Varias escritores han venido han

520 investigado, han escrito, hasta ahi.'

Me: 'Quien mas trabajaban en el patrimonio oral con quien podia hablar?'

Alipio: 'Con el municipio, empezamos con los autoridades originarias del municipio. Yo buscaba: donde voy a encontrar mi identidad, eso era.'

El documento presentado a UNESCO esta en el ministerio de culturas.

Alipio: 'Esta vez yo seguia como alcalde, incluso hicimos un exposicion aqui en Tambo Quirtincho, ahi presentamos, nuestro, como para ser patrimonio, entre diferentes embajadas, agregados, hicimos alli presentaciones. Hasta eso algunos llegamos. El Walter Alvarez, yo he hecho, dice. El mismo, asi sera, no? Como el pertenece al blanco... Misti de Chajaya es. 'Yo he hecho!' dice. Y el patrimonio no es de una persona, es de todos. Patrimonio son derecho colectivo... Es una propiedad colectivo, no es de el, es de todo. Nadie puede decir 'esto es de mi'.

Amarete = Ama (no) nevada – donde no llega nevada

Pero de donde viene los Amaretenos originalmente?

Alipio: 'Originalmente nosotros creamos que uno de los pueblos de Amarete esta en Ecuador. Entonces, con nuestros conocimientos, en la epoca incario, no? Nos trajeron como concejeros del Inca... y cuando hubo problema, para que nos maten a todos, ...nos han metido a esa region, por que

540 vees son... entre los cerros es un lugar muy especial, que tiene siete minerales... donde se puede encontrar toda clase de plantas, y esta relacionado, como tiene esas minerales, con la energia, por eso nos han traído allí.

Amarete mas bien tenía los 4 pisos... en la epoca de la hacienda los espanoles, eso se han interrumpido. De alguna manera sigue esa relacion, por ejemplo, mis parientes estamos en Khazu...Barrenozo... seguro teniamos otra chajra y se quedaron allí... porque mi abuelo me llegaba, esto es nuestros familias, nuestros tios, abuelos, a mi me llegaban cuando tenian doce, trece. Inclusive en Amarete, hay varias etnias. No se porque los trajeron los mitimaes. En Amarete en Chacahuaya, son mitimaes.

550 Hay dos culturas en Amarete. En Chacahuaya tiene otra forma de hablar en Quechua. 'Cuando hablan, el mismo, pero el tono es diferente'. Eso no encontramos porque se vinieron juntos, eran hermanos?

'Ahora, la otra es... de que Amarete no es Kallawaya, no ve? El problema es que Amarete no comercializa su conocimiento. Ellos comercializan. Entonces ellos dicen, si eres Kallawaya, porque no comercialicen, porque no vendes su producto? Nosotros no vendemos.'

Me: 'No hay muchos medicos Kallawayas, no? En Amarete'

Alipio: 'Hay, pero es con nosotros. [laughs]. Por ejemplo en Amarete no vas a ver sentado en

560 [sayanas?]. Solo ellos dicen, nosotros no. A mi me llama, voy. Pero no ofrezco. Igual, me llamas, así, pero no ofrezco... ellos son Kallawayas comerciales, nosotros no somos Kallawayas comerciales. Para la gente que necesita, sí; pero no.'

Me: 'Pero la mayoría tienen conocimiento?'

Alipio: 'Todos tienen conocimiento, pero no son comerciantes... ahora los comerciantes dicen 'a nosotros somos Kallawayas''

Me: 'Dicen que son Kallawayas por van a diferentes lugares buscando...'

Alipio: 'Nosotros también vamos, pero no solo vamos con medicina...ellos van específicamente. Nosotros podemos llevar, llojgeneros se llamaba antes.'

Me: 'Llojgeneros?'

Alipio: 'Sí. Llevábamos palo de balsa. Después llevábamos alferería.'

570 Me: 'Son más famosos para sus ollas.'

Alipio: 'Entonces nosotros tenemos varias especialidades. Ellos tienen una. Curva tiene una. Nosotros tenemos especialidad en alimento; tenemos especialidad en terrazas; tenemos especialidad en maejo de herramientas; tenemos especialidad en vestimenta, tejido; tenemos especialidad en alferería; elaboración de los ollas, los flascos, alferería. Ellos no tienen. Además, más manejamos cósmico, ellos más manejan hierbas.'

Me: 'Cósmico?'

Alipio: 'Sí, Energía cósmica. Los doce energías. Ellos no manejan doce energías. Por eso es que Isqani tiene doce energías.'

Me: 'He visto en Charazani una mesa con doce platos. Dos para el ankari. Es eso?'

580 Alipio: 'Doce Ankaris. Eso es del Isqani. Eso es quitado de la Ina Rosing, pero. Ya lo han escrito.. [laughs]. Es de Amarete pero, doce ankaris.'

Me: 'Creo que Ina Rosing ha hecho mucho de su trabajo en Amarete?'

Alipio: 'Sí. Pero algunos partes no citya Amarete, cita otro lado.'

Alipio: 'Ya no tienes nada más!' [laughs] 'o seguimos caminando, en busca de Kapacnyan?'

Me: 'Bueno estoy interesado en las relaciones entre Amarete y Charazani, pero creo que me ha contactado ya algo de eso.'

590 Me: 'Manana voy ir a Cochabamba y voy a ver a Rufino. Es muy amable Rufino. Una vez he quedado en su casa.'

Alipio: 'Es bueno, Rufino. También es de mi [indistinct]. Contemporáneos somos. Fortunato, Rufino...'

Me: 'Ah, sí. Había algo que me parece importante. Usted ha graduado de la escuela en la Playa?'

Alipio: 'Ah, sí. Ayni Kusun. Primera [word I don't understand – camada?].'

Me: 'Como ha sido la escuela importante en la formación de los líderes?'

Alipio: 'Con apoyo de esa Belga. Y esa vez estaba haciendo la nueva reforma educativa de Bolivia. Entonces, nos agarramos de eso. Entonces, como te digo, pues, antes era vacillo las cosas, como te digo. Que no podía, claro sabíamos, pero no teníamos en que... como se dice? En que agarrarnos. Algo que sabía buscábamos ayni. Entonces salió de la alcaldía, nosotros entonces: 'Ahi vamos a poner nuestros conocimientos.'

600 Me: 'De lo que me ha contado Feliciano Patty, era como una formación radical para que organicen contra los estudiantes los mistis de Charazani'

Alipio: 'Sí. Eso mucho nos ha ayudado. Antes nos buscaban con revolver. Así eran.'

Me: 'Los estudiantes no eran adolescentes, no ve? Tenían 20-algo años...'

Alipio: 'Sí, 20, sí por ahí debe ser.'

Me: 'Como les organizaron en la escuela para...?'

Alipio: 'Nos encontraron con Feliciano [indistinct]. Nos encontraron en el pastoreo, en la chajra. Nos relacionábamos. Tenían...challamos, vamos, dice.'

Me: 'Como han manifestado en Charazani?'

Alipio: 'Teníamos que encontrarnos también... antes era un problema porque era un abuso pues los

- 610 blancos. Los mejores ganado, [indistinct] productos, se lo llevaban.’
 Me: ‘En todos lados, en Amarete igual?’
 Alipio: ‘Venien, pues. Entre eso era, nuestros abuelos asi sufriendo. Esa era nuestra rabia. Por que no pudimos seguir asi.’
 Me: ‘y en la escuela les han educado asi?’
 Alipio: ‘Nada. La educacion sigue siendo problema ahora, por que no cambia casi nada por que en la escuela te ensena a leer y escribir y eso no sirve para comunicacion. Pero no te [de... indistinct] comida. No te [indistinct]. Porque? Porque estamos aprendiendo otras cosas que no es nuestro. En vez de culturalizar, nos estan desculturalizando.’
 Me: ‘Pero dentro de la escuela en la Playa habian organizado politicamente, no?’
- 620 Alipio: ‘Tampoco. Era mas region, digamos, no? Eso es el problema de tambien liderazgo. Todos queremos, 'quien es el mejor?' Siempre habia. Eso es lo que nos lleva igual. No nos lleva [solido?] si nos llama estar juntos en muchas cosas
 Me: En el municipio de Charazani parece muy fracturado
 Alipio: ‘Y ahora hemos hecho muchas cosas. Es lo que nos falta es...’
 Me: ‘Unidad’
 Alipio: ‘Todos quieren llegar a esta silla. Hay solo una, pues. No podemos todos alli. Es igual que...’
 Me: ‘En todos lados’
 Alipio: ‘Sigue siendo el problema. Ahora estamos algunos con vision, algunos sin vision; muy... una mirada solo [indistinct]... No estamos siguiendo lo que era el mandato anterior. El mandato anterior era llegar lo que era la institucion de las autoridades y, eso Aurelio se ha hecho, y la reconstitucion territorial. Y, con estas dos cosas, la constitucion y la reconstitucion podias conseguir su propio desarrollo.’
- 630 Me: La reconstitucion era mandato de...
 Alipio: ‘De autoridades que estaban. Eran todo blanco. Mistis.’
 Me: Ah, restitucion de las comunidades, llevando la tierra de los mistis.
 Alipio: ‘Eso era. Ahora bastante [indistinct]. Y ahora nos estan devolviendo, trato devolviendo pero en venta... Eso era. Eso un problema te unia antes. Ahora que me mucho problema te ha despedido ya. Entonces algun momento de esas cosas problemas se aumentan y [indistinct] una persona dispuesta para volver a reconstruir... tu lo hace pues! Pero que cambio se puesta facil? Todo cambio es un proceso, tiempo... eso para ustedes hay que esperar!’
- 640 Me: Es interesante los pasos historicos... desde 52...
 Alipio: ‘Y asi inclusive nosotros primera vez, en la plaza de Charazani [licamos?]la wiphala, de varias colores [indistinct].’
 Me: Cuando han puesto eso?
 Alipio: ‘Cuando entre, pues. Y dices, 'que decian los mistis?' 'Ese perder que es de eso? Parece pantalon de payaso'... Y para nosotros era sagrado, no?... Ahora en la [indistinct] de Qullasuyu es oficial. Hay cosas que nos avanzado hemos aportado para el pais tambien. Es importante. Nos sentimos satisfecho, por que hay muchas cosas que hemos avanzado, como un chiquitito que era en Charazani, o Amarete, pero hay muchas cosas [indistinct] para el pais. Ha crecido... antes erabamos como modelo. Otros nos miraban departamentos manejaban como una prueba. Como un modelo.
- 650 Charazani estan asi, porque no podemos asi? Eso avanzo – otro de eso, ya el proceso de cambio grande, no?’
 Me: Para los otros municipios de La Paz?
 Alipio: De alli inicio. No en cambio, no es de ahora pues. Nosotros hemos empezado desde chiquitito. En muchas cosas tambien estaba.
 Me: Si, parece que en muchas cosas esta bastante avanzado.
 Me: Cuando Amarete ha entrado a CONAMAQ, era como un proceso de descolonizacion? Por eso han cambiado?
 Alipio: ‘CONAMAQ ha propuesto el Chantakuy [assembly] nacional el tierra territorio, la participacion directa, la autonomia.’
- 660

Me: Cuando han propuesto eso?

Alipio: 'En 2006. La primera propuesta se elaboro 2006, antes de la constituyente. El 2006 presente ante el constituyente. El 2005 se construye, 2006 se presente. Despues trabaja el pacto de unidad las cinco organizaciones nacionales... El pacto de unidad se ha conocido el 2007, hasta 2009. Funciono bien hasta la aprobacion de la nueva constitucion de Bolivia.'

Me: Entonces tenian que trabajar juntos las federaciones en la provincia.

Alipio: 'Todos. Uno era. Despues se divide, se divide y yo, yo [indistinct]'

Me: Cuando habia Pacto de Unidad se trabajaban juntos CONAMAQ y la Unica?

670

Alipio: 'Todos dentro del constituyente se trabajaba pacto de unidad. Por eso entra en la nueva constitucion, dice indigena originaria campesina. No lleva ni punto, ni coma. Porque? Existen originarios, son de parte alta. Indiginas del parte baja. Pero son el mismo. Campesino los que [indistinct]... intercultural afroboliviano. Entre interculturales son todos los que son de otras culturas, no? Que no son indigenas ni originarias. Entre ahi figuran, y los afros entran los negros. Se han peleado que entran todos... Los 36 pueblos. Asi se avanza.'

Hay muchas cosas que podemos hablar, pero que tú necesitas otra cosa. Muy interna!

680

690

700

710

Interview with Feliciano Patty: 18th November 2012

Ya no hacen bautizo de t'anta wawas. Pocos jovenes.

'Pero hay una crisis cultural terrible... crisis sobre la dinamica cultural. Por ejemplo cuando venimos el domingo antes de todos santos, ninguno puedes ver con poncho o nada, no ya no habia... ayer hay que reflexionar tambien, el Cocarico. Despues he hablado con mi esposa, que podemos hacer para continuar con los tejidos, que estan diciendo la mujeres? Bueno ya no hay. Ya somo de edad; ya son de edad los que trabajan, los jovenes, se han ido a La Paz, ya no sale a tejer.'

Me: Ya no van a continuar entonces?

720 Feliciano: 'Eso seria grave, no? Puede pasar.' '... algunos tienen ponchos pero guardan para la fiesta, para presentacion, y despues de presentacion ponen a su mochila... tambien su gorra' 'Ayer no tanto, pero habia'

Feliciano tells me that he wants to create tea bags to sell with medicinal plants. He has recently learned how one must wash and dry out the plants. He was taught by an Italian the correct way to do it, and said that the Kallawayas were not doing it correctly.

We talk about Alipio. He tells me that Alipio and he were students together at Ayni Kusun.

'En 80 nos hemos conocido, 79 por alli, pasteando ovejas. Despues yo iba a Amarete...jovencitos... quien iba pensar que iba ser alcalde? Era demasiado loco.

Y Alipio ya se ha vuelto comerciante... Bueno, ya ha vuelto politico... ya no ha vuelto!

730 At the time of the dictadura, in Amarete they continued living according to 'la realidad'. 'Se puede hablar en Amarete, habia espacio mientras [cerca de Charazani] rapido pueden avisar al subprefecto, a la policia... En Amarete, Caata, habia espacio.' 'Nos traicionaban, porque si hago en Quillabaya, rapido avisan a los agentes. Dia siguientes nos ponen atencion. Quienes habian hecho asi – agitando. Esa historia tenemos, pero no esta escrito.

Por ejemplo, los politicos de ese tiempo de la derecha sacaban cajas de cerveza, no? Siendo indigena, mientras nosotros campramos una cerveza y una Coca Quina mas.... Lo interesante era como arma era los ampliados. Eso era ya respetado... Como habia un enemigo en frente empezamos a sublevar, ir a La Paz, marchar. Los bases, pero igual agarraban a los dirigentes. Habia dirigente de Curva le agarraban y ya no hablaba mas. Muchas torturas habia. En La Paz se agarra, en un cuarto se meta despues el tipo ya no se habla. Afterwardss they became afraid, and didn't talk any more They became businessmen.

740

Feliciano tells me that when we are outside that Alipio, Aurelio, Hugo Canaza, and some others, had been the ones fighting alongside him. When he suggested Agosto as a nem he told me that no, in many families only one family member would participate, in others all would say they were too busy, and in others the whole family would participate.

Aveces habia reuniones 'contra la indigena', 'entonces nosotros hemos fabricado un pelea fantasma' - 'estategias para que ellos no avanza'

750

There were haciendas around Charazani until 82, 83. People started to mobilize around 79-80.

'Primero habia sido el bloque independiente a nivel nacional, con Genaro Flores. 79 ha planteado. Antes los politicos habian manejado los organizaciones, el MNR; de eso han organizado, los estudiantes que han salido de la universidad se han organizado bloque independiente. El bloque independiente la organizacion campesina. Eso se llamaban Unica – Federacion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia.

Habia sindicato desde 53, pero no era manejado de manera independiente... De esa manera eso es el principio...

'Ese tiempo tampoco habia Suni y Amarete'

760 Me: 'Supongo que el Suni siempre estaba peleando para independenciam de Amarete'

Feliciano: 'Si, estaba peleando fuerte, muy marginados...'

Me: 'Y como estaba dentro de todo eso el papel del Suni? Estaba aparte?'

Feliciano: 'Algunos tambien nos daban fortaleza, porque ellos viven aparte, entonces con mas fuerza vienen a criticar. Y nosotros vivimos juntos..' 'Cuando juntamos fortalecelamos. Ellos no son ahijados, mayoría.'

Me: 'No son ahijados... que significa eso?'

Feliciano: 'Relaciones sociales entre los vecinos y campesinos' 'A un vecino siempre le ponian padrino, entiendes eso, no? Es compadre... entonces una sociedad arriba, y una sociedad abajo, los campesinos.'

770 Me: 'Y es por eso que nunca rebelaron mucho los campesinos de las comunidades cerca de Charazani, porque tienen las relaciones de compadrazgo? Como parte de la misma familia?'

Feliciano: 'Por eso facil tambien avisaban, reuniones, estan preparando'

Me: 'Avisaban a su...'

Feliciano: '...Compadre... entonces eso habia, y ellos [del Suni] casi no eran mayor parte compadres; primero habia, poco a poco ya no habia. Eso era. Relaciones, de poder, no? Eso asi tenemos... ellos han apoyado mismo a patriarcalizar... porque, por ejemplo no mas, cuando tu te casas como campesino, tienes un padrino [vecino?], entonces el dia de matrimonio recomendabamos. Ahora tienes [que respetar....really indistinct]'

780

790

800

810

Interview with Ramon Yujra: 20th November 2012 (a)

El dueño de la casa consigue todas las cosas necesarias. Se reúne el dueño. This includes feto de llama, hembra y macho, cuy, hembra y macho, incense, cebo de llama, alcohol. This is for the mesa. This is mesa blanca – salud. Alberto had already burnt a chullpa somewhere as well.

820 The mesa: first they take out the heart of the cuy del dueño. This is for the spirits, the pachamama, the 'naturaleza'. All the men who were helping were relatives, they all brought their own guinea pigs. The relatives of man (Victor) brought male guinea pigs and the relatives of the woman (Maria Elena) brought female guinea pigs. They also brought cebo de llama. The dueño of the house has to provide hembra y macho cuys. In the right hand side of the house is macho, the left hand side of the house is hembra. Detrás is hembra. Adelante is macho. Antes era más bonito. Ahora se han mezclado. Así, en el techo, igualmente es. On the right hand side a male cuy would be put, on the left a female. Even the plants have a male and female part. Los conejos no tiene que ser ch'ulla. They can be 4, 6, 8, but not 7. With the cuys they put a flower – clavel, para mesa blanca. For chullpas it is kantuta. They put wine with the fetos. And they ch'allared beer with the cuys. The ritualist was recommending to the pachamama and the achachilas that they look after the house, Isqani, akamani, illimni, machu pichhu. They they support them. He is asking for money for the house. Coca was put in the cuy instead of the heart of the cuy. Coca is used in any ritual. Coca protects you from tigre, 'coca es poderoso para cualquier caso'. Por eso fabrican droga de la coca, no ve? The ritualist did a coa for each of the workers, starting with the owner of the house. All of them help with the construction of the house. This is ayni, not mink'a. Mink'a is when you hire an albanil – when you pay. 'ayni es cuando ayudas a una persona, él también te ayuda en una cosa.' The men who helped with Victor's help will also receive help with theirs. We ch'allared for a better construction, for more money. All of alcohol we have to share with the pachamama, con nosotros, con la naturaleza. Somos tres comunidades, - spiritual, humana y naturaleza. When we make a ritual we are 'dialogando' between the three worlds.

830
840 Atras is always hembra, adelante macho. All of the cuys atrás are hembra. In the techo it is the same. Los que estaban trabajando atrás eran las familiares de Maria Elena, though it is a bit mixed now, in the past it would have been clearer.

850

860

Ramon Yujra: November 20th 2012 (b)

I asked Ramon about the history of Amarete. He told me that they hadn't previously had their history written down because they hadn't known how to read before.

The Spanish had more or less left Amarete alone.

Called Amarete because it had snowed. 'rete' means nieve. 'Ama' = prohibition, because they didn't want it to snow anymore.

870 I asked him if he knew anything about the precolonial history of Amarete, and he told me there were books or documents.

He told me that Caata and Chullina were old ayllus, but that those in Chari, Curva, Jatichulaya, Chajaya, had come with the Spanish.

He then told me about the first village of the Spanish, which is opposite Ninacorin.

Below Charazani is called 'Sarachajra' in Quechua – tierra de maiz. This is where Jatichulaya, Silic Playa is. This land was taken by the Spanish.

I ask him about the origins of the Kallawayas as healers. I asked him which communities they came from. He told me they came from 'Kollasuyu'. [9.00]

When Ramon was sub-prefecto, UNESCO declared the Kallawayaya culture as the patrimonio oral.

880 They contracted professionals from universities to investigate the history of the Kallawayas. UNESCO gave them a certificate. He says that the certificate is in the two alcaldias.

I remark to him that Nicasio did not have any role in the anniversary of the province, but he tells me that when he was sub-prefecto, he had coordinated things.

I ask him if he knows Feliciano Patty, and ask him if he knows much about what Feliciano tells me about 'peleando contra los patrones'.

16.26: Ramon: 'Nosotros tomamos estrategias, digamos,... entonces, primeramente nosotros como pelear digamos, nos profundizamos, nos contactamos con los partidos politicos, que mandan digamos, que comanden, no ve? Son mas principales, entonces, por alli nosotros enfrentamos como campesinos, digamos como militar, entonces, digamos ya, de alli nos adquirimos ya, digamos cargos, entonces ya cuando tenemos cargos, ya mas nos reunimos con los indigenas, poco reunimos con los estes, con los vecinos, eso es digamos, pelear, con capacidad digamos, de inteligencia [indistinct]. Entonces somos mayoria, entonces nos reunimos la mayoria, los campesinos, los indigenas, entonces, mas nos documentamos en la parte digamos de, la parte de indigena. Menos hicimos digamos para los vecinos. Esa significa pelear. No digamos, pelear puño a puño. Tomando estrategias, reuniendo con nuestros [indistinct].'

890 Me: 'A mi me parece que ahora, Amarete es algo aparte de los otros comunidades como Chullina, Chari, Caata, parece que hay un distancia, pero habia, supongo que antes se organizaban mas en conjunto.'

900 Ramon: 'Por ejemplo, Amarete es una, digamos, podemos decir en La Paz manda en El Alto, no ve? El Alto. Si no es El Alto, Achacachi. Igualito es aqui. Amarete es un poderoso. Digamos, peleando tambien, a luchado tambien Amarete. Antes eras puro haciendas. Los hacendados digamos, mataron a los chiquitos animales digamos y comien, a parte de los aveja, vaca, llama, esas cosas, se lo llevaban pues, para comer, sin pagar el precio.'

Me: 'Cuando era eso?'

Ramon: 'Antes, pues. Antes de digamos 52.'

Me: 'Antes de 52, oh. Despues de 52, eso no paso.'

Ramon: 'Despues de 52, ha reaccionado Amarete. Antes siempre ha reaccionado tambien Amarete. Entonces, como es unido, Amarete, siempre agarraban a los patrones. Primero le han matado aqui en ese, conoces Atique?'

Me: 'Bueno, lo he visto de lejos.'

910 Ramon: '[Indistinct]. Por alli era hacienda.'

Me: 'De Valencia.'

Ramon: 'No era de Valencia, sino de otro. [indistinct – Foycayan?] nos recuerda eso. Entonces, lo han

matado primero al hacendado, los campesinos de Amarete.'

Me: 'Los campesinos han matado al hacendado?'

Ramon: 'Han hecho desaparecer todo ya. Sus casas, sus animales, todo, todo... De alli ya, un poco los hacendados, los patrones, se han tenido para Amarete.'

Me: 'Eso era en 52?'

Ramon: 'Antes, antes 52.'

Me: 'Pero, un poco antes, no?'

920 Ramon: 'Un poco antes. Despues ya, segundo ha sido Atique mas abajo. En [Ch...] se llama. Eso era de Valencia.'

Me: 'Como se llama?'

Ramon: 'Chichahuichi.'

Me: 'Chichahuichin'

Ramon: 'Chichahuichin... asi.'

Me: 'Era la hacienda de Valencia.'

Ramon: 'De Valencia, si. En alli igual pues, digamos. Como perro habia hecho comer a los ninos.'

Me: 'Porque no habia comida?'

930 Ramon: 'No pues, es que ellos siempre caminaban por alli, su camino era por alli. Entonces, han hecho comer con este... de alli han denunciado, entonces, ellos peor se han reaccionado los hacendados – 'aquí somos nosotros somos patrones! Aquí tienen que indios, así. Entonces por no perder [indistinct]. Se han levantado pues este, indigenas de Amarete.'

Me: 'Por 52 o despues?'

Ramon: 'Antes. Entonces entran los estes, los Amatretenos, los Charazanenos – Charazani era como capital de los estes, de los Espanoles – entonces, nos venien pues, con armas, con caballos, armas de fuego, todo eso.'

Me: 'Ha venido a Amarete?'

Ramon: 'Al mismo lugar, pues. A Amarete se han ido al mismo lugar, ya, al atacar al este, al patron. Entonces, es como estaban viniendo, ya, sin miedo ellos, con arma de fuego; los indigenas con unos dos armados tambien van pues, con palos. Habian dado un tiro digamos con una [indistinct] al patron pues, primero al patron. [22.31] Se habia caido el patron. Y los soldados se han tenido miedo ya. Han rendido ya. Como es al primero le han matado, entonces los soldados se han escapado.'

940 Me: 'Eso era en Atique?'

Ramon: 'Hmm... mas abajito. Mas abajo es.'

Me: 'Mas abajo en Jichawichin.'

Ramon: 'Jichawinchin se llama el lugar. Entonces, de alli se han escapado los estes, los soldados, Ellos han agarados, y se lo han comido, los Amaretenos.'

Me: 'Los Amaretenos han comido a los soldados.'

Ramon: 'No, al patron... los soldados se han escapado en sus caballos.'

950 Me: 'El patron era Valencia, o otro? Valencia.'

Ramon: 'Entonces lo han comido ya. Pero eso [indistinct] gana gana con cuchillo se puede. Esa es digamos, un estrategia. Poer pues se han tenido miedo los estes, los patrones. Entonces, poco a poco ya se han rinconado los patrones. Con esa apoyo ya otros comunidades, como Chullina, Caata, por alli comunidades, entonces. Se apoyaban para Amarete.'

Me: 'Se han apoyado Amarete contra los patrones de Charazani?'

Ramon: 'Entonces poco a poco, entramos ya hasta 2003 luchamos ya. No teniamos este derecho todavia. Casi noventa por alli ya digamos hemos entrado ya a la federacion sindical. Antes puro *mistis* eran, pues, federacion sindical, puro este. Ha empezado primero Amarete, entrar primero a la federacion.'

960 Me: 'La federacion Katarista?'

Ramon: 'Sindicato, sindicalismo, asi. Poco a poco, ya. Primero alcalde indigena, ha entrado el Alipio Cuila. Despues, yo he entrado primer sub-prefecto indigena.'

Me: 'El mismo ano, no?... no, 2003!'

Ramon: '2003. Mas antes, no habia atrevia pues. Amarete estaba dominando, pero en Amarete no habia digamos capicidad para gobernar. No habia una persona que tenga capaz, asi. Entonces nosotros, nos hemos capacitado, nos hemos formado. Poco a poco hemos [invadido?]. [Indistinct]'

Me: 'El Feliciano Patty me ha dicho que han empezado a organizarse mucho alrededor de 1980.'

970 Ramon: 'Claro. Todo esa anos desde 52 organizaba mas fuerte Amarete, entonces ellos eran como apoyo no mas. Es como es un comunidades pequenas, no ve? Desde alli hemos empezado, pero hubieramos entrado desde alli, pero no habia capacidad digamos para hacer, para administrar digamos, en la subprefectura, en la alcaldia.'

Me: 'Entonces, Amarete ha organizado desde 52, pero los otros comunidades abajo...'

Ramon: 'Apoyando a nosotros, asi. Pero desde noventa, desde ochenta, desde ochenta y tres yo he entrado digamos al cuartel. Saliendo del cuartel ya, era hombre ya. Hombre firme, entonces, alli hemos empezado ya. Firmemente organizarse, hasta el ano noventa, poco a poco nos hemos entrado ya. Recien. Entonces estabamos dominado con los vecinos, con los patrones.'

Me: 'Cuando habia cambiado eso?'

Ramon: 'Poco a poco se ha cambiado eso. Ahora se, como te digo, de 2003 ya, netamente ya, ya no existen los estes.'

980 Me: 'Desde 2003. Y esto es el ano del patrimonio oral de los Kallawayas, tambien.'

Ramon: 'No es patrimonio de los espanoles. Es patrimonio de los indigenas de Charazani, de la provincia.'

Me: 'Y hablan siempre de la Nacion Kallawaya, o eso de desde 2003 no mas?'

Ramon: 'No, antes erabamos Nacion Kallawaya. Desde los Incas. Antes se ha debido ser parte Kollasuyo. Somos parte de Kollasuyu, pues. Entonces, mayoría de esos lugares se han olvidado pues. Se han, se han mezclado con religion catolica, evangelizacion, todo eso. Nosotros seguimos manteniendo, aunque en oculto estabamos manteniendo. Cuando hemos acabado ya, terminar a los estes, patrones, entonces alli nos hemos [reparado].'

Me: 'Ah, ya. Porque tenia mas autodeterminacion.'

990 Ramon: 'Aqui ellos gobernaban, los q'aras tienen sus ministros, diputados. Todos tienen y no teniamos derecho, digamos, plantear nuestro este, patrimonio cultural. Imponian pues, desde gobierno. En vanos nosotros queriamos aqui. En vano hemos invadido a los vecinos, a los patrones, todo eso. Pero nos planteamos con proyecto alli, nos imponien. Entonces cuando terminamos aqui, el poder digamos de los patrones, ya recien nos escuchan ya, en el gobierno.'

Me: 'Con quien mas podia hablar sobre el patrimonio oral? Sobre la organizacion. Estaba hablando en La Paz el otro dia con Alipio Cuila tambien, pero...'

Ramon: 'mas entendido es Alipio Cuila, pero el dede ser. Despues Idalfonso Canaza,.. del otro lado Feliciano Patty estaba. De Curva quien estaba no me recuerdo, habia muchos – alcaldes e este ano...'

1000

1010

Interview with Alipio Cuila: 7th December 2012

1020 Second interview with Alipio: I start off by asking him his opinion about what the deacon had told me about the campesinos in the communities up until around 1995 looking for vecinos in Charazani as compadres, and how Feliciano Patty had told me that part of Alipio's campaign to become alcalde had involved exhortations from him not to form relations any more with the vecinos.

We went to a fast food charquekan place just round the corner from the plaza del estudiante (in fact just around the corner from the 'cafe ciudad'), where we had charquekan and I quickly realised that any attempts to do a recorded interview with him would prove futile since there was a blaring loud TV behind me drowning out our conversation. In fact it was so loud that we could barely have much of a conversation, much less hope to record our conversation. Afterwards we went outside to sit and converse on the benches outside and down some steps from the UMSA monoblock.

I started off by asking him about the his campaign to be elected as alcalde the first time.

1030 Alipio: 'En si no habia campana, sino habia acuerdo social. Habia primero una consulta. Entonces la consulta iba de que como podiamos asumir primera vez al un cargo publico. Eso era. Entonces si vamos a llegar digamos a ser la alcaldia pues como vamos a manejanos, como es administrar? Entonces eso era. Entonces si la consulta era mas que todo por comunidades por comunidad, entonces habia una, un como se llama? Como una... nombrados como lideres, de cada comunidad. Entonces de esos lideres eran, eran como trasmisores, de lo que era nuestro plan... se ha elaborado el plan en si. Entonces, luego ese plan, despues con la consulta se ha elaborado, despues eso fue transmitido por eso, por los lideres de cada comunidad. Ellos socializaban. [2.00] Que querian primero, no? Entonces, eso era entonces, 'que queriamos?' 'Para que vamos asumir al cargo publico?' 'Para que vamos a digamos, eso era entonces. El problema era siempre que era la rosca, Charazani. Y los comunarios como erabamos solo como los que obedeciamos. Cumpliamos, entonces no teniamos ese potestad de decision.'

Me: 'Cumplian lo que querian los vecinos de Charazani...?'

Alipio: 'Imponien, imponien. A ustedes esto van a hacer y ahi no mas. Si decias que como quiero y ya no habia decision. Entonces ellos tamaban decision por nosotros.'

Me: Los vecinos?

Alipio: 'Los vecinos.'

Me: 'y esto era siempre hasta '95?'

1050 Alipio: 'Entonces, pero como manaejaban? Era bien... ellos eran una rosca, pues. Y porque el padrinazgo? Entonces mediante el padrinazgo controlaban, pues, a los comunarios. Entonces, si... tambien era al final como ellos controlaban entonces, parecian como defensores, como algo de superioridad. Entonces es por eso se nombraban padrinos a los vecinos. Y como tambien esto ha [indistinct] el ahijado tenia que llevarse ovejas carneadas, papas, cosas se llevaban al padrino.'

Me: 'Los mejores?'

Alipio: 'Los mejores, si. Inclusive trabajaban para el padrino. Hacian trabajar chajras, si. Entonces eso fue un motivo tambien de que ellos eran como serviles estaban. Como pongos, entonces. Yeso era mas problema es donde ha llegado hacienda, y donde lugares donde no ha llegado hacienda era mas tranquilo.'

Me: 'En Amarete habia compadrazgo con Charazani tambien?'

Alipio: 'Habia'

1060 Me: 'Pero menos que abajo en en valle supongo.'

Alipio: 'Si. Menos, claro porcentaje menos. Mas sometidos estaban todos, todo valle.'

Me: 'El deacono me dijo que todos querian vecinos de Charazani para defenderles de alguna cosa. Alguien que podia defenderles, que tenia un poco de capital. Pero despues pensando en eso, no estaba seguro de que tenian que defenderles.'

Alipio: 'Al final estaba negociando con ambos. El demandado, el demandante. Entonces ellos eran

como un fuente de trabajo que... que caia de esto, no? De estos, no era en plata, pero sino en otras cosas, no?... Ganados, productos, hasta vestimentas. Los vestimentas antiguas, por ejemplo.'

Me: Que el vecino compraba vestimentas?

Alipio: 'No compraba, sino es que por algun motivo entonces le adquiria.'

1070 Me: 'Oh, que le tenia que dar vestimenta a los de Charazani'

Alipio: 'Uh-huh.'

Me: Pero porque en las comunidades querian ese relacion con un vecino de Charazani? Parece que no conviene.

Alipio: 'Entonces eso era un motivo cuando nosotros ibamos visitar a las comunidades con la consulta entonces, cual eran los problemas? Y ellos eran [indistinct] sus problemas nuetrsos problemas, esto y esto y esto, y no podemos seguir. Eso.'

Me: 'Querian cambiar esa relacion con Charazani?'

Alipio: 'Si. Claro, no era con venganza nada mas, sino que solo querian respeto. Entonces querian, nosotros vamos respetar como vecino. El vecino tambien que nos respeta como runas. Eso querian. Entonces para que haiga respeto era desligarse de padrinzgo. Por que mediante eso era el control.'

1080

Me: Que era un decision que habian tomado en todas las comunidades.

Alipio: 'No mas [indistinct] padrinos. Que eramos tambien capaces entre nosotros podemos ser.'

Me: Interesante. Y como han escogido usted como postulante para alcalde? Por que habian otros candidatos, o...?

Alipio: 'Habian varias. Que nosotros no nos hemos peleado, nada. Habia de propuestas diferentes a ellos comunidades – 'el podia ser' asi, 'el podia ser', asi. Eramos como diez, o doce, mas o menos.'

Me: De todo el municipio, no solo de Amarete, no?

Alipio: 'No, de diferentes lados. Y al final, mas antes entonces ha habido reuniones asi, entonces cual va ser, quien puede ser entonces. Antes de eleccion ya me nombraron. Y era despues, no esas veces, por partido, no? Eso decia la ley. Pero nosotros no podiamos, no teniamos un pertido. Entonces teniamos que buscarnos [chuckles] para cumplir los requisitos de la ley.'

1090

Me: No habia un eleccion. Era por aclamacion, no mas.

Alipio: 'No. Era mas de, mas un pacto social. Un consenso digamos. 'Quien podia ser? Quien podia llevar esa plan?'. Eso era.'

Me: No habia conflicto entre diferentes partes del municipio en ese tiempo?

Alipio: 'No, inclusive en algunas veces, me han dicho 'el, el, el, que vayan' ya. Todo en ese proceso hemos estado [indistinct] pues. Entonces nosotros no nos hemos peleado. No hemos como ustedes. Hemos estado participando juntos inclusive en algunos comunidades. Digamos vos eres de otro frente entonces, yo de otro frente; todos estabamos presentes pero sin pelea. Que ahora es normalmente se pelean.'

1100

Me: Si, eso es lo que veo mas. El conflicto. Entre los diferentes...

Alipio: 'No habia antes conflicto. Era mas de consenso, buscar consenso.'

Me: Y que mas? Que mas queria preguntar?

Alipio: 'Pero habia un solo plan, no? El objetivo. De llegar al municipio.'

Me: Y tenian el plan para que hacer dentro del municipio, que hacer dentro del alcaldia despues?

Alipio: 'Si. Despues ese plan en primera gestion no se ha cumplido todas. Por que no nos hemos alcanzado el tiempo. Y como tambien en la ley de participacion era tambien nueva. No tenia instrumentos para que la ley estaba ahi. Papel muerta. No habia instrumento para ejecutar esa ley. Entonces hay muchas cosas nosotros hemos inventado segun nuetros costumbres del lugar, entonces muchas cosas ya se ha hecho una norma aqui para el Estado. Eso tambien ha sido un aporte de nosotros, no el Estado, de como administrar, de como socializar con la gente, de como responder, de como digamos, como gobernar internamente, digamos escuchando a la comunidad. Esas cosas, los instrumentos digamos, como hacer un plan, como hacer un POA, esas cosas, no? En que tiempo, no? – que normalmente ahora estan haciendo digamos, faltando unos digamos, sale una intruccion digamos tal fecha dice, recien estamos haciendo. Pero nosotros la referencia era que todo el ano haciamos. Digamos en un ano que necesidad teniamos. Para el ano esa necesidad haremos.'

1110

Entonces todo el año hay que conseguir.’

Me: Estaban más organizados?

1120 Alipio: ‘Sí. Más organizados, que ahora. Ahora estamos más desorganizados! [chuckles]... Era más de conciencia [sic – consenso?] era, no? Era, dos cosas se manejaban. Respetábamos a la norma que es a ley, del Estado, y nosotros la norma interna también. Entonces, dos cosas, había un pacto. Por eso no había problema. Que ahora se pasa más a la norma del Estado y se olvide la norma procedimientos propios. Por eso hay un choque... Que más?!?’

Me: Quiero saber más del período de los 80 antes de eso, pero no sé que preguntar exactamente. Como, Feliciano Patty me ha dicho que en el año 80 más o menos ha empezado la pelea dentro de las comunidades contra los vecinos de Charazani, y dentro del sindicato que se han organizado más dentro de las comunidades fuera de los partidos políticos, que antes estaba controlado por los partidos políticos. Como se empezaron a organizarse más o menos por alrededor de esos años?

1130 Alipio: ‘El problema era digamos – siempre estábamos organizados – pero no era visible. Era como clandestina. Por que el problema era por control entonces que agarraban, controlaban, de alguna manera tendrían que...’

Me: Quien controlaban?

Alipio: ‘Los vecinos, por mediante los partidos, muchas cosas, por que ellos tenían el poder. Entonces, solo a nosotros nos venían a decir ‘para el van a votar!’ así, no? ‘El va ser alcalde’. O ‘el va ser subprefecto’, ‘el va ser corregidor’. Solo erabamos, cumplíamos el orden, ‘quien va ser’. Entonces, y cuando ya entran era un abuso. Abusaban las comunidades por todo. Por diferentes motivos, entonces, al final entonces no teníamos un instrumento legal que podíamos participar nosotros también. Entonces hemos esperado mucho tiempo, hasta que cambian las reformas de las, de la ley, de la constitución, entonces en ‘94 recién cambia la constitución reforma. Entonces hay dos artículos que son de la igualdad de oportunidades. Somos iguales ante la ley. Y entonces si somos iguales entonces también nosotros podemos ser del municipio, podemos administrar también los recursos... Entonces era más de devolver el respeto a las comunidades, eso. Que ya no ser sometido.’

1140 Me: Antes de ‘94 se habían organizado dentro del sindicato, no?.

Alipio: ‘Claro. Siempre teníamos. Claro llamaban sindicato, no? Pero en realidad es funcionan como jilacatas, como en Amarete, no? Pero con nombre de sindicato, [17.16] que es algo tampoco sindicato es nuestro propio organización, pero nos llamaban así. Hasta ahora sigue siendo jilacata, sigue siendo wachu, no ve? No decimos secretario de educación, son comisiones para nosotros’

Me: Esto es en Amarete?

1150 Alipio: ‘Sí. En otros lados igual. Hay algunos sigue siendo sindicato, aunque internamente funcionan algo original se llaman otra cosa.’

Me: Eso me han dicho varias personas que dentro del sindicato era igual que antes, no había cambiado nada, solo los nombres de los cargos. Que funcionaba igual que la organización originario antes. Después de volver a la organización originario, era igual todavía, en Amarete y en el Suni, en Caata.

Alipio: ‘Que tienen otras funciones con la comunidad. Que con estructura sindical es otras cosas, no?’

Me: Pero funciona...

Alipio: ‘Funciona, con nombre de sindicato o nombre de originario, lo importante es que funciona la organización.’

1160 Me: Antes de 94, no tenían mucha poder contra los vecinos de Charazani, el sindicato?

Alipio: ‘Tenían poder, pero cuando estamos en digamos junto por que una vez Amarete entro Charazani, por los grandes abusos que ya ha pasado, entonces entro Amarete a Charazani. Entonces...’

Me: En que año?

Alipio: ‘Creo que era 84, 85, por allí. Y todo se han escapado.’

Me: Todos los...

Alipio: ‘Vecinos. Se han cerrado sus tiendas...’

- Me: Porque se ha entrado a Charazani?’
- Alipio: ‘Era un, habia un conflicto entre mucho abuso.’
- 1170 Me: Oh. Y que hacian en Charazani?
- Alipio: ‘Solo una protesta. Nada mas.’
- Me: Y despues se volvieron a Amarete?
- Alipio: ‘Si. Eso un poco bajo, no? Eso tambien ayudo al proceso de lo que se ha hecho cambio. Por eso tenian miedo a Amarete. ‘Se baja Amarete! Nos van a comer!’ dice, porque somos hartos [chuckles].
- Me: Tenian miedo en serio que les iban a comer?
- Alipio: ‘No pues, pero solo... asi se mas o menos entendian ellos, no? Pero nuestra intencion no era comer, ni matar; solo era una protesta para que no haiga mas.’
- Me: Y despues, no habia tantos abusos?
- 1180 Alipio: ‘Se bajo.’
- Me: Antes, que estaban haciendo, los vecinos, en Amarete?
- Alipio: ‘Ellos se quedaban. Estaban alli. No iban ellos, pero hay uno que era, que acompanaban, era el Cornejo.’
- Me: Cornejo?
- Alipio: ‘Humberto Cornejo. Vecino de Amarete.’
- Me: De Amarete? Oh.
- Alipio: ‘El acompanaba. [21.35]Lo demas no acompaño.’
- Me: Ah. Que el venia de amarete a Charazani con los Amaretenos?
- Alipio: ‘No. Era es de Amarete pues, Humberto Cornejo. El acompanaba la organizativa [sic], apoyado
- 1190 – que los diferencia a otros vecinos.’
- Me: Oh. Habia apoyado a Amarete.
- Alipio: ‘Si. Acompaño, organizo, acompaño. Ha acompanado en toda la organizacion. Que los otros nada, no? Estaban ahi, nomas.’
- Me: Pero el vivio en Amarete, no?
- Alipio: ‘Si.’
- Me: Antes de eso los vecinos de Charazani venian a llevar comida, o...
- Alipio: ‘Siempre ha habido abuso, de diferentes [indistinct], por que eran todo autoridad tenian ellos.’
- Me: Bueno, supongo que usted deberia estar yendo a la familia.
- 1200 Alipio: ‘[chuckles], Si’
- Me: Gracias. Quien mas en Amarete puedo preguntar sobre ese tiempo? He hablado con...
- Alipio: ‘Pablo Challco?’
- Me: ‘Er... cada vez... el era mallku?’
- Alipio: ‘No, antes no. Esas veces creo que era. Antes o despues, no me recuerdo bien, era juez.’
- Me: Juez? En Amarete?
- Alipio: ‘Por eso nos ponian como minima. Que Charazani era maxima. [chuckles]’
- Me: Que significa eso?
- Alipio: ‘Mas chiquitito. Minima [indistinct] se llamaba.’
- Me: Minima, que el tenia menos poder que los jueces en Charazani?
- 1210 Alipio: ‘Si. Era como un puro camoflaje. Ustedes tambien tienen su autoridad. Para decir eso, no?’
- Me: Me ha dicho que deberia hablar con Pablo Challco, pero no sabia que preguntarle exactamente. He hablado con Ramon Yujra que era subprefecto me ha dicho.
- Alipio: ‘Ramon...?’
- Me: En 2003.
- Alipio: Esos fue 83?
- Me: No, 2003. O por ahi.
- Alipio: ‘Ah, algo recién es. Lo el proceso importante es de 80 90, en ese tiempo era mas...’
- Me: Si, quien...?

- 1220 Alipio: 'El se trabajo mucho de campo. Despues 2000, de 2000 arriba ya era, ya estaba asentado, ya estaba iniciado ya. Ya estaba caminando el proceso.'
- Me: Quien mas estaba involucrado en ese tiempo?
- Alipio: 'Ya se han fallecido las autoridades. Ya no hay, haber quien podia ser?'
- Me: Debe haber algunos jovenes.
- Alipio: 'Los menores, no? Pero los mayores, ya no existen. Ya han fallecido.'
- Me: El Pablo Challco no mas?
- Alipio: 'Pero tambien es despues. Claro en el proceso estaba joven... Quien mas, haber, haber, haber, haber...'
- Me: O en otras comunidades como Chullina tal vez.
- Alipio: 'En Chullina estaba el Edgar Oblitas.'
- 1230 Me: Edgar Oblitas?
- Alipio: 'Si. Era mallku de Chullina.'
- Me: Oblitas as un apellido de Charazani.
- Alipio: 'Si. Debe ser una mezcla seguro. Su papa debe ser vecino y su mama debe ser originaria.'
- Me: El era mallku de Chullina?
- Alipio: 'Si. En esa epoca.'
- Me: En los anos 80?
- Alipio: '90. 95 debe ser. Ahora lo que es ahora mallku de Unica. El tambien era joven activo. No se que cargo tenia... Era un joven activo en esa epoca, pero no me recuerdo que cargo tenia.'
- Me: Le he hablado un ratito no mas en la calle, pero voy ir a Chullina a buscarle en su casa.
- 1240 Alipio: 'Despues quien...? Al Pablo, otro Pablo que es Challco tambien. Al que tiene esa tiendita.'
- Me: Ah yo estaba pensando en el.
- Alipio: 'Boletero. Esa tambien era.'
- Me: Quien es el otro Pablo Challco?
- Alipio: 'El grande.'
- Me: Que tiene la tienda en la plaza?
- Alipio: 'Si.'
- Me: Ah.
- Alipio: 'No me acuerdo. Hay muchos mas. Pero lo que importantes sean aqui.'
- Me: Y el papa de Martin Canaza?
- 1250 Alipio: 'No, mas bien era mi, como mi amigo. Tambien el fue otro frente. Despues ha sido mi...'
- Me: Otro partido politico?
- Alipio: 'Si. Era mi... Victor Hugo Cardenas con el estaba... Pachakuti, no me acuerdo. Debe estar en la linea de Victor Hugo, que era vicepresidente de MNR... erabamos, somos familiares tambien, pero... hemos peleado. Era un lider que andabamos juntos. Y el [Hugo Canaza] era esa vez, esa ve era ejecutivo del sindicato. Era 94, 95. En los momentos malos, buenos, siempre hemos estado los dos presentes. Aunque era de otro frente, pero no era mal de partido, sino solo era por ocupar espacios. Por que como los *mistis* ocupaban todos partidos, y nosotros tomamos esas fechas tomar todos los partidos.'
- Me: Si. No importaba cual partido?
- 1260 Alipio: 'No interesaba. Interesaba la persona.'
- Me: Trabajaban juntos. No importaba que era de otro partido.
- Alipio: 'Era solo para cumplir el requisito no mas. Ante la ley.'
- Me: Me parece que si estan haciendo autonomia para volver a algo mas originario despues no deberia haber partidos politicos.
- Alipio: 'Ese era pues el mandato. Pero estamos perdiendo el hilo. Ya no estamos cumpliendo. Entro mas de vicio – como se dice – interes. Es lo que el dano que ha. Lo que nos falta es como retomar. Como juntarnos. Volver. Eso va costar.'
- Me: Ya esta un poco fracturado.
- Alipio: 'Si.'

- 1270 Me: En el cumpleaños del alcalde, el mismo me ha contado que alguien de Amarete queria sacarle del alcaldia solo por que es de otro partido. No se si es asi, pero asi me ha dicho. Que querian hacer revocatoria [Alipio laughs] por que el es de MAS y los otros eran de Unidad Nacional.
Alipio: 'Eso crea pues. Division ya se ha creado.'
Me: Y que... probablemente sera dificil que yo tengo acceso a documentacion de ese tiempo pero hay como documentacion en la alcaldia que... o en libros de actas en Amarete y...?
Alipio: 'Hay en las comunidades. En todo lado.'
Me: Que tiene la discusion que estaban haciendo la gente alrededor de 94 o...?
Alipio: '94, 95 hasta, si. Mas que todo 94, 95 En esos epocas en los libros de esos anos, en diferentes comunidades. Eso pues se encuentran en cualquier comunidad, pero de ese ano.'
- 1280 Me: Hmm, si, 94, 95.
Alipio: 'Si. Hay esas acuerdos esta todo.'
Me: 'En Amarete debe estar en el subalcaldia, supongo.'
Alipio: 'Hay tres libros en Amarete. En la subalcaldia, en el mallku, y de jilacatas. Tres libros'
Me: Si. He hablado varias veces con el subalcalde, pero no es muy util, el subalcalde.
Alipio: '[laughs] Ah si?'
Me: Bueno, varias veces, como dos veces teniamos que encontrarnos en el subalcaldia y yo he ido y estaba todo cerrado, y creo que el subalcalde se ha ido a La Paz, y asi... Pero tal vez en otra comunidad, para tener algo, puedo preguntar en Ninacorin.
Alipio: 'Si, en todo lado hay.'
- 1290 The conversation then turned to Ayni Kusun:

Alipio: 'Tambien ha hecho su aporte. Yo inclusive estaba alli.' 'El Rufino, Feliciano...'
Me: 'La Petrona'
Alipio: 'La Petrona.'
Me: De lo que yo he visto, parece que casi todos los asamblesitas de la asamblea autonómica estaban en Ayni Kusun. O si no casi todos, muchos habian. O todos los lideres que han salido.
Alipio: 'Ahi era nuestro base algunos momentos.' 'Ahi nos juntado.'
Me: Como era importante?
- 1300 Alipio: 'Era un instancia que... donde nos podemos reunir.'
Me: Donde no estaban escuchando nadie de afuera.
Alipio: 'Si. Despues, mas nuestras conversaciones era en las comunidades, en pastoreo, en la chajra.'
Me: Pero se organizaban un poco en la escuela.
Alipio: 'En la reserva.'
Me: La reserva?
Alipio: 'Claro. Estaba muy reservado. No era publico, primeros veces, por que era un control fuerte'
Me: Y que estaban, que era el rol del Suni, del, como de Rufino? Rufino estaba activo politicamente en...
Alipio: 'No. El Suni estaba mas a mira de, como se llama?, mas productivo. Ellos, mas metidos
- 1310 estaban, porque estaban trabajandose [indistinct]. Habia un proyecto INFOL,... era un ON, un... claro, era un proyecto, no? Entonces, ellos estaban mas, sobre problemas de los mejoramientos alpacas. Que no era al final mejorar, por que, el mejoramiento fracaso por que, mejor era mantener natural, no? Lo han vuelto blanco, y ahora como el blanco bajo el precio todas cosas, perdieron tambien.'
Me: El color blanco no es natural?
Alipio: 'Antes querian mas blanco. Pero despues ha habido cruces de geneticamente, que no eran tan bueno'
Me: Eso tenia que ver con Ayni Kusun?
Alipio: 'Era mas productivo. Desde mira digamos de tipo empresarial, algo mas economico...'
Me: Si, Rufino dice siempre, 'Yo soy Aymara capitalista'. [Alipio chuckles]
- 1320 Alipio: 'Eso es.'

Me: Estaba un poco de un lado en...

Alipio: 'Estaban en el proceso, pero tenian esa mira de mejorar su alpaca, de como ganarse mas, mas capital. Capitalizarse, no? Esa rol sabian jugar. Pero era buen aporte en el proceso. El [indistinct] Mamani, el Rufino. Despues, ya ahora hay otros, no?'

Me: Ha apoyado mas, moralmente?

Alipio: 'Si.'

Me: Y el INFOL estaba conectado con Ayni Kusun?

Alipio: 'Ni tanto. Era mas de alpaca. La Ayni Kusun era mas de social. Educativo.'

Me: El Ayni Kusun era importante en la formacion de los dirigentes?'

1330 Alipio: 'Dirigentes; los adultos. Entonces era, eso era, no? Pero nosotros aprovechabamos para otras [indistinct]'

Me: Como aprovechaban de la escuela?

Alipio: 'Claro de si habia digamos umm, nos apoyaban digamos para seminario digamos de sindicalismo, no? Entonces nosotros llevabamos sindicalismo pero tambien alli mismo nuestros puntos de lo que nuestros intereses tambien hablabamos.'

Me: 'Que otros intereses?'

Alipio: 'Los intereses colectivos... del cambio'

Me: Del cambio... Como de lo que estabamos hablando antes. Disconectar de la relacion con los vecinos de Charazani.

1340 Alipio: 'Romper la rosca.' [chuckles]

Me: Romper la rosca. Y dentro de Ayni Kusun hablaran de como hacian el plan.

Alipio: 'Si. Hablabamos. Y alguna vez se sospechaban al Ayni Kusun de que eran guerrilleros, eran, estabamos formandose, y alguna vez han hecho problema los Ayni Kusun de [indistinct] los vecinos. Han include alguna vez creo que han demandado formalmente. Debe haber esas papeles. Haber que hablar con Stanis pero el debe tener.'

Me: Donde esta Stanis ahora?

Alipio: 'Achocalla. Tiene su queteria.'

Me: Su que?

Alipio: 'Ya se dedica a...'

1350 Me: Hace queso?

Alipio: 'Si.'

Me: Esta en contacto con el todavia?

Alipio: 'Ya, alguna vez nos vemos en la calle, pero... si. Han problematizado el. Estan formando guerrilleros, asi. Creo que ha ido unos demandas. Debe tener el, el papal pero. Se hablaba de esas cosas. Y nosotros un poco cuidabamos tambien a ellos. Como nos apoyaban entonces tendriamos que... el cuidador era de ambos. Ellos nos cuidaban y nosotros tambien cuidabamos. Parece que era un poco, han resistido los resistimiento de los vecinos era de que tenia esa apoyo social, ellos. Estaban alli los importantes y para.'

Me: Y los vecinos no querian que habra un escuela.

1360 Alipio: '[indistinct] por que ahi estaba la base social.'

Me: Tenian miedo de que estaban educandose, ustedes. No tiene algun contacto por Stanislas?

Alipio: 'Voy a buscar en mis agendas.'

Me: La escuela me parece un punto importante...

Alipio: 'Estrategico, no?'

Me: ... en ese proceso tambien...

Alipio: 'Si.'

Me: ... y seria interesante hablar con Stanislas.

Alipio: 'Si.'

1370 Me: Se han juntado en la escuela en la playa? Por que el otro dia la Petrona me estaba contando que habia varias escuelas en, habia en Moya Pampa...

Alipio: 'Despues habia'

Me: ...Habia en Amarqha.

Alipio: 'Ya cuando yo era alcalde ya lo hemos ampliado. En Amarete, Moya Pampa, otros.

Me: Oh, pero antes de eso,...

Alipio: '...Solo era Playa.'

Me: ...en la Playa. Desde que ano era en la Playa?

Alipio: Debe ser de 90, 91 por alli. Pero formalmente era de 94. Formal, asi con libretas, con ministerio, asi. Antes era mas, mas distinta [chuckles].'

Me: Por que tenia mas apoyo de la alcaldia despues.

1380 Alipio: 'Si. Y con el esto se ha fortalecido, se ha abierto mas publico es con la reforma educativa, que lanzo el gobierno, entonces de eso hemos aprovechado'

Me: Eso 96...?

Alipio: '...94. Desde alli empieza formacion asi, ya formal. Que nosotros erabamos la primera promocion.'

Me: Que era el ano del primer promocion, 94?

Alipio: 'Si, no?'

Me: Y en que ano han abierto otros centros de Ayni Kusun?

Alipio: 'Despues de eso... 5, 6...'

Me: 95, 96.

1390 Alipio: 'Cuando yo era autoridad. 94 arriba se abre formalmente.'

Me: La Petrona me estaba contando cosas interesantes de como se ha fracasado. La Petrona me estaba contando, y Rufino igual, como ha fracasado. Que era por corrupcion de dos directores que estaban encargados en...

Alipio: 'Ah, de Ayni Kusun?'

Me: Del Ayni Kusun.

Alipio: 'Ah despues que del Stanis era eso.'

Me: Si, el Tomas de...

Alipio: 'Hay varias! Sin contar y era, despues 2000, si.'

Me: El Stanislas estaba encargado hasta 2000...

1400 Alipio: '98, 99? Si, por ahi.'

Me: Y despues era Rufino, no?

Alipio: 'Varias!'

1410

1420

Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 13th December 2012

Me: 'Yo tengo ese libro, pero...'

Aurelio: 'Eso? - 'Para Curar...'

Me: 'Tengo tres libros de Ina Rosing, pero es el unico que he leído bien.'

Aurelio: 'Si'

Me: 'Creo que es su primer libro'

1430 Aurelio: 'Si.'

Aurelio tells me that his wife Justina knew Ina Rosing when she was a little girl, and he showed me a photo of her as a girl in one of Ina Rosing's books. Justina's mother died when she was a girl and as Justina was the eldest, she had to look after the other five children.

Aurelio: 'Por eso cuando se muere, una persona siempre debe hacer un ritual que se llama ritual para vencer penas y tristezas [the name of one of Ina Rosing's books]... el ritual es simbolico, simbolico. El Kallawaya para nosotros tenemos varias dioses; varias dioses – tiempo, agua, fuego, el rayo, la tierra. Si, varias dioses, que siempre hacemos ofrendamos con ceremonia ritual. [2.18] Con coca.'

1440 Me: En la flota, viniendo esta tarde de La Paz, cuando llegabamos a Pumasani, yo estaba sentado a lado de Fernando Huanca de Chajaya, de Canlaya, y el habia hecho el signo de la cruz en Pumasani, y le habia preguntado por que, y me ha dicho que es porque estamos rodeados por achachilas, pero el signo de la cruz no es lago mas catolico?

Aurelio: 'Es que nuestros conocimientos estan escondidos en la iglesia catolica. Es decir yo cuando estaba en Cusco, porque yo viajo mucho; cuando estube yo en Cusco, una senora me dice, 'mira, tengo un a virgen de copacabana y gracias a ella vivo bien. Estoy feliz. Pero siento en mi alma y en mi que esa virgin me protege, entonces maestro por favor, ch'allamelo,' dice. Ch'allar es una forma de ofrendar, no? Entonces yo, para mi no hay problema. Hago la ceremonia ritual; ch'allo a la virgincita, porque la virgincita representa a la pachamama. Es igual. Pero algunos maestros Aymaras, amautas pueden no ch'allar eso, porque van a decir que eso es de Espana, que esa virgin nada que ver con mundo andino. Entonces un problema, entonces pero nosotros los Kallawayas, no. Para que hacemos problema? Mejor la virgincita representa la pachamama, y listo; [4.31] y la persona esta feliz alli. Entonces esta bien [laughs].'

1450 Me: 'Y el cruz es la Chakana?'

Aurelio: 'Claro, claro. La chakana, no? Claro. Entonces hay algunas cosas del Kallawaya estan ocultados en lo que es la religion catolica. Eso para no... por que si nos ahorita no habria cultura Kallawaya. Porque cuando llegan los Espanoles a los Kallawayas agarran y dicen brujos. Los queman vivo mismo. Que nosotros hablamos con diablo y listo. [laughs]'

Me: 'Si. Usted debe saber mas que yo, pero Don Gines me habia dicho que la Inquisicion los habian llevado a Lima, y los habian quemado, los Kallawayas.'

1460 Aurelio: 'Claro. Y eso que no hablamos con diablo. Es mala, mala interpretacion. Yo he explicado mucho esta parte. Por ejemplo, yo cuando tenia mis ocho anos he ido al rio. En este rio hay trucha. Y este rio viene de una laguna sagrada, que se llama pachaqhota. Es el nombre de la laguna sagrada de donde viene el rio.'

Me: 'Pachaqhota'

Aurelio: 'Pachaqhota.'

Me: 'Pachaqhota. Donde es, por Qotapampa?'

Aurelio: 'No, por Apacheta. Solo por este camino y este lado y ya. Y entonces, en este rio hay trucha. Yo cuando tenia ocho anos estaba con un Quechua. Quechua diho, porque los Kallawayas estamos en medio de los familias Quechuas. Entiendes?'

Me: 'Mmm'

1470 Aurelio: '...porque cuando llegas a un pueblo, no todos son Kallawayas. Si. Hay familias Kallawayas que estamos en medio de los familias Quechuas. Si. Pero igual vivimos. Convivimos, juntos. Si.'

Me: 'Son Kallawayas solo los que hacen la medicina?'

Aurelio: 'Claro. El Kallawaya es el que maneja los amuletos. El Kallawaya es el que cura con las

plantas y hace sus viajes. El Kallawaya es el que lee la coca. Entonces el Kallawaya es medico. Medico. Nos vamos de viaje, todo Sud America, y podemos conseguir alguito de dinero, para traer para los chicos, para mandar a la escuela, para complementar algo en la casa, lo que falta para comer y para. Somos mas caminantes.'

Me: 'Si. Parece que debe haber mas Kallawayas viviendo afuera de la region que'

1480 Aurelio: Si, se han quedado otros en Argentina, otros en Peru, se han quedado, en Cusco, en Lima. Otros en Chile. Otros en Ecuador, si. Le algunos estabas aqui.'

Me: 'Pero hay algo que me confunde un poco, que bueno, en Amarete dicen 'Somos Kallawayas porque llevamos las tradiciones, la vestimenta, las danzas tradicionales, estoy intentando ubicar quienes son los Kallawayas, y quienes no son.'

1490 Aurelio: 'Mira. Con mucho respeto a los Amaretenos, no? Segun nuetros abuelos, los Amaretenos es un pueblo Quechua guerrero. El Inca las ha traído para cuidar al Kallawaya. No? Ellos son guerreros. Y tienen que, son un pueblo guerrero que cuida, que cuidaba a los Kallawayas. Pero con el pasar del tiempo, algunos Amaretenos han aprendido de los mismos Kallawayas a curar, tambien con plantas. Unos cuantas inclusive ya se han hecho Kallawayas. No? Pero con mucho respeto. Yo tengo un compadre por ejemplo que se llama Obaldo Cuno, en Amarete. Es un buen maestro, no? Y un poquito se sentia mas deprimido porque no sabia hablar Macha Jujay. Entonces yo le estaba enseñando con cassettes, para que el no siente mas, se siente asi. Entonces los familias Kallawayas siempre tenemos linaje. Linaje, es porque nuestros abuelos han sido Kallawayas. Por ejemplo, yo soy Aurelio Ortiz, el es mi abuelo Lucas Ortiz. No? Ellos han llegado a canal de Panama. Claro. Los familias kallawayas, tenemos linaje. Si. Tenemos linaje. Y por eso es que pues una cosa es nacer como Kallawaya, otra cosa es hacerse kallawaya. Son dos cosas que yo plantea, siempre.'

Me: 'Que se puede aprender a ser Kallawaya.'

Aurelio: 'Pero bien. No conociendo dos, tres plantitas, decir que no yo Kallawaya; no. Tienes que tener una larga trayectoria. Inclusive conocerse tu mismo, no? Experimentar las plantas en ti mismo primero. Y no solo eso; sino que aprender, aprender paciencia. Paz y ciencia.'

1500 Me: 'Porque algunos personas me han dicho si no son del, de las comunidades alrededor de Charazani – Curva, Inca Roca, Canlaya, Chari, Chajaya, Huata Huata, no pueden ser Kallawaya. Pero si saben de la medicina y son de otra comunidad – de Amarete - ellos idintifiquen como Kallawayas tambien.'

Aurelio: 'Amarete, como te digo, ellos han mantenido mas el ciclo agricola. El ciclo agricola... [he talks with his wife about going to receive Evo in Curva tomorrow]... Mira, como te llamas hermano?'

Me: 'Jonathan.'

Aurelio: 'Jonathan. Mira, esta es la historia de Amarete.'

Me: 'Oh. Nunca habia visto ese libro.'

Aurelio: '[laughs]. Pero es un libro muy bonito que la Ina Rosing representa.'

1510 Me: 'Ah, esto es Ina Rosing.'

Aurelio: 'Claro. Y obviamente, como tu dices, tiene una vestimenta propio. Mantienen ellos, son. Ellos son una parte de un poblacion de Salasacos de Ecuador. Porque el Inca los ha traído para cuidar al Kallawaya. [13.23] El Kallawaya era muy fiel al Inca y el Inca tambien era muy criante al Kallawaya entonces eran sus medicos. Entonces el Inca les ha traído de Ecuador a este pueblo de Amarete. Y lo ha puesto alli, para que cuida al Kallawaya. Pero, con el pasar de muchos anos, ellos tambien han aprendido la medicina. Y estan aprendiendo ahora. El Kallawaya no solamente es el que hace ceremonias rituales para buena produccion. El Kallawaya tiene que ver el cuerpo humano, y tiene que sanar. Por ahi maestros ritualistas en Amarete que cuiden el ciclo agricola. Que tiene que llover, que no tiene que llover, es preciso que no tiene que faltar comida eso esta muy bien. Pero, mas alli de que puede ver una persona curar un enfermedad cronico en el organismo, ya es distinto. Salir afuera y curar y sanar.'

1520

Me: 'En Amarete no hay muchos entonces.'

Aurelio: 'En Amarete, si. Es muy bonito libro este.'

Me: 'Esto es nuevo?'

Aurelio: 'Nuevo, claro. Y aqui esta.'

Me: 'No he visto en la biblioteca.'

Aurelio: 'Seguramente porque un Amareteno esto me ofrecio 200 bolivianos, pero es el unico que tengo entonces no quise.'

Me: 'Voy a tener que buscarlo en la biblioteca.'

1530 Aurelio: 'Es muy lindo. La vida de Amarete. Ahora, Amarete se esta olvidando de muchas cosas que esta aqui. Porque la civilizacion ha llegado. Y no es civilizacion, en *sifilizacion*. Son terminos distintos: civilizacion y *sifilizacion*.'

Me: 'Que es la sifilizacion?'

Aurelio: 'Sifilizacion es un enfermedad.'

Me: 'Oh. Sifilis.'

Aurelio: 'Entonces, es sifilizacion, no es civilizacion – para mi, en mi concepto personal.'

Me: 'Y que piensa usted del, bueno, yo he estado siguiendo el proceso de autonomia, estando en las asambleas autonomicos y cuando antes que ha llegado el estatuto y estaba curioso del Nacion Kallawayaya y de donde viene ese frase de la Nacion Kallawayaya. Y no se para cuantos anos, cuanto

1540 tiempo estan usando Nacion Kallawayaya y er... que piensa usted, hay un Nacion Kallawayaya?'

Aurelio: 'Mira, Jonathan, nosotros hemos luchado desde ano 70 por nuestra autonomia.

Practicamente Jonathan, vivimos en autonomia. Los ayllus vivimos en autonomia. Por que? Todavia tenemos nuestra propia idioma. Todavia vive nuestra medicina. Tenemos nuestra propia medicina.

Tenemos nuestra propia ropita, todavia. Tenemos, todavia, nuestra propia musica. En vez de escuchar la musica rock n rock. [laughs]. La zampona, los kantus, el pifano. Entonces, para mi, ese es autonomia. Tenemos nuestra propia autoridad, que podemos solucionar masticando coquita. Y arreglando nuestros problemas...'

Me: 'Oh, el mallku del sindicato.'

1550 Aurelio: 'Claro. [18.02]. Nuestro autoridad elegimos de una manera propia. Esa es para mi, autonomia. No? Tenemos nuestra propia economia. Tu me das pancito, yo te doy coquita, esa es trueque. Esto llamamos nuestra propia economia. Si algun vecino de alla al frente le falta trigo, tiene maiz, pero entonces yo tengo trigo; el me da maiz, yo le doy trigo. Cambiamos.'

Me: 'Creo que no hay tanto trueque como antes.'

Aurelio: 'Pero hay todavia un poco.'

Me: 'En la, en el libro de Sebastien sobre Kaata, habla de que hay mucho trueque entre Apacheta, Kaata y Ninacorin y me ha dicho Feliciano Patty que ya no hay, ya no hay mucha relacion entre los tres niveles.'

Aurelio: 'Entonces, pero poquito hay todavia. Hay todavia. Entonces para mi es... [his wife comes in to offer us tea]... entonces, estoy hablando de los anos setenta, no? Entonces, pero

1560 lamentablemente, la civilizacion es avanza, no?'

Me: 'Que ha pasado en los anos setenta?'

Aurelio: 'Mmm... en los anos setenta, todavia habia autoridades mestizos. Hijos de los espanoles.'

Me: 'En Lunlaya?'

Aurelio: 'No. En Charazani. Luchabamos por, para que nuestra propia economia pueda seguir continuando. Luchabamos en donde, en las tiendas de Charazani, los comerciantes compraban una arroba de trigo, 25 libras de trigo por un precio injusto, casi regalado. Nuestros hermanos, cargando su triguito, su maizito, su arvejito, andaban tienda por tienda, porque los que tienen negocios se ponien de acuerdo. Hacian un reunion. Solo tenian que comprar con un precio, y no pagaba nadie mas, y eran, eso era muy mal para nosotros.'

1570 Me: 'Y solo podian vender en Charazani...'

Aurelio: 'Y entonces el autoridad mestizo no podia hacer nada. No podia controlar eso. Y entonces nosotros imponiamos que haiga un precio justo que se paga un precio justo. Porque producir es muy costoso. Y entonces esto autoridades politicos mestizos tampoco no funcionaban correctamente.

No? Eran corruptos. Ya. Y se habia algun tramite en el gobierno. Entonces podia tardar tres cuatro meses para traer algo a la comunidad, por decir un puente, una casa para reunirse, no habia, no? Y

entonces pues, eso era en esos años. Una lucha en que uno era para fortalecer nuestra autonomía propia. Entiendes?’

Me: Sí.

1580 Aurelio: ‘Como habían cambiado esa situación. Por ejemplo, yo cuando tenía mis ocho, doce años, mi papa, aquí juntaba productos del lugar y cambiaba con lana. Lana bajaba de Apacheta, de Ulla Ulla, lana de llama, lana de alpaca, y inclusive tela misma así, hecho. Listo para hacerte tu pantaloncito. Mi papa compraba, cortaba, corcido, ya tenía pantalón. También mi chompita. Pero que ha pasado? En Sudamérica ha habido muchas variaciones, no? Perú, por ejemplo, estaba pagando esas veces más [23.15], más plata por la lana, por la fibra de alpaca, y entonces los que tienen llama han llevado lana hacia Perú ahí podían vender más caro que en Bolivia. Y entonces con esa plata podían comprar cualquier bolsa de maíz, trigo, que no tiene nada de precio. Entonces, ha habido desequilibrio.’

Me: ‘En los años setenta, más o menos, había...’

Aurelio: ‘Había todavía ese trueque. Había todavía. Ya en los 80 [indicates decline]; ya en los 90; ahora ya casi total. Sabes que traen esa gente que produce llama, lana?’

1590 Me: ‘Traen algo aquí?’

Aurelio: ‘Traen sal. Traen azúcar. Traen galleta que no deben, nada tiene que ver! Pero antes traen lana de llama.’

Me: ‘Y venden al Perú, su lana de llama?’

Aurelio: ‘Ahora, inclusive, ya están llevando en productos acabados, así chompas, hacia Europa, los Peruanos, y los Peruanos compran con más caro la lana de Bolivia. Y con esa plata ellos pueden comprar trigo, maíz, y no hay necesidad de venir aquí a comprar. Ha habido un desequilibrio. Y nosotros tenemos que vestirnos de nylon. Entiendes?’

Me: ‘Si han cambiado la vestimenta aquí no porque quieren cambiar.’

Aurelio: ‘Claro.’

1600 Me: ‘Porque tienen que pagar demasiado alto.’

Aurelio: ‘Alto, alto. [laughs]. Entonces nuestras luchas han sido siempre para fortalecer nuestro, nuestra vida. Nuestra vida. Con años en que hemos metido duro para fortalecer nuestra cultura, y también para mantener la autonomía. Ya. En nuestra mente, era fortalecer la medicina. Fortalecer la cerámica. Las ollas de barro.’

Me: ‘De dónde viene las ollas?’

Aurelio: ‘Amarete, Amarete, Amarete. No, no, de la población de Amarete, sino es de más arriba. Hay pequeñas poblaciones.’

Me: ‘Sayhuani.’

Aurelio: ‘Exacto, sí. Entonces’

1610 Me: ‘Porque en Amarete, ya no hacen ollas.’

Aurelio: ‘Claro. No, no, no. Familias están cocinando en ollas de aluminio. Y eso es mal para la salud. Bueno, entonces, eso ha sido nuestras luchas.’

Me: ‘Y Feliciano me ha dicho que ha sido importante más o menos los años, el año 80 cuando ha empezado el sindicato Unica aquí.’

Aurelio: ‘Sí.’

Me: ‘Y antes eran controlado por los partidos políticos o por los mestizos de Charazani.’

Aurelio: ‘Sí, claro. Exactamente. El sindicato a principio un poco fuerte, pero después, los mestizos se han agarrado espacios. No? Era controlado por los mestizos, ya. Pero después, ya, han aparecido líderes.’

1620 Me: ‘El sindicato, el objeto de empezar el sindicato después de 52 era fortalecer los campesinos.’

Aurelio: ‘Claro, porque en 1952 llega el sindicalismo a esta región cuando eran ayllus originarios. Mas antes eran ayllus originarios. Pero después, el sindicato llega a fin de poder fortalecer más las organizaciones sociales, no? Pero es más político. No? Es más neoliberal, que el propio ayllu, ya. Hay el kuraq warayoq, jilaqata, nombres propios que tienen cambian con el secretario general, secretario relaciones, deportes, prensa, propaganda, etc, etc,. Entonces en los años 80, empezamos a debatir, no? Empezamos a debatir, entre líderes, y decimos, analicemos un poco de dónde viene el

- sindacalismo, no? Entonces hemos visto que un grupo de trabajadores habian organizado un sindicato, eran trabajadores de una fabrica. Entonces, nosotros no somos trabajadores de fabrica. Nosotros no somos empleados de una fabrica. Entonces por que el sindicato? Entonces vamos a reconstitucion del ayllu. Hemos alineado alli. Yo he sido muy duro. Los documentos en los sesenta y cuatro comunidades de la region kallawaya, yo he rectificado. Decia 'Sindicato Agrario Lunlaya', 'Sindicato Agrario Ninacarin', 'Sindicato Agrario Chari', 'Sindicato Agrario Charazani', etc,. Hemos reconstituido, ahora por ejemplo esto es 'Juchuy Ayllu Originario Lunlaya'.
- 1630 Me: 'Juchuy. Eso es Quechua?'
- Aurelio: 'Claro.'
- Me: 'No se que es.'
- Aurelio: 'Eso es nombre propio.'
- Me: 'Ah.'
- Aurelio: 'Ya no es 'Sindicato Agrario Lunlaya', es Juchuy Ayllu Originario Lunlaya'.
- 1640 Me: 'Que es Juchuy Ayllu?'
- Aurelio: 'Pequeno.'
- Me: 'Pequeno.'
- Aurelio: 'Pequeno organizacion.'
- Me: 'Hay Jatun Ayllu tambien aqui?'
- Aurelio: 'Kaata, y... Kaata y Amarete. Entonces ese proceso, nosotros hemos hecho. Yo, yo he metido duro. Yo decia, 'hermanos...' porque en los anos 80, la gente estaba muy machado, muy mareado, con el sindicalismo [30.09], ya. Los autoridades ya venien con un gorra que decia Coca-cola. O con un gorra que decia Volvo, Datsun, o Chicago Bulls. Entonces yo, cuando era Mallku, decia 'autoridades aqui tienen que estar con sus sombreros y con sus ponchos.'
- 1650 Me: 'En que ano era ese?'
- Aurelio: 'Cuando yo era ejecutivo provincial era el ano 2000.'
- Me: 'Ah, 2000.'
- Aurelio: 'Si. [laughs]'
- Me: 'Pense que era mas antes'
- Aurelio: 'Pero no, yo he sido autoridad mas antes. Claro. Porque mas antes yo he sido Central, despues Mallku Provincial.'
- Me: 'Mallku Provincial el ano 2000.'
- [His wife now calls him away briefly.]
- We now discuss tomorrow's event in Curva, how we are going to get there, and Felix's internet in
- 1660 Charazani.
- Aurelio: 'Entonces ha sido una lucha. Un proceso donde conscientecabamos, pero que en este tambien el Feliciano a traves de Ayni Kusun, era una education educative alternativa, eso ha ayudado mucho.'
- Me: 'Muchos me han hablado de Ayni Kusun, y me parece algo importante en ese proceso.'
- Aurelio: 'Si, si.'
- Me: 'Estoy intentando entender todavia como ha ayudado la escuela en movilizarse los jovenes o los, supongo que eran jovenes.'
- Aurelio: 'Claro. Todos los jovenes que no habian podido terminar sus estudios, porque en esos anos, solo los mestizos tenian acceso a la educacion superior. En Charazani no habia bachillerato. Es decir no podias terminar tu promocion. Solo los hijos de los mestizos podian estar en La Paz y la gente era muy escaso de recursos economicos; muchos jovenes se habian quedado sin terminar. La Ayni Kusun aparece alli, justamente con una ayuda de Belgica; era unos amigos de Belgica que habian llegado a la zona. Y ellos se han visto de que no podian estar asi. No? Como? No? Una cultura tan rico, no? En conocimientos. Todo esta vivo y hay que fortalecer a traves de la educacion. Los han visto eso. Y era bueno. Muchos jovenes han terminado alli, sus estudios de secundaria, y han vuelto lideres al mismo ayllu, y para meter fuerte, de que hay que fortalecer nuestra musica, hay que comer lo que es nuestro, la medicina, producir lo que es nuestro, todo. Y muchos de los lideres, muchos de los lideres
- 1670

son alumnos de la Ayni Kusun.'

1680 Me: 'Me parece que casi todos los lideres de ahora son – Fortunato de arriba, Rufino, Felicinao Patty, bueno hartos'

Aurelio: 'Yo tambien soy alumno de alli. [laughs]. Pero yo mi vocacion, mi camino, es medicina. Medicina. Es mas mi, mi abuelo era mas espiritual, y yo siempre sigo este camino de la espiritualidad. Y como Kallawaya gusta tanto la politica porque en la politica hay que luchar. Hay que ser duro.'

1690 Me: 'Estoy viendo que aqui parece que son metidos entre si la cultura y la politica, y me di cuenta mas, hablando con Fernando Huanca en la flota, el me conto que, bueno el me dijo que estaba viniendo a Curva porque si no vine el va tener que pagar una multa de 500 bolivianos del sindicato y es el sindicato que le da como acreditacion como Kallawaya – algo que me sorprendio, que es el sindicato que le da trabajo como Kallawaya, que le dice que hay tal persona que quiere operacion o algo asi y que le informe de un cliente, asi, tambien.'

Aurelio: 'No tanto asi. Una vez que en el 2003 se han declarado patrimonio oral intangible de la humanidad del UNESCO. Entonces, despues de esta declaracion, se ha conformado asociaciones Kallawayas en donde el Kallawaya tiene que pertenecer a, hay ahorita ocho asociaciones Kallawayas legalmente.'

Me: 'Ocho legalmente?'

Aurelio: 'Ocho asociaciones.'

Me: 'Los mas son son legalmente?'

1700 Aurelio: 'Que estan en proceso de tramite. Si, en proceso de tramite. Pero los que son legalmente ahorita son ocho. Entonces, como a manera de censo de los Kallawayas, estas asociaciones se han conformado por ejemplo Curva tiene dos asociaciones; una asociacion tiene Chajaya por ejemplo – seguremente el Fernando Huanca debe ser uno de esos.'

Me: 'Si, debe ser.'

Aurelio: 'Por ejemplo de nosotros es AMEKABOL.'

Me: 'AMEKABOL.'

Aurelio: 'Si. Asociacion de Medicos Kallawayas de Bolivia, que suena mas nacional. Entonces...'

Me: 'Asociacion de Medicos...'

Aurelio: 'Kallawayas de Bolivia. Entonces, estas asociaciones, si tenemos una directiva, porque nos otorga un credencial.'

Me: 'Hay un federacion que abarca todos?'

1710 Aurelio: 'Si. Todos los ocho asociaciones. Si. Esto es como una manera de control.'

Me: 'Es SOBOMETRA?'

Aurelio: 'Algo por ahi, algo por ahi, si. Y entonces, esto es un especie de control, no? Y bueno, a pesar de que hay otros asociaciones que estan en proceso de tramite, pero ocho son actualmente legitimos.'

Me: 'Y tiene que hacer pruebas para llegar a ser Kallawaya? Como de hace un acreditacion?'

Aurelio: 'Oviamente tiene que ser un Kallawaya que tiene que tener experiencia. Nuestro, en nuestro... tienes que sanar una persona por recién eres Kallawaya. Eso no sanas, puedes dejar la profesion. Si, es muy fuerte.'

Me: 'Solo una persona?'

1720 Aurelio: 'No. Claro, claro. Si una persona que enferma no sanas, entonces...'

Me: 'Tiene que ser algo grave, la enfermedad? Porque si es un resfrio seria diferente que un, no se alguien que se ha roto su pierna.'

Aurelio: 'Claro. Son varias. Una vez que entras al camino de Kallawaya, tienes que sanar a los enfermos. Y eso es una trayectoria larga. Inclusive los mismos Kallawayas seguimos reuniendonos, no? Para decir, mira, ahora por ejemplo en Europa ha aparecido el cancer maligno, el tumor maligno, esta dentro del cuerpo. El cancer de la mama. Las mujeres, no?'

Me: 'Hay, los Kallawayas tiene cura para cancer?'

Aurelio: 'Pero, claro! El cancer de la mama, un medico de Francia llega aqui. [42.27] Estaba aqui, y

- 1730 me dice, 'Aurelio, como se cura la cancer de la mama? Pero si esta ahi mismo la respuesta tan facil. Porque las mujeres se ponen antes esa cosa que apreta, no? Fuerte. Uno, eso es malo para la salud. Otro es que la mujer no hace mama directamente al bebe, por situaciones de trabajo. Tiene que ir trabajar la mujer moderna, y no hace mama a la wawa directamente. Y entonces, es en ahi se va provocando cancer.'
- Me: 'Y esta poniendo demasiado presion.'
- Aurelio: 'Claro, claro. Otra causa es que el ser humano esta comiendo alimentos manipulados que estan producidos por sustancias quimicos. Esto puede ser mal para el organismo. La respuesta tan facil, que esta en nosotros mismos.'
- Me: 'Un poco dificil porque hay que cambiar el estilo de vida completamente. No creo que las mujeres que estan acostuimbrados a usar sostenes van a querer...'
- 1740 Aurelio: '[laughs and laughs]. Pero eso es la causa. La causa de muchas enfermedades. El humano puede tener, no?'
- Me: 'Hmm, si. El estilo moderno se puede decir.'
- Aurelio: 'Claro, porque ahora las mujeres modernas tambien usan tacos altos asi, clkk, pero estan danando sus aparatos genitales. Los rinones pueden maltratar, no? Porque muchas otras enfermedades. Tiene que caminar normal porque si es posible, sin zapato! Asi, descalzo. Agazandose asi la energi dez la tierra. Pero como tu dices, la mujer moderna, el hombre moderno, que va entender, no? [laughs] Es dificil!'
- Me: 'Bueno, es dificil cambiar totalmente la mentalidad.'
- Aurelio: 'Uh-ha'
- 1750 Me: 'Aqui no hay cancer de mama?'
- Aurelio: 'No, que va, eso no se conoce aqui.'
- Me: 'Debe haber muy poco en Bolivia, supongo.'
- Aurelio: 'Tal vez en el Oriente Boliviano. El Oriente Boliviano. En Santa Cruz, Beni. Pero En La Paz el Occidente de Bolivia, no, porque la mujer Andina es la que mas hasta sus cuatro anos, al bebe hace lactar.'
- Me: 'Si, eso me ha sorprendido, que he estado en familias donde la mama esta lactando a un nino que tiene mas que dos anos y me parece grande, que en inglaterra creo que despues de un ano y media no se hace eso.' [Aurelio laughs]
- 1760 Aurelio: 'Entonces son anos en que hemos estado luchando, la educacion habia servido mucho, mucho para un autodeterminacion, un autodeterminacion. Pero este autonomia que propone el gobierno, poco hace pensar, porque yo, como te digo, la autonomia propio, eso era en nuestro mente. Tomar nuestro maticito de las plantas; curarnos; cocinarnos en ollita; vestirnos. Esa es nuestra autonomia. Y vivimos en autonomia. Porque aqui no manda el gobierno alguien a controlar, no tampoco, tenemos nuestro propio sistema, sistema judicial, no? Porque el sistema judicial del Estado Plurinacional todavia no ha llegado. Aqui se vive el sistema judicial del ayllu. Y si has hecho algun falta, tienes que trabajar, y eres castigado.'
- Me: 'Si, he visto eso, bueno mas arriba en Qotapampa. Debe ser igual aqui.'
- Aurelio: 'Es igualito. Es igualito. Es igualito, no? Entonces, esa es autonomia, para mi. Es mi percepcion personal. Eso es nuestra propio autonomia. Y eso tenemos que escribirlo.'
- 1770 Me: 'La verdad yo no veo que va cambiar con autonomia, si hacen la autonomia.'
- Aurelio: 'Porque ese autonomia que propone el Estado Plurinacional Boliviano, mas habla de la economia, del probema social, que nada tiene que ver los ayllus, no? Son situaciones que tendremos que analizar profundamente, socializar.'
- Me: 'Bueno, en el estatuto esta escrito mas sobre las tradiciones Kallawayas que la economia, y, creo que... no se si usted ha visto el estatuto version final...'
- Aurelio: 'Si...'
- Me: '...Al principio que habla mucho que gente de Chari con quien habia hablado que no reflejado la cultura Kallawayaya, el estatuto, pero, bueno, no se que dirian ahora, pero despues habian cambiado bastante el estatuto...'

- 1780 Aurelio: 'Si...'
 Me: 'No se que piensan...'
 Aurelio: 'Este estatuto esta muy bien. Esta, puede habar algunos errores, pero hay que corregirlo. En algun momento, habria que escribirlo eso. El problema es que ahora, los jovenes tienen otro pensamiento. Los ancianos quieren poner sus pensamientos en el estatuto. Ahora ya hay profesionales, no? Gente profesional...'
 Me: 'Los abogados...'
 Aurelio: 'Indigenas, por ejemplo mi hijo. Mi hijo este ano sale su licenciatura, hecho. No? El. Quiere defender la cultura Kallawaya. Entonces, este estatuto se tiene que hacer con mayor participacion. Con mayor participacion. Habria que ver que es lo que quiere Amarete. Porque esta zona tiene tres pisos ecologicos, entiendes? La gente que vive con llama, porque su vida es llama y lana; esas piensan distinta, tienen otra forma de vida; la parte del valle aqui, vivimos, la gente Quechua vive mas de su tierra, de aveja, trigo, maiz, cebada. Y ahi, los Kallawayas tambien estamos con nuestras medicinas; y la gente de abajo, tropico, vive de coca, de naranjas, platanos; entonces alli es un poco donde no hay este...'
- 1790 Me: 'No hay un solo cultura.'
 Aurelio: 'Este. Esa es el gran problema. Por ejemplo, mira, esta es como un pais, para mi. Lunlaya es otro pais, paso esta cerro, llega a Kaata, es otra pais! La gente tiene otra forma de hablar, otra forma de carino, vive de diferente forma, distinta. Entonces, yo mismo digo, 'caramba! En esta region, tan pequeno, con tantos paises diferentes'; es como cuando salgo a Kaata de Lunlaya, es como si yo estuviera en Chila, asi, otro pais. Es para mi, otro pais.'
- 1800 Me: 'Mmm, si, yo entiendo.'
 Aurelio: 'Yo, cuando llego a Amarete, otra forma de hablar, no? Son como diferentes paises, no? Entonces, hasta en todo, en tomar, en sentarse, hasta en masticar coca, somos distintos, pero en un momento, tenemos que entendernos, no?'
 Me: 'Si. Bueno, yo empecé con la idea de hacer mi investigacion sobre la cultura Kallawaya de la region, bueno del municipio porque la region es demasiado grande, de la provincia serai demasiado grande, pero me ha dado cuenta de que no hay un solo cultura Kallawaya. Y eso es... no estoy bien seguro como proceder con...'
- 1810 Aurelio: 'Hay variantes.'
 Me: '...Si.'
 Aurelio: 'Variantes, si.'
 Me: 'Como es muy, muy diferente de Amarete, a aqui, o solo de Kaata aqui...'
 Aurelio: 'Si.'
 Me: '...y supuestamente creo que Lunlaya es parte del distrito de Kaata, no? O del ayllu de Kaata? He visto en un tesis, que estaba categorizada asi.'
- 1820 Aurelio: 'Si, si. Si. Antiguamente, si. Y ahora, por los situaciones politicas hay ciertas mal entendidas, si. Entonces un, mas, como tomamos esta agua, esta agua viene de Pachacota, y mas inclinacion hacia Chari. Nuestra forma de toca es como Chari, mas o menos, y caminamos el mismo camino.'
 Me: 'Claro, parece mas, geograficamente tiene mas sentido. Cuando yo lei eso, como estaba dividido el municipio en varias partes, y me parecia un poco rara, porque Kaata esta alli...'
- 1830 Aurelio: 'Nada que ver. Pero igual mantenemos las mutuas con los ayllus. Kaata, Chari, pero con Chari llevamos mas de cerca. De Charazani, venimos conversando nos quedamos aqui, ellos se pasa, asi.'
 Me: 'Como son las relaciones ahora con Charazani, porque ya...'
 Aurelio: 'Bueno, Jonathan, yo no quiero hablar mal de Charazani. Es que, hay mucha diferencia. Primero, La poblacion de Charazani es, los habitantes, algunos, no todos, algunos son expulsados por mal comportamiento de las comunidades.'
 Me: 'Eso me ha dicho varias personas.'
 Aurelio: 'Que han sido hechados. Que han sido hechados, y Charazani es como un centro urbano, es como un centro urbano. Hay propiedades privadas, hay mestizos que necesitan gente para que cuida su casa, y tambien para que cuida su terreno a medias, para que se trabajan; entonces se comodan

- allí. Entonces eso es Charazani. Y allí, el campesino allí en Charazani no tiene su propia casa, no tiene su propio terreno. Y Charazani, porque no puede desarrollar? [56.01] Porque ahora, el Evo está llegando a Curva? Porque Curva es un ayllu, Jonathan, y el ayllu tiene disponible, terreno. Es decir si Jonathan trae un proyecto para construcción, para una casita, para hacer reunión, entonces nosotros aquí ayllu Lunlaya rápidamente [indistinct] Jonathan gracias por tu ayuda, allí vamos a construir en este terreno, y mostramos, y listo. Pero en cambio, si llegas a Charazani, quieres ayudar, entonces en Charazani, terreno no hay. Y si hay, es una propiedad privada, de un mestizo, que va decir 'no, Jonathan, primero tienes que pagar \$5,000, recién podemos construir allí', y por eso Charazani está allí. Entonces, el gobierno, instituciones, prefieren ayudar a las comunidades donde disponen rápido el terreno. Entiendes? Y Curva ha construido rápido el coliseo cerrado,...
- 1840 Me: 'En Lagunillas?'
- Aurelio: 'Exacto. Va tener su estadio sintético, no? Porque es un ayllu. Y muchos otros proyectos puede recibir y hacer. Todos trabajan, tienen terreno para hacer; pero mientras en Charazani, cuando el gobierno quiere traer un proyecto, ahí aparecen otros 2, 3 dueños, que dicen 'no, no, no, ahí no se puede construir, porque yo soy el dueño y tengo mis papeles.' Y si quieren construir, diez mil, quince mil dólares. Y el único que es perjudicado es el pueblo.'
- Me: 'Por eso no hay muchas obras en Charazani. Y la gente que viven allí, he escuchado muchas veces que quejan de que no hay obras, que llega más obras a Amarete, siempre dicen, que no veo mucho tampoco, pero, en otras comunidades, en...'
- 1850 Aurelio: 'No solamente en Amarete, en cualquiera ayllu, con excepción a Charazani, siempre disponen terreno para cualquier obra.'
- Me: 'En Qotapampa, en Carijana, tienen recién sus, para jugar fútbol, polideportivo.'
- Aurelio: 'Sí. Entonces, esa es la diferencia. Charazani es como un centro urbano. Ahí hay propiedades privadas. Ahí el campesino siempre es cuidador de la casa. Ahora recién los jóvenes, con duras penas, trabajando duro, están comprándose para una casita de este tamaño, y ya pueden ser propietarios. Pero los mestizos, siempre han subido los precios. No? Ellos viven en las ciudades, entonces ponen un precio de la ciudad. Y el campesino en Charazani tiene que pagar ese precio para vivir allí, para tener una pequeña casita. Es la vida en Charazani. No hablo mal de Charazani. Es su vida de ellos, porque nosotros qui vivimos diferente. Porque aquí tenemos terrenos comunales. No?'
- 1860 Inclusive para donar a los jóvenes.'
- Me: 'Y en Lunlaya es independiente.'
- Aurelio: 'Claro. Claro.'
- Me: Si es supuestamente parte del ayllu de Kaata, no tiene nada que ver.'
- Aurelio: 'En lo económico. En lo económico, en lo administrativo del gobierno municipal, nada más. No tenemos que depender de ellos.'
- Me: 'Pero para hacer decisiones, para administrar el ayllu, aquí no más.'
- Aurelio: 'Aquí tiene su propia administración. Es autónomo.'
- Me: 'Oh. Cuanta gente vive en Lunlaya'
- Aurelio: 'Viente-cinco familias. Ciento cincuenta y dos habitantes.'
- 1870 Me: 'Oh. 152. Bastante. Pense que era más pequeño. Está al otro lado del río, también, no?'
- Aurelio: 'Claro, claro. Todo, todo, todo, sí. Bonito es [indistinct].'
- Me: 'Sí, el clima es muy bueno.'
- Aurelio: 'Todas las terrazas que tu vez, son pues de los chullpas.'
- Me: 'Donde esos árboles, arriba?'
- Aurelio: 'Claro.'
- Me: 'De los chullpas'
- Aurelio: 'Sí.'
- Me: 'Y hay chullpas todavía?'
- Aurelio: 'Pero, claro. Están en las cuevas. [Indistinct] hacemos una ceremonia para los antepasados.'
- 1880 Me: 'Lo sacan y después lo devuelvan.'
- Aurelio: 'Claro.'

Me: 'Porque los chullpas son importantes para los Kallawayas.

Aurelio: 'Es que para nosotros es, en un momento ritual, podemos presenciar juntos el pasado, presente y futuro. Se armoniza. Por eso con los chullpas hay qque hacer una ceremonia. Ellos son nuestros antepasados que estan presente ahora, con nosotros. Convivir.'

Me: 'Algunos personas me han dicho que salen en las noches, los Marte y Viernes.'

Aurelio: 'Claro.'

Me: 'Los has visto?'

Aurelio: 'Claro! Se puede ver. Se puede ver.'

1890 Me: 'Y van a tocar y cantar?'

Aurelio: 'Claro, tocan, bailan junto con nosotros. Hay que hacer su ceremonia. Tiene su momento. Tiene su momento.'

Me: 'Se comparten asi con la ceremonia?'

Aurelio: 'Si. Bueno, esa es nuestra vida, pues. Entonces, pues, Charazani es un poblacion casi citadina, no? Citadina.'

Me: 'Si. No es tan interesante, Charazani, pero es.'

Aurelio: 'Pero, tambien hay buena gente. No podemos meter todos a la misma bolsa y decir que son todas se han escapado de las comunidades por mal actitud. No, no. Tambien hay buena gente que respetamos mucho. [laughs]'

1900 Me: 'Y bueno, y tiene esa gente.' [Aurelio laughs] 'Pero lo bueno de Charazani es que es centrico. Lo uso como base para ir a otras lugares.'

Aurelio: 'Bueno, si, esa si. Cutro ano, recien llega la electricidad.'

Me: 'Oh, cuantro anos.'

Aurelio: 'Si en los ayllus. Porque mas antes no habia, Pero sin habia en Charazani. En velita, no mas. En vela sabia prendernos.'

Me: 'Pero no tienen tele o nada?'

Aurelio: 'Oh no. No, no, no.'

Me: 'Si, estaba viendo en el tele, en las noticias, que uno de los condiciones de los pobladores del TIPNIS han puesto para que hacen la carreterra es que quieren senal para television, para celular, y bueno, puestos de salud, y educacion, y hartas cosas.'

1910 Aurelio: 'la luz es importante, pero hay que saber como vamos a usar, porque si vamos a comprar telelisor, despues vamos a mirar hombre arana, muchas veces que puede perjudicar a las familias en el ayllu, verdad? Pero depende quien, no? Como usas. Por ejemplo aqui, nosotros, por los chicos, preparamos las plantas; hoy por ejemplo, he ido a moler las plantas, y ahora estoy haciendo llegar la bolsa. Te he mostrado, no ve? Porque voy a llevar a Chile.'

Me: 'Oh. Cuando?'

Aurelio: 'El 17 de enero, me voy con mi esposa mas.'

Me: 'Oh, yo tengo que salir del pais el 17 de enero tambien. Porque mi visa se acaba el 17 de enero. Entonces, tengo visa de residencia, visa de un ano, pero solo voy estar aqui probablemente hasta el fin de marzo, entonces no vale la pena sacar otra visa de residencia. Voy que ir a otra pais, Chile o Peru, y volver, nomas.'

1920 Aurelio: 'Si. Entonces, nos vamos a Chile, por Uyuni. Voy entrar por Potosi.'

Me: 'Por que Uyuni? Es mas cerca ir por Oruro.'

Aurelio: 'No. Tenemos compromisos alli, en frontera Potosi. Ichilo. Ichilo se llama la poblacion, alli tengo que estar... Y despues ya voy entrar de alli hasta Santiago.'

Me: 'Para curar?'

Aurelio: 'Si, rituales y plantas. Hay mucha gente que sufren sinositis... un dolor de cabeza que, cuando se [indistinct] se seca aqui. Si. Y muchas rituales tambien'

Me: 'Cuanto tiempo va estar en Chile?'

1930 Aurelio: 'Dos semanas y media. Dos semanas y media.'

Me: 'Es costoso, Chile, dicen.'

Aurelio: 'Si, yo tengo alli compadres.'

Me: 'Yo solo he ido por dos dias antes, a Iquique.'

Aurelio: 'Si, bonito es Chile. Aunque su gobierno es cuadrado.'

Me: 'No se nada sobre la politica de Chile...'

Aurelio: 'De todas maneras, hay mucha gente alli que todavia respeta a las planta y que quieren curarse naturalmente, sin la medicina, entonces eso esta bien. Eso esta bien. Yo, desde los anos 80, voy saliendo a Chile. Mi abuelo tambien a viajado mucho. Si. Mi abuelo tambien.'

I ask him if I can come with him to Chile, and he says I can.

1940 [1.09.00] Aurelio: 'Alli me van esperar, unos como quince personas. Primero es que nosotros, yo voy hacer como 5 ceremonias de esto, que se llama ceremonia de curacion ritual para vencer penas y tristezas. Y esto se hace en un rio.'

I ask him whether I could watch, or whether people could become annoyed, and he tells me that it would be fine.

Aurelio: 'Nuestra ritual Kallawaya siempre es abierto, amplio. Siempre cuando uno respete, no? Respete la ceremonia. Estamos haciendo la ceremonia – no fumas cigarro alli, hay algunas reglas, no puedes ponder tu pie asi,.. tienes que mantenerte en silencio. Hay algunas reglas... Entonces, siempre esto. Entonces, tienes derecho de participar. No hay problema.'

I tell him I want to understand more about the Kallawaya culture, not just local politics.

1950 Aurelio: 'Es que la ceremonia Kallawaya primero consiste en que el ser humano tenemos dos almas. Ajayu, se llama los almas.'

Me: 'Ajayu es lo que se puede perder.'

Aurelio: 'Si. Tenemos dos almas. Ajayus. Uno es pequeno, el otro es grande. El pequeno, cuando sale del cuerpo carnal, es cuando uno se asusta. Un ejemplo, no? Jonathan te asusta; de repente un perro te muerde en plaza de Amarete, y te asustas, de repente has perdido tu pequeno ajayu.'

Me: 'Un perro me ha mordido en Chacahuaya!'

Aurelio: 'Entonces, los sintomas son en que tienes dolor de cabeza, suenos malos, no? Suenos negativos, no quieres hablar con las personas. Son sintomas en que has perdido tu pequena alma. El ajayu grande, el alma grande es cuando una persona muere, y sale del cuerpo carnal.'

1960 Me: 'Y es cierto, la Petrona en Moyapmpa, me ha dicho que cuando uno se pierde su ajayu hay que hacer un cruz en la tierra, y sacar la tierra del medio del cruz y comer la tierra.'

Aurelio: 'La mas finita. La mas fina.'

Me: 'La mas fina tierra?'

Aurelio: 'Si. Si, claro.'

Me: 'Por que el cruz?'

Aurelio: 'Porque tienes que ver las cuatro direcciones de la chakana.'

Me: 'Eso santifica la tierra?'

Aurelio: 'Claro. Y otro es que tienes alcoholcito, ch'allar. Ch'allar. Vente ajayu, vamanos. No te quedes alli. [laughs] Pero, eso en en cuanto al susto, pero lo mas profundo de la curacion Kallawaya es que...

1970 eso... [points to one of Ina Rosing's books... vencer penas y tristezas. El ser humano, muchas chicas cuando han sido jovenes quizas han tenido un relacion sexual con un hombre, no? Y eso tambien es una forma de contraer la negatividad, simbolicamente en el cuerpo. Y a causa de eso puede causar algunos disgracias a lo futuro. La chica ha tenido un relacion sexual con un tal x, y pasan los cinco, seis anos, tiene un matrimonio con otro joven, tiene hijo. Y la concecuencia del pasado de la mujer, el nino puede enfermarse. Es decir, si tu abuelito ha muerto, tal vez en un accidente, entonces, ese accidente no deberia haber pasado. Pero esa fuerza vive todavia en ustedes, y puede seguir, heredero se llama eso. Una enfermedad negativo heredero que puede heredar en tu hijo, en nieto, tu bisnieto!'

Me: 'Es una fuerza negativa.'

1980 Aurelio: 'Pero negativa no quiere decir que tu hayas pegado a una persona, o lo hayas matado por accidente con un auto, no.'

Me: 'Es como un mala suerte.'

Aurelio: 'Eso. Eso se llama curacion ritual para vencer penas y tristezas. Entonces, nosotros hacemos

- un ritual que cuando una persona, no siempre cuando se muere tu mama, tu papa, el ritual, no? En cualquier momento. Puede que hayas estado con personas negativas, entiendes? Y eso es hereditario, no? Cuando entras a un autobus no sabes con que clase de gente estas unido alli. Y esa negativo puede... entonces esa creencia tenemos los Kallawayas, y de alli viene la mala suerte. Entonces eso nosotros vamos al rio, y hacemos esta ritual. Entonces, varias rituales, entiendes> Varias formas de rituales. Si una persona persona esta en la cama, es otra forma, la ritual. No solo es uno, uno solo, no? Una persona esta alli en la cama, no sabemos que le ha pasado. Pero tiene diahrea, no come, esta botado alli. Rapidamente tenemos que leer la coca, pronosticar, haber, que es? Encontrar de donde viene, esa sufrimiento. Entonces, que hay que hacer? Entonces, la coca nos va avisando. Entonces, hay que lecturar la coca. No hay que ver.'
- 1990 Me: 'No es la misma cosa, lecturar y ver?'
- Aurelio: No, pues. Cualquiera puede ver la coca. Hasta tu ves la coca [laughs]. Y eso es lo que yo he escrito. He puesto con una ayuda de una chica, antropologa en La Paz, me ayudo poner en este cuadro. 'La coca es la hoja sagrada ancestral, coneccion directa del mundo material y espiritual. Y esta es, son las aficciones.'
- Me: 'Wow, cada hoja tiene significado.'
- 2000 Aurelio: 'Pues, claro! Por supuesto. Yo queria esto, una, tener una hoja doble, para lleva al museo de coca en La Paz, pero todavia no, todavia no. Porque el dueno del museo de coca es una amiga mia que me ha pedido 'por favor, que haga llega esta pero'. Tal vez un dia. Con calma. Voy a ver todavia, puede lecturar la coca, si es bueno darles o no.'
- Me: [pointing at a picture] 'Ellos son parientes?'
- Aurelio: 'Claro! Eso son abuelos que estan ensenando, no?'
- I ask him about various photos and other things that are in the room... He tells me about when some Austrian film-makers came there. They had asked him to be part of a documentary, and the community agreed. They filmed him going to Machu Picchu. We make arrangements for me to come back to watch the short film with him. He told me about a purification ritual he was going to do for a gynaecologist in La Paz. He doesn't have a TV, but he said he would be able to borrow one from one of the neighbours. I told him that I was thinking of spending Christmas in Amarete, and he said that there were 'muy buena gente' in Amarete. He told me that if I go there, to send his saludos to 'el maestro', his compadre, Obaldo Cuno. He shows me the book by Ina Rosing, Los Diez Generos de Amarete, in which there are photos of Obaldo. He points out to me that in Amarete everything is 'arriba y abajo'. He mentions the male chajras.
- 2010 Me: [1.28.28] 'Habia algo que queria preguntar... en el estatuto autonomico, habla mucho de la importancia de la tawa, y el numero cuatro en todo, y eso me parece que es muy andino, pero no se si es muy Kallawayaya.'
- [He interrupts me to show me a picture of Obaldo Kuno, who he tells me is the wata purichej. I ask him what wata purichej is, and he tells me 'el que maneja el ciclo del ano agricola'.]
- 2020 Aurelio: 'En cuanto tu pregunta, Jonathan, en este mundo, en este planeta, hay muchas culturas ancestrales. Que yo conozco, por ejemplo, de los Lacotas de Norte America, ellos tienen una forma de hacer su propio ceremonia. Tienen propio codigo. Tambien, los shamanes, alli en Brasil, tienen su propia forma, de hacer sus ceremonias. Tambien, los Aymaras andinos, yatiris tienen su propia forma. Y con todo respeto, los kallawayas tambien tenemos nuestro propio codigo, como nos ha ensenado nuestros abuelos; y no estoy de acuerdo mezclar todos esos conocimientos, o recogerlos. No estoy de acuerdo. Lo que es Kallawayaya, Kallawayaya tenemos que mantener lo que es de nuestro abuelo. Entonces, no estoy de acuerdo con una mezcla en lo que es La Nacion Kallawayaya. Es propio. Tiene su legitimidad. Y no podemos mezclar aqui con ideologias revolucionarias aymaras de Tawantinsuyu, esas cosas. No estoy de acuerdo, Jonathan.'
- 2030 Me: 'Bueno, eso pense. Que parece que es algo de afuera...'
- Aurelio: 'Claro'
- Me: '...la importancia de los...'
- Aurelio: 'Porque aqui tenemos que hablar de los el chiri, yapi, qoni tres cosas. Chiri es donde vive la

llama; esta es yapi, la parte central; y qoni, la parte trpical. Y no tenemos porque mezclar, como traer esas cuatro cosas, como complementario, no? Y recogiendo otros ideologias revolucionarios de los mallkus aymaras, como ideologias revolucionarios que hablan de Tawantinsuyu. No, no? Lo que es propio, propio tiene que ser. Entonces, nosotros, yo principalmente siempre hemos mantenido los tres pisos ecologicos – chiri, yapi qoni. Entonces,...

2040 Me: 'En el estatuto autonomico han escrito cuatro, y parece que es para la ideologia con que han escrito.'

Aurelio: 'Quizas la propuesta, la sugerencia esta bien, pero lo que es propio, propio tiene que ser. Como te decia antes, yo no podia ir a visitar a los hermanos Lacotas alli en el norte, despues traer sus conocimientos y practicar aqui, no. No, es Kallawayas, Kallawayas tiene que ser. Si mi abuelo me ha ensenado hacer las ofrendas en lanita de llama blanca, entonces eso tengo que hacer. [Indistinct] tiene su codigo propio, y no podemos hacer una mezcla de un poco de Lacotas, un poco de Kallawayas, un poco de shamanes, un poco de Aymara mas, no, no, no. No tiene sentido, es como mezclar una comida de varias comidas en uno solo y no tiene sentido.'

2050 Me: 'Eso debe ser la, el problema con que hay varias culturas dentro de la provincia, y solo del municipio.'

Aurelio: 'Tambien, es que los hermanos aymaras; los que estan con llamitas, un poco quieren traer algunos ideologias y implantar, entonces eso no esta bien. No esta bien. Hay que sentarse en la mesa, discutir, debatir, y hablar con ellos; decir 'mira hermanos, lo que es de afuera, es de afuera, no? Pero aqui no podemos meter eso'. Yo no puedo ponerme las plumas de las Lacotas y botar mi sombrero, despues hacer mi ceremonia, no, no.'

Me: 'No tiene sentido.'

2060 Aurelio: 'No tiene sentido. Y entonces, hay que respetar lo que es nuestro. Una cosa es legitimidad, no? Una cosa que dice, una cosa es lo autentico, y otra cosa es la autenticidad. Entiendes? Terminos, una cosa es el propio y otra cosa puede ser imitacion. Entonces en eso tenemos que ser bien claro, y aqui por ejemplo en ese sector, aqui el abuelo siempre nos ha ensenado lo hacer las ofrendas y como quemarlos, como mostrar a cuantas direcciones, a cual lado, entonces, puede ser que yo vaya como Lunlayeno, vaya a Amarete y aprenda de los amaretenos y haga imitando a los amaretenos. Entonces, no tiene sentido.'

Me: 'Es importante para los Kallawayas la Chakana, con los cuatro puntos?'

Aurelio: 'La Chakana es la que aparece en la Janaq pacha. Y nosotros siempre ofrendamos a los cuatro direcciones tambien, en las ceremonias rituales. Estan las cuatro elementos de la naturaleza: el tierra, agua, viento, fuego; y eso vive en nuestro organismo tambien. Todos tenemos un poco de fuego, no? Tierra somos.'

Me: 'Agua tambien.'

2070 Aurelio: 'Entonces, eso, en la parte espiritual, pero, si hablamos mas, netamente de la region, aqui no podemos meter eso de que [tan?] el frio, parte altiplano, valle y tropico. Entonces, chiri, yapi, qoni.'

Me: 'Chiri, yapi, qoni.'

Aurelio: 'Y no podemos alli meter otro partecito mas, porque estariamos mas implicando las cosas, de decirnos altiplano, puna, cabecera del valle, valle, y un poquito mas bajito del valle, ya estariamos llegando al sub-tropico, al tropico, estariamos llegando a seis.'

Me: 'Bueno, podia ser cinco, si hay cuatro.'

Aurelio: 'Es todo una implicacion, no? De que nosotros, los mas viejos dirigentes autoridades, hemos siempre los tres pisos ecologicos. Y yo no se de donde han metido ese unito. [laughs].'

2080 Me: 'Bueno, es obvio de que viene de Amarete, porque quieren mas poder.'

Aurelio: 'Pero esta bien, la sugerencia! La creatividad, de poder inculcar, pero lo que es verdad, lo que es siempre de nuestros abuelos, es [indistinct].'

Me: 'Geograficamente, piensan en tres pisos ecologicos, pero se dividen las cosas en cuatro? Como las cuatro pachas. Estoy intentando entender si es tan importante para los Kallawayas el tawa como parece en el estatuto.'

Aurelio: 'Para el Kallawaya, el numero tres es muy importante. Inclusive, el nueve numero de nuestro suerte Kallawaya.'

Me: 'Nueve?'

Aurelio: 'Si. Porque son tres trinidades.'

2090 Me: 'Tres trinidades?'

Aurelio: 'Claro. Si, no? Es algo que nuestros abuelos nos han enseñado siempre. Por eso siempre, un Kallawaya siempre manejamos los tres, inclusive Janaq pacha, Kay pacha, Ukhu pacha, de alli viene. El de arriba, el mundo terrenal, el mundo de subsuelo. Esa es la cosmovision Kallawaya. Janaq pacha, arriba. Kay pacha, [indistinct]. Entonces en el estatuto, eso debe estar metido.'

2100 Me: 'Bueno, hablan de un mundo que es mas arriba de Janaq pacha, que es donde vive Dios, o no se que es. Mas arriba de las estrellas – o no, creo que si entiendo bien hay Kay pacha, o Ukhu pacha, abajo, Kay pacha, aqui, Janaq pacha es como donde estan las nubes, y otro que es donde estan las estrellas. O algo asi.' [We both laugh]. 'Pero yo recuerdo, habia un momento en que era interesante, cuando socializado el estatuto en La Paz para lo residentes, y Rufino, Rufino Quispe exponiendo, estaba exponiendo el estatuto, y el habia dicho creo que 'recien yo he aprendido de que hay cuatro pachas. Yo siempre sabia; yo siempre sense que habia tres, pero recien me habian dicho de que hay cuatro. Y pense un poco raro que el es el Presidente, pero el mismo no cree en lo que han escrito el estatuto de que hay cuatro. De donde viene entonces?'

Aurelio: 'Hablamos de Janaq pacha, estamos hablando de todo el mundo de arriba, pues. Entonces, no hay otro mundo mas arriba, no, no. Estamos hablando de las estrellas, de otras planetas, que hay esta arriba. El mundo de Janaq pacha que hacemos nuestras ofrendas, las Kallawayas. Entonces, Kay pacha es el mundo terrenal, el mundo material, donde estamos. Y el Ukhu pacha es abajo. [laughs]'

Me: 'Voy a traer el estatuto, cuando vengo.'

2110

2120

2130

Interview with Leonardo Barrerra: 4th January 2012

- 2140 L. Barrera: Está yendo dice ese... ahí es, después ha vendido ese Valencia, la familia Valencia, ese familia Valencia se ha puesto más macho dice, del área, más macho siempre, más valiente.
Jonathan: ¿La familia Valencia tenía en varios lugares? ¿no?
L. Barrera: Después con arma, con fusil, con caballo, haiga entrado ps ¿no? o sea que entrando al lado terreno de Amarete, pasando el rio es Wara Wata, se llama, en Wara Wata un lugar pampa se ha construido con su capricho, casas grandes ahí, largos, así largos siempre hay, ahí ese terreno más ha avanzado con la gente de aquí ha hecho trabajar gratuitamente: maíz, trigo, arveja, allá, aquí uh, cantidad de cereal, trigos, papas ¡pucha, así debe ser! por toneladas debe ser. Bueno, ese producto allá ha hecho vender a Ulla Ulla dice, al lado Perú así, en caballo, en mula así.
Jonathan: ¿De donde era Valencia?
- 2150 L. Barrera: Familia Valencia. Después un poquito se ha puesto mal dice, o sea que... moral, física, eh... queriendo casa en el frente, ahí mujeres dice, entonces, sigue violando y por así abusando y violando, se ha organizado dice ah... como del, o sea que con los de Amaretos para... ' a ver, intentaremos a ver, haremos la prueba' diciendo, con sus respectivos warak'as, piedras ¿y? un nariz, un lugar así, ahí a pie apacheta después, hay un lugar Niyo, Phiña siempre entra aquí Phiña, que es Phiña también ps que de atrás entra; entonces, de ahí encima, haigan estido con warak'a, con onda digamos ¿no? con onda, con piedra a la cabeza haiga hecho, semejantes piedras haiga arrojado ps, entonces, encima montado ¡khh! otro, otro, uno, otro ya ps, uno nomás debe hacer caer, estito no más puede hacer caer a la gente (señala objeto), harto ¡jucha! tres era dice, o cuatro. Entonces, se han muerto dice dos, otros accidente ¿qué será? Así, después, otro, unos 10 personitas no más debe ser medios valientes, y otros grupitos debe estar escondido en lugar más, para que ya no vea ¿no?
- 2160 entonces, como ya ha hecho caer, entonces ¡vengan, vengan! diciendo ¡jucha! harto Amarete ahí han sido unos 300 dice, o 400. Así ¡fuu! Ahí han estido como hormiga, después han carneado, han... estido, han hecho chicharrón, han comido ese, pedacitos. Después 2 accidentes, haigan vuelto dice, rogando ¿qué será? después han ido a La Paz a traer militares, militares ha llegado dice de La Paz, después cuando ha hecho buscar con militares se han escondido Amaretos, se han organizado siempre dice, se han enfrentado dice, y no ha hecho nada, ahí no más, hasta ahí no más se pero después ya no hay ese familia Valencia, se ha retrocido de allá, se han dejado casa ahí todo, después este lado Amaretos han dejado también, aquí al frente también han dejado.
Jonathan: ¿Están sus...?
- 2170 L. Barrera: Después han vendido, habían vendido ps, a un familia Bustillos, su tío del Claudio Bastin ¿conoces? ¿un tío así?
Jonathan: ¡Ah! conozco Bastin
L. Barrera: A su tío había vendido, el señor Teófilo Bustillos había sido administrador, administrador, anotar entradas, salidas así, y... a él había vendido 'como han matado, entonces, mejor iré venderé' diciendo, o sea, se han ido esa familia, se haigan vuelto ps, las 2 familitas así, algunos muertos ya, bueno, así ¿no? después, ese Teófilo también estaba ya, también del frente familia Blanco se han organizado, entonces, algunos por una ovejita, dos ovejitas se han recuperado ese terrenito
Jonathan: ¿Se ve de aquí la hacienda?
- 2180 L. Barrera: Si, por eso ahora, familia Blanco como es originario, como casi dueño, mayores terrenitos, mayor es siempre, si otros gentes que ha ayudado al patrón, entonces para esos un poquito así, un canchoncito así no más tienen, después familia Blanco tenían un poco, varios lugares, entonces, ahí lo había vendido este Teófilo Bustillos no ha retrocido así no más vendiendo, vendiendo hasta Siliq no más ha parado, después en Siliq ya, su sobrino es el Claudio Bustillos, entonces ya aquí, estando aquí, he visto así en plan de látigo he visto todo a ese Teófilo Bustillos, mi papá, mi mamá así, toda la gente por 'carajo' manejaba, por chicote así, he visto. Después esa familia ha vendido a familia Céspedes como residente de La Paz, ahora de ahí nosotros estamos comprando también.
Jonathan: ¿Del familia Céspedes?
L. Barrera: Céspedes, así no más, un poco la historia tal vez abuelo debe saber, mi mama debe saber,

2190 muchas cosas sabe... pero más antes a plan de látigo es, han sufrido, por ejemplo yo he debido estar más antes como wawita, entonces, en tiempo de la haciendas hay que en la mañana dejar las wawas dicen, en la casa cerrada, medio día después de almorzar alguna lawa de cebada, arveja o haba o maíz, después descansando hay que hacer tetar, entonces nosotros tan sufrimiento hemos crecido así como huerfanitos siempre, mayoría en aquí.

Jonathan: ¿Porque los padres tenían que ir a trabajar todavía?

L. Barrera: Claro, para el patrón tenían que, ordenes, ordenes así. Así por eso razón hasta aquis historita así, en [indistinct] también no tanto

Jonathan: ¿Hasta cuándo era así?

L. Barrera: No tanto, esa familia era de Piñalosa al lado de Almanato ¿Almanato conoce?

Jonathan: ¿A dónde?

L. Barrera: Almana

2200 Jonathan: No, no conozco.

L. Barrera: Camacho, Camacho debe ser eso.

Jonathan: Ah, si

L. Barrera: Camacho, de ahí ha venido ese, yerno no más, su señora es de Chullina, Carrión

Jonathan: ¿Carrión?

L. Barrera: Carrión.

Jonathan: El ejecutivo del sindicato es Carrión, Dionisio Carrión

L. Barrera: Carrión también ¿no? ah sí, y otras historias también ha dicho ahí, no sé pero, después, ahora Jatichulaya... ¿cómo ha sido dice? tenía su hacienda el Moises Todela, no ese su papa, Alberto no sé qué será, si es Roberto... Roberto, Alberto ¿Filiberto? y su, haiga sido... patrón de Qallurwaya, y Qallurwaya que llamas y Sorapata más.

2210 Jonathan: ¿Sorapata es allá? ¿no?

L. Barrera: Hm, Franz Tamayo. Franz Tamayo es, aquel lado (señala) Franz Tamayo es.

Jonathan: ¿Creo que hay otro Soropata por Amarete? ¿no?

L. Barrera: Amerete es pequeñito ¿no? allá es Sorapata es lejos todavía, ese lugar había tenido hacienda en Sorapata como te he dicho, así 2, 3 lugares viven ¿no? en Sorapata tienen papa, papaliza, alpaca así, en Mataru Khazu tenían también ganados, caballos, mulas así, aquí también tenía mula en Sorapata ahijado de caballo, de ahí sabían traer acá a hacer trillar, aquí también sabían hacer traer del Soropata sabían llevar, del Sorapata sabían traer también, no harto unos 10 así, el Moisés Todela casi 20, 30 del Sorapata, sus criadores, sus hijos del este, patrones ha criado, ha pasteado su oveja, o caballo, mula así, cuando al rato de pisar así trigo ya trae ps, hacer sellar, despreventear, llevan también, dejan también, ganado también de Khazu hacen criar después ahí le traen harto con sus respectivos ganados, toros 2, 3, 5, 6 yuntas así harto traen, así no mas era.

2220 Jonathan: ¿Hasta cuándo era así, que la gente trabajaba gratis?

L. Barrera: Desde... 1919, después 1925 ¡sí! desde 25, 30 recién yo he visto creo un poquito, 35 recién yo, eh... no 35, 45, 50 estoy viendo yo

Jonathan: Hasta 50 más o menos.

L. Barrera: ¿Cuántos años debe ser hasta 52? ¿no? desde 52 se ha decretado la Reforma Agraria ¿no ve? si, un poquito más antes era pero en Cochabamba ¿no? pero desde 52 se ha decretado el decreto de que dejen en paz hasta ahí no mas

2230 Jonathan: ¿Con eso se han ido los patrones?

L. Barrera: Exacto, tampoco no se ha ido, sigue han estado ahí, por eso nosotros esa era toda hacienda. Ahora, después de 52 nos ha dado, desde aquel nariz es todo el cerro y pampa más, así de este lado aquel hacia arriba, este hoyo hasta casita hay, y este Sancumas, recién este lugar no más ps nos había dado a la gente, mira como están vagando la gente, tan incultivable, sonsera ¿no? así nos ha dado...

Jonathan: ¿Este lugar ahí arriba?

L. Barrera: Este padre, una persona, otra persona, 2 persona, 3 persona, 4, 5, 6 personas, ha sido asisito no más, así... y para ellos también un lugar pampa no más también, aquel Laredo grande

- 2240 pamapa ahora, rio ha comido grande semejante pamapa, así ha venido tendido nomas para él, aquis no puede ni toro nada ¡mira!
Jonathan: Después de 52 ¿no tenían que trabajar para el patrón?
L. Barrera: Hm, ahora después de 52 en Charazani sigue también, era ps, patrones, 50, 30, hasta 40, hasta 50 ¿cómo? en 1952, 50, 60, 70, 70 ¿no? hasta 80 sigue todos los criados de él, del patrón, cuidador de las casas, mayor ya era, cuidador de las casas ps, nada de dueños, antes trabajaban pero sigue... este... sigue... no dejaba, algunos originarios, por decir antes haiga sido del lugareño eso tiene impedimento de color en Mamani, Quispe... (7 segundos de ruido del aparto de grabación) un terrenito tenia asi, después ¿no? algunos aparte no más hacia ps, la mitad, todo para, osea que la mitad es así, todito los 2 así entonces, conmigo-contigo así, no puede ser 4, yo soy como trabajador así entonces, a medias, en la cosecha levantaremos, ya midiendo así. Mayoría se han acostumbrado
- 2250 en Charazani, no han defendido, no había sindicato así como aquí, comunidades no había legalmente, dentro del 400 vecinos ¿Cómo va a ser dirigente? aunque dirigente hubiera sido unito pero todos, patrón mismo todos mismo, unito, o docitos o trecitos, no había fuerza ni como levantar nada ¿no? Así, entonces yo he tenido que comprar un terreno para cultivar, unos cuantitos están, recién están comprando, el anteaño pasado así, no había más antes, siempre cuidador de la casa, a medias hacían todos a media.
Jonathan: ¿Estaban cuidando las casas y los terrenos?
L. Barrera: Exacto, cuidando terrenos también
Jonathan: Mientras que los patrones estaban en La Paz
L. Barrera: ¡Aja! estaban en La Paz, actualmente están ¿no ve? cuando ahorita poco a poco patrones
- 2260 hay, ya han muerto sus hijos ahora recién te dicen ‘hermano, compadre’, así. En ese tiempo haiga sido ps hasta mi mama, sabían decir: ‘Tatay, dile pues, hay que saludar tatay’ al patrón, yo me imaginado cuando tenía 7, 8 años ‘¿cómo va a ser Tatay? acaso, no es mi padre, mi padre es otro ¿Cómo va ser ps tatay?’ ‘dile ps así’ nos enseñaba a la fuerza obligando ¿no? entonces, por eso ps ahora como ahí han visto entonces, por eso tiene, nos hace ps bautizar al... al patrón
Jonathan: ¿Bautizar el patrón?
L. Barrera: La mayoría ps, compadre, compadre, compadre, como el Gines tiene el mayores como 400, 500 ahijados así.
Jonathan: ¿Cuatrocientos ahijados?
L. Barrera: Así ps, en toda comunidad tiene compadres siempre.
- 2270 Jonathan: El diacono en la parroquia me ha dicho que ‘hasta más o menos 95 en todas las comunidades querían compadres en Charazani y después de 95 eso cambio’ y Alipio Cuila me ha dicho que era porque antes de que él había entrado como alcalde en las comunidades habían hablado que querían cambiar, y que querían desvincularse de Charazani ¿era más o menos así?
L. Barrera: Nosotros hemos, con el juntos estábamos en el educación alternativo, más antes estábamos en colegio después ¿no? entonces después hemos sufrido, así sufrido hemos vivido, entonces se nos... no había ps educación para las, especialmente para las mujeres, único había para los hombres ¿no? para las mujeres ya, de ahí venia la discriminación ¿no? ‘para que es mujer, para que es mujer’, por eso se han venido las capacitaciones, mayoría titular, los hombrecitos tienen cabeza, minoría las mujeres no tienen ps la educación hasta básica algunas tienen, la anterior
- 2280 semana nomas me dijeron uno de los incas mujeres ‘yo estaba en 3ro básico nomas’ otro ‘yo también 2do básico’, ‘yo estuve en 5to’, ‘yo estaba... yo no he ido a la escuela’ dice, otro no también ‘yo he estado 1 añito estuve, 2 añito’, ‘yo 4 añito, 2 añito por eso no, apenas se escribir, firmar nada más, hacer cartas no, algunos jovencitos ya’, estuve en 2do curso, 3ro, 5to, de ahí viene ya toda la este, discriminación ¿no? desvaloración, de ahí viene ps la... los hombres o sea que se dice machismo ¿no? manejar a las mujeres, entonces ya, como no sabe, actualmente por esa las mujercitas, un poquito equivocan algunas cositas, mal donde está, como tiene que ser la educación no saben ¿no? más bien los hombres sabemos algo pero ahora ya están complementándose, las chicas están al colegio todo, aquella ahora algo pero más antes, era un poco una lamentable era.
Jonathan: ¿En aquí había Ayni kusun?

- 2290 L. Barrera: Si, yo también, yo también ese año estuve en... secretario general, aquí venia el Stan se llamaba ¿conocía? a veces venia así como tu charlando, yo estaba, allá es mi casa, entonces, la mayoría la gente había como ustedes de extranjero ¿no? raza blanca eso, 'ese es k'ara, esos gringos ¿por qué estás hablando? ¿Por qué estas llamando siendo autoridad?'. Después pensábamos que la educación alternativa que la podemos salir de la, una persona de revolucionaria 'prepararemos como han sido nuestros abuelos han marginado todo aquello ¡carajo! queremos recuperar nuestra cultura', todo hemos difundido ps ahí nosotros mismos. Entonces, la gente he llamado a todas las comunidades, y la gente me envidiaba también a mí '¡ucha! el no más está llamando, debe estar pagado, el no más', papeles llegaba también a mí, a el también llegaba, yo he defendido 'vamos a demandar, vamos a matar... cosas', la gente venía, yo defendía 'soy autoridad aquí, aquí no pueden, queremos la educación, no estamos haciendo'. Con eso en escuela, todo hemos terminado junto con este Canaza, del cónsul Canaza, Tomas de Moyapampa, del Fortunato, del Yanawaya, Lucio Yanawaya, todo aquello están venidos del alcalde, todo es mi cuate son...
- 2300 Jonathan: ¿Todos han sido dirigentes?
- L. Barrera: José Mendoza ¡todo! en mi curso es todos, en mi curso, hemos terminado algo un poco preparado de algo, sentir de nuestra comunidad, cómo ha sido nuestro padre, ha sufrido como un animal, ese sentimiento hemos, tenía ese sentimental teníamos, por eso hemos salido, por eso estamos época de solteros pero trabajando también, si nosotros no tanto así, pero nosotros hemos algo con sentimental hemos preparado, así no mas pero... estaba bien con esa educación alternativa, nosotros hemos hecho 2 ítem tenía aquí en Playa, después como se ido, entonces, eso ahora difundiendo en Amarete, en Saconacuma, Ichulaimas con el nombre Ayni Kusun, ahora si no hubiera sido yo, yo tanto he luchado, he sido educador también con las personas mayores, estuve en Ucureto, Kaata, estuve en Upinhuaya, estuve en Curva, estuve en Sanachis, estuve en Khazu
- 2310 Jonathan: ¿Había tantos centros de...? ¡guau!
- L. Barrera: Si, si, después he ido a la provincia Muñecas Aucapata, central Yanawaya canton Pusiame, después Qoiñipata, comunidad Chari, comunidad Viscachani, comunidad Cota Q'ochuwanku, harto, hartos comunidades también estuve yo ahí, trabajaba 1 año, por eso tengo mucha experiencia ¿no? la gente aunque hablo para ellos un poco, alabándose yo más o menos así creen (se ríe un poco) si, Emilio también estaba trabajando en pactos con tractor en Aucapata o [indistinct], a veces en fiesta de... [indistinct], ahí sabemos tomar también con Emilio, nosotros toditos no más del Bautista Saavedra, el amigo, cuate también el Emilio ¡le conocen todos! por eso me respetan también pero algunos que me conocen, algunos que no me conocen que le importa ps, yo le estoy contando mi experiencia ¿no? por eso ya no tengo miedo a ellos, a algunos digo así '¡ah! estas alabando' ¡no estoy alabando! porque mi historia estoy hablando nada mas ¿no? Así, nomás nuestra vida, hasta el momento pero algo nosotros también, como ahora yo he entrado como mallcu central también esto más, la autonomía también un poco hemos frenado también porque desde Charazani quería llevar también al Amarete ¿no? bueno, hemos parar aunque sigue va a ser pero algo
- 2320 Jonathan: ¿Qué es?
- L. Barrera: Hemos hecho explicar autonomía ¿no ve? pero los de pueblo ahorita no están sintiendo, no están notando ¿no?
- 2330 Jonathan: ¿Aquí, quieren autonomía?
- L. Barrera: Autonomía
- Jonathan: ¿Quiéren?
- L. Barrera: Hm (asintiendo)
- Jonathan: Ah, yo... pero en el pueblo de Charazani ¿están en contra?
- L. Barrera: Si, si, si el pueblo sigue tenía que llevar a Amarete, Amarete quería llevar ¿no? pero como es harta gente Amarete, entonces nosotros a nivel distrito hemos organizado como distrito Charazani, distrito [indistinct], distrito Chajaya, distrito Chari, un poquito más, segunda sección de [indistinct] ¿no?
- 2340 Jonathan: Pero eso está completamente mal porque nunca debería haber entrado dentro del

estatuto nada sobre el sede o la capitalia, eso me ha dicho un abogado del ministerio de autonomías que no tiene lugar dentro del estatuto y no se puede cambiar el sede ni la capital

L. Barrera: Exacto

Jonathan: Dentro del estatuto, tal vez en el futuro en algo apartes tal vez pero no tiene nada, no debería tener nada que ver con autonomía porque no están cambiando el municipio y la capital y sede está escrito en ley de creación del municipio.

L. Barrera: ¡Aja!

Jonathan: Entonces, no se puede para nada mover, trasladar el sede

L. Barrera: Aja, no se va a trasladar ¿no?

2350 Jonathan: No, no se puede, el ministerio de autonomía no los van a dejar, eso es la verdad.

L. Barrera: Si es esta bien, eso nomas un poco...

Jonathan: Están, no entienden eso en Amarete

L. Barrera: Ah ¡no entienden pues! no entienden, hace rato te digo algunos entendemos un poco reconocemos, algunos no entienden, estamos hablando contra él, o discutiendo protestando, así cree la gente mayor ¿no ve? por falta de educación eso pasa, ahora uno que sabe educación no lucha con arma blanca ni con palo con piedra ni puños, entonces con la idea, con la cabeza dialogar, ese es a mi manera de ver, ese es mi... este, idea. Yo no puedo... '¡ya carajo! ¿qué cosa vos carajo? ¡qué sonsera me estás diciendo!' o puñete, ese es ignorante ¿no? con la cabeza ps, la experiencia así, así ps dialogando, hay que dialogar ¿no? transparentemente, no eso lo que entiende ahora, hay que dejarlo ¿no? a veces no entiende, nos dice: '¡que... carajo! ¡ya que... sonseras estás hablando!', ignorante también.

2360 Jonathan: Si, mucha gente están en contra sin tener razón.

L. Barrera: Si, mucha gente.

Jonathan: Sin querer entender.

L. Barrera: Aja, mayoría no entienden es la cosa, así nomás yo he trabajado, después bueno, pensábamos nuestra visión con Alipio y otros cuando entramos en alcalde todo, un día podemos manejar diciendo, nuestro objetivo ps era eso, pero hemos entrado siempre ps, apoyando entre nosotros mismos apoyando, bueno, todo eso estamos un poco manejando en dentro de la comunidad como líderes pero otros no están tanto profundizado, entonces difícil nomas aunque... se hace utilizar nomas ¿no? '¡ya apóyame pues! apóyame nada más', así nomás. Nuestra formación está... dentro del Ayni ps, había también formación de líderes también, hemos formado también parte líderes, hay 3 clases líderes, líderes como siempre líderes: sociable, la organización sociable ¿no? para todos queremos, no para mí, para todos, hay líderes también son interés personal también, hay líderes como político también, dentro del político, eso a veces no es bueno también ¿no? muchas cosas hay que pensar ¿no? en esta vida

2370 Jonathan: ¿El Ayni Kusun parece importante en lo que está pasando actualmente con el...?

L. Barrera: Actualmente, cómo ha sido todo eso, hemos investigado, hemos diagnosticado, hemos... recuperamos pasado, presente, futuro. Así nuestra visión era.

2380 Jonathan: Eso, era el Ayni Kusun era el primer paso hacia la autonomía supongo, ese proceso, y formando los líderes.

L. Barrera: Hm, así nomás era nuestro, tengo historia papeles pero ahorita, estamos en la chacra ¿no?

Jonathan: ¿Papeles de Ayni Kusun?

L. Barrera: Todo tengo, cómo es difundido, cómo ha sido todo

Jonathan: ¡Ah! ¿Podía verlo otro día?

L. Barrera: Otro día, si

Jonathan: ¿Cuándo podría ser conveniente? Supongo que si el tiempo, el clima esta bueno, Ud. va a estar en la chacra todos los días ¿no?

2390 L. Barrera: Si... tiempo esta semana, vamos a sembrar después, otra semana vamos tener, dame tiempo, unos 5, 6 días vamos a sembrar, mañana tal vez siembre o no siembre pues, el tiempo estoy mirando, un poquito ya debe estar, un poquito duro, un poquito, no mucho

Jonathan: Si, necesita un poco de lluvia. Parece que va a llover creo, mañana tal vez, tal vez si vuelvo en 2 o 3 semanas, en 2 semanas... antes que acabe Enero

L. Barrera: ¡Sí! podemos dialogar todo.

Jonathan: Si, me gusta, mientras empezando con la autonomía ver cómo, que eran las raíces de esos cambios sociales

L. Barrera: Ahora autonomía sigue quiere volver a irse como en escuche así ¡che! tampoco no he ido al ministerio nada.

2400

Jonathan: Tienen que reunirse hoy creo, la directiva de la asamblea y los presidentes de comisiones con el ministerio supongo en La Paz y me han dicho para hablar de cómo proceder, pero la Petrona en Moyapampa me ha dicho que van a hacer... y Juan Carlos también lo ha confirmado que van a hacer otra asamblea, creo que en Charazani el 16 de Enero para seguir con el proceso pero creo que lo habían, habían aprobado en grande el estatuto en Junio pero estaba mal, como había 20 asambleístas que faltaba, y no deberían haberlo hecho así, y no van a aprobarlo en detalle, o supongo que van aprobarlo en grande otra vez pero no lo van a hacer sin socializar de nuevo, como yo había escuchado que en Febrero, Marzo habían sociabilizado el estatuto, el primer borrador y ya van a empezar de nuevo con socialización de lo que debe ser el 3er borrador, ah para que la gente entienda mejor.

L. Barrera: ¿El 16?

2410

Jonathan: Ah, si eso he escuchado

L. Barrera: ¿Día miércoles o jueves...?

Jonathan: Ah... Miercoles

L. Barrera: ¿Es tu celular?

2420

2430

2440

Interview with Stanis Gillès: 27th January 2013

Stanis: Primero agricultura, nove? en Chulina, después un poco de necesidad de dinero hemos hecho la cooperativa, puedes grabar no hay problema, después hemos hecho la cooperativo aurífera, pero siempre es difícil para ellos de invertir o de trabajar conjuntamente, y después ya la importancia de la educación, porque la producción agrícola o la producción minera, si no hay educación, que vamos hacer con el dinero no?, tienen oro y no saben bien qué hacer con el oro, o tienen producto y oro, entonces por eso hemos empezado a trabajar en temas de alfabetización.

2450 Jon: Había oro en ese tiempo en Chullina?

Stanis: Si

Jon: porque el viernes el Dionisio Carion, me ha dicho que sólo desde los años 90 cuando creo, cuando vino un empresario abrió una mina ahí donde se han trabajado.

Stanis: no, en el río de Chullina siempre ha habido oro desde que se ha buscado, desde los años 82, yo trabaja en la cooperativa aurífera en el 82, 83.

Jon: ah

Stanis: aja

Jon: Dionisio me llevo a la mina arriba que tienen allá

Stanis: ah, ahora sí han encontrado vetas.

2460 Jon: mmm...

Stanis: si, pero antes era en el río, hay fotos, pero no sé dónde.

Jon: siempre eran más que todo mineros entonces en Chullina?

Stanis: no, la cooperativa ha empezado el 80, 81, 82, 83 no sé, después estábamos con gente de Amarete, hemos debido hacer una visita a la otra provincia, a la cultura mollo, en la provincia Muñecas.

Jon: ah

Stanis: Este es el tipo de cartilla, pero es más reciente, tengo otras arriba con cual se hacia la investigación, valorando la cultura, la estructura familiar, el trabajo de las mujeres, nove? no era cartillas sobre 'mi papá fuma pipa', nove? entiendes?

2470 John: no, mi papá fuma pipa?

Stanis: mm, my father smoking the pipe

Jon: oh, sí, ah sobreentiendo

Stanis: o sea, de otra realidad, nove?

John: Es una expresión en castellano eso?

Stanis: No, pero, en las escuelas anteriormente todos los contenidos eran de Europa, y desde esas campañas y un poco antes hemos hecho, vez estos son otros, esto es del año 91, pero nosotros hemos empezado la educación bilingüe en la escuelita para niños un poco antes, había una experiencia en Perú en Puno, eso hemos adaptado.

Jon: Antes del Any kusun para adultos.

2480 Stanis: Si, si

Stanis: paralelamente porque se necesitaba adultos bien formados para la producción se necesitaba adultos bien formados para las escuelas indígenas, para las escuelas bilingües también.

Jon: para enseñar.

Stanis: yo era profesor y después quien más va enseñar?, entonces de ahí también hemos empezado a pensar, alfabetización, escuelas de niños y después necesidad de formar promotores con criterios

educativos, de reflexión un poco, y de ahí hemos creado el Z Ayni Kusun el Centro de Educación Técnico Humanístico Agropecuario Ayni Kusun. Tratando de integrarlo un poco en las estructuras del Ministerio no?

2490 Jon: Misterio de educación?

Stanis: Si, ese es siempre el gran problema porque tu puedes depender.

Jon: que es? Centro de Educación Técnico

Stanis: Técnico Humanístico Agropecuario. Este es otro 'Z' Provincia Muñecas

Stanis: Esta es la cartilla de alfabetización de Muñecas.

Stanis: Te acuerdas del Rufino, el está encabezando las cartas orgánicas, los estatutos autonómicos se llaman creo de los pueblo indígenas nominados capesinos.

Jon: Creo que para el municipio es estatuto autonómico y para un, algo más pequeño es carta orgánica

Stanis: eso son otros no? hacíamos teatro, traíamos grupo de teatro de aquí nove?, aquí venían gentes de diferentes comunidades con sus músicas también sus bailes.

2500 Jon: Cuantos cetros de educación habían? Porque, creo que no había sólo en la playa nove?

Stanis: No pues, la playa era el lugar donde se formaba los jóvenes de todas la comunidades de la provincia y en la provincia, yo me acuerdo que en un momento estábamos trabajando unas 60 personas, educadores no?, no eran mal, siempre pagados, hacían la alfabetización en su comunidad y después hacían la post alfabetización con las cartillas y podían terminar su bachillerato, porque en Charazani no podías terminar tu colegio.

Jon: Era la primera escuela de educación secundaria?

Stanis: si

Jon: en la provincia?

Stanis: mmm

2510 Jon: o, había...

Stanis: Tal vez había un en Charazani, no me acuerdo bien pero en las comunidades no había.

Jon: Pero no se podía entrar a la escuela en Charazani de las comunidades?

Stanis: si, podía, si, es una manera de formar gente a su pensar también, nove?

Jon: ah, era un estilo diferente de educación entonces?

Stanis: Si, era adoctrinamiento un poco no?, pero era una educación extranjerizante no? no era muy interesante no?, yo decía, al actual Vice Ministro de educación alternativa, las escuelas allá eran los cementerios de niños, hay donde se mata a las personas y a la cultura, eso eran las escuelas antes, y ahora todavía mucho, mucho.

Jon: mmm

2520 Stanis: es todavía mucho así, porque se habla de muchas cosas, pero los profesores todavía no han cambiado realmente de mentalidad.

Jon: están hablando de cambiar la forma de educación

Stanis: si, saben bien como hacerlo.

Jon: debe ser difícil cuando, como en Charazani los profesores viene La Paz y no hablan quechua y tienen que enseñarles en castellano nomás

Stanis: mm, entonces está claro? Agricultura, mina, necesidad de educación, a mi me ha parecido lo más importante, entonces hemos empezado con la escuela de niños, la educación intercultural y para no ser cementerio lleno de niños y la parte de alfabetización, hemos animado en todas la comunidades para animar que manden promotores, mandan promotor a playa al Ayni Kusun y de ahí ellos van a sus comunidades, con sus libritos, con la metodología y enseñan a leer y escribir.

2530

Jon: Dentro de sus comunidades?

Stanis: dentro de sus comunidades

Jon: ah ya

Stanis: Si dentro de sus comunidades y dentro de sus zonas también. En Amarete había en diferentes zonas.

Jon: y era de toda la provincia que venían? De Kurdo de, del Suni...

2540 Stanis: hay algunas comunidades que tenían menos interés, no me acuerdo en cuales, me acuerdo que Curva, creo que menos ha venido, de todo lado venían, y de Llachuani también, de parte aimara también venían, era quechua y aimara y después de la escuela había necesidad de formar mejor los promotores de alfabetización y de formar profesores indígenas del lugar nove?, entonces hemos empezado el 'CETHA' nos permitía formar bachilleres, nove?, en quechua y en aimara, entonces, pero para que sea en quechua, en aimara nosotros hemos tenido que hacer nuestro material educativo.

Jon: no tenían que seguir el mismo currículo que.

Stanis: no, no

Jon: que, en

Stanis: que en los colegios

Jon: en los colegios

2550 Stanis: todo eso hemos hecho nosotros allá, entonces unidad de aprendizaje por organización de ayuda alemana para la educación de adultos, nombre de unidad Alunchis la comunidad, producción tanto, redacción Feliciano, dibujante Justo Apaza, todos ellos son de la provincia, aquí el profesor Ricardo Laime, no sé donde es, y eso se ha inspirado también de una temática de otra unidad que hacia también material a distancia, pero no es una traducción, ellos hacían todos los dibujos, los textos se inspiraban de otros libros.

Jon: los dibujos son bonitos

Stanis: todos los dibujos son de allá, teníamos uno creo que era de Amarete o del Llachuani y hacían todos los dibujos para todas la cartillas, teníamos un taller de elaboración de material educativo.

Jon: Donde imprimieron los folletos?

2560 Stanis: hay mismo con el nimio grafo, el estencil, con así, había que hacer los dibujos así raspando la cera, es una placa como de cera entonces sacas la cera y después lo puedes hacer, teníamos después una máquina, esa es una canción.

Jon: Y eso es para los niños?

Stanis: no, eso es para los adultos

Jon: ah

Stanis: si

Jon: para que aprendieran a leer en quechua?

2570 Stanis: a leer en quechua y aprender los contenidos, sobre su comunidad, nove? y en su idioma, aquí había un poco de vocabulario, y ellos tenían, yo no los tengo todos, me quedan algunos pero tenían para cada nivel hasta su bachillerato, has salido bachiller, y cuando han salido bachiller entonces algunos se han vuelto profesores, el gobierno les ha reconocido para profesor en sus escuelas, después el magisterio ha hecho movimiento para eliminar estos profesores indígenas que no habían venido a estudiar en la ciudad.

Jon: mmm

Stanis: que habían solamente quedado en su comunidad.

Jon: no han salido de una normal?

Stanis: si, si. Pero todavía algunos son profesores, algunos se han arreglado para, pero la necesidad era que nosotros no podíamos pagar los sueldos del todo el mundo durante muchos años no?, entonces se pide apoyo para 1 año, 2 años, 3 años.

2580 Jon: a sus comunidades?

Stanis: no, el gobierno tenía que apoyar

Jon: ah

Stanis: y para eso tenía que ser reconocido y tener un sueldo del ministerio y hemos logrado, no sé, teníamos 7, 8 en el ministerio, algunos hasta han guardado, este es sobre los dientes, algunos contenidos son un poco de la ciudad no? pero sirve un poco, pueden hacer algunas prácticas.

Jon: la educación era completamente en quechua? no aimara? o era mezclado con castellano?

Stanis: Era mezclado, mira, formas de limpiar los dientes, todas las partes del cuerpo necesitan una limpieza, lo dientes debemos limpiarlos mediante cinco pasos. Pero era aimara castellano para los aimaras y quechuas castellano para los del valle.

2590 Jon: mmm

Stanis: nove?, era bonito trabajar tanto con aimaras y quechuas.

John: pero los dos, los aimara hablantes y los quechua hablantes aprendieron en la playa?

Stanis: si, en playa, después que han hecho muchos cursos teníamos un programa de formación de dirigentes, entonces íbamos en las comunidades a fortalecer las organizaciones campesinas, cursos sí, hay más de análisis de la realidad, de política, de organización, de planificación, de evaluación de procesos y otros no?, nunca se ha hecho una formación política socialista, comunista, otro, era una formación un poco más de análisis de la realidad y de aprender a transformar la realidad.

De participar no? de saber plantear, de saber plantear, saber aportar, criticar, trabajar.

Jon: Como era la organización?

2600 Stanis: el encargado de la formación en las comunidades era una amiga educadora de La Paz, no me acuerdo pero venia una vez al mes, teníamos un camión entonces iba a recoger dirigentes de ciertas comunidades para hacer el taller en otra comunidad, nove?, y después al mes siguiente hacíamos en otra comunidad.

Jon: recogían a todos para ir a Marka, digamos?

Stanis: ajá, después se hacía el siguiente en él, después en otro, y así. Yo sigo trabajando con él, aquí en las cartas orgánicas en la plataforma eco-social.

John: el es de aquí?

2610 Stanis: el es de aquí, no habla quechua ni aimara pero el daba los cursos sobre los contenidos, si habido mucha gente que ha intervenido, muchos amigos, aquí esta bueno de Cataluña, el Fritz de Alemania, muchas organizaciones aquí de La Paz, no hemos trabajado solos, hemos tratado de aprovechar de todas la buenas ideas y de todos los buenos proyectos que había para fortalecer, una de las idea ahí era de que el grupo allá no sea siempre dependiente de ONG's, porque las ONG's vienen con su pensamiento, con su lógica, es que ellos pueden plantear desde ellos mismos y que sean capaces de relacionarse con los financiadores o de relacionarse con la otra cultura.

Eso para mí era una idea fuerte, porque siempre vienes lo promotores de las ONG's y se los hacen todo, a su manera y más a veces más según sus intereses, entonces en el Ayni Kusun teníamos un consejo directivo no? ahí estaba el Feliciano, estaba el Rufino, estaba el Ruperto no sé de otra provincia más había, de Franz Tamayo, teníamos un comité directivo, yo era como el gerente, pero ellos era más arriba de mí, aunque nunca, nunca, como el dinero venía a través de mí porque yo era

2620 pues su empleado, no era muy justo, era difícil de entender que ellos tenían la responsabilidad, pero bueno tratamos, por eso había ese comité directivo y tomábamos las decisiones entre nosotros, pero

la idea es que ese comité directivo de la comunidad educativa Ayni Kusun tenga la capacidad de relacionarse con el mundo occidental y de hacer un intercambio desde la valorización de su cultura, ahora ese grupo un poco no se han llevado tan bien, no han podido quedar unidos yo creo, no, han hecho la prueba, algunos han sido subprefectos, otros han sido dirigentes.

Otros han sido empleados en una ONG y otro yo me acuerdo que me contaban llorando, no, no se puede, no se puede, mucha corrupción, mucho estito, mucho el otro, difícil es, lo que hemos soñado es un poco difícil, pero yo creo que la principal debilidad es un poco de división no?

Jon: qué es lo que han soñado?

2630 Stanis: Pues de hacer algo ético, desde su cultura

Jon: juntos

Stanis: ellos, juntos, nosotros, yo me he ido el 95, más o menos diciendo bueno, yo ya he estado desde el 79 hasta el 95 es muchos años yo prefiero dejarles, como la idea era de que aprendemos y que luego ellos hagan.

Jon: En qué año se empezó la escuela, el 90?

Stanis: no, antes, 85, 86 ha debido empezar, la alfabetización a debido ser en 85, hemos participado también después, pero hay muchas corrientes nove? de educación alternativa no? de educación para la liberación, de educación popular, Paulo Freire nove?, la educación liberadora, todo eso nosotros estamos acompañando en Sudamérica un poco no?, en muchos eventos hacían educación sin exclusiones, yo he ido después hasta bueno a algunos encuentros en Colombia y otro, había muchos debates sobre eso no?, muchos talleres, educación popular, curso taller en formación para técnico en educación popular, aprendizajes para todos en países en desarrollo, hay muchos.

2640

Jon: Rufino me ha contado que cuando hacen la autonomía él quiere hacer educación en quechua y aimara de nuevo y cuando esto he contado a algunos también de la asamblea no quieren para nada.

Stanis: ajá, no han entendido todavía, es que los niños hablan en quechua, hablan en aimara, llegan a la escuela y se les hablaba en castellano.

Jon: si

Stanis: y cuando hablaban en quechua se les reñía, cuando querían ir a hacer pis decían pis en mi pantalón y se ignoraba totalmente su cultura, se ignoraba su proceso de construcción de conocimiento desde su niñez, eso es una matanza es volver la gente su mente a...

2650

Jon: es así todavía, estaba con...

Stanis: aquí tienes algún panfleto de que éramos, no sé en qué año es esto.

Jon: el 92

Stanis: si, pero hemos debido empezar desde el 86, 87. Tríptico. Esto en qué años ha sido?

Jon: ah, esto tiene toda la historia de...

Stanis: si

Jon: si parece

Stanis: ah

2660

Jon: un resumen de cómo empezó.

Stanis: si, una parte del resumen. Ves aquí esa es la resolución ministerial, 23 de abril 92, dice que el profesor Estanislao solicita la legalización de su funcionamiento; entonces desde este si nos han aprobado como centro que podemos dar el título de bachiller, con nuestro currículo y todo, esto es del 92, CETHA Ayni Kusunese es el nombre oficial nove?

John: CETHA Ayni Kusun

Stanis: y nuestro nombre era Comunidad Educativa, no, Comunidad Educativa Ayni Kusun. Otra resolución administrativa, a mira esto es del taller de niños, taller de niños, humanística, taller de telar, esa era la escuela con los niños que también se ha aprobado, en esos tiempos se ha aprobado.

Jon: en 92

2670 Stanis: en 92 era un poquito más complicado, pero ahora hay un viceministro de educación alternativa y especial, muy bien, buena gente, muy buena gente.

Jon: podría sacar fotos de eso?

Stanis: si, puedes ver, este es el documento oficial de resolución, aquí tienes el histórico anterior, ah mira, aquí tienes todo el histórico, 70, 80, 81, 82, yo no tengo buena memoria por eso a veces uso papelitos.

Jon: ah, esto es la historia de

Stanis: lo que acabo de contarte. Aquí tienes una visión escrita, hasta el 92

Jon: y para que estaba escrito eso?

2680 Stanis: no sé, eso no dice. Ves el 90, formación de equipo para el diagnóstico participativo, elaboración del proyecto Z Ayni Kusun con participación, inauguración del sub centro de Villa Marca, 21 de junio 90, inauguración sub centro.

Jon: Sub central

Stanis: si, teníamos el centro en playa y todos los demás eran sub centros ese de Cotapampa en quechua, taller de niños, segundo diagnóstico participativo en Amarete, si hemos trabajado con varias organizaciones.

Jon: tenían relación con Toa?

Stanis: Taller de historia oral andina?

John: si

Stanis: uno de sus directores vive aquí también, el Carlos Mamani.

2690 Jon: Mañana quiero buscar a Fortunato me ha dicho que cuando estaban reconstituyendo el suni hacían muchos talleres en Toa.

Stanis: si, o sea todas las buenas instituciones organizaciones y las que eran interesadas de ayudar en el proceso allá, nosotros ayudábamos con el centro de playa para poder acogerlos, transportarles, traerlos, nove?

Jon: era a través de Ayni Kusun que hacían contacto el Toa.

2700 Stanis: si, hemos metido a muchas instituciones allá, antes había muchos investigadores, sobre el tema kallawayaya, el francés, alemán, de todo lado venían para investigar el tema de las plantas y los curanderos, y nosotros hemos metido mucha gente a nivel educativo, teatro, historia, cultura, metodología educativa, arte poco.

Jon: que ayudaron los investigadores que venían?

Stanis: si, pero no teníamos tanto relación con los investigadores, porque ellos hacen sus libros.

Jon: como yo

Stanis: como tú, pero la mayoría de los investigadores venían para las plantas, para los pajaritos,

Jon: ah

Stanis: para las medicinas y eso, bueno es importante no? Pero.

Jon: bueno yo estoy interesado en la historia, quiero contar la historia de los últimos 20 años; aunque mi doctorado es en antropología; tiene algún contacto con e TOA o sabe donde es su oficina en La Paz? He encontrado una dirección buscando en el internet, pero no sé donde es la calle.

2710 Stanis: yo no sé si sigue, está en el programa

Jon: en el internet dice calle León M. Loza pero no sé donde es, donde será.

Stanis: a ver habla con María Teresa Mamani, 74027804

Jon: 7804?

Stanis: si pero haber debe otro, de su casa 2890107

Jon: 0107?

Stanis: si, ella es la hija de un ex director del TOA

Jon: ah, y ella también trabaja en TOA?

Stanis: no, nada que ver pero puedes hablar con su papá también Carlos

Jon: ah

2720 Stanis: pero si no encuentras a su papá habla con ella de mi parte.

Jon: mm, gracias

Stanis: después tienes un, si quieres hablar de la formación un poco política de ellos, puedes hablar con, de la persona que ha ayudado en los talleres en las comunidades.

Jon: mm, si

Stanis: porque el Z era, con esto era una exudación todavía un poco extranjerizante, un poco, aunque hecho por ellos, en su idioma todo pero más o menos con los contenidos tenías ciertas restricciones, pero el taller de formación de las comunidades esto era mucho más abierto y eso hacía el Juan Carlos Gamarra se llama y de su casa es mmm...

Jon: el hacia los talleres e las comunidades?

2730 Stanis: en las comunidades si, la mayoría no todos pero él ha sido el principal, 2500745.

Jon: 25?

Stanis: 00

Jon: 00745?

Stanis: si, quién más ha hecho investigación en temas educativos en la provincia?

Teresa: Javier Reyes

Stanis: Javier Reyes, Xavier Albo

Jon: no creo que había algo

Stanis: ha escrito algo, algo pero nunca he leído lo que ha escrito, ha venido a visitarnos y otros.

2740 John: ah sí, he hablado con Javier Albo

Stanis: ah

John: me ha dicho que ha venido de visita nomás

Stanis: si, ha escrito algunas líneas, pero no, el ha trabajado más con los Jesús de Machaca, con Corpa. Pero era todo un movimiento no? educativo, todo, este te pudo dar, este cual es? Alunchis no? Toma, puedes guardarlo.

Jon: gracias

Stanis: Le vas a mostrar al Rufino

John: si tengo que mostrar. El Rufino y el Feliciano son los que más me han hablado de la escuela.

Stanis: si pues ellos eran parte del consejo directivo, pero habían muchos otros.

2750 Jon: También alguien que vive en playa?

Stanis: Leonardo Barrera

Jon: si

Stanis: él era el primer facilitador yachachik (maestro) de la escuela de niños creo el me ayudaba me parece.

Jon: ah, ah ya

Stanis: sus hijas eran alumnas, ahora son mamás.

Jon: si me ha dicho que era facilitador, eso quiere decir lo mismo que profesor no?

Stanis: si, el profesor enseña, el facilitador facilita el proceso.

Jon: ah

2760 Stanis: educativo interactivo, esa es la idea

Jon: mm

Stanis: facilita

Jon: otra perspectiva sobre la educación

Stanis: mmm

Jon: y como era la relación con los vecinos de Charazani?, ah, Rufino me ha hecho pensar que estaban completamente opuestos al Ayni Kusun.

Stanis: mmm

Jon: era así?

2770 Stanis: si, una vez se ha organizado un congreso en Charazani para decidir algunas cosas, después de los cursos, creo que las comunidades quisieron, después, si ellos han tocado su pututu.

Jon: en Charazani quienes han tocado el pututu?

Stanis: algunos de Amarete, creo

Jon: ah

Stanis: y después los de Charazani les han querido quitar el pututu, y después se ha hecho una marcha de toda la provincia Charazani en el cual los vecinos estaban.

Jon: eso era en el 84? Más o menos? Creo que Alipio me ha contado de eso, que todos de Amarete han bajado ha Charazani, los vecinos de Charazani pensaban que iban a comerlos.

Stanis: el Alipio era facilitador nove?

John: ah, sí.

2780

Stanis: y, no sé si era el 84 para mí que era después del 84, pero yo no tengo buena memoria de las fechas.

John: creo que Alipio tampoco sabía.

Stanis: pero van de todas las comunidades, y hay yo creo que estaba en La Paz y de ahí los vecinos de Charazani de Amarete algunos han venido a La Paz y me han hecho perseguir por el ejército y yo he tenido que escaparme unos 4, 5 meses afuera.

Jon: wau, en La Paz?.

Stanis no, afuera.

Jon: afuera de Bolivia?

2790 Stanis: si, estaba tratando de arreglar algo con la embajada, con el ministerio, después me han dicho no: lo mejor es que te vayas unos cuantos meses para que las cosas se vayan olvidando, sino había gente del ejército, gente de las radios, gente de la prensa que estaban mal o bien informados, pero si los de Charazani habían metido las cosas ahí. Después ellos...

Jon: los de Charazani han llamado al ejército?

Stanis: si

Jon: que vienen a buscarte?

Stanis: tengo grabado una comunicación en la radio Nueva América, donde me denuncia como no sé qué, pero ellos nunca han aceptado, nunca les ha gustado que yo no he vivido en el pueblo, sino que he vivido en la comunidad, eso, como va querer vivir con ellos y no con nosotros, eso no les ha gustado.

- 2800 Jon: si yo también tenía algo de eso cuando estaba viviendo en Charazani después fui a vivir en Amarete.
Stanis: mmm
Jon: estoy un poco en los dos lugares, Charazani es conveniente porque está en el medio, tengo un cuarto ahí.
Stanis: en Amarete el René Vega has ido a ver?
Jon: si, me ha dicho que usted se ha quedado en su casa?
Stanis: si, hemos ido a su casa haciendo caminata
Jon: el tuvo un accidente en el camino, está un poco mal.
Stanis: si
- 2810 Jon: creo que hace, no sé cuándo pero en los últimos años, no sé qué paso exactamente pero tiene que caminar con un bastón.
Stanis: pero era un facilitador muy activo
Jon: ah
Stanis: muy, muy bueno, el Alipio Cuellar, siempre ha sido muy político y poder, el Feliciano siempre ha sido muy culturalista y chupaco.
Jon: y chupaco? ah, no tenía esa impresión de él.
Stanis: jajaja
Jon: creo que ha cambiado
Stanis: ojalá que haya cambiado, jajaja, porque cada vez que había un gran evento el Feliciano perdido, aquí se le ve con su cara alegre yo también, esos son los de Amarete, ahí está el Feliciano, Humberto Cornejo, ese es el hermano de cómo se llama?.
- 2820 Jon: es esa época entonces, gente de todas la comunidades estaban juntas?
Stanis: si pues
Jon: porque no es así ahora
Stanis: ah
Jon: muy conflictivos
Stanis: mmm
Jon: especialmente entre Amarete y los demás.
- 2830 Stanis: ah, si los de Amarete siempre han sido fuertes, no?
Jon: mmm
Stanis: los de K`azu también pero más tranquilos, lo de Chullina no sé hay algunos, eran gente muy humilde en Chullina, muy buena, excelente.
Jon: mmm
Stanis: muy lindo trabajador del agro tanto, pero después con la llegada de la minas, en Chullina un poco han cambiado, han cambiado, cuando yo llegue no había mina, después dos, tres años se ha escuchado del oro, se ha querido formar una cooperativa con toda la comunidad.
John: mmm
- 2840 Stanis: para que a todo el mundo le beneficie, después algunos han querido beneficiarse más, después han descubierto otros minerales.
Jon: hay oro, cinti y estaño
Stanis: estaño nove? y han hecho mina, nosotros íbamos al río con bambú con esto y hacíamos para que el agua pase y el oro se quede en la paja.
Jon: ah

Stanis: era muy rudimentario, había una foto de eso che, en alguna parte.

Jon: Dionisio me ha contado que han trabajado como 5 años para una empresa que ha sacado el mineral y todos se han dado cuenta cuando se ha ido el empresario dejando la mina con todo el mineral que había y recién todos están trabajando duro para sacar lo que se queda.

2850 Stanis: si, pero lo malo, vez aquí están haciendo sus cartillas no?, los dibujos sobre la enfermedad de la papa, pero ellos tampoco nunca se han organizado, yo quería ayudarles a hacer una cooperativa un empresita y eso pero, muy individualista, deben trabajar en condiciones terribles allá en la mina, parece que es peligroso, es muy peligroso.

Jon: me ha llevado a su socavón y tienes que salir a un lado de la montaña y se puede caer fácilmente yo creo.

Stanis: nove?

Jon: bueno Dionisio me había contado que el año pasado dos, creo que estaba un poco borracho pero se caído del cerro y no sé que uno o los dos se había muerto.

2860 Stanis: es el tema de educación que falta no?, o sea un proyecto así hace algunas cosas pero si el gobierno si las escuelas siguen trabajando en el tema de competitividad interpersonal el tema de individualismo, el tema de consumismo y otro, mm no puede ser como corregir no? ellos se han vuelto así no? un poco individualistas.

Jon: mmm

Stanis: ahora el orgullo es tomar mucha cerveza, la música autóctona en Chullina ya no se toca.

Jon: si eso me han contado.

Stanis: es que es toda la corriente de opinión de la cultura dominante, aunque que el Evo está ahí desde algunos años pero, no sé, es mucha fuerza toda la televisión la radio, los videos, las escuelas, el servicio militar, es mucho esfuerzo.

2870 Jon: creo que especialmente en los últimos 10 años, desde 2013 creo que han puesto luz en las comunidades.

Stanis: si, si.

Jon: y hace 3 años en algunas comunidades.

Stanis: nosotros hemos puesto agua potable, en algunos, pero la luz pucha el internet

Jon: recién hay internet en Charazani

Stanis: si? recién? En Chullina ya hay desde cuando internet Teresa?

Teresa: hace tiempo

Stanis: hace tiempito nove?

Jon: pero casi nunca está abierto. Ahorita no hay internet en Chullina porque no sé tenía que arreglarlo Entel

2880 Stanis: pero hay celular ya nove?

Jon: mmm

Stanis: eso está bien, eso lo de Chullina cuando me han dado el terreno en Chorejón, ahí está su papá de, este es su papá de, el rojo, es su papá de Feliciano, Paulino Paca, pero ya no vive no creo?

Jon: mm, creo que no, su mamá si

Stanis: esto debe ser en el año 81, y ese cuando la comunidad ha venido a ayudarnos para hacer la casa en el mismo terreno, este lugar es este lugar, ese del cerro.

Jon: wau se ve diferente

Stanis: si un poquito

Jon: esto es por Chullina?

- 2890 Stanis: es por Chullina un poco más allá, donde tú has visto la casa.
 Jon: mm, si
 Stanis: nove? Chorejón se llama ese lugar, y Teresa ha sido una de las primeras alumnas en la escuelita de playa.
 Jon: ah
 Stanis: no la segunda generación puede ser. Creo que la primera era la Justina nove? tú has ido directamente arriba nove?
 Jon: arriba Charazani?
 Stanis: no, de playa en el cerro, hemos hecho la escuelita, de las casas que has visto abajo
 Jon: arriba de playa?
- 2900 Stanis: si
 Teresa: donde vive el Fermín
 Stanis: si, donde
 Teresa: vive allá el Fermín no sabes?
 Stanis: creo que sí
 Jon: no le conozco
 Stanis: creo que sí
 Jon: El es pariente de la esposa del Feliciano?
- Stanis: si, no, no
- 2910 Jon: no sé cual es
 Stanis: su papá del Feliciano
 Jon: ah
 Stanis: el componía música.
 Jon: se ve parecido
 Stanis: una persona muy humilde. El centro de playa, abajo del río después el cerro que iba a Chullina, hay hemos hecho el nuevo taller de niños, la escuela para niños, hay pinos, una de pinos a ese ladito esta.
 Jon: ah, no sé si hay todavía algún edificio?
 Stanis: hay todavía cuando pasamos lo vemos, hay que ordenar un poco estas cosas.
- 2920 Jon: usted conoce Fernando Huanca de Lunlaya?, no?, manda sus saludos, creo que conoce a usted.
 Stanis: mm, yo no tengo buena memoria de fechas, de nombres, alguno si con quien he trabajado, mucho me acuerdo como de René Vega, el que ha fallecido también, su cumpa del Alipio Cuellar.
 Jon: ah
 Stanis: el Alipio
 Jon: Hugo Canaza
 Stanis: si el, Hugo Canaza, si
 Jon: el papá del actual alcalde?
 Stanis: si, el Hugo era un buen dirigente, no tan bueno que el Rufino, pero el Feliciano, pero me alegro que si, ojalá que esté tomando menos ahora, porque antes había una fiesta en Niñocorin, el tomaba
- 2930 3, 4 días en Niñocorin, después la fiesta empezaba en Quiyabaya, se iba a Quiyabaya, 3, 4, 5 días. Cuando teníamos eventos importantes y el era una de las cabezas importante con cual yo he empezado todo eso, después de Rufino y otros, me dejaba solo yo quería trabajar con ellos pero el fuit, jajaj, o teníamos un taller importante aquí en La Paz con tal, tal, no que no puedo, que mi ropa no está seca, no sé cuantos, pero igual él es quechua y el Rufino es aimara.

Jon: el Rufino me ha dicho algo gracioso, soy aimara capitalista

Stanis: jajaja no era tan capitalista, pero es más concreto no? los aimaras

Teresa: Llegada de una segunda voluntaria es este año nove?

Stanis: debe ser

Teresa: en el 93

2940 Stanis: Para que e hecho esos papeles, de repente estoy encontrando.

Teresa: no pues 83 era, no es 93

Teresa: huerta escolar en Chulina, que bonito esto

Stanis: va hasta el 92

Teresa: hay que guardarlo

Stanis: después, si 95 yo ya me he venido, pero mi hermana ha seguido trabajando, hemos tratado de conformar, hemos conformado una asociación legal con un directorio, en el cual participaban una asamblea de campesinos y algunos representantes de las instituciones que nos habían ayudado

Jon: como la THOA en...

2950 Stanis: y una reunión debía hacerse en la ciudad, una reunión allá y ellos no les ha gustado mucho las instituciones y han hecho más reuniones allá y poco a poco han cansado a las instituciones y ha perdido seriedad y han empezado a repartirse las movilidades, moto sierras, máquinas, materiales y algunos han aprovechado las cosas también. No ya no estaba en esta época, mi hermana estaba un poco, yo ya me he venido en Achocalla ya.

Jon: ya no hay, no existe el Ayni Kusun, no?

Stanis: existe el terreno que todavía es propiedad de la comunidad educativa Ayni Kusun, pero como ellos ya no se reúnen, yo les he dicho varias veces, hagan algo para una universidad, para algo, pero los de Chullina quieren parece que quieren adueñarse no sé, pero yo ya no me meto.

Jon: tengo la impresión de que oficialmente existe pero no es de nadie

Stanis: mmm

2960 Jon: El Rufino me ha dicho que el Tomas Mamani de Ojo Tawko, oficialmente sigue como el director de Ayni Kusun pero no, oficialmente nomás.

Stanis: legalmente si pues, tenemos una construcción arriba, hay un terreno abajo, podrían hacer algo no? para algunos centros educativos, centro de investigación no sé, o no sé pues para alguna cosa deberían aprovechar.

Jon: si, existe todavía todo el edificio en la playa.

Stanis: y, el río se ha llevado una partecita, yo ya también más he empezado a hacer desarrollo desde una empresa.

Jon: en el queso?

2970 Stanis: si, estar auto financiado, no tener que estar pidiendo una limosna en proyectos por aquí por allá, entonces desde la empresa estamos tratando de hacer el desarrollo local.

Jon: ah, pero aquí?

Stanis: si, aquí.

2980 Interview with Julian Vega: 3rd February 2013

In the afternoon Rufino from the NGO Kawsay and I spoke to **Julian Vega** in his house. These are some of the things he told us about his life:

2990 He was out as a child *pasteando ovejas* with his grandfather, when they lost some sheep. 'Tengo que sacar suerte' his grandfather told him, in order to find the sheep. Julian watched, while his grandfather looked in the coca for the location of the sheep. The coca told him that the sheep was in Huata Huata (about a two hour walk from Amarete, walking towards Charazani), and so his grandfather told Julian that the next day they would have to go to Huata Huata to look for the sheep. They went early in the morning, and they found 10 sheep. 'Mi abuelito sabe', he thought to himself. Now we are going to take care of the sheep, now we aren't going to lose any, he thought to himself. Some days later, another sheep went missing. 'Hemos contado...unito...habra, que hacemos?! Tienes que sacar suerte, en la tarde nomas, no vamos encontrar unito. zorro haiga comido le ha dicho. Entonces este perro no mas mataremos, para que sirve el perro?!... Igual tienes que leer abajo en la casa. Lee coca, lee, lee, cuando lees, ahora ya en Sacanagon esta el oveja. No habia comido el zorro. Mas bien, ... capaz pueden carnear... ahora para que no se carnea ...enterrito vamos encontrarse.

They found the sheep and the fox ran off in search of other animals.

3000 Ahora desatamos; ya hemos encontrado... luego, despues, una persona viene, pues; de esta lado... de Sacanagon conoce mi abuelo. Viene, 'mi hija esta enferma' dice, 'grave esta enferma'. Habia traído su cocita entonces... saca suerte mi abuelito... esto es [catre?...] asustado por malingos [sic – malignos]. Donde se ha asustado, pues, donde se ha asustado? Se habia asustado el relampago dice. Habia abajo alli se habia llovid BUM BUM! Una raspa se ha asustado... Mas fuerte debe sonar, entonces 'Eso es', dice. Ahora con ese hazlo, con eso van hacer pasar abajo, a va sanar no mas. De ahi ha sanado esa chica de Sacanagon. ...ese dia estaba mirando la coca; ya he aprendido ya. Luego seguimos entonces mi abuelito, mas de arriba; igual hemos hecho perder oveja. Harto oveja ha venido, asi mezclado estaba oveja. Solo para ellos un poco teñido era; medio corral no mas, no teniamos campo, puro barro estaba. Ahora mismo fijate haber... bien sucio es, lleno de abono. Barro es de noche, corral, no? Nosotros, abonamos no mas el campo; limpio es. De eso no mas hemos separado ovejas. 'Eso es de nosotros, cuidar mi oveja, vas a llevar; no, sucio esta mi ovejita, clarito esta. Hemos separado oveja. De ahi uno faltaba. Nosotros hemos contado, ya no hay uno!' Nosotros, se han escapado los chico con uno. Tarde era, ya de vuelta, ...abajo en la casa, hemos entrado tarde a la casa... 'abuelito se ha terminado nuestra kerosine' ya estaba oscureciendo, 'a que hora vas a sacar suerte?' 'Porque no puedo sacar yo, abuelito?' 'Ya, sacarle!' Jejejeje... yo he sacado su cocilla, he escogido, he amarrado bien, como el saca igualito yo he sacado, tres no mas es [indistinct]... esta en Inca, oveja. ...Yo! Ya he aprendido en tres lecturas, ya he aprendido. Igualito he senalado la coca yo.

3010 Entonces en Inca esta oveja ya.... un rato vien abuelito, Inca, asi senala. [abuelito:] 'ah si' 'Senala Inca?' 'si' 'Aah, esta pues, vamos encontrar'. Ya he recogido y en su capacho he colocado coca. Siete de la mañana hemos encontrado. 'ya sabes carajo! Lloqajlla! Te vas a cuidar... cuidado el quejo' dijo... Quejo es el relampago pues. BOOM BOOM reviente, no ve? Diez anos he aprendido asi. Eso es bien examen para mi coca, no ve? Ya he sacado, ya he encontrado, como mi abuelito ya estoy.

3020 ...Debes cuidarte. Cuando sacas asi, te senala dice. Para ser yatiri te senala, para ser no yatiri, no. Yatiri no puedes estudiar. Eso es nombnrado por los achachilas. ...Medicina puedes estudiar; para ser yatiri no puedes estudiar. Muy dificil es. Te voy a contar. De ahi, ya estoy jovenito, he llorado; por ganado... de ahi mi abuelito vine pues. 'Vaca se ha muerto, la gente viene, se habia tapado con [unknown word], ayudarme carnear pues Julian' dice.....

3030 nosotros jovencitos, rapido hemos carneado vaca... comieremos, hasta que saque... ya alistamos,

- cargamos, vamos ir no mas. Entonces, de alli yo me doy cuenta pues. Esta vaca de donde se ha muerto? De duonde se ha arodillado? Haber fijarte... como ha pasado hasta camino abajo? Como ha pasado?... en que ha muerto su vaquito, la vaca? Hemos dicho... De alli hermano, ultimamente, ya, que nos importa? Solo a nosotros nos dice, carnear, haremos iremos a la casa, listos, libramos... Despues mi tio estaba con vacas, hartos vacas.... 'Julian, sabado y domingo debes tener tiempo, andar pues por ganado; dice que esta mas a dentro en su chajra de Sayhuani...andar' 'Ya' digo yo... he encontrado todo tropa, abajo estaba.... ya estaba faltando unos cinco, no unos quinyentos metros. De ahicito unos cuantos granito se ha caido... soleando; de este lado un poco estaba negreando... BOOM BOOM BOOM BOOM!, Mas rato, un reflejo no mas ha aparecido en la punta.
- 3040 Una ollada. Ya no me recuerda... y estaba sol. Un poquito estaba cayendo granizo. De ahi, ya... relampago habia. Yo estaba aqui estaba cargado mi mantilla, pinkillo, sin lluch'u, con sombrero no mas estaba... entonces ya mas no me recuerdo. Abajo acostado se me habia botado. Que se llama? Granizo. Asi se ha montonado, ya no me recuerdo. Largo rato me habia desmayado. De alli me recuerdo, 'carajo, ue me ha pasado? Mi saco, donde esta mi sombrero? Yo abajo he recogido mi pinkillo, he recogido mi mantillita, ya. Donde estar ahora vaca? Vaca, arriba ha subido, arriba ha subido. Entonces yo como borracho me he subido. Ahi comoborracho me he dejado vaca, directo me he venido. Esa que habia carneado mas antes, esa vaca, relampago se habia matado... de eso se habia muerto. Cuando se llega asi, senala. Cuando uno no paga ritual entonces, cuando ahi esta ganado, nosotros tenemos que pagar wajta....ritual... para que se multiplica mas ganados, mas que
- 3050 se cuide el lugar, para eso hay que pagar. Por eso ha matado vaca. Entonces sin eso, sin hacer nada, nosotros hemos carneado, entonces debemos. En otra vuelta ya me ha castigado relampago... The bolt of lightening didn't leave a scar, but get headaches to this day when there is lightening. 'Solo cuando suena... duele mi cabeza'.
- Desoues, otra vez he ido por ganado, y sabes? Mi barriga, grave dolor de barriga me ha agarrado. A medio dia... Luis Canaza conoces, no ve? Su papa es, familia somos, Canaza es... con eso hemos venido, 'vamos no mas, vamos no mas, arriando, arriando' nos vamos, hasta el rio, noche, no quedarte no mas; el ha venido, avisarnos de aqui, con mate de muna habia bajado. De alli me habia traído aqui. Aqui estaba esa vez. Pucha!, como loco estaba llorando... un yatiri han traído, ya se ha senalado 'donde has asustado' me ha dicho... relampago, asi, asi nos ha carneado ganado, no nos
- 3060 han dado cuenta. Ahora, asi me esta casigando. 'Esa es' directamente, 'esa es' el yatiri me ha dicho. Ahora una fianza voy hacer dice, para que se calma.... (17.05) ese lado se ha soplado... calme pues... asicito, me estaba apretando con camas alli. Ai me ha dolido pues, pero me ha despertado. Ai, donde estoy? Aqui estaba, preparando mesa ceremonial, el yatiri. Sano estouy ahora, sano estoy. Comida, quiero comida... todo podrido habia sido mi estomago, no, no, parece mi estomago! Entonces, ya, comida he comido, me he dormido. Ya mas rato el yatiri dice no [indistinct] caso es, no tengo tiempo, no puedo llevar. Ahora ya estas sano. (18.00) El mismo que se lleva ha dicho. Conoce lugar. 'Ya! Ya estoy sano, voy a llevar, pero hoy dia no voy a llevar; siguiente dia voy a ir'. Ya dejar, yo me he ido hasta alli, hacer pasar todo, ya esta preparado, no ve?... haber mi abuelito me ha dicho 'relampago te van a pescar' dice. Esto es realmente el yatiri nombrado por quejos, por achachilas, no puedes ni
- 3070 estudiar, ni no puedes volver yatiri, esto si puedes estudiar, esto estudias medicina, este yatiri, no pues. Nombrado es. Entonces, de ahi sigue mucho enfermado despues... mi esposa tenia pues mellizos, mellizos ha nacidos mi wawa. Cuando nace mellizo, el pueblo sindicato tiene que venir. Viene a visitar secretario general, lleva ante registro. El otro wawa, automaticamente secretario de relacion lleva hacer bautizar donde el registro. Entonces todo junto ha llegado sindicato. Lleno aqui. Me: Cuando era?
- [Indistint] un ano; despues eso pasado pues. Entonces, sindicatos, incienso viene con regalo. Comida traen para [indistinct] comidita. Invitan mujer; los dos vienen – mujeres y varones. El wata purichej Pascual Tapia es. (20.00) Pascual Tapia viene; prepara [sortea – not completely sure if this is the right word, but this is what it sounds like]. 'Aha, aha! Julian! Habias sido, carajo, yatiri! -No has curado a la
- 3080 gente. Por eso cada vez, cada vez estas enfermado. A voz te han nombrado con un servicio. Tiene que servir a los achachilas, cabildo, todo! A la gente que esta [indistinct] tienes que hacer ritual,

ceremonia. Y cuando estas [indistinct] tienes que ayudarte. Ahora por eso, no te has recordado, por eso tienes dos wawas. ‘

Estas [indistinct] para que usted puede trabajar publicamente. ‘Ahora, pase Julian’; a su lado me ha hecho pasar.... ‘ahora Julian, vas a sortear aqui’ ordenes por hermano wata purichej. Jefes, es manda para que lluvia, para que llueve para helada, para que suyo, todo.’ Ya’, le he dicho, tanto autoridades, yo me he venido aqui. Ya. He desaramado coca... ‘Aha! Ya ve? Bien sabes, no?’ Ya otra mas he desaramado. Ahora, este coca es como letra para mi. Letra es. Todo tiene significado. Entonces, luego, uno mas he desaramado... ya, ya toma, toma coquita. Todo se lee. Tres no mas he tomado. En tres
 3090 todo les he avisado.... Tres veces ramada, desaramada. ‘Entonces ya, listo. Ahora alistarte [indistinct] las mismas materiales te voy entregar. Mullas, kunchas, la mitad. La mitad cuando vas a, a mi me vas a renovar. Ya soy viejo. Estoy sufriendo. Vos vas a hacer. Todo mi material, todo te voy entregar. Ya, ya he alistado mi ceremonia, me ha llevado arriba. Apacheta, alli me han ceremonia me han hecho, alli me han nombrado. Autorizado ya, estoy autorizado. Recien ya, a la vez, sindicato ya saben, vienen hacer sacar su suerte, [indistinct] vienen, ya estoy curando. Verdaderamente, no como Charazaneno estoy trabajando; viaje van [fuman?] a la gente. El que sabe, en su comunidad, en su familia tiene que curar. De alli tiene que partir, no ve? Despues. [hace parsas?]. ya me conocen ya, ya no he enfermado. Me he enfermado, para enfermar dos [gripes?]. Ya no enfermo. Ya estoy haciendo servicio a las achachilas, cabildos, todo aquello. Ya estoy sano. Ya... mi espesa dice debe estar
 3100 sufriendo pues, ya curar no mas enfermos.... ya la he dicho. Luego, he bajado al tropico... en lotes.... Yo me he ido al magisterio... como profesor he trabajado... Despues, luego, ya abajo me exigen. ‘Vas a mantener tu lote, o ya no quieres? Asi vamos a dar a otro [indistinct] tu lote’ me han dicho.... Me he comprometido ya, de alli me he salido de magisterio ya... asentaremos tres anos haremos, ella va quedar con coca, le he dicho. Hemos entrado,... ya hay cosecha, ya esta. Ya tiene otro esposo... ya estamos un poco de edad, no? Nosotros no vamos estar dando vuelta, arriba ya he acomodado, ya no. No tenemos tiempo, apenas hay cocal, no voy a mantener dos cicales, no vamos a poder... de alli me he quedado, de alli me han nombrado wata purichej abajo. (26.06) Wata purichej yungas me han nombrado pues. Ahora tres anos he hecho servicio wata purichej abajo. Si, con esto 2013, 4 anos voy hacer. Tres anos ya estoyu sirviendo wata purichej, [con coca?]. En ese ampliado, yo no estaba.
 3110 Entonces, mayoría habian decidido para mi. ‘Nombraremos wata purichej a Julian – si mejor, no hay otro; pero otros hay, pero no es mejor.’ Entonces, un papel con sellos me han entregado. Nombrado por magno congreso, por Bautista Saavedra, tropico, a ser wata purichej. Ya como estoy falton [?] ye he decidido – No estoy falton, mi hija ha asistido...Isidora... Me ha dicho, te ha nombrado... me ha hecho llegar. ‘Acepto’, la he dicho. ‘Acepto, voy hacer’. Ustedes tienen que alistar todo, y despues me avisan... ritual, con Charazani hemos hecho de coca, nosotros hemos venido con ritual; para comenzar, yo les he dado la ceremonia. Primer cumbre, segunda cumbre, tercera cumbre; algunos ministros vienen abajo a visitar. Para comenzar yo siempre estoy instalando, hacer ritual. Entonces, ese servicio cumple wata purichej. Para que haiga, hay que pagar pachamama, haiga mas produccion de coca, luego para que se alivia produccion de coca, para que no nos presiona Evo
 3120 Morales. Esto estoy haciendo, pues. (28.10) hemos venido hasta Iskani de abajo... que no nos venga esa quita coca, que no nos venga... De alli hemos comenzado de cero coca, hemos comenzado [indistinct] Bautista Saavedra. Nuestros tata abuelos se han descuidado. No esta en ley [100]8. Tiene que ser tradicional. Ley [100]8 estamos como... B este; entonces nosotros hemos recordado en este caso, Bautista Saavedra es tradicional... En coca ancestral estamos nosotros. Ese es como decir amarillo – ni verde, ni rojo. No ve? Eso quiere decir, entonces eso estamos luchando. Patra eso hemos comenzado, hemos organizado. Hemos conseguido guia comunal. Para guia hemos llevado una caravana de coca. Si no nos quitan, igual una taki aportaremos cada uno. Todos iremos, no nos van a quitar, en la puerta del mercado vamos a llegar. Ahi vamos a hacer un... presion. Entonces, ya estamos entrando caravana, nos han pescado camino, no! Entre varias tienen miedo... Nosotros
 3130 somos un caravana delegacion (30.04) vamos llegar al mercado.

Me: A cual mercado?

A este, a Truquillo, pues. Mercado Apolo... En la puerta, es que no tenemos derecho a entrar... alli

nos hemos entrado, ahí hemos descargado. Con whipalás y todo. Cada auto con sus whipalás, con sus chicotes, con sus libros de actas.

Me: Cuando era eso/

Julian: Hay en acta

Entonces, de allí pues, el mercado ha llamado... hay que darles campo,... hemos ido a presentar, tramitar, teníamos ya mercado. Ahora van a llevar una guía comunal. Con eso van a traer de la, de su comunidad... con Apolo hemos entrado acuerdo... ya estamos autorizado... En mercado he hecho [indistinct] ritual... en La Paz, en mercado Apolo... entonces ya tenemos un, este, un guía internacional. Con eso ya estamos llevando libre.

Me: Que es guía internacional?

Julian: Es llevar coca, libre. Con eso puede hacer pasar Cbba, Santa Cruz, Peru, Chile. .. es internacional coca... Ahora estamos exigiendo, después he ido a Cbba, Cbba Tiquipaya he ido, hay despenalización coca, no ve? Ahí también he hecho ritual, y [indistinct] mis medicamentos... entonces en Tiquipaya, ya ha sacado, este, despenalización de coca, algo para las mujeres también, un ley ha salido. Así estoy también con este ritual, estoy haciendo valer. Como avanza, como avanza, entonces, según ritual ministro mi amigo... De Tiquipaya he ido también a disponer en Copacabana (33.40)... Isla del Sol ministro me ha dicho, 'vas a informar a tus compas, no van a perder, antes del 20 van a llevar akullikuy, para reforzar coca'. No sabemos todavía fecha.

(34.25) Entonces... rápido hemos hecho movilizar. Yo a Charazani he viajado. De Charazani me han llevado a La Paz... cuando yo he llegado [a la plaza Villaroel donde estaba el akullikuy] he preparado ritual como wata purichej tengo que responder. Ya todos me han enfocado... Hasta ahí estoy ya tres años estoy ya wata purichej. Ahora le he dicho 'no este año, no, otro [indistinct]' le he dicho... no me están mandando hasta ahora ningún nota, akullikuy estoy así no más. Así estoy trabajando con ritual Yatiri viene por nombrado por achachilas.

Knowledge of medicine can come about through 'interés' on the other hand.

3160

(37.40) Me gusta investigar plantas! (sounds very animated)... De donde he aprendido? Mi abuelito había seguido del Chaco. His grandfather and friend had escaped from the frontlines in the Chaco and had had to cure themselves from illnesses using plants and miel de oveja that they found, eating snakes after taking the venom out. After three months (without eating salt) they found Bolivians. His grandfather became an expert at using plants. When Julian was 10 years old, he taught him to wash his clothes using plants. His grandfather also taught him to 'eskillar' ovejas. At this time he also began to learn to cure with plants. Through studying medicine in various courses in the city (such as 'partera', assisting a woman giving birth) he is now at 'nivel de licenciatura'. He wants to be compared with the doctors in the hospital. In some things he says that his knowledge is a lot higher than their, in others, the doctors have more knowledge. Julian is currently working in the hospital in Amarete. He was working in the cuartel helping give injections and so on.

3170

He has cured his wife's kidneys, from rheumatism. When he was working as a teacher outside of Amarete, once a pregnant woman needed a doctor and a doctor had been sent for from Amarete, and he said that he was a doctor, he went to help the woman give birth. After he had already helped the woman give birth, the woman's husband arrived from Amarete. They told Julian that from then on they would call on him to help the women give birth, rather than the doctor from Amarete. He emphasised that he had given the woman medicine three times. In Sotopata he helped to make medicines from local plants, putting them in pastillas and capsules, tonics and liquid medicine.

3180

(54.20) He learned to make medicines from plants from his grandfather. 'Algunos cuando hablamos de planta, nos insulta... me han bajoneado. Kallawayas vienen en su capachu no más plantita traen. Kolla capachu dice, por eso es! Hasta canción hay sobre eso, no ve?... 'Nosotros Peruanos, más alto estamos, ya, ya hacemos parche, ya hacemos pomada, ya hacemos pildoras, ya hacemos capsulas ya hacemos tonico, perfectamente. No estyamos manejando plantya en capachu'. 'Los abuelos sigue el

mismo manejando yerbas en su capachu, como es posible?', dicen. De alli me he enojado. De alli en Peru he aprendido eso. Como se hace, como se prepara eso. Habian tenido maquinatas... prara rinon, prepara.' He goes on to describe the process by which plants are pulverized and made put into capsules. He buys the plastic for the capsules from Peru. For forty years he's been creating medicine this way, though he says that recently he has been improving the process. The most important part, he explains is knowing the properties of the plants.

3190

(1.01) he says there is a plant in or near Amarete that is very similar to marijuana. He used to sell the medicine in his house. He's soon going to buy a computer to make labels for the medicine, and he says he's building a building next to the registro civil and looking for vehicle that he couldn't use as an ambulance. He is now working in the hospital, but he doesn't enjoy it. The is 'miramiento' from the other doctors in the hospital towards him practising traditional medicine. 'Hay miramiento; no valoran'. He says there is 'miramiento' por envidia no mas'. 'Entonces pienso trabajar en otro lado'. He is contracted by the alcaldia, for 1000Bs a month.

3200

The topic turned to autonomy (1.06), and the topic of whether Amarete would become the seat of government. He had become annoyed at the turn of events when he had attended an autonomy assembly in Amarqha, and the ejecutivo of the Unica had come with a letter coming out against autonomy and the right of Amarete to the sede. One day after this in Charazani he was asked by some Charazanenos: 'Porque ustedes quieren [autonomia] Amaretenos? 'Amarete no son Kallawayas, no son curanderos de medicina, Amarete son solamente de Manca lluta!'

3210

'Ese manca es Kallawayaya! Ustedes, porque quieren nombre Kallawayaya? Desde antes habia sido manca, olla Kallawayaya quiero comprar, haber usted con que si cura si usted es Kallawayaya? Primeramente para hacer ritual, *parasa* de barro, hecho en Amarete utilizan. Luego, otra vez grande y pequeno. Luego utilices chato, [indistinct] chato. Y cuando esta frio, al enfermo se pone agua de muna en chato, en su pie (chato es una olla ceramica). Entonces, eso utilices, despues en olla de barro hacemos medicina; eso es bueno. Es medicina. Que cosa estas hablando, Eso es falso, completamente falso ustedes, capachos son ustedes, no trabajan en pueblo, en tu comunidad, sabiendo, realmente el verdadero, hay que trabajar en la comunidad. Ustedes van donde sea, donde no conocen gente, te has enganado. Despues te sientes bien Kallawayaya. Falso eres. Ustedes hablan sonseras... verdadero soy carajo y voy hacer respetar carajo. Por esa razon me he venido, me he venido a hacer respetar... Aunque ustedes no quieren autonomia, nosotros vamos sacar, Amarete no mas. (1.09.06) Vamos a demostrar como sea curar [indistinct] con medicina de nacion kallawayaya. Por eso ahora, ese proyecto estoy buscando, enseñar hartos hermanos...en ese curso. Pero espiritual no se enseña. Por achachila es. Aunque aprendemos, no se puede, es falso.

3220

(1.09.50) He relates how Alipio had entered CONAMAQ as representative of the Nacion Kallawayaya, 'autonombrado'. In CONAMAQ, according to Julian they had asked Alipio to perform a ritual. Alipio's child was 'incurable' (of what, Julian didn't say), and according to Julian, this was a punishment for naming himself, rather than being named by others. 'El mismo se ha dado cuenta. Ni papa ni su mama era yatiri, ni su suegro es yatiri. Asi castigo se dan'. 'A mi, relampago me ha nombrado.. largo proceso de mi, no ve, que estoy contando?'

Me: Ha dicho que

3230

Julian: Ahora mira hermano, ciencia avanza, no ve? Ciencia avanza, tecnologia avanza, forma de vestir hasta cambia, mira hasta mi lluch'u, mira, hasta mi lluch'u puro con figura. Antes era, asi tamaño, rojo. Rojo, rojo... un gallo, era de oveja de lana... como avanza figurita avanza, mira Competencia hacen para bailar todos santos... Antes un dia no mas saben acabar, pero no sirve para frio. Agua, entra aqui, ahora, no pasa facil; caliente esta... entonces asi, igualito pasa, igualito pasa. Igualito pasa, avanza. Todo se avanza. Y hasta vestir, ya no quieren ropa de antiguo, originario. Cuando para bailar no mas esto hacen. Entonces, se visten, bien tenido sus cabildos... Despues, hermanito, lo que estan hablando, resouesta: igualito es – yatiri es Aymara; Aymara ya? Yatiri es Aymara. En Quechua es 'yacha', yacha, yacha. Pero, en ulla Kallawayaya dicen antes, ese palabra

- Kallawaya se puede ser ignorante, así llamaban provincia. Ya ve? Ahora sigue ahora [indistinct] el que hace cerámica, aquí fabricamos, sector Amarete fabricamos ulla – cerámica. De allí compraban ellos, entonces ulla Kallawaya decían, pues. Entonces, esa vez, yacha no más era, pues – yatiri, yacha en Quechua. De allí cuando avanza, avanza, participación popular ya había, no ve? Desde allí, yo me siendo dirigente, yo me he hablado... yo he hablado así: ‘nosotros somos todo Bautista Saavedra Kallawaya, Nación Kallawaya’, ‘porque dices Nación?’ Desde allí me han rechazado. Suyu Amarete soy Kallawaya. De ese Kallawaya todos quieren, Sotopata Kallawaya contra era; no querían Kallawaya. Charazani igual. Después, cuando entrevista, no ve? Nosotros queremos ser provincia Kallawaya, ya no Bautista Saavedra. Provincia Kallawaya queremos. De allí han utilizado Kallawaya Bautista Saavedra han hablado. Escuchen radio, todos ahora quieren kallawaya... yo estaba en radio San Gabriel en un programa de Quechua. Casi dos años yo estaba. Y tenía un campito... Todos nuestras culturas he explicado,.. nosotros en Amarete Bautista Saavedra celebramos festival Candelaria. Es nuestra cultura. Hacemos un ritual; metemos a las parcelas incienso... siempre carneamos conejito... con sangre de conejo ch'allan pachamama' (1.18.55) A guy gave him a potato and chirmoya - 'así respeto es en mi pueblo estoy explicando. Esas cosas me gustaba hacer que conozcan más todos'.
- 3240 (1.19.55) Pero eso es kallawaya; ahora moda es kallawaya en Bautista Saavedra. [indistinct] llamamos kallawaya a los Charazanenos, antes despreciaba, puede ser Kallawaya ignorante que no sirve, así. Ahora valora.
- Me: Antes no querían autoidentificarse como Kallawaya?
- Julian: Yacha no más era; Aymaras decían yatiri.
- Me: Hace cuánto que se han cambiado eso?
- Julian: Yatiri es Aymara. Ahora Aymara se ha cambia. Ya no es yatiri. Amauta es. Avanza ciencia, ya ve? Ellos amauta ya utilicen. Ya no es yatiri. Nosotros antes uticábamos yacha. Yacha Entonces, ahora estamos Kallawaya... algo que hacen ritual. Al curandero.
- Me: Que significa Kallawaya?
- 3260 Julian: Kallawaya es tener un conocimiento que su cultura Kallawaya... Tener un conocimiento ancestro desde tiempo de colonia. Antes de colonia. Después, 2013, reconocido por UNESCO.
- Me: 2003
- Julian: Maestro Intangible Humanidad de Patrimonio Oral Intangible. No ve?
- Me: Hace cuánto que están hablando de la Nación Kallawaya? De los Kallawayas como Nación?
- Julian: Mas anytes, mas antes. Desde que ya ha aparecido Participación Popular. Participación ha aparecido, no ve? Reforma Educativa. Yo estaba siempre dirigente de este pueblo [indistinct] después, Federación provincial dirigente; departamental, para veinte provincias. Ahí estoy conociendo todo la historia. Ahora me toca nacional no más me falta.
- Me: CONAMAQ?
- 3270 Julian: Yo estoy ahora más, Unica estaba, ya estoy FOYCAE. De FOYCAE estoy purichej, no ve? Ahora, tal vez me van a, me quieren nostrar para nacional, ya tiene cargo pero no quiere el; ser dirigente gasta plata no más. Tener plata harto, cuando no tienes, vas a decir ‘alcalde...’ ya te van arrancar. Mas rato, alcalde te van a humillar... Hay que tener propios recursos para ser dirigente. (1.23.40) When the base decides, the alcalde ‘tiene que cumplir’; ‘ya no nos humillamos, no ve?’ ‘Cuando nos da, te van a humillar. Por eso, ser dirigente tener propios recursos.’ ‘Por eso no acepto... me quieren nombrar abajo en FOYCAE’ At National level, the dirigente is FOYCAE; Emilio Patty is regional. Emilio certainly seems to have most power.
- Me: Por que empezaron de hablar de la Nación Kallawaya después de la Ley de Participación Popular?
- 3280 Julian: (1.25.30) Ah, mas o menos, cuando ya había Ley de Participación Popular, eso en favor de nuestra identidad cultural, en favor de eso hablaban; un poco ya estaba reconociendo. Ya estaba reconociendo sabiduría de ancestros. Ya quiere valorar. Un poco, pero; no como ahora. Después reforma educativa, igual. Después reforma educativa, igual. Quiere reconocer. Entonces, libros han escrito en Quechua. En parte Quechua, Quechua. En parte Aymara, Aymara estaba. De allí tiene que partir escuela de primero hasta sexto curso. Entonces eso había, entonces... tiene palabra

- cochabambino viene pues, ese libro. Por ejemplo aqui llega, enseñamos, 'yaku' dice, 'yaku' dice entonces... entonces, aqui no dice yaku. 'Que es ese yaku?.. Que dice? No entiendo!' 'Uno es pues, Cochabamba hablan' 'No...! Es castellano, debe ser yaku' dicen. Hay dificultad, ya para niños. Tiene que ser en este idioma también su conocimiento, no ve? No de elaborado en Cochabamba. Ahi ya vienen se atropiza. Profesores vienen que no saben Quechua; se atropiza. Por eso, no salen... se atropiza. De ahí, valorando con [indistinct] por eso Kallaway viene mas valorando. De allí nombre kallawayamos hemos respetado mas, como wiphala... Ahora ya esta escrito no ve? Nacion Kallawayamos? Se va aprobarse eso. Por eso, en vez de decir Nacion, suyu tiene que ser... Asi es mas ambuloso.
- 3290 Me: Y que cargo tenia usted en el año cuando habia la Participacion Popular?
Jukian: Central Agraria. Como Mallku, equivalente a mallku. Dos años no mas Central Agraria tiene que ser. Me han ratificado. Otro dos años, cuatro años... mas mejor he manejado a la gente.'
They wanted to 'ratificar' him again, but he said no. 'ya no tenia plata. Hasta tienda tenia. Ya no tengo tienda. As ha sido nuestro cargo, no puedes andar detras de alcaldes, detras de instituciones. Yo con mis propios, decision de base voy a defender. Por que conozco liderazgo pues. Hasta hablar nuestra microfono ya se... He sido en Santa Cruz vice presidente de [presidencia?], magno congreso nacional yo he manejado. Con votos también he entrado pues. Joven estaba; si estaba sigue siendo dirigente, ahorita puedo estar ex-senador, ex-diputado. Porque al magisterio he entrado, eso me ha jodido. Porque hartó apoyo tenia, yo y Evo no mas estabamos mas jovencitos. Mi tanda es Evo Morales. (1.30.00)... Starts to discuss politics of the creation of MAS IPSP, Evo and Felipe Quispe, la guerra del agua.
- 3300 (1.36) La LPP: 'Es que en la provincia, un rato se van pues a seminarios, no entienden, tener cargo, los que tienen cargo no mas vamos. No interesan pues. Conozco algunos cuantas personas estamos luchando pues. Entnces, en vano hemos pedido cosas, no, no se capacitan. Otro año, otro entran salen, sonsera es. Liderazgo, toda la vida lucha, por su patria, por su pueblo, sin cargos, con cargo, igual es un liderazgo. Se preocupa de su comunidad, país de su Bolivia, no ve? Ya, en eso estoy yo. Evo también eso [indistinct], por su [indistinct], en esto yo estaba, departamental, secretario de relaciones estaba, La Paz... esa vez, mallku ha caido pues. El mallku los mismos Achacachis han [validado?]. De allí han bajado mallku. Ha puesto entrar huelga de hambre en su oficina... La Paz siempre tiene fuerza, somos cabeza, como ya no hay nacional; cabeza carajo... obligados a la plaza, hacemos ritual, Evo discurso carajo, zona sur ya no quiere venir pues apoyar. Carajo mañana si no vienen zona sur, mañana vamos entrar a bloquear zona sur. The next day they went to the zona sur with their whipalás. 'Juntos con los campesinos hemos luchado', supporting Evo, and the vice-Presidente. 'Ahora ningún cargo político no estoy haciendo, no estoy entrando. Y Evo mismo dice que no practicas, no ve?'
- 3310 I asked him if he had any documentation from the time when they began to discuss the Nacion Kallawayamos, because I was interested in its creation. 'No tengo, memoria no mas tengo', he told me. (1.42) Before LPP the sub-alcaldes didn't receive any salary. He said that it was from his time (around 1995) as Central Agrario, that they talked about having an 'alcalde indígena' in Amarete. (1.43.45) 'Después, Alberto Tito he colocado subalcaldia, yo he colocado yo... tenia que ser Primitivo, el candidato. Esa vez MNR esta gobernando... Entonces tenia que ser para esa celebracion de posesion, habia sacado casi 3,000Bs, MNR, para ch'alla. Entonces, faltando semana el cada dia esta farreando, esa vez era, un este no mas era, intendente municipal. Asi no mas era. Agente cantonal?
- 3320 Ah! Agente cantonal! Era agente cantonal... Entonces como el esta asumiendo, va asumir subalcaldia, empieza a farrear ni hace recoger basura. Nosotros estamos viendo; mañana harta gente va venir, municipios va llegar, siete municipio, yo estoy haciendo preparar platos, lechones. Entonces, carajo, la gente siente un [indistinct] el agente tiene que hacer limpio para [indistinct] tres días ya esta tomando ese que se han traído para financiamiento para ch'alla, el no mas esta gastando. Manana, que va sobrar, apenas unos 500 va soltar, para el va ser, asi hemos dicho. no carajo! Volteamos. Manana. Hemos volteado. No hemos metido Primitivo, Alberto hemos metido, primer subalcalde... Debía ser limpio, no debía emborrachar... Yo he sacado 3,000[Bs?] hermanos autoridades. Manana
- 3330

estaremos dos mil. Esta mil debe vamos ahorrar si hay necesidad. Ese es un ley de democratica, que hay que hablar. Ley de persona esta pues el; por eso no avisa, si hay informacion ni siquiera sabemos, por eso si hablas hemos cambiado, una historia era. Entonces subcalde yo he creado cuando estoy Central. Y queria hacer alcalde indigena. Esa vez para alcalde indigena hablia pues plata.

3340

Me: Usted queria ser alcalde indigena?

Julian: Porque yo se Central. Yo no quiero dos cargos.

Me: Quien querias poner como alcalde? Alipio siempre, o otro?

Julian: No otro, otro, Alberto puede asumir. Cualquiera puede asumir, pero despues ya se acumula, no ve? Ya no dependemos de Charazani, asi tiene que ser. Habia oportunidad esa vez con ley de participacion popular. Habia [indistinct] para subalcaldia, pero bajo proyecto siempre era. Ya no solicitud. Por esto los subalcaldes entran, que no saben hacer proyectos hermanos. Un persona deberia ser con eso sale. En otros pueblitos han entrado profesionales. Licenciados han entrado subalcaldia. Todos se ha hecho equipamento subalcaldia; tienen auto tienen moto tienen

3350

infraestructura bien, y apoyan a parte de agronomia, ganaderia. Por eso tienen vacas lecheras algunos. Vacas lecheros unos cada vez uno cada persona. Sobre eso se aumenta... Esas cosas queria hacer aqui, ya no se deja. Mucha envida aqui, en el pueblito.' At the end he tells us that he has been invited to open up a 'puesto' de traditional medicine in Apolo, in Munecas, that he would be given space there to do so.

3360

3370

3380

Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 4th February 2013

Rufino: ... ha motivado que podamos recuperar?

3390 Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Ah sí! exactamente, entonces, mira mucha gente decía ¿no? '¡pucha! cómo nosotros sindicato, que ahora, con sindicato hemos luchado ¿no? ahora que vamos a volver al ayllu ¡ucha! igual que antes nos van a humillar ¿no? ya no vamos a tener fuerza'. Ellos tenían mentalidad de que el ayllu como que ha sido aplastado y con el sindicalismo habíamos superado, eso teníamos claro, son varios años, tenían razón, pero nuestro propio organización ancestral siempre era ayllu ¿no? el capitalismo nació en Gran Bretaña, en Estados Unidos, entonces eso han traído y nos hecho creer que el sindicato era, claro que también ha servido mucho en las luchas revolucionarias ¿no? pero más antes era el ayllu siempre, entonces, antes que llegue el sindicalismo siempre la forma de elección era rotativo (tose) el nombre de las autoridades era sus nombres propios, por ejemplo: Warayuq, Sullk'a Warayuq, Uk'ata, Jilakata, sullk'a Jilakata, Ankari, Qallasu, sullk'a Qallasu y así sucesivamente.

3400 Rufino: ¿O sea que no interesaba la cantidad de población de un determinado lugar?

Aurelio Ortiz: No pues, no no, inclusive...

Rufino: ¿Y una comunidad componía de 10 habitantes, igual tenía derecho de asumir una autoridad?

Aurelio Ortiz: Igualito no más y era respetado, ese era más bien al contrario, población más pequeñito, mas chiquitito tenían que reunirse y los ayllus grandes venían ahí. Por ejemplo, la estructura orgánica estaba basado, aquí está el Wata Purichej ¿no? el Wata Purichej

Jonathan: ¿Hay Wata Purichej aquí también?

Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Claro!

Jonathan: ¿Quién es el Wata Purichej de aquí?

3410 Aurelio Ortiz: El Apolinar

Jonathan: Apolinar

Aurelio Ortiz: Si, y aquí está el consejo de autoridades Kuraq warayuq, Sullk'a warayuq, chajra qamayuy ¿no? todo, el que cuida los terrenos se llama chaqrakunanchej

Jonathan: ¿El Wata purichej es el más importante?

Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Claro! porque es el que hace, wata purichej significa el que hace andar el tiempo durante el ciclo agrícola. Entonces, estoy hablando antes del 52 ¿no? entonces, este wata purichej estaba encima y esto consejo de autoridades y esto después, él ordenaba a ellos para aquí, que va a hacer el año, si va a ser alimentado, ellos ordenaban al pueblo y ellos aportaban y hacían la ceremonia, una vez que llega el sindicalismo es que cambia, estos suben arriba y este como que baja, aquí dicen: 'no, que cosa' algunas veces les he utilizado para que hagan ceremonia para hacer bloqueos de caminos ¿no? el sindicalismo también ha servido mucho ¿no? después del Guerra del Chaco vuelven los indígenas fuertes ¿no? ¡caramba! sacar a los patrones hacia la hacienda ¿no? a las comunidades, ha servido también ahora lo que hemos reestructurado, o sea el proceso de reconstitución del ayllu, lo que nos plantean aquí y lo que yo he llevado antes, es que hemos vuelto a recuperar, ahora en cada ayllu surge ahí un wata purichej, y estos ahí donde están y en el pueblo, actualmente

3420

Jonathan: ¿Es a nivel del ayllu o comunidad?

Aurelio Ortiz: Ayllu y comunidad también, ya no hay comunidades, hora es ayllu y Sullk'a ayllu

Jonathan: ¿Sullk'a ayllu? hay en Niñacorin un Wata purichej en el Chipuicu, en todos

3430 Aurelio Ortiz: Claro, en todos los Sullk'a Ayllus de Willarqachu. Entonces, este es el Wata purichej, entonces yo, he sido fuerte en esto, en este proceso y mucha gente, me contradecía '¿por qué? ¡cómo vamos a entrar en el sindicalismo! seguiremos en sindicalismo porque tenemos que seguir luchando, porque el ayllu es antes ¡cómo vamos a volver al ayllu!' diciendo, y es lo que estoy, el ejemplo de autonomía, por ejemplo, ayllu anterior servía ps distinto, ahora estamos en ayllu, lo que estás diciendo es en Ucureña de repente no hay wata purichej, entonces ya no estamos viviendo en Ayllu

Jonathan: No sé, si hay o no

- Aurelio Ortiz: Es un ejemplo ¿no? si no hay en Ucureña un wata purichej quiere decir que estamos viviendo un ayllu teórico nomas ps, o sea de ahí un wata purichej jah! estamos viviendo todavía un ayllu
- 3440 Jonathan: ¡Ah! ¿todos los ayllus tiene que haber wata purichej?
- Rufino: Tiene que haber un wata purichej, que es la autoridad la máxima
- Aurelio Ortiz: Claro, encima de todos los autoridades políticas esta pues el...
- Rufino: En ese caso, dentro de la autonomía tendría que haber un consejo digamos de sabios
- Aurelio Ortiz: Espirituales
- Rufino: Como las máximas autoridades por encima de la autoridades políticas
- Aurelio Ortiz: Como hombres espirituales. ¡Eso hay! entonces yo, les he hecho bajar, les he hecho bajar sus gorros y les he dado un ultimátum, la próxima vez no me vengan con gorros de Chicago bulls, Datson, Volvo, Nueva York, si nos que vengan con sus sombreritos porque antes nuestros
- 3450 abuelitos andaban con sombreritos, con ch'ulo ¿ya? y si son autoridades identifíquense ¿no? así yo les hacía, 'la próxima vez no les quiero ver con gorros si vienen pero sin eso', me aplaudían, algunos me silbaban !fiw! jah no! yo como máxima autoridad he dicho 'tienen que venir con sombreros', caprichosos sigue venían con gorra, yo le decía al policía sindical 'bajale sus gorros, ahora vamos a...' ellos decían '¿qué clase de sanción vamos a dar?' ellos decían 'quemar, quemar'
- Jonathan: ¿Quemar los gorros?
- Aurelio Ortiz: Bajamos los gorros y quemamos, todos las autoridades venían con su ponchito, con su gorrito ¡bien! jah! entonces, ahora si se ve que estamos en la práctica del ayllu. El sindicato es para los proletarios, nosotros no somos el proletariado, no somos trabajadores de la empresas, no somos eh... sindicato de choferes, nada ¿no? nosotros solitos aquí, entonces no, no hay sindicalismo. Eso
- 3460 era el proceso.
- Jonathan: Y había hacienda en tierra de Lunlaya ¿no? ah ¿mantenían la estructura del ayllu cuando había hacienda?
- Aurelio Ortiz: Mira en... cuando en tiempo de la colonia obviamente esta zona es valle, a los mestizo les gusta, los españoles siempre han dejado a sus hijos en los lugares más fértiles en donde no hay moscas y en donde no hay frio, el Fortunato es del Altiplano, ahí no quiere vivir el español con su hijo
- Jonathan: ¿Pero en dónde?
- Aurelio Ortiz: ¿No? al español, a su hijo eso no le va a gustar, vivir ahí en el frio con las llamas, entonces, siempre han buscado estos lugares más templados, más favorables a su raza digamos ¿no? entonces, por eso que estos lugares, los españoles, en el tiempo de colonia, los mestizos toman esas
- 3470 tierras quitan a los indígenas como a la fuerza ¿no? y entonces, los gobiernos estaban a favor de ellos, quitaron a la fuerza y entonces, un pequeño terrazo y después otro, otro hasta que se han hecho patrones, el Melgarejo dicta todavía, libre venta de tierras, entonces, los mestizos han comprado y se han hecho una finca, y ahí una propiedad privada pero esas tierras son nuestros, antiguos, son ayllus, entonces no podemos confundir de que este ha sido parte de la hacienda, obviamente en los tiempos de colonia la gente, menos ha trabajado su tierra porque el patrón como tenía grandes tierras, tenía harta comida, como que la gente ¿no? se venía ahí a trabajar, mismos leyes bolivianas favorecían al patrón al mestizo que tiene que pagar o hay veces tiene que trabajar gratis ¿no? entonces, en Lunlaya, hasta Chucoico, Jachulaya, lo que es parte... y en Charazani estaban la central de los mestizos ¿no? que es la parte central, y hoy Charazani es la, la población, ha crecido
- 3480 debido a que de las comunidades se han expulsado gente de mal comportamiento porque los mestizos ahí pueden tener para que cuiden su caballo, para que trabaje su tierra, o finalmente para que cuide su casa. Pero ahora ya con estas nuevas leyes estamos recuperando, ya hemos recuperado esas tierras, ya han pasado, porque hay leyes que dicen que si ha sido de la comunidad se entra en documento y entonces hay que recuperar.
- Jonathan: Había hacienda aquí, hasta el año pasado
- Aurelio Ortiz: Mm, hace 4 años que se ha abolido
- Jonathan: ¿Se ha aburido?
- Aurelio Ortiz: Si, se ha abolido...

Jonathan: Abolido

3490 Aurelio Ortiz: Si, esas tierras ya están produciendo los verdaderos dueños y así.

Rufino: Hm, una última pregunta...

Aurelio Ortiz: Dime hermano

Rufino: ¿Dentro de la UNICA digamos hubo otra perspectiva, hoy por hoy dentro de la UNICA?

Aurelio Ortiz: Tiene sus estatutos reglamentos internos la UNICA y la gente es rotativo, por ejemplo ahorita es Chullina está manejando la parte ejecutiva, es rotativa para ellos esta Curva, están Yachajai y así, en estos últimos este, a Kaata, a Cotapampa porque no lo reconoce la UNICA y... pero es rotativo. Ya no es matriz Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia., nosotros como organización, como ya hemos reestructurado el proceso de ayllu, llegas a un ayllu, ahí tiene su personería jurídica, dices sullk'a ayllu original en Niñocorin, sullk'a ayllu original de Lunlaya o

3500 Kuraj ayllu Curva. Así, ya no es sindicato

Jonathan: Y Charazani también

Aurelio Ortiz: También Curazani

Jonathan: Charazani es ayllu

Aurelio Ortiz: Si, un poco falso ayllu, podríamos decir porque es una población 'ciudadina', ahí pagan impuesto y en un ayllu no se paga impuesto, porque ahí hay propiedades privadas

Jonathan: ¿Pagan impuestos a la alcaldía?

Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Claro! del terreno y de la casa, son 'ciudadinos', por eso digo falso ayllu porque en el ayllu verdadero no se paga impuestos, porque si tú tienes un terreno, no tienes donde, no tienes un heredero, entonces tienes que devolver a la comunidad, se la administra a los jóvenes que no tienen tierra, ahí pueden donar, esas no existen, mientras en Charazani eso no puedes hacer, te compras, entonces ya es tuyo, si quieres irte, vas a vender seguramente a otros porque paga impuesto ¡falso ayllu! Bueno tienen que pagar impuesto porque hay mucha basura también

3510 Jonathan: Alguien tiene que limpiarlo

Aurelio Ortiz: (Se ríe)

Rufino: Bien, por mi parte ¡muchísimas gracias! Hermano, me ha dado muchas luces y sé que con esto voy a seguir aprendiendo mucho más de este pueblo

Aurelio Ortiz: Hay mucho por delante, preocupante porque hay que concientizar mucho a la gente, no es escribir por escribir uno, lindo sería un testamento hecho pero en la práctica no funciona eso ¿no? no está bien, hay que hacerlo teóricamente bien, pero que también en la práctica tenemos que vivir, entonces eso está bien, eso así vamos a marchar bien y un poco va a ser difícil recuperar lo que es nuestro, vida anterior con nuestros abuelos, tan lindo vivían ¿no? con ropa sano, y sanos viviendo mucho tiempo, 120 años, 130 años y...

3520 Jonathan: ¡Wow...!

Aurelio Ortiz: Y ahora con la comida chatarra con la ropa que estamos vestidos de nylon tenemos asegurados como 60 años nomas, entonces por eso, planteamos a la humanidad estos 4 términos, y tienen que servir ¿no?

Jonathan: ¿Cómo están difundiendo esos 4 términos?

Aurelio Ortiz: Ah, en los encuentros espirituales que tenemos, primero es el círculo de ancianos, el segundo es el círculo de, viene gente a escuchar, a escucharnos y participar, lo bueno, lo bueno es que ahora hay jóvenes que están en este camino de espiritualidad como mayores ¿no? y eso es lo bueno, eso es lo bueno la gente que busca la espiritualidad.

3530

3540 Interview with Feliciano Patty: 19th February 2013

Feliciano: 'Antes de Alipio... con la Ley de Participacion Popular podemos ser elegidos nosotros. Antes no.. eso es a nivel nacional estamos viniendo. Porque en '92 hemos ... [indistinct] los mistis, yo tambien estaba alli. Lo que me favorecia a mi es que no estaba... de nadie no, ni mi papa. La familia Patty casi no [atendia?] a compadrazgo. Entonces facil podias pelear. Entonces, ellos tenian que ser subprefectos; ellos tenian que ser, hasta dirigente campesino ellos eran. Augusto Patel, otro dirigente capesino; [indistinct] Miranda otro odirigente campesino; Cristoforo Oblitas otro dirigente campesino... Urbano... despues, lo que es juez, ellos tambien. Bla alcaldia, aunque no era significativo pero. Ellos abusaban desde la alcaldia. Como no estaba pagado peor era, no? De nosotros nos querian como, cada fiesta nos ibamos como Kantus,... uno no mas un papel viene de Charazani, tenemos que ir, musicas, hasta llevando comida mas para los, ellos no daban comida.'

3550

Me: Eso no pagaban?

Feliciano: 'No pagaban, por eso aqui se han organizado los kantus, en directiva. Era colmo no mas. Los padrinos tambien sacaban gallinas, sacaban oveja, de frente, [sinceramente?], padrino saca un oveja, como sin nada, como si estviera un huevo parece, el mejor. 'Vas a traer domingo, vas a venir conejo, ahijada', y la pobre ahijada tiene que agarrar su conejo mejor y tiene que ir, a visitar. 'Si no, no vas a venir' Eran fregados, no? Y cuando llega su ahijada tampoco, 'Esa cosa para hacer, hazlo esa hasta la tarde, despues vas estar yendo. En la noche vas estar llegando.' 'Ahijada, hay que colocar, hay que mantener'. La reforma agraria no ha significado mucho para la gente de aqui; siguien ellos.

3560

Lee la ley, no? Los dirigentes de La Paz venien, 'ahora ya nos ha abolidos ell pongueaje', pongueaje entiendes, no?... Pero, 'eso es comunista' dicen. 'Eso es guerrillero.' Por eso yo he sido denunciado en este... Ministerio de Gobierno. 'Guerrillero', 'Agitador.'

Me: 'Cuando era?'

Feliciano: 'La ultima era cuando hemos hecho bloqueo de camino en Pumasani. Para los transportistas en '95 creo, si. O 97 es? mas antes, para 500 anos, 'agitador'. 'Agitador de la provincia Bautista Saavedra', dos personas, Armando Caceres dirigente...

Me: Como sabes que se han denunciado al ministerio de gobierno?

Feliciano: 'Mediante ampliados; mediante dirigentes tambien, sabemos, quienes han sacado su copia. Tambien se defendiamos, no?... Habia un Cornejo, Humberto Cornejo, se nos habia ayudado a sacar denuncias.'

3570

Me: 'Humberto Cornejo? Ah, es hermano de Adalid Cornejo, creo.'

Feliciano: 'Si... nos han dicho a nosotros, 'ah, esos chicos! Pequeños! Quien van a creer? Hablando... y vos que sabes? En vez de pastear cabra, en vez de pastear oveja, porque estas preocupando de nosotros?' Nosotros no estamos pagados por los [indistinct], nos agarraban. 'Ahorita les voy a meter a la carcel.'

Me: Quien dijo eso?

Feliciano: 'Los vecinos... habia un [indistinct] Valencia. A esos canciones de la [indistinct] fregado. Primer vecino de la provincia, no?'

Me: Quien es primer vecino de la provincia?

3580

Feliciano: El [indistinct] Valencia

Me: El es de la familia del valencia que tenia su hacienda por Atique?

Feliciano: Seguramente; por ahi debe ser. Ellos no se metian al MNR. El MNR son mas fregados. Los que estaban en MNR mas o menos estaban los dirigentes – peleaban. Como se dice 'ultra'?... Ahora habia un [indistinct] militar... yo tenia un poco miedo tambien. Solamente, yo pensaba que como los indigenas van a juntar. Habia salido [Murillo?] tambien temprano. [laughs] Tenia miedo tambien que [indistinct] sigue molestando.'

Me: Estabas activo en la politica desde '92 o antes?

Feliciano: 'Antes, antes – 80'

3590

Me: Porque el otro dia habia dicho que mientras que Emilio y Antonio estaban viniendo a Ñiquis, tu estabas peleando contra los vecinos en Charazani. Eso era en los anos 80 entonces.

Feliciano: 'Si.'

Me: Que hacien en los anos 80?

Feliciano: 'La politica y la coyuntura, era pues fregado la coyuntura nacional. En 80 ha entrado Garcia Mesa. En 79 hemos hecho una gira con [indistinct] adentro No sabia que era politica mucho. [laughs] Hemos, mas en 74 yo estaba estaudiando como [indistinct] como religion evangelica estudiaba. Conocia que es, me gustaba el cine. Y mucho mejor al cine indigena a demas.'

Me: Donde?

3600

Feliciano: 'Aqui en la provincia. Con mi mula caminaba. Habia una pequena motor. Se conecta a [makes whirring noise and laughs] un proyectora, con la cinta. Con el Bruno. Habia un amigo del Stanis. Mi compadre estaba.'

Me: Como ha venido Bruno? Dicen que es en Apolo ahora.

Feliciano: 'Bueno, venia aqui, queria comprar terreno. Yo tocaba charango. Nos encontramos, como cualquiera, ha venido, buscando tierra. Y me contaron que venimos aqui a convivir, aqui a compartir... queremos ayudar en algo.

Me: Ha vendio juntos con Stanis?

3610

Feliciano: 'Bruno mas antes a venido a la provincia. A vivir ya, donde un zapatista, no? Claudio Amorre. Simpatico. Defendia... entonces a nivel nacional era pues fregado. Tenia un amigo en La Paz, ... sigue existiendo. Han persistido. El popular no puede ser artista. Asi era la consigna de... Ellos me alojaron. Pucha, habia el Garcia.... Hemos hecho una [indistinct] con nuestra video, recardando un poco de dinero. Con el, con la entrada, no?

Me: Video de que?

Feliciano: 'Video de Kallawaya. Como nacion clandestina, de Sanjines.

Me: Oh, Yawar Mallku

Feliciano: Otro. De Yawar Mallku no conocia. Pero mi papa ha traducido. De eso tambien, Yawar Mallku tambien es un o de los, un o de los principios tambien. Al que ha filmado, al que era este, actor principal, era de Kaata. La gente, pucha, han contradecido harto, harto han sufrido. Sus hijas, una de las hijas convive con Stanis. Pura hijas eran pues, del principal actor. Ha sufrido como familia. La gente de Charazani Era pues, habia la pelicula, yo no sabia. Habia sido 'levantaremos armas, no ve?'

3620

Me: Oh, ha sufrido por los vecinos de Charazani, no por los de Kaata?

Feliciano: 'Aumentaban, sus ahijados, sus, mediante esos asi [indistinct]. Utilicen, no ve? Entonces, yo no sabia, pues. Mi papa era actor tambien... eso no ha salido, pero. Yo pensaba que era pelicila no mas pero, al quien habia sido 'levantaremos armas'.'

Me: Yo nunca he visto esa pelicula. Donde podia encontrarlo?

Feliciano: 'En este puedes encontrar. Ellos, ay como se llama este grande, cine en La Paz? Cine Monumental? No es Cine Monumental. Cine, Teatro Momumental.'

Me: Hay la cinemateca

3630

Feliciano: 'Cinemateca Boliviano. Si. De alli hemos copiado una vez con Stanis. El tenia. La esposa tampoco queria porque tenia un recuerdo, mal recuerdo, no? De la gente le mal miraba de eso. Entonces, yo no sabia que las peliculas tienen un fin politica tambien [laughs]. Entonces, tampoco en todas partes hemos, en Quillabaya, en Niñacorin, en Chajaya tal vez, no me recuerdo. No en Kaata. De eso se habian enterrado pues, la gente politica, de la derecha... ellos, su hijo de Paulino Patty, esta ayudando a un gringo que esta manejando un video indigena. Eso es peligroso habian dicho, pues. Y mulas habian. No habia carretera. Estan cargando. Hubiera sido pues [indistinct] Garcia Mesa. Ya, lider guerrillero era. Ya ha entrado el 16 de julio en 1980. Estabamos en contacto con radio, nosotros.

Me: Y Stanis ha traído la palicula en 79?

3640

Feliciano: Stanis, no. Bruno. Eso habia sido politica. No sabia que era politica. Ademas peligroso para el gobierno. Y cuando ha entrado Garcia Mesa, peor. Ya estabamos [indistinct], [indistinct] ya. Señalados. Y Bruno se fue a La Paz. Con Stanis hemos trabajado tambien [indistinct], agua potable en Chullina. Pero Stanis nunca hablo de politica, asi, tampoco queria meterse siempre es esa cosa. Mas era progresivo. Mas solidario. El Bruno era politico. Entonces, habia sido politico, yo no sabia

tambien. Y de La Paz me dice 'no, Feliciano te vas a cuidar; estamos cerrados. No hay que hablar nada.' Un encargo llega. [indistinct] yo tambien estoy yendo a Europa. Perseguidos Porque sera perseguido una pelicula sencillo asi, con condores,...

Me: Oh, que Bruno estaba yendo a Europa.

Feliciano: 'Ya me ha encardado, ya no vas ir a La Paz. Porque nos estan buscando, algo por ahi. Peligroso. No hay que caminar ya. Por eso ya no vas a traer peliculas. No hay caso de hacer eso. Y ya me ha enterrado por la radio que es la federacion de Unica recien ha aparecido Bloque Independiente, de Genaro Flores. Ya escuchamos que a Genaro le han baleado, todo ya. Rapido he aprendido la [indistinct]. Radio San Gabriel, Radio Fides, [gente?] perdidos, estan agarrando'

3650

Me: Eso se podia escuchar de aqui?

Feliciano: 'Si, se podia escuchar. Y tenia mucha medio a los vecinos yo. Son coroneles, esos son, que sera? Tenia miedo... De alli me han conocido. En '76 por alli, '80, no se, mi hermano ha organizado un grupo en Niñacorin, Antonio mas que todo. A los que no tienen tierra. Pedir al... [starts discussing the cat which has come in for his food]... de alli he aprendido esos anos, no debe ser facil, pero rapido he aprendido. A la politica he aprendido. Mediante radio, mediante tambien habia un periodico QuitaQollo. De alli me he suscrito tambien, me han mandado noticias.'

Me: Y que paso con el grupo de Antonio?

3660

Feliciano: 'El grupo de Antonio ha pedido a Niñacorin, a los autoridades: 'por favor que hay una distribucion equitativa de tierras. Nosotros no tenemos tierra y vamos tener familia. Con que vamos a vivir?' Siempre sentado a la comunidad... y estaba Nicasio como secretario de actas. El ha encabezado para no dar. Han negado fuerte. Como pues van hacer ustedes? Quienes son ustedes para pedir tierras? Entonces 'nosotros vamos salir de Niñacorin'. Este sentimiento tienen. Los mismos Guzman, casi estan mayoria.'

Me: Por eso se han ido al tropico?

Feliciano: 'Tropico, algunos a La Paz se han ido. Si. No le han respondido. Pero tal ve era buena hora [laughs]. Algunos, mi hermano dice, no? En buena hora me han negado. El Nicasio. Ahora [indistinct] a Niñacorin... 'ahora tenemos, ya no vamos ir a Niñacorin', dice... Entonces, ya he conocido que es la politica. Independencia de la federacion nacional, la Federacion Unica Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia, CSUTCB – principal lider era Genaro Flores. Muchas entrevistas en la radio, todo. Una vez hemos ido a bloqueo. Hemos encontrado. El principal hombre siempre era Genaro Flores. Tambien el Juan Lechin Oquendo, de la COB... rapido cuando hay problemas se aprenden. Escuchando radio, escuchando, que esta pasando aqui? Ya, ya he aprendido posicionarme, donde estoy? Mucha gente tenia miedo, a los Charazaneños, de no meterse en estos casos. Estos han quedado como politicos amarillos.'

3670

Me: Que son politicos amarillos?

Feliciano: 'Amarillos no tienen colour. Pueden convertirse en azul; pueden convertirse en verde. Amarillo.'

Me: Cambian con el partido de gobierno.

3680

Feliciano: 'Si. La reforma tributaria era parte de la lucha tambien, no?'

Me: Que era la reforma tributaria?

Feliciano: 'Que antes pagabamos impuestos. Nosotros pagabamos. Ahora pequenas propietarios ya no pagan desde el gobierno de Jaime Paz Zamora.'

Me: Como pagaban, en plata, o...?

Feliciano: 'En plata. Ya somos libre de... eso hemos ganado. Ya he conocido la federacion en La Paz, he visitado... como digo Charazani parecia fuerte porque estaban viviendo estos. De repente, habian [indistinct] temprano tambien [con?] edad.'

Me: Ya Charazani es completamente diferente.

3690

Feliciano: 'Por ejemplo las tiendas eran en manos de ellos. Lo que es, actualmente que tienen tiendas tenían [fierritas?] pequenas. Quioskitos. De alli se han radicado en Charazani, y los otros han muerto, alli en estas tiendas se han pasado. Han sido compadres, han sido no se como se han entrado... ahorita no estan algunos como propios, todavia. Pagan alquiler. La alfabetizacion en

Quechua tambien se apoyaba en la reivindicacion.'

Me: Y eso era de Ayni Kusun?

Feliciano: 'Si. No tenemos gente educados. THOA tambien nos apoyaba.'

Me: Que habia hecho el THOA? Fortunato y Rufino me ha dicho que han ayudado en la reconstitucion de la marka Suni.

3700 Feliciano: 'Tambien aqui nos ha ayudado la reivindicacion de nuestra historia propio. Y tambien la revalorizacion. Valorizarse de si mismo como indigenas. En eso ha apoyado bien no mas. En la reconstitucion de los ayllus tambien. Porque, claro, no se ha convertido CONAMAQ, pero [indistinct] por eso que es ayllu Chullina, por eso es ayllu Kaata, Niñacorin. Por lo menos han sabido reconocer quienes son. En poco tiempo, rapido la gente, estaban [indistinct] no tenian alternativa, porque querian cantonalizar, canton Chullina, canton Niñacorin, [indistinct]. Haciendo olvidar nuestros pueblos determinacion propio, no?'

Me: Quien queria eso, la alcaldia?

3710 Feliciano: 'Eso de Charazani. Eso era Charazani por eso hasta Chari es canton. Kaata tambien, [indistinct]... entonces, despues nos han criticado. 'Acaso van a poder hacer ayllu? Ayllu es antiguo Eso es antiguo, hijo!'. Cualquier Charazaneño tenia su palabra. 'Antiguo es'. Ahora, ellos, sin verguena. Kuraq ayllu tambien. 'Esto es obsoleto' dice. 'Entiendenme, eso no es progreso, eso es perdicion' en tal Kermesse en Charazani. Al diputado Waltyer tambien, igual. Lo agarraban 'porque estas metido alli?', 'dicen que estas encabezando', no? Queriendo pegar. Stanis igual, denunciando en ministerio de gobierno Subdito. Extranjero. 'Esta encabezando a estas sectores,' dicen.'

Me: Walter Alvarez denunciaba?

3720 Feliciano: '...Walter, no. Walter estaba con nosotros... para hacer estos trabajos yo me he salido de Niñacorin. Aqui no. Quien me van a querer. Mas bien me pueden vender. Mi apoyo era Amarete, Kaata y valle. Ellos me cubrian. Aqui no. Estaba manejados por ahijados. He venido recien, en 2004 aqui. Tenemos casa en Playa, tenemos, alli viviamos... [indistinct] para hacer torrero mayor [indistinct] rapido no mas he [indistinct] como hacemos? [laughs]... [esta casa] de mi mama es. Ahora mi mama vive en la casa de nuestros abuelos. Mi mama y sus terrenos, ahi harto tenemos terreno. Ha vendido.'

Me: Vivian ustedes cerca de Juan Carlos?

Feliciano: 'Juan Carlos ha vivido en Sucre. Casi recien ha llegado Juan Carlos con su empresa.'

Me: Juan Carlos tiene empresa?

3730 Feliciano: 'Si. Empresa constructora [indistinct]. Se estaria en Playa no mas, no estaria bien como ahora, Juan Carlos. Cuando ha salido, recien ha mejorado. El patron, todo lo fregaba. No le daba buena educacion, no le daba buena, serviente estaba; ultima hacienda estaba en Playa [indistinct]. Casi hasta su muerte el patron hay que servir, hacerse servir, con su papa de Juana Carlos. Y defendia su papa, no, ya no era. Nosotros eramos malo mas bien [laughs]. Su papa ya no. Bien no mas cayo pero Juan Carlos. 'Un indigena empresario! Este jovencito! Este mulo', dice no? Los vecinos.'

Me: Cuando ha venido Juan Carlos?

Feliciano: 'Debe ser, pero cuando era niño estaba aqui. Ya estaba jovencito se ha ido. Pero ha perdido mas o menos doce anos, asi por ahi. Ha venido. Padre tambien siempre venia. Por lo menos conmigo ha estado cinco anos asi en Playa. Ya debe ser mas [indistinct].'

Me: I mention the article Dionicio Carrion had shown me about the court case against the patron for abuses in Playa.

Feliciano: 'Parece que habia un denuncia o algo asi, no?'

Me: Se han trabajado de los diferentes lugares, Hugo Canaza, Alipio, Oblitas de Chullina – como se han coordinado?

3740 Feliciano: 'Un poco tenemos beca de trabajo tambien; estudio de trabajo. Porque no erabamos bachiller. En '94 estabas recien bachiller. Nosotros eramos tambien educadores de [alumnos?]. Como caballo adelante, no? Algunos caballos atras, algunos siguen adelante, yendo mas adelante. Estrategia. Como THOA tambien ha hecho eso. THOA a nivel universitario. Ha reclutado parece que gentes bachilleres, Aymarás, no? Han colocado a las diferentes universidades, y siguen trabajando en

institucion THOA tambien. [Nosotros?] en Ayni Kusun, no bachilleres, pero ya como promotores trabajamos, entonces responsabilidades por el proyecto. No ganabamos harto, [indistinct] dicho a Stanis. Poco no mas. Beca de trabajo. Pero, como habia problema, estabamos decididos asi trabajar. Unico que no ha trabajado asi es Leonardo. El todo pago a querido cobrar. No es unico, el de Kaata tambie el Luis, ha sido alcalde. Ellos no son miembros de la asociacion. Nosotros somos miembros. Hemos organizado.'

3750 Me: Que asociacion?

Feliciano: Asociacion Educativa Ayni Kusun. Entonces...

Me: Quienes eran miembros?

Feliciano: 'Miembros, no fundadores, no fundadores, miembros. Tambien eran algunos miembros honorario. Yo era miembro fundador. Stanis, Rufino. De Amarete no han sido miembros fundadores, pero en el siguiente miembros, asi. De Chullina, Edgar Oblitas no fue miembro, pero siempre nos apoyaba. Era la causa, no? En que teniamos que levantarnos. No sentiamos ser siempre miembros, seguimos unidos. Claro, aveces no teniamos tiempo, no perteneciamos a eso no mas, pero con conviccion seguimos, no? Aunque Leonardo no es miembro, pero igual nos apoya, igual. Comparsa igual. Claro no es parte de la asociacion, pero dentro de la asociacion esta tambien. No es legal eso

3760 no mas. Igual he conocido, igual he conocido de agitador. Entonces, miembros, inclusive habia miembros externos. Eso nos han apoyado harto tambien. Extranjeros, habia amigo de Stanis, miembro tambien. Geovana era su esposa, su hombre ya me he olvidado, che. Buen administrador era. La iglesia tambien nos ha apoyado... En Charazani no. Comision de Episcopal Educacion, desde arriba. [Javie Reyes?]. Presidente nos ha apoyado bien, che. Como miembros de la comision educacion. En Ayni Kusun no habia monjitas, no venian padres, pero igual perteneciamos a la iglesia [laughs]. Estrategia tambien. Porque nos molestaban con denunciando, denunciando y nosotros ha [venido?] a la iglesia. Porque la iglesia ese momento era, ese sector, ese area era de los Fransiscanos. Esa area de los Fransiscanos bien capitalistas son. Nosotros, por eso hemos ido directamente con hablar con comision de educacion. Es lo bueno todavia en las iglesias en Bolivia, los compania de Jesus, del padre Eduardo Perez. Otra es de la radio San Gabriel, [abarca?] Escoma, esto es Salesianos. En Munecas tambien es Salesianos. Y este jurisdiccion, bien, hasta ahora debe ser conservador. Por eso esta mañana vino el maño, sigue nos esta pidiendo minar como sus hijos del padres. [indistinct] todavia un Abran Mamani, no?'

3770 Me: Un que?

Feliciano: 'Abran Mamani, el cura de Charazani. Sigue nos esta diciendo que nosotros tenemos que ir a la iglesia, obligacion. El catequista es su directo colaborador. Nos que oponemos estamos mirados, eso avisan, no ve? Eso, hasta cuando? Llamartemos una vez al padre, llamremos de una vez. 'Ya le he propuesto', dice. Por ejemplo, por ejemplo mis hijos han sido bautizados siempre mayores. Porque a mi, ya me conocian que es malo, no? Me [alzaban?] de la iglesia. Ahora el mismo Tupaj no esta bautizado. La Marina tampoco...'

3780 Me: La iglesia no queria bautizarlos

Feliciano: 'No me queria a mi, no? La gente no falta aveces avisan, un vez un comentario en un reunion, lo avisan. Eso tambien ha mencionado esta mañana, hay una parte de la gente, muy inclinados apegados, no? Que no pierden amistad. Entonces, eso es. Aun sigue continuando. Igual que en la pelicula de Cantinflas, no? [we begin a short discussion about the films of Cantinflas] en una pelicula de Cantinflas, se viste de padre, entonces hace un sermon; habia un hombre silvestre, ... entonces cuantas silvestres perjudican a las plantas productores, asi era, mas o menos menciona. El silvestre estaba presente en la [indistinct]. Despues otro tambien va con suerte, [indistinct] la ofrenda, el mismo; 'pagan, pagan, pagan, pagan paganos' [laughs]. Por que los paganos pagan [laughs]... paganos pagan a la iglesia. Chistoso es. Me gusta.

3790 Me: Rufino me dijo que era parte de un red mas o menos de escuelas apoyados opor la iglesia catolica, pero los otros iglesias eran menos independientes. Ayni Kusun era la unica que ensenaba en lenguas nativos.

Feliciano: 'Si, hemos sido ejemplo tambien. Hemos preparado patra escribir bien Quechua.'

Me: Stanis me ha mostrado los textos.

Feliciano: 'Si, yo era responsable de los textos. Yo he aprendido bien Puedo hacer un libro pero bien. Hemos sido preparados, mediante la universidad. Tenemos un titulo o un certificado. Es mas facil que castellano. Castellano es muy largo. No puedo estar, componer. Facil es Quechua. Tal vez por lo que es mi lengua, no?... Yo he sido traductor en la iglesia evangelica. Himnos a Quechua, todo de castellano a Quechua, estaba de mi nombre. Ahi ha empezado. Stanis a preocupado, me ha capacitado. Asi fue, la lucha no fue solamente peleando, no? [indistinct] tambien, haciendo reuniones. Estrategia era el bachillerato tambien. Por ejemplo cuando habia gente avizada, todos querian ser bachilleres. O sea nosotros del grup, estrategica. Ya haciamos, todos tenian que ser lideres indigenas. Esa es la condicion. A la fuerza tenemos que enseñar liderazgo indigena... esa es la estrategia, no? Aunque no son dispuestos lideres, en el curso ya tienen alguna conciencia, no? Pero nos ha ayudado mucho este, lo que hemos aprendido, dinamica de grupos; de participacion. Eso pues nos han destruido pues, ya no han trabajado con grupos de participacion... Lo que estas viendo en autonomia, no ve? Nosotros hacieamos grupos de, eso sirve para que no quieren que sean informados. En eso la participacion tienen que hacer no mas. Desde ministerio no. Expone, expone para los libros, una palabra recordara. Tal vez has conocido un jovencito expositor que trabajaba en autonomia, lindo habla. La gente admira que es lindo joven, no? [I hadn't met him. By now we had eaten dinner, and it was time for bed].

3800

3810

3820

3830

3840

Interview with Antonio Patty: 6th March 2013

- 3850 Antonio: eso de Socapata, era grave, nos han correteado con dinamito, ellos han pesando que nosotros también nos íbamos a levantar, bien mueren ellos, bien morimos nosotros decían, pero nosotros pijchando nomas, hemos construido casa en Tarjia, tal vez en el Cruce has visto todo esta molido, a su atracito esta todo molido, destruido, ese día querían matarnos.
Pero mientras la instrucción era no llegar al conflicto, solamente con pijcho nos vamos a defender hemos dicho, van a llevar sus cocas, van a pijchar, nosotros no hemos ido, han ido unos 50 ellos eran 200, se han enfrentado, les vamos a arrojar ellos pensaban que los otros también, el otro pijchando coca y el otro amenazando, ahora han salido perdiendo, han dicho que reconocen su erros y estamos volviendo, nos reconciliaremos han dicho. Solo con coca nos hemos defendido, pijchando nomas, los que hemos quedado aquí nove, solo con pijcho, se logra, se logra.
- Jon: Es como un armamento la coca?
- 3860 Antonio: es, por ejemplo, tienes una chuspita nove? Una bolsita donde manejas coca, al sacar por ejemplo primero el día lunes sacas de un lado y pijcheas, el día martes del otro lado has sacado, siempre los días buenos de este lado tienes que sacar, los días martes y viernes de este lado; el mal no te va a afectar, si sacas por este otro lado entonces el mal ya te quiere afectar, por eso no hay que dejar de pijchar.
- Jon: el martes tienes que sacar del lado blanco?
- Antonio: si del lado blanco, machu laduyo (del lado macho) te indica, si sacas un martes o viernes de este lado, ya sé que algo me va a atacar.
- En la vida eso es lo mas primordial, el primer paso, la dirección, la coca te dirige, por ejemplo mi pijcheo, el pijcheo hace doler nove? No cada rato pero te duele es para que pase una desgracia a mi familia, de aquí en una semana va a morir gente digo, justo muere.
- 3870 Jon: si te duele?
- Antonio: si, muere, no hay como cambiar, lo boto (el picheo) gente va a morir digo y justo muere, avisa.
- Jon: conocen en lari lari, me han dicho que ese pájaro también avisa la muerte?
- Antonio: si avisa, sabe ese, por ejemplo si una persona esta halla puede estar un enfermo solito, no sé de cómo sabe se acerca y encima se pone, si tienes capricho mandas y arrojas, ahí mata gente, de pena es. Un día yo bien maligno he salido al monte a matar con escopeta, luego he salido del monte y feo me ha agarrado, de ahí sin disparar como loco me he vuelto, he llegado a mi casa como mudo, de ahí me entrado como un coraje, me he quedado ellas, se han ido al río.
- 3880 Los dos hermanos nos hemos quedado con el Emilio, esta vez tengo que cumplir, he dicho, de oculto he ido y el pájaro hacia un ruido mauuu, mauuu, haaa dice pues, esta vez ya no me va a ver he dicho, de ocultito he ido pues, me he acercado, ya era de noche, justo le he matado, si no hubiera perseguido cada rato, al día siguiente ya no ha venido, al día siguiente tampoco, eso es hace dos año, ahora olor nomas ya viene, feo olor, como si se estuviera pudriendo algo así.
Seguramente porque he matado a este animal, de este lado ya no me persigue, me ve de noche, vos estas buscando, pero ya madrugá, te araña.
- Jon: Porque, para matar?
- Antonio: enemigo siempre es, es como un alma, de costado por eso siempre hay que dormir en la noche; en la tardecito de leejos grita, se acerca, se acerca, y llega, de esta tamaño es, haaaa dice pues. Tigre también sabe venir.
- 3890 Jon: aquí?
- Antonio: si había tigre, como cinco solitos de una comunidad, una familia hemos quedado en el monte lo de Loma Baja, agrrrr decía, de lejos es escuchaba, mas tarde de oía más fuerte, más fuerte, no había ni como ocultarse, wawas éramos tampoco vamos a subir al árbol nove? Cuatro postes de palma, carpita nomas.

Hemos atizado fuego, a ardido grave, algoito se ha apartado, mas allá se ha recorrido, no se ve, a los ancestros hay que pedir que nos protejan a sus nietos, a los que han muerto antes, a ellos, hay que pedir 'aleja de este lugar a este animal, a tu gato' diciendo, se ha alejado, al poco rato relámpago ha sonado, el también (el tigre) debe tener miedo al rayo, justo donde estaba gritando a ese lugar, el tigre chau.

3900

Recién estábamos felices, de ahí hemos intentado escuchar de vuelta donde estará, a lado del Emilio también pues, solitos estaban entre tres, su primer hijo y su esposa más, de vuelta a rezar que no caiga...otro rayo mas, de ahí se ha ido no había arma pues, solamente coca nomas, hay que soltar coca nomas.

Jon: la coca es la defensa?

Antonio: el único, no hay mas

Tercero: si no, una vez hemos ido donde el General, un Gobernador, entones después el ...se ha levantado también con otra gente ya, ese manejaba ya piedra, no hay caso de calmar, decíamos tampoco es posible, dejaremos nomas, peor va a ser, entonces teníamos hoja de coca, hay que desmenuzar la hoja a nombre de qué no pase nada, después se han calmado, la fiesta tranquila esta, ya no se levantan, ya no nos molestan, defensa no?.

3910

Algunos practican y manejan poderes sobre naturales.

Antonio: la coca con fuerza hay que echar al aire

Jon: y si se usa químicos en la coca, eso la hace diferente?

Antonio: si, puede quitar su fuerza, porque nosotros por ejemplo utilizamos para manejar, ya he bajado los cultivos, docitos tengo, no hay como cuidar de los fertilizantes, hasta vos si eres antropólogo puedes leérnoslo coca, tu propio trazo haces y tu propia lectura como la entiendes, eso vale, no siempre los kallawayas por ejemplo tu puedes ser el que lee la coca en tu nación, esa es tu inspiración.

3920

Es como la escritura, lo mismo se escribe la coca. Así está diciendo, así es, es un camino que se hace clarito, a veces con vueltitas se hace, eso es pata mi camino, vas a tener viaje, con seguridad vas a comprar..mm entonces tu propia lectura te haces te sale, por eso algunos dudan de la coca, pero para llega de lo parado la coca, hare o no hare, podre o no podre, de lo costado, así no se cómo se acomoda al momento de leer.

Jon: cada uno da su propia interpretación, su propio significado?

Antonio: si, si

3930

3940

Interview with Antonio Patty: 7th March 2013

Me: 'El watayoq: Hay un watayoq no mas para todo la región? O sea Hay un watayoq para toda la provincia?'

3950 Antonio: 'Uno no más. Su menor y mayor.'

Me: 'Y como se escoge? Quien es lo que hace el sorteo para...'

Antonio: 'Wata Purichej'

Me: 'Pero, si hay varias Wata Purichejs en la region.'

Antonio: 'Casi lo mismo sacan.'

Me: 'Se juntan todos los wata purichejs?'

Antonio: 'No se juntan. Sino [indistinct]. Tampoco no se avisan. Después de Todos Santos hay una fiesta. Casi a nivel provincia. [Indistinct].

Me: 'Si?Cuál es la fiesta después de Todos Santos?'

Antonio: 'Kallay.'

3960 Me: 'Donde es eso?'

Antonio: 'Antonio: 'Ayllus grandes hacen. Nueve, nueve, Chullina no hace. Amarete hace, Chajaya, Kaata, y Ninacorin; Quillabaya hac... Chari también hace... pasando Todos Santos.

He tells me that Qallay marks the beginning of the 'siembra'. Entonces primera tarde van a visitar al este, wata purichiq. Todo el Sindicato va – miembro directorio. Se visitan entonces, 'este año por favor, cumpliremos nuestras funciones, como watapurichiq eres voz, visitar', como costumbre, dice entonces, 'estamos viniendo hacer bolear, hacer akullikuy junto contigo. Estamos pensando para este jueves de una vez hacer Qallay', dice, 'como sindicato hemos tenido reunión, entonces compañero nomas haga nomas su función,' dice, ahí bolean, entonces, ya acepta el wata purichiq. Aquí esta nombrado para todo el año, pero como de costumbre, como tiene que visitar siempre. El wata purichiq no va decir, a yo soy wata purichiq pero aunque venga o no venga tiene que visitar, no – como sindicato tiene que visitar. Para cada año. Entonces ese van, entonces. Entonces... le dejan amarrado estalla, como en este no ve, coca, entonces esta semana déjeme pues, voy a buscar, dice.

3970 Quien va ser ese cabildo dicen, ese quien va ir, ese quien va ir, después como va ser este año. Toda la semana entera van este, sortea, busca todo. Entonces, de vuelta vuelven a preguntar. Entonces, ahí avisa. A veces, este atiri tiene, atiris son pequeños yatiris también, pequeños, más inferiores son. Yo puedo ser. A me me puede caer. Porque su menor del antiguo wata purichiq soy, no ve? Recien no mas, soy, entonces me puede caer. Si puedo estar en Ninacorin. Mi nombre puede poner entonces, 'Antonio puede ser apiri?' Sortean ahí sale, en la coca, 'ahora para donde?' ese puede ir a Tiquiavi dicen, también 'Para Pallani, haber donde Antonio tiene que ir' dicen; me destinan.

3980 El día jueves tengo fiesta nove? Ande el wata puricheq me presento en la fiesta, entonces vos tienes que ir a tal parte me dicen, ahí compran todo el licor, entonces mi parte me dan, si cae en deportes, el Amado el secretario de deportes todo me da, el ceremonial, otros van a Chakamika, Cota Cota, va, están destinados ahí. Cada sindicato manda a su gente a cada Cabildo.

Jona: el sindicato de cada comunidad'

Antonio: si de la comunidad, es General, Relación, Justicia, Deporte, Acta, cada sindicato tenemos un Cabildo y mandan su gente.

Jona: el wata puricheq...

Antonio: está sentado en medio de la cancha nomas, no se mueve nada, solo ordena y recibe nada más.

3990 Jona: el wata puricheq de Amarate y el wata puricheq de aquí están sorteando independientemente no? Y no puede sacar el mismo cerro?

Antonio: tienen sus sectores, sector de Ninacorin va a al cerro de Pirima, de su misma región va, no se mete a otra región; su área tiene, ahí nomas tiene que busca, ahí dice, vienen al cerro de Pirima, ahí les dan, de aquí Tawana es dentro de esta región, los amaretes tienen que ir.

Jona: pero aquí también?

Antonio: Nosotros, si podemos ir.

Jona: me han dicho que Tawana es el watayoq esta año?

4000 Antonio: de aquí nomas, siete veces ocho veces, sigue Tawana, Tawana ya sabemos que Tawana va a caer, entonces hacemos una ceremonia para Tawana hay que pagar, de aquí nomas hay que mandar, de ahí se sabe, ya no vamos hasta ahí siempre, al lugar. Pero cuando puede haber hambre aquí, en ese caso urgente hasta llegar tenemos que ir a Tawana, mientras cuando no hay nada de aquí nomas mandamos.

Arriba lo mismo también hacen, mandan, así es. Estamos enviando por aire.

4010 Autonomía tendría que ser diferente el papel – el estatuto’ he told me. ‘Tiene que ser con palabras diferentes escrito diferente. Ahora es como oficial, es como otros estatutos nomas. Por ejemplo en la posición del Alcalde tiene que ser en un Cabildo, un cabildo, campo ya, ahí tiene que prestar su juramento. Ya no así a base de la ley, sino a base de la cultura ya, prometer a la Pachamama que no va a robar y va a ser bueno, cumplir sus promesas, con una mesa ya, eso tiene que ser culturalmente. Después si la ley sigue hace también, pero primero es aquí el medio cultural, donde hay Cabildos todo, allá puede haber un lugar sagrado nove? Ahí tiene que ir a recibir su juramento, por ejemplo en Kalla Kallani puede recibir su juramento el alcalde, no en Charazani, eso es sede nomas, así tiene que está escrito en las autonomías, el lugar sagrado, junto a sus concejales, su cariño, todo, misa mas, ceremonia, eso es en la nación Kallawayá.

Jona: se puede, pero no creo que dice como tienen que hacer el juramento. Tal vez pueden hacerlo así.

Antonio: nosotros así queremos plantear como trópico, así va a ser nuestro planteamiento, tenemos borrador, eso vamos a presentar.

Jona: y Emilio ha presentado el borrador?

4020 Antonio: creo que recién está haciendo, con la Federación, primero vamos a llevar a un Congreso nuestras propuestas.

Jona: tal vez es por eso que quiere que saque fotos.

Antonio: cada comunidad vamos a llevar nuestras propuestas a un Congreso, ahí vamos a llevar, como tiene que ser, el Congreso aprueba, de ahí a la nacional, a la Confederación y así llega en borrador para plantear al Concejo Deliberante. Al estatuyente, así estamos pensando, por eso hemos hecho parar, nosotros únicos hemos reclamado, sino ya hubiesen aprobado.

Jona: ya estaba aprobado en grande en junio...

Antonio: si ya estaba, ya tiene su promulgación nove?

Jona: si, no ha seguido adelante desde junio? Pero me parece que la Única no está haciendo nada.

4030 Antonio: si, después en la coca, hemos hablado con mas estos de parte altura, valle y los yungas, entonces aquí produce coca, estos no producen coca, entonces el hermano tenía que mandar la coca al sindicato, vamos a pedir.

Jona: debería centralizarse la coca dentro del municipio?

Antonio: ha, por ejemplo ahorita no tiene organización nove? Es un sindicato y pijchean también, el sindicato de yungas este tanto por lo menos tiene que mandar, el cariño de nosotros, si soy de Niño Corin ahí tengo que mandar, si soy de Amarete, a Amarete tengo que mandar, cada región.

Jona: y puede ser lo mismo al revés, con carne de alpaca o algo así.

4040 Antonio: a si, si, entonces ya ellos sobre eso ya van a pensar ‘no quedaremos así nomas’ entonces ya van a mandar algo también a ellos, así estamos pensando, esa tiene que ser la autonomía y tener una Feria anual donde será declarada patrimonio intangible Kalla Kallani, feria artesanal y cultural.

Nosotros podemos subir con coca, con maderas, herramientas de trabajo, todo lo que es trueque, una fiesta siempre, con su banda, una vez al año. Esa es nuestra idea.

Jona: pero no es así ya? En la fiesta de Kalla Kallani?

Antonio: en septiembre nove? Aparte queremos hacer nosotros, una fiesta en lo que se ha declarado la fecha 7 de noviembre, UNESCO nos ha declarado esa fecha, entonces los yatiris a nivel mundo han

llegado a Kalla Kallani, todos los rituales han llegado a nivel mundial, esos habían dejado aporte dos piedras, cada abuelo había dejado dos piedras, cada nación digamos.

Jona: que han llevado dos piedras de su lugar de origen?

4050 Antonio: del mismo lugar habían recogido y han aportado en un montón, entonces eso quiere decir que es un símbolo, entonces cada líder de su nación una ideología ha dejado, dos aportes. Entonces no es cualquier cosa, no es un juguete, de eso nadie no se pronuncia y es un aporte a nivel mundial, entonces hay que valorarlo, algunas de esas piedras se están cayendo ya.

Hay que devuelta amontonar como figura y declarar un Cabildo a nivel mundial, así nomas más o menos no? Un aporte a nivel mundial será, que será, o un pensamiento mundial, algo por ahí no? Eso estoy pensando, porque es un aporte, te voy a mostrar.

Jona: creo que he visto el montón de piedras pero no me di cuenta el significado.

4060 Antonio: eso había sido aporte de los abuelos, latinoamericanos y del mundo, eso tiene que estar plasmado en este estatuto. Tampoco no han colocado eso, de manera sencilla esta el estatuto, como cualquier otro estatuto, no como nación Kallawayá.

Jona: bueno, creo que lo han escrito así para que no haya ninguna dificultad de que lo rechacen la legislativa nacional cuando llegue a los jueces en Sucre.

Antonio: van a validar y se va aprobar con menos ropa.

Jona: pero el estatuto tiene que ser un poco abierto a interpretación, no puede ser demasiado exacto.

Antonio: si, pero familiarizado tiene que ser a nosotros

4070 Jona: después pueden decidir cómo aplicar el estatuto y meter otras cosas, como Amarate quiere cambiar la sede del municipio y yo creo que es posible que pueden, pero los abogados del ministerio dicen que no pueden y yo creo que es probable que están siendo muy cuidadosos nomas, yo creo que van a rechazar el nombre también que han puesta de Iskani Kalla Kallani, por cuidar, porque no están cambiando el municipio, es el municipio de Charazani siempre, entonces tal vez van a decir que tiene que quedar el nombre de Charazani pero probablemente será por cuidado nomas, yo creo que se puede hacer.

Pero yo no veo cual es el problema con Charazani, porque Charazani es un pueblo antiguo, el nombre no es castellano, el nombre supongo que es quechua o aimara.

Antonio: sara sani de dice

Jona: como pierna abiertas...

Antonio: algunos dicen, otros dicen de maíz viene, sara, por el maíz. Chara es el aimara, pero de sara siempre viene, sartani.

Jona: sara es el maíz o el insecto?

4080 Antonio: maíz, maíz

Jona: creo que hay un insecto que se llama sara

Antonio: sari. Ese no era decir, el nombre esta prestado, mi primo del frente es Charazani, se queda Charazani pero como capital, después los superiores están más arriba. Ahora Charazani ya tiene su Pucara, capital se llama en quechua Pucara.

Jona: Charazani es pucara

Antonio: tiene que ser así mas o menos, pucara es superior que capital, su inferior es capital, en Tiwanaku siempre esta. Donde hay pucara las casas son redondas.

Jona: pero yo no he visto casas así por esta región

4090 Antonio: no siempre, son cuadrados pequeños como esto nomas, tres por tres, así nomas

Interview with Aurelio Ortiz: 16th March 2013

- 4100 Aurelio Ortiz: Estos caballeros ¿por qué tienen que preocuparse de la plata nomas? ¿de buscar ONGs, del financiamiento, que tengamos plata? que tenemos que... yo entiendo de que la plata es necesario ¿no? pero no tenemos que considerar como felicidad de la familia, de la persona, del pueblo, la plata tiene que ser complementaria nomas, la verdadera felicidad tenemos que encontrar en nuestras almas, en nuestro corazón, en nuestro interior. Y entonces, estos señores son los que se han sifilizado ¿ya? entonces, están correteando buscando ONGs, buscar plata, fregando al gobierno y...
- Jonathan: ¿Hay consejo de kuraq warayoqs todavía?
- Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Claro! esa es la federación, este consejo de la provincia está dividido en 3: uno es, la gente del trópico que tiene otro federación y este es CONAMAC, y este es la UNICA
- 4110 Jonathan: Ah, ¿y no se puede...? ¿no se funcionan en conjunto?
- Aurelio Ortiz: Es que Jonathan, este, los que producen coca, su vida es coca, entonces buscan desarrollo para la coca, este de la UNICA que son más de la tierra, quieren defender sus casas, sus tierras, nada más, y estos del CONAMAC siempre trata de buscar ONGs para fortalecer su organización, diciendo de que nosotros somos los antiguos ayllus, originarios que somos, eh, legítimos, entonces, todo eso, esto está mal, esto hay que curar ¡esto está mal!
- Jonathan: Antes se llamaba...
- Aurelio Ortiz: Uno, uno solo organización, antes del 52 era ayllu
- Jonathan: Y se llamaba consejo de Kuraq wuarayoqs
- Aurelio Ortiz: Claro, el CONAMAC quiere fortalecer eso ¿no? a ayllus originarios ¿no? quiere hacer perder a la UNICA pero no tiene pensamientos sanos el CONAMAC ¿no? entonces, no debería haber dividido, debería estar toditos con la UNICA y cambiar todos ¿no? todos a nación Kallawaya al consejo Ayllus Originarios de la nación Kallawaya, borrar el CONAMAC, borrar la UNICA, borrar el organización Trópicos, hay que formar n consejo de autoridades de la nación Kallawaya
- Jonathan: Si, bueno hay...
- Aurelio Ortiz: Si eso, en eso hay que trabajar
- Jonathan: Algo a favor del Rufino, es que él quiere eso
- Aurelio Ortiz: Eso, entonces a eso hay que dar, y también lo más importante en eso dejar estas ONGs, dejar estos intereses de la coca para comercializar y entonces también dejar esto a un lado, fortalecer el consejo, la espiritualidad tiene que funcionar y así el pueblo va a estar bien, los autoridades y aquí los wata purichej tienen que buscar el watyuq y no estar aquí juzgando así, empujándose y el CONAMAC es más... son los más sabios dirigentes, que la UNICA sabe más que los cocaleros tienen más plata ¡no, no, no! esa es una enfermedad, una enfermedad terrible que actualmente vive la región en la parte orgánica.
- Jonathan: ¿Y cuando era la última vez que se reunió el consejo de kuraq warayoqs?
- Aurelio Ortiz: El consejo de kuraq warayoqs cuando estaba unido con el nombre de Federación Quechuas, Aymaras de la provincia Bautista Saavedra, eso cuando... cuando yo era autoridad en el año 2000 estaba unido todavía
- Jonathan: Pero los cocaleros ya habían salido
- Aurelio Ortiz: Ya había salido, entonces pero ellos salieron con un solicitud, diciendo: 'Jonathan, permiso voy a ir a orinar', entonces los cocaleros han sido más respetuosos a la UNICA ¿no? 'nosotros vivimos lejos y allá abajo no hay papa, no hay oca, entonces nosotros queremos una federación, y además es lejos.
- Jonathan: Y tenían sus propios intereses para buscar
- Aurelio Ortiz: Exacto, entonces eso por lo menos han pedido permiso, pero estos de la UNICA, o sea, estos del CONAMAC, no pidieron permiso, de pronto aparecieron con su capricho, eso un poco se equivocó el Rufino ¿no? formaron CONAMAC con Fortunato con Rufino, eso no le gusto a la gente de la UNICA ¿no? por lo menos deberían haber pedido permiso como los del trópico ¿no? hubieran dicho: 'mira hermanos, no nos conviene la UNICA porque ese es sindicalismo, nada tiene que ver con

- 4150 nosotros' estamos conscientes pero no aparecer si de golpe ¿no? y eso no le gusto a la UNICA, y por eso ahora están tres fraccionados en la región y cuando están fraccionados, este consejo no, de repente este CONAMAC tiene otro watayuq, la UNICA tiene otro watayuq y los cocaleros tienen otro watayuq, estamos mal.
Jonathan: ¿esto es el...?
Aurelio Ortiz: (Ríe a carcajadas)
Jonathan: ¿Este es el chawpi watayuq ah...?
Aurelio Ortiz: Janaj watayuq
Jonathan: Janaj watayuq, el
Aurelio Ortiz: Uru watayuq
Jonathan: Uru watayuq ¿pero tiene que haber uno nomas para toda la región?
- 4160 Aurelio Ortiz: Uno nomas para la región ¡claro, claro! Entonces, reitero esto es lo que hay que curar, a estos caballeros que dirigen: los cocaleros, la UNICA, el CONAMAC, a estos caballeros, hay que hacer una ceremonia como hicimos anoche, hay que decirle al Rufino que traiga sullu de arriba, como tiene llamas, fetos de llama
Jonathan: ¿Traiga fetos de llamas? Ah, no tiene llamas, alpacas nomas, creo.
Aurelio Ortiz: Y que... y que al Antonio que traiga coca ¿no? y podemos hacer una ceremonia bien, y fortalecer así, y quizás podamos recuperar un poco nuestra economía, y esto es lo primero, ahorita las cosas esta así, este es, los autoridades políticos con pensamientos malos, aquí el pueblo y la espiritualidad está casi perdido, ¡casi perdido! estos cabaleros no se recuerdan de la espiritualidad, quieren tener más más plata, quieren llevar chompas de alpaca, pantalones de alpaca, estos chalinas de alpaca a Japón.
- 4170 Jonathan: ¿Esto es alpaca?
Aurelio Ortiz: ¡Claro! es de mi abuelito.
Jonathan: Ah sí.
Aurelio Ortiz: Quieren llevar a Japón, y ellos quieren vestirse de nylon plástico y terminar enfermos y con pocos años de vida ¡qué pena! ¿no? actualmente es eso, estos se han creído los más capos, deben un poco la espiritualidad se ha perdido y manejan al pueblo dividiendo, esto es CONAMAC, esto es UNICA, esto es cocaleros, estos se han creído unos reyes ¿no? ellos saben todo se han olvidado la espiritualidad, entonces así, ¿qué autonomía vamos a ser? ¿qué autonomía vamos a hacer? entonces, hay que recuperar eso, primero la espiritualidad, primero los wata de fiesta, hay que cambiar, estos caballero están enfermo, esos líderes de CONAMAC están enfermos, estos líderes de UNICA esta enfermo, estos cocaleros también están enfermos y el pueblo está peleando, hay odio, hay miseria, hay pobreza, hay envidia ¿no? porque esto no está funcionando. Bueno Jonathan, espero haber aclaradote
- 4180 Jonathan: Eso mucho...

Appendix 2

List of acronyms

AIOC	Autonomía Indígena Originario Campesino (Indigenous Originary Peasant Autonomy)
CEE	Comisión Episcopal de Educación (Episcopal Education Commission)
CETHA	Comunidades Educativas Técnico Humanístico Agropecuarias (Technical, Humanistic, Agropecuarian Educational Communities)
CIAB	Comite Impulsor de Ayllus de Bolivia (Committee for the Promotion of the Ayllus of Bolivia)
CIDOB	Confederación Indígena del Oriente Boliviano (Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian Orient)
CNTCB	Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (National Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia)
CONAMAQ	Consejo de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (Council of ayllus and markas of Qullasuyu)
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (United Syndical Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia)
CSUTCB-BS	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de la provincia Bautista Saavedra (United Syndical Confederation of the Peasant Workers of Bautista Saavedra - often referred to as “la Única”)
DMI	Distrito Municipal Indígena (Indigenous Municipal District)
EIB	Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Bilingual Intercultural Education)
FDTCLP-TK	Federación Departamental de Trabajadores Campesinos de La Paz-Tupak Katari (Departmental Federation of Peasant Workers of La Paz-Tupak Katari)

FERIA	Facilitadores de Educación Rural Integral de Adultos (Facilitators of Rural Integral Education for Adults)
FOYCAE	Federación Originario Yungas Carijana Agroecológico (Agro-Ecological Originary Federation of Yungas Carijana)
LPP	Ley de Participación Popular (law 1551) (the Law of Popular Participation)
MAS	Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement Towards Socialism)
MIR	Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Left Revolutionary Movement)
MITKA	Movimiento Indio Tupak Katari (Tupak Katari Indian Movement)
MNR	Movimiento Nacionalista Reovlucionario (Nationalist Revolutionary Movement)
MRTK	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupak Katari (Tupak Katari Revolutionary Movement)
OTB	Organización Territorial de Base (Grassroots Territorial Organization)
SOBOMETRA	Sociedad Boliviana de Medicina Tradicional (Bolivian Society of Traditional Medicine)
TCP	Tribunal Constitucional Plurinacional (Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal).
TEV	Taller Educativo del Valle (Valley Education Workshop)
THOA	Taller de Historia Oral Andina (Andean Oral History Workshop)
TIPNIS	Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro Sécore (Isiboro Sécore Indigenous Territory and National Park)

Glossary

Abuelo	Spanish. Grandfather.
Achachilas	Aymara. Achachila can mean grandfather and ancestor. Achachila is usually used to refer to ancestral members of the ayllu who are remembered through ritual practices. Although achachila is an Aymara word it is used by Quechua-speaking Kallawayas interchangeably with machula to refer to local ancestor spirits.
Adivino	Spanish. Fortune-teller. The ayllu of Kaata is particularly noted as an ayllu of adivinos.
Agregado	Spanish. Someone who has not inherited land in an ayllu, but is permitted to reside there by passing through authority positions.
Ajayu	Quechua. Soul (alma in Spanish).
Aka pacha	Aymara. This world. Earth. The terrestrial world.
Aksu	Quechua. Traditional homespun dress worn by Kallawaya women.
Akulliku	Quechua. Literally the time of coca chewing of our people. Refers to the National coca-shewing day created to mark the Bolivian government's campaign to legalise coca use internationally.
Alajj pacha	Aymara. The upper world. Heaven.
Alcalde	Spanish. Mayor. The alcalde governs the municipality. For example, the municipality of J.J.Perez (Charazani)
Alcaldia	Spanish. Municipal government.
Ankari	Wind messenger of the achachilas/machulas.
Athun ayllu	Quechua. Greater ayllu
Awki	Quechua. See chullpas.
Awki-Awki	Aymara. Dance performed in Charazani on the 3 rd of May in which people dress up in Spanish, colonial-era clothes and wear masks. They shuffle back and forwards around the

	plaza accompanied by music and eventually fall down. Lukyx (1999:276) suggests this dance is a “social commentary on colonialism”.
Ayllu	Aymara/Quechua. The traditional socio-territorial unit in the Andes. Membership of an ayllu is usually defined by kinship and land use.
Ayni	Quechua. Reciprocal exchange, usually involving exchange of labour.
Cabildo	Spanish. Town council
Cabildo abierto	Spanish. Public meeting
Capachu	From Spanish capacho. Shoulder bag traditionally used by Kallawayas for carrying medicines.
Cariño	Spanish. Kindness, tenderness, or a gift outside of normal ayni relations.
Chakana	Quechua. Southern cross.
Chakra	Spanish. Cultivable land.
Chawpi	Quechua. Middle point or intermediate zone. See taypi.
Chirimoya	Spanish (from Quechua Chirimuya). A sweet tropical fruit. In the Kallawaya region chirimoyas were grown particularly in the area of Camata and Carijana.
Chullpas	Quechua. Pre-colonial ancestors and preserved mummies.
Chuncho	Aymara/Quechua. Inhabitants of the lowlands.
Chuño	Aymara/Quechua. Freeze-dried potatoes.
Ch’alla	Aymara/Quechua. Offering to the pachamama, usually made by spilling an alcoholic drink on the ground.
Colla	Spanish (Aymara, Qulla), name for the inhabitants of the Inca province of Qullasuyu.
Colono	Spanish. An Indian who lives and works on a hacienda. Many colonos were originally from other parts of the Andes and took refuge on

	haciendas as an escape from the mit'a labour draft.
Compadrazgo	Spanish. Relationship of being compadres.
Compadre	Spanish. Co-parent. Usually a godparent to one's child or vice-versa.
Concejal	Spanish. Councillor.
Corregimiento	Spanish. Administrative area created by the Spanish. The Kallawaya region was part of the colonial corregimiento of Larecaja.
Creollo	Spanish. Someone considered White, of Spanish descent, born in Latin America.
Cuarto Intermedio	Spanish. A break in proceedings. A cuarto intermedio could last for an hour in the middle of a meeting – translating more or less as recess, or in the case of the autonomy meetings could also last for several months because of the lack of agreement necessary to schedule the next meeting, translating more or less as a hiatus.
Curandero	Spanish. Healer.
Facilitador	Spanish. An educational facilitator in Ayni Kusun. A teacher, but one who aims to raise their students' consciousness of their social situation.
Guagua (also wawa)	Aymara/Quechua. Baby.
Guardatojo	Miner's helmet.
Hacendado	Spanish. Owner of a hacienda.
Hacienda	Spanish. Landed estate of significant size.
Istalla	Quechua. Piece of woven cloth, used for carrying coca, and on which coca is read and offerings made to the achachilas
Janaqpacha	Quechua. Heaven, literally upper world.
Jaqi	Aymara. See runa.
Jilacata	Quechua. Traditional ayllu authorities.
Kantus	Quechua. Music typical of Kallawaya communities.

Kawiltu	Quechua. Place in the patio of a house where offerings are made to the achachilas.
Kay pacha	Quechua. Literally this world. The terrestrial world or Earth.
Kuraka	Quechua. Principal governor in a province of Tawantinsuyu.
Kurakazgo	Quechua. Ncaic province.
Kuraq Mallku	Aymara/Quechua. The authority over various athun ayllus/markas.
Ligia	Quechua. 1. A part of a baptismal ritual involving placing clothing, such as a jumper, on a godchild, to represent their wings. 2. Condensed plant ashes chewed with coca.
Limpieza	Spanish. Cleansing, often meant as a spiritual cleansing.
Lluch'u	Quechua. A knitted hat. Also chulo.
Lote	Spanish. Plot of land.
Lugarniyuq	Quechua. Owner of the sacred places.
Macha-Jujay	The name of the Kallawaya language. Macha-Jujay is only used by Kallawaya ritualists and healers are come from a line of Macha-Jujay speakers.
Machula	Quechua. See achachila.
Mallku	In Quechua-speaking communities (e.g. Amarete), a mallku is the authority over an athun ayllu. In Aymara-speaking communities, the mallku is the authority over a marka (i.e. in the municipality of Charazani, the marka Suni).
Manqha pacha	Aymara. Literally the lower world. Hell.
Marani	Aymara. See watayuq
Marka	Aymara. A collection of ayllus.
Mesa	Aymara/Quechua. From Spanish misa or in English mass. A ritual offering of food for the gods.
Mesa blanca	A ritual of healing and protection addressing a person's general well-being.

Mestizaje	Spanish. Ideology of racial and/or cultural mixing.
Mestizo	Spanish. See misti.
Misti	Short for mestizo. Literally mixed-race, but more generally used to describe a non-indigenous person. Distinguished from runa as someone who does not engage in ayllu practices.
Mit'a	The colonial labour draft for the Potosí mines.
Mitimae	Quechua. Populations transferred from one region to another, often transferred because of their rebelliousness and/or to quell another population's rebelliousness.
Originario	Spanish. An ayllu status pertaining to someone who has inherited land through ancestors in the ayllu and who can trace their land tenancy to the revisita of the 1880s.
Padrinazgo	Spanish. Relationship of godparenthood.
Padrino	Spanish. Godparent.
Pacha	Quechua. World, time or space.
Pachakuti	Quechua. Revolution in time and space.
Paqu	The highest Kallawaya spiritual authority.
Paskakuy	Quechua. Literally meaning to pardon someone of their sins, as a baptismal ritual it involves placing a cross on a child's neck and removing it three times over a period of three weeks.
Patrón	Spanish. Boss or landowner. Charazani was referred to by some informants as the town of the "patrones" because this is where many of the landowners lived.
Pikchear	Quechua. To chew coca. From the verb pikchuy.
Pollera	Spanish. Large one-piece skirt.
Promotor	Spanish. A promotor of Ayni Kusun's educational programmes in Kallawaya communities.
Puquina	Language thought to have been spoken in the Kallawaya region prior to Inca colonization,

	and which contributes the lexicon to the present-day Kallawayaya language Macha-Jujay (Saignes 1985:193).
Qolla	Aymara. Medicine.
Q'ara	Aymara/Quechua. Literally meaning peeled. Refers to White people or runa culturally assimilated to Hispanic society.
Quejo	Lightning
Reducción	Spanish. Urban, administrative centres created after the Toledan census of 1575 to which Andean people were forcibly relocated.
Repartimiento	Spanish. Administrative territorial unit through which forced labour was extracted under Spanish colonial rule in America
Residente	Spanish. Someone originally from a (usually rural) town or community, and who retains a house and land there, but who lives elsewhere (usually in the city), generally returning to their town or community only for festivals.
Revisita	Spanish. Colonial census of the Indian population.
Runa	Quechua. Person or human being. Often used to denote a member of an ayllu, in distinction to a misti.
Rutucha	Quechua. First hair-cutting. This Andean baptism ritual creates ties of godparenthood and compadrazgo.
Sabio	Spanish. Wise man.
Sacerdote-medico	Spanish. Religious or spiritual healer.
Sahumerio	Spanish. Incense-burner.
Saxra	Aymara. Malignant spirits.
Sede	Spanish. Seat of government. In Charazani used to refer to the seat of the locations of the municipal government also known as the alcaaldia.
Subalcalde	Spanish. Deputy mayor. Each district of the municipality has a subalcalde appointed by the alcalde. However, in Charazani the

	exception was Amarete, which as a DMI (Distrito Municipal Indígena) was allowed to elect its own subalcalde.
Sullk'a ayllu	Quechua. Small ayllu.
Susto	Spanish (in Quechua, mancharisqa). The term for losing one's soul through fright.
Suni	Aymara. Highlands. Above 4,000 metres.
Tantachawi	Aymara. Assembly
Tawa	Quechua. Number four.
Tawantinsuyu	Quechua. Inca Empire of four quarters.
Taypi	Aymara. Middle point or intermediate zone. See chawpi.
Thakhi	Aymara. Literally a path, usually used to refer to a path of obligatory authority positions through which one must path in one's ayllu.
Trópico	Area in the Kallawaya region below about 2,800 metres on altitude.
Trueque	Spanish. Bartering
Tupus	Quechua. Silver pins worn by Kallawaya women on the breasts of their aksu.
Ukhu pacha	Quechua. The underworld, or interior world.
Unku	Quechua. Woven jacket.
Waqta	Quechua. Ritual offering
Watapurichiq	Quechua. Literally the one who makes the year walk. The watapurichiq is the collective ritualist of a community or communities. He organises the agricultural rites for his ayllu, making the year walk by performing the rites at the appropriate time. He also discerns in the coca leaves which watuyuq has been chosen by the achachilas.
Watayuq	Quechua. Literally the owner of the year. The mountain that is particularly venerated in a certain year by an ayllu or group of ayllus.
Whipala	Andean flag
Wincha	Quechua. Headband worn by women in the Kallawaya region. The use of winchas is particularly common in the ayllus of Kaata and

	Amarete. In Amarete, the fashion is for young women to wear winchas weighed down by many colourful plastic beads.
Vecino	Spanish. Literally neighbour, but usually used to describe a townspeople. Kallawaya informants tended to use vecino and misti interchangeably to describe people who lived in the town of Charazani and were not from ayllus.
Yachaq	Quechua. Literally "one who knows". A wise-man or shaman.
Zampoña	Spanish. An Andean wind instrument composed of various-length tubes.
Yatiri	Aymara. Wise-man.

Chronology of the Autonomy Process

1908	Traditional Medicine penalised by Director General of Public Health
April 1952	Bolivian National Revolution
3 rd August 1953	Agrarian Reform enacted
1955	Education Reform
1978	FDTCLP-TK created
1979	CSUTCB formed
1979	Kallawaya Walter Alvarez appointed first secretary of health in the CSUTCB
1984	Bolivian Society for Traditional Medicine created
1985	Foundation of "Ayni Kusun"
1987	Bolivian Institute for Kallawaya Medicine created and Bautista Saavedra declared capital of Traditional Medicine
1990	March for Territory and Dignity from lowlands to La Paz
1990	"Ayni Kusun" creates highland subcentrals in Amarqha and Qotapampa
1991	"Ayni Kusun" school joins CETHA network
1992	"Ayni Kusun" recognised by National Director of Adult and Non-Formal Education
1992	Commemoration of 500 years of indigenous resistance
17 th August 1995	Charazani: cabildo abierto. Alcalde suspended for misuse of funds
December 1995	Alipio Cuila elected as first indigenous alcalde of Charazani
1994	Constitution recognises Bolivia as "multi-ethnic and pluricultural"
20 th April 1994	LPP passed
22 nd March 1997	First Tantachawi of CONAMAQ
27 th April 1997	Marka Suni reconstituted
Late 1990s	64 communities in the province of Bautista Saavedra reconstituted as ayllus
2002	March for Popular Sovereignty, Territory and Natural Resources from lowlands to La Paz
8 th November 2003	Andean Cosmovision of Kallawaya Culture declared Oral Patrimony of Humanity
2004	Unity Pact formed between CIDOB, CSUTCB and CONAMAQ
7 th July 1994	Education Reform Law passed.

December 2005	Election of Evo Morales as President
6 th March 2006	Law 3364 convoking the Constituent Assembly passed
7 th February 2009	Bolivian constitution approved, recognising Bolivia as a “Plurinational State”
March 2009	Ministry of Culture recognises Bautista Saavedra as the Nación Kallawaya
4 th December 2010	Election of Martín Canaza (MAS party) as alcalde
4 th August 2011	Formation of Autonomy Assembly (assembly members sworn in)
January 2012	Writing of first draft of the autonomy statute
February 2012	Collation of first draft of autonomy statute in community of Chajaya
29 th February 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Sotopata (FOYCAE)
1 st March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Carijana (FOYCAE)
2 nd March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Chullina (CSUTCB) (cancelled)
3 rd March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Caata (CONAMAQ)
4 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Chari (CSUTCB) (cancelled)
5 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Chajaya (CSUTCB) (aborted)
6 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Inca Roca (CSUTCB) (aborted)
7 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Amarete (CONAMAQ)
8 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Moya Pampa (CONAMAQ)
9 th March 2012	Community autonomy meeting in Qotapampa (CONAMAQ)
6 th April 2012	Charazani: meeting of <i>residentes</i> and townspeople to discuss the autonomy project
22 nd April 2012	Charazani: meeting of local branch of the “Única” to reject the autonomy project
28 th April 2012	Charazani: further meeting of the “Única” to reject the autonomy project
17 th -18 th May	Carijana: finalization of second draft of the autonomy statute
5 th June 2012	Amarqha: Approval “en grande” of the autonomy statute
2014	Charazani’s statute read by the TCP in Sucre and returned for revisions
April 2015	Fortunato Calamani (Unidad Nacional party) elected alcalde

UTREC form



University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

29 October 2015
Jonathan Alderman
Department of Social Anthropology

Dear Jonathan

Thank you for submitting your ethical application which was considered at the Social Anthropology Ethics Committee meeting on 21/10/2011 when the following document was reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form

The Social Anthropology Ethics Committee has been delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has granted this application ethical approval. The particulars relating to the approved project are as follows -

Approval Code:	SA8058	Approved on:	21/10/2011	Approval Expiry:	21/10/2014
Project Title:	History and Memory in the context of Recent Political Reforms in Bolivia				
Researcher(s):	Jonathan Alderman				
Supervisor(s):	Dr Mark Harris				

Approval is awarded for three years. Projects which have not commenced within two years of approval must be re-submitted for review by your School Ethics Committee. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year approval period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

If you make any changes to the project outlined in your approved ethical application form, you should inform your supervisor and seek advice on the ethical implications of those changes from the School Ethics Convener who may advise you to complete and submit an ethical amendment form for review.

Any adverse incident which occurs during the course of conducting your research must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee who will advise you on the appropriate action to be taken.

Approval is given on the understanding that you conduct your research as outlined in your application and in compliance with UTREC Guidelines and Policies (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/>). You are also advised to ensure that you procure and handle your research data within the provisions of the Data Provision Act 1998 and in accordance with any conditions of funding incumbent upon you.

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc Supervisor

Social Anthropology Ethics Committee

Department of Social Anthropology, University of St Andrews, 71 North Street, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9AL,
Tel: (01334) 462977 Email: socanthadmin@st-andrews.ac.uk