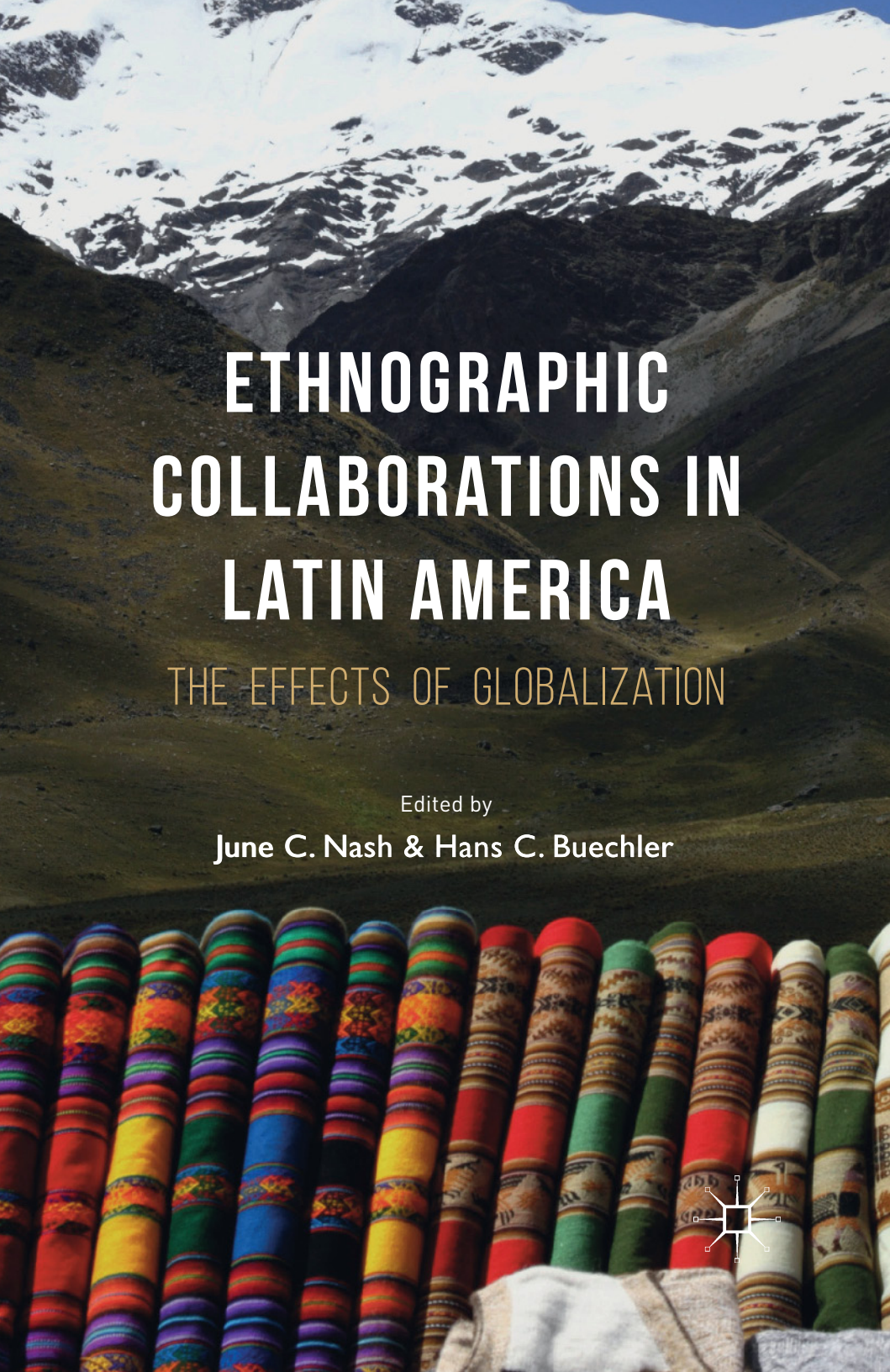
ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLABORATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA
THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION
Edited by
June C. Nash & Hans C. Buechler

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## The Effects of Globalization

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*June C. Nash and Hans C. Buechler*

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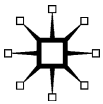



First published 2016 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN



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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of Nature America, Inc., One New York Plaza, Suite 4500, New York, NY 10004-1562.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN: 978-1-137-52122-4
E-PDF ISBN: 978-1-137-52123-1
DOI: 10.1057/9781137521231

Distribution in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world is by Palgrave Macmillan®, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Buechler, Hans C., editor. | Nash, June C., 1927– editor.
Title: Ethnographic collaborations in Latin America : the effects of globalization / edited by Hans C. Buechler and June C. Nash.
Description: New York, NY : Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2015034898
Subjects: LCSH: Ethnology—Fieldwork—Latin America. | Ethnology—Methodology. | BISAC: SOCIAL SCIENCE / Sociology / General. | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Anthropology / Cultural. | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Research. | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Sociology / Rural. | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Regional Studies.
Classification: LCC GN346 .E674 2016 | DDC 305.8/00723—dc23 LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015034898

A catalogue record for the book is available from the British Library.

*The contributions to this book are inspired by our desire to memorialize the work of Judith-Maria Buechler with a session held at the American Ethnological Society in New York City in April 2012. The studies she carried out with Hans Buechler in Bolivia, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany over more than four decades from the 1960s until her death in December 2011 exemplify a dialogical approach in fieldwork that engages consultants from all walks of life and anthropologists in an exchange in which interpretative as well as responsive contributions are recognized and accredited. The death of one of our contributors and close friend, Helen Safa, in the course of preparing this manuscript for publication gives this commentary a particularly poignant insight. Kin, friendship, and occupational ties, but also more general positionalities influence the way we consider our mission as does the nature of cross-cultural collaborations.*

**Image 0.1** Collaborations: Judith-Maria writing her dissertation with one of her twins

# Contents

# Prologue: A Personal Tribute to Judith-Maria

*G. Alexander Moore*

I quite vividly recall a moment early in the 1960s when, riding in a New York City taxicab[1] as a graduate student with Margaret Mead, she remarked that Judith-Maria combined the scholarly drive of German professional culture with the Chinese Mandarin reverence for scholarship. This remark gets to the heart of an initial—and formative—global dislocation in Judith-Maria's background: she was born in Shanghai to a German Jewish physician and elected politician who had fled Germany the day after Adolf Hitler took power, and his Prussian wife of Protestant gentry origin. She and I shared ties to Shanghai, and that coincidence gave us our initial bond when we met as fellow graduate students of anthropology at Columbia University. My birth was scheduled for Shanghai, about the same time as hers. But the Japanese invaded, and my mother, a US Navy wife, fled to Manila, where I was born in October 1937. Six months later, Mother returned to Shanghai. The city was under Japanese occupation, but not the International Settlement, where we resided. Our families never crossed paths, but the two of us shared a pampered infancy in that Settlement. My family left around 1940. My parents were from Lexington, Virginia, and had I been born there I would have been a tenth-generation Scots-Irish Presbyterian on my father's side, from a deeply rooted line of well-educated farmers, lawyers, and physicians. Instead, I too had a globally dislocated place of origin.

Let me expound a bit about being a Western infant in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s. In my case, I was simply one of many children born in Asia to US Naval personnel over the many decades of the Yangtze Patrol, an antipiracy operation started in 1854, dissolved in

1941, and reinstituted briefly in 1945. My mother's flight to Manila was echoed in 1941 by most ships of the small fleet itself: they left Chinese waters headed for Manila, where the commanding admiral dissolved the long-lasting operation on December 5. Most of the warships were scuttled before Japanese forces reached the Philippines, but some were captured and recommissioned as Japanese. (Some few of these ships were former Spanish ships captured in 1898 and recommissioned in the US Navy.)

Judith-Maria's father, Dr. Wolfgang Hess, reached Shanghai in 1932, well before the much larger Jewish refugee flow of 1937. That gave him time to establish a distinguished private medical practice in the International Settlement, and to provide well for himself and his wife when she joined him. Hilde Hess once told me that the German consul visited her several times to urge her—a Protestant from an aristocratic family—to leave her Jewish husband and return to Germany. She "threw him out of the house!" However, Judith-Maria's hyphenated name was intended to recognize both religious sides of her heritage, commemorating as it does equally Old Testament and New Testament figures. All of her life, Judith-Maria insisted on using both names together. She was, however, received into the Episcopalian Church when she and her family moved to New York.

For my part, war was raging around us at the time of my birth. As my mother was fleeing Shanghai on a hot August day (I was to be born in early October), bombs fell on the dock. She grabbed my older sister's hand and began to run toward her ship and its gangplank. My sister recalled that a heel from one of her high-heeled shoes came off and that she completed her dash to safety heel in hand. The bombardment was actually from Chinese Nationalist planes aiming at Japanese outside the International Settlement and falling quite wide of their mark. When my mother returned some months later, war still raged in China, but the immediate area was under Japanese occupation. My father had taken photographs of the Japanese victory parade in Shanghai. My amah—nursemaid—took leave for some days to go with a female relative to cross enemy lines and search for the body of her husband, who had been killed in battle, and to bring it home for burial. She did so, and earned my mother's everlasting admiration and respect. I grew up hearing how remarkable she was.

My family would almost certainly have left Shanghai well before December 1941, even were my father still serving on a Yangtze gunboat. If that were not the case, we would have been interned in most unpleasant conditions in a camp for enemy aliens. Not so for the Hess

family. They remained untouched by the Japanese, who rejected Nazi demands to repatriate German nationals in Shanghai to Germany. (They did, however, stop further Jewish refugee emigration to Shanghai and forced the more recent Jewish refugees to live in a ghetto.)

Judith-Maria was raised in an educated and sophisticated German household. After Shanghai was liberated, she went to British schools, until, with the People's Liberation Army closing in, her family decided to leave China and, after a detour in Haiti, reach New York City, where her father started a successful medical practice for a third time.

In any case, one consequence of our mutual Shanghai background was that she and I bonded at Columbia in Mort Fried's class on people and culture of China. Judith-Maria's initial anthropological ambition was to learn Mandarin and do fieldwork in some Chinese setting. Instead she married Hans Buechler (I had introduced them) and went off to highland Bolivia to join him in fieldwork in a land in which he had been partly raised. I was pleased, not only because two good friends of mine had married, but also because Hans and I shared an interest in Latin America as a cultural area, and particularly in its indigenous peasant peoples.

Hans and Judith-Maria honored me by making me godfather of their daughter Stephanie. Latin Americanist anthropologists are quite likely to make use of this Latin American form of ritual kinship. I was not at the Anglican ceremony in La Paz when Stephanie was baptized, as I was doing fieldwork in Guatemala, but I did have a chance to visit La Paz in August of 1981 after revisiting my Panama field sites and then swinging south to see my compadres and the two by then adolescent girls who were doing one of the many fieldwork stints that went into making the book *Manufacturing against the Odds*. The trip was a tremendously enriching experience for me: visiting yet another Latin American country with a large indigenous population; getting to know Hans's Swiss parents, long-term expatriates in Bolivia, visiting their vacation house on the shores of Lake Titicaca, even hiking one afternoon along an idyllic Inca road through mountainous terrain, and, most especially, meeting some of my compadres' numerous and diverse informants in La Paz.

Judith-Maria's scholarly drive had been shaped by our Columbia training to always start with observable facts about people on the ground. This is a methodology that builds conclusions from the ground up, and seldom posits them ahead of time. The aim is to compile the data collected into an explicit framework for redefining the field—in the La Paz case 200 small-scale firms—analyzing them and constructing a model that in this case redefines the "givens" of social science. The

Buechlers showed that such distinctions as "informal economy" and "microenterprises" were not helpful as they plotted, instead, a series of strategies making use of urban-rural migrant networks, another set based on small-scale production, marketing, and transport, and yet a third set based on "middle-class values."

Judith-Maria's further "global dislocation" of having happened to marry a Swiss-Bolivian anthropologist committed to fieldwork allowed both of them to combine the personal with the professional throughout her life. In this they greatly enriched each other, and enriched me, who was looking over their shoulder.

I will not discuss their Spanish-Swiss fieldwork stint, since I was not involved in visiting them in the field or in critiquing their results. But I was happy when they went to the former East Germany to look at transformations in agriculture. When I met Judith-Maria, she had been rediscovering her German intellectual and cultural roots; she had gone to Germany on a post-Barnard fellowship. All her life she spoke exquisite educated German. She went off with Hans to yet another fieldwork stint (I wrote a glowing endorsement as a reference for a Fulbright research grant). She picked the Bernburg area of the newly constituted German state of Sachsen-Anhalt. Judith-Maria's parents were both born in that state, and her mother's grandfather had been a large farmer there. Thus at no great distance from the field site, Judith-Maria had close relatives who had lived through East Germany's metamorphosis into a soviet-style republic. They were then witnessing, along with her in the field, yet another transition to a new way of life.

I was glad about this proposed research because once again the professional and the personal were combined, in a very welcome and justified turnabout: this time Hans did fieldwork on Judith-Maria's turf (terrain once-removed in any case, as were his highland Aymara settlements). He, a Swiss-Bolivian, traded Bolivia for her Germany from which she had been born in exile, returning to live there only then. Hans provided the endeavor with tremendous strengths: educated in Swiss schools, at the Sorbonne, and at Columbia. Like Judith-Maria, Hans spoke German (as well as Swiss-German, French, and Spanish, all fluently). Moreover, he had, with her, become an accomplished ethnographer of the Aymara and then of Galician Spanish migrants. Now they turned their sights on East Germany.

The results were what I had predicted: a data-rich volume replete with the native voices of their "consultants" from which there were many unexpected conclusions. I was the anonymous reviewer for SUNY Press. In my report I heartily endorsed the findings, but pressed

hard for editorial changes that drew out their importance and relevance to a new post–Iron Curtain world. I feared that my compadres might have been offended by my anonymous critique, but after the book was published I learned that they had found this particular "Anonymous" very helpful! I was glad.

However, I was especially glad because the results were so telling: this was no saga of redemption from Communism, nor a saga of neoliberal perfidy. Rather, in the mode of *Manufacturing against the Odds*, this was a tale of a profusion of individual ingenuity and initiatives, of personal innovations, and of surprising drawings upon long-standing traditions, such as the cooperative movement, which dates to the nineteenth century in Germany. Thus some of the consultants were experienced leaders in East German cooperatives, others attempted to revive family farming, and yet others—some of them West Germans (usually with East German family connections) sought to revive estates once belonging to the prewar nobility. The array was quite diverse, and the consultants very, very hardworking and ingenious, rather like the ethnographers themselves.

In sum, I, a would-have-been tenth-generation Virginian, born in Manila, nurtured in Shanghai, trained in anthropology at Columbia, had the opportunity to share as close friend and ritual kin in the intellectual adventure of this extraordinary woman in her remarkable marriage and far-ranging career. I had the chance to applaud the marriages and comings-of-age of her daughters, as well as the importance of her jointly written books, small masterpieces of our inductive craft. My personal life has greatly benefited, as have the intellectual lives of us all.

## Note

1. I don't remember where we were going or why. Margaret often took people with her in taxis whether or not they shared a destination, simply as a means to use taxi time for conversation.

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# 1

# Introduction*

*Hans Buechler and June Nash*

This collection of essays intends to draw attention to how anthropologists and social scientists in closely allied fields employing qualitative methodologies relate with public intellectuals and others with local knowledge with whom we interact when we engage in fieldwork, in general and, most particularly, in Latin America. How does globalization of our discipline affect this relationship? How must we acknowledge the contribution of our collaborators to our ethnographic case studies? How should we assess the often unacknowledged and unexplored collaborations with and among research participants in the field as they become increasingly involved in shared social networks and information channels opened up through globalization? At the same time, how can we rigorously assess the impacts of the personal histories we bring to the field and how they influence our research perspectives and methods.

The contributors to this anthology on ethnographic exchanges go beyond the lingering vestiges of colonialist relations in the anthropological encounter to engage as equal collaborators in the discovery process. With the growing interaction of academic institutions between Anglo- and Latin America and better opportunities for natives in the field sites to study at the university level, visit libraries, and engage in collegial encounters, and, more broadly, with the access to social media, a change in the anthropological encounter is a necessary step to further the aims of the discipline to make its findings widely accessible. This anthology assesses the ways in which anthropologists position themselves in the ethnographic exchange with participants in the cultures they study in space and over time. This mutual positioning

includes intellectuals within and beyond the discipline of anthropology, and, most importantly, native women and men with a wide range of knowledge and lived experiences whose involvement with foreign anthropologists ranges from lifelong relationships to brief but pivotal exchanges and chance remarks. It also addresses the unconscious prejudice against US and European anthropologists studying communities in their own countries, an unstated but nonetheless prevalent prejudice as June Nash learned when she published her largely ignored book on General Electric workers (1). The book has acquired a wider interest in Latin American countries that are experiencing the rise of corporate hegemony resulting from transnational industries, which arrived with the outsourcing of industries, that she addressed when studying the process at its source.

Our endeavor is in line with a recent theoretical shift in anthropology. We are now engaged in collaborative networks with intellectuals at universities and people in the field sites we enter. And we take the positions and insights of both as theoretical contributions rather than simply as data to be manipulated at will by the researcher. Increasingly, we also work at each other's universities as guest lecturers or participants in workshops. This global exchange has brought about a paradigm shift in the focus of our work, which hastens the decolonization process. The resulting paradigm shift involves a shift from Eurocentric to a multicultural and decolonized framework that invites intellectual exchange in the formulation of problems.

In this process, as Nash (2008) noted, fieldwork has regained centrality in anthropology after a period during which its validity was questioned (Borneman and Hammoudi 2009). We find that the advocates of the "writing culture" approach (Clifford and Marcus 1986) have distanced the production of ethnographies from the analysis of culture by "fetishizing," as they confessed, the literary production of the text. Countering the critiques of some of these postmodern scholars who denigrate and even propose alternatives to conventional anthropological fieldwork, Borneman and Hammoudi argue that "anthropologists engaged in fieldwork encounters hope to find themselves in ongoing relationships that intensify and multiply over time, resulting in knowledge that develops incrementally with the uneven accumulation of insights—a process that entails constant revision of what one has learned" (2009: 271).

This refocusing on fieldwork has resulted in a number of projects that make much more of an effort to involve research participants in the field in every step of the research process, from the choice of

subjects to the analysis and write-up stages, a trend that is the subject of an entire academic journal, *Collaborative Anthropologies*, which first appeared in 2008.[1] Our global perspective cultivates a shared sense of the mutual problems encountered by natives in the cultures we study with our own. Anthropologists have become activists in field situations that reflect the parallel tensions in what were once distinguished as "Third World," in contrast to "First World." It is a concern that the contributors have confronted and attempt to address.

Mindful of Field's observation (2008: 34) that anthropology has always been a collaborative venture, the focus of this volume is, in addition, about the examination of the nature and process of collaboration. This process begins with tracing the history of interpersonal connections that form the background to a given collaboration, followed by an examination of the relative contributions of the collaborators in the field research, and finally to an assessment of the ultimate ramifications of collaboration that include, but are not restricted to, publications. A striking example of the contemporary trend in collaboration among differently situated experts from two or more distinct cultural backgrounds is an article by Timothy Choy, Lieba Faier, Michael Hathaway, Miyako Inoue, Shiho Satsuka, and Anna Tsing (2009). They bring together the knowledge derived from distinct academic traditions to examine the transnational production and flow, as well as the transformation of scientific knowledge about *matsutake* (mushroom) production. Our contention is that, regardless of whether or not a research project is geared toward maximizing the input of collaborators in the field in shaping its outcome, the latter, including emphasis on particular topics as well as the theoretical insights gained from the research is to a large extent defined by the insights of our interlocutors, a fact that is not sufficiently acknowledged in the anthropological literature. The chapters in this volume focus on the relative contributions of the actors involved in anthropological fieldwork in terms of opening new avenues of investigation, changing research priorities, and "cotheorizing," as well as creating long-term relations of trust that facilitate multifaceted cooperation.

Contributors to this volume emphasize their personal collaboration generated in the process of field research. Yet we all recognize that collective engagement is often brought about by research centers that promote and even instigate the contacts that make such connections possible. The American Anthropological Association executive director, Edward Liebow, focuses on the attempts to foster collaboration within and beyond the discipline in his editorial for May/June

*Anthropology News* (2015). Noting that collaboration can make anthropology more visible in legislative and political arenas, as well as expand our student and scholarly awareness, he welcomes members' involvement in the Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences and the World Council of the Anthropological Association. This entails sharing our exchanges with countries beyond Canada, as we now do. For example, those of us who have worked in Mexico have benefited from invitations to participate in conferences organized by our colleagues in Conacyt. The generosity of these coordinators provides a model for collaborative international relations that could favor exchanges in other spheres. Most recently, the Latin American Studies Association under the leadership of Charles Hales and others undertook a major initiative—they named it Otros Saberes—to fund six projects involving indigenous and Afro-descendant Latin Americans to study their own cultures under the direction of anthropologists (Hale and Stephen, eds. 2013). Employing a broad definition of ethnographic collaborations and exchanges, we hope to contribute to and amplify these initiatives with the publication of this anthology.

## History of Collaborative Practices

There is a long but marginal tradition of explicit recognition of collaboration with specific individuals in the field (Lassiter 2005). Indeed some anthropologists such as Franz Boas even published together with his Kwakiutl collaborator, George Hunt (Boas and Hunt 1895).

The methodology of life histories in anthropology has been particularly conducive to collaborative approaches. First, although the recording of life histories always entails a dialogue between collaborators in research and between interlocutors and a wider public, the methodology is more conducive than most other methods to consultants controlling the research agenda. Second, it results in ever-present, never fully analyzed texts, hopefully accessible to all collaborators in research projects and ever open to new interpretations. Third, when combined with a social network approach, in which life histories are viewed as linked to the lives of concrete others, including the anthropologists who initiate the research projects, the life history methodology is conducive to the exploration of ever-widening circles of relationships. Finally, by integrating historical events with interpersonal interactions as the autobiographer does, the reader can grasp the impact of history on personal consciousness. Nash perceived the temporal framework for her study of Bolivian miners from autobiographical vignettes

related by 20 miners she interviewed in her first year of fieldwork in Bolivia. Those who were chosen to develop extended biographies amplified the base with the variety of places in which they played out their life work.

Life history methodology has long been practiced in anthropology. Radin published several autobiographies of Winnebago men (1913, 1920(1963)), anticipating recent trends in the discipline early on. The influence that these collaborations have had on the nature of anthropological representations is already apparent in some of Radin's work on the Winnebago. He not only had his native collaborators write their own life histories but also, in an era in which anthropological texts tended to present culture as separate fragments, often frozen in time, Radin based his writings on the peyote cult on the lives and actions of specific individuals (Radin 1914). Thereby he prefigured by many decades a focus on process and practice. His student Nancy Lurie was the first to extend collaboration with women, choosing the sister of Radin's autobiographical collaborator, Mountain Wolf Woman (Lurie 1961). These life studies of both a man and a woman enable readers to assess how gender differentially influenced the subordination of Native Americans following their conquest in their own territory. Crashing Thunder succumbed to alcohol as he withdrew from active life in the politics of Native American society, while Mountain Wolf Woman was a spiritual leader for countless relatives and surrogates. The insights gained were not followed up until feminist anthropologists explored the implications of Western gender issues. In the late 1970s, anthropologists at the City University of New York formed the Mountain Wolf Woman Anthropology Society that later morphed into the Ruth Benedict Anthropology Society.

These early trends in acknowledging collaboration were largely eclipsed by the stress in anthropology on making the discipline into a scientific endeavor. Scientific writing presupposed that the observer must be completely objective in relation to the observed subjects of study. Gender, class origins, ethnicity, and age were regarded as impediments to unbiased examination. Yet feminist perspectives, once they were admitted openly, enabled the reader of scientific tracts to know the author's standpoint. The very choice of fields to explore is based on these perspectives ingrained in an identity formed around the category into which we are born as well as the goals to which we aspire. Feminist anthropology was the first breakthrough in making explicit how gender as well as age, ethnicity, race, and class entered into the positionality we bring to our work. As Fluehr-Lobban puts it, "Central

to a feminist approach to research is its egalitarian, non-hierarchical methodology that tends toward a view of 'informants'—who were often women like the researcher—more as 'participants' with whom the researcher engages in mutual exchange and sustained trust-building conversations" (2008: 178). We can add to these inherent factors the life experiences that shape our perspective. Many of the contributors to this volume show how their feminist perspective has enhanced their ability to relate to people responding to trauma. Feminist historians have addressed the neglect of the feminine gender in studies of public life, the arts, and science. Feminist anthropologists who, like Hernández (this volume), advocate decolonizing feminism by moving away from the narrow definitions of feminism provided by some directions of feminism that still favor imposing a rigid imposition of Euro-American cultural standards in their theoretical and practical work, showed the distortions of the principal models favored in the discipline during the 1970s. Now we hope to open up the distinct contribution that feminist anthropologists bring to the discipline, that is, empathy, stemming from our own condition as scholars belatedly admitted into "mainstream" anthropology.

It is not surprising that the trends toward greater recognition of the important role that consultants should have in the field are more characteristic of European and North American field sites, where such factors as high literacy rates, shared language and national origin, as well as proximity created a particular urgency for a more collaborative approach. In contrast, elsewhere more intensive forms of explicitly recognized collaboration came much later, a particularly salient example being Victor Turner's collaboration in Africa with his key consultant, Muchona (1967).

In Latin America, the recognition of the debt anthropologists owe to collaborators in the field has had a distinctive history. The political transformations in the Americas with the increasing integration of aboriginal ethnic groups into what had been a monocultural national identity, is expanding the arena of knowledgeable members of the society engaged in ethnographic exchange, and thus pure research and advocacy tend to be joined (Rappaport 2007: 21). Anthropologists were at the forefront of a move away from *indigenismo* with its paternalistic and assimilationist agendas to a more Indianist focus. For example, in Bolivia the anthropologist, linguist, and Jesuit priest Xavier Albó cofounded the research and development institute Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado (Cipca). Among the many collaborations that resulted

from the myriad projects that Cipca has undertaken in the various regions of Bolivia[2] is its support for an independent peasant union founded among others by the noted peasant leader Jenaro Flores (see Gianotten 2006: 68–69, 93, 120), who as detailed in the contribution by Hans Buechler, had earlier also received the support of the Land Tenure Center, Wisconsin. Another example is Cipca's relationship with the Aymara intellectual/politician Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, who worked at Cipca for eight years in various capacities (Gianotten 2006: 215, footnote 36). Cárdenas later became Bolivia's first indigenous vice president. And a third case—exemplifying the range of tendencies within the same institution—is Cipca's social communicator, Julián Apaza, who later played a role in the National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyo (Conamaq), a rival movement to the peasant unions (Gianotten 2006: 106).

From 1999 to 2005, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales Ecuador (FLACSO Ecuador), under the auspices of the Fund for the Development of Indigenous Societies of Latin America and the Caribbean, and with the support of the Belgian Technical Cooperation, instituted a special program to train 50 indigenous intellectuals in the social sciences with an emphasis on ethnic studies. These individuals were mostly development workers working for indigenous organizations in Ecuador, but also in other Andean countries (García 2008). Judging from the prominence that the indigenous graduates from Bolivia have had in the social sciences and in politics, the program was a resounding success.

In Colombia, Orlando Fals Borda was involved in a movement of participatory action research with Colombian peasant and indigenous organizations, La Rosca de Investigación y Acción Social, in the late 1960s and 1970s that entailed sharing anthropological knowledge in accessible form. As detailed in his interview with Elisabeth Cunin, reproduced in translation in this anthology, Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe (this volume) took this effort a step further in the 1980s, by involving indigenous researchers directly in cotheorizing and building an agenda. Similarly, Joanne Rappaport has engaged in fully collaborative work with indigenous Colombian social movements for many years (see, e.g., Rappaport 2005, 2007, 2008). This collaborative trend has been continued by Kay B. Warren, Jean E. Jackson, and their contributors in the anthology they edited, *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* (2002). They too, take collaboration a step further than the stereotypical "indigenous people as survivors of state violence" in calling upon indigenous leaders of

movements to critique their analyses as well as to become contributors to the volume. They and their indigenous colleagues no longer employ a discourse essentializing culture, but rather consider global flows and conflicting views in the construction of ethnic identity. Ana Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo (this volume) includes among her collaborators her students, who collaborate fully in the project proposal, the interviewing, and the field research, as well as the analysis and publication of findings. Collaborating in this full spectrum of research and analysis deepens the teaching and learning experience. Scott Whiteford and his colleagues are most mindful of the necessity to enter into collaborations fully cognizant of the problems faced by those we study and how our ethnographic study itself will have an impact. They question traditional closed groups and communities of interest, and attempt, instead, to create open virtual networks.

## Collaborative Anthropology in a Globalized World

How do we conceive of collaborative anthropological endeavors in the context of globalization? The move toward rethinking collaborative practices in anthropology has been accompanied by a gradual shift in the way the discipline defines the very nature of its subject matter (see, for example, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Such a rethinking is particularly urgent in the context of Latin America, where the time and space compression that characterizes globalization, according to David Harvey (1989), and the stretching out of social relationships over space, which Anthony Giddens (1990) regards as its most salient feature, are highly apparent, and where these features are compounded by the large shadow the United States has cast over many aspects of life well before the advent of the acceleration of these processes. Globalization has rendered the definition of anthropology as the study of the "Other" increasingly untenable. According to the traditional view, recognizing the role of specific individuals in "the field" could be seen as a futile exercise. In contrast, if we view all participants in anthropological research as differently positioned individuals in a common field, such recognition becomes imperative. The contributors to this volume are all mindful of this shift from a Eurocentric to a multicentric immersion in a global society, the implications of which for anthropology are only beginning to be explored. The contexts in which their collaborations emerge take place in

arenas, as widely separated geographically as they may be, in which field sites and place of origin of the outside investigator cannot be dealt with in isolation. Rather, they are interlinked in numerous, and increasingly globalized ways.

George Marcus (1997) uses the concept of "complicity" to describe the relationship between anthropologists and their collaborators in the field. While complicity may describe many fieldwork situations that involve a cost to the participants, for example, their acquiescence to an illegal or frowned-upon activity, such as Clifford Geertz's flight from police raiding a cockfight in Bali, which Marcus gives as an example, or a consultant collaborating with an anthropologist in spite of criticism by other local actors, or even, as Rosaldo confesses, availing oneself of the services of a third party deemed as oppressive, such as using a mission plane to reach an isolated field site (Marcus 1997: 93–94), we prefer to describe this relationship in less morally loaded terms. Collaborations are characterized by an understanding—however incomplete—on the part of the actors involved, of their respective positionalities in a shared global system. For the anthropologist (and perhaps for all collaborating actors), this understanding also constitutes a major part of the research findings.

The complexity of these understandings is highlighted (although not analyzed in terms of collaboration) by Tsing in her book on the effects of globalization in Indonesia (2005). As the rapid destruction of their environment unfolded, her collaborators ranged from slash-and-burn cultivators with various and changing positionalities to major global actors such as Japanese lumber companies, and young middle-class urbanites who held unorthodox understandings of the global environmental movement. Tsing argues that understanding the different positionalities of the various actors is crucial to comprehending the fluid dynamics of globalization.

Vasco Uribe's contribution provides a direct illustration of the effect of the interaction among various actors on collaborations in the field. The research he and his team undertook at the behest of the Embera was initially predicated upon the directive the team received not to publish their findings. However, after a change in community authorities, the order was reversed, and they demanded that booklets be published to give to the mestizo school teachers so that they would understand reality from an Embera perspective. Presumably, these authorities felt that political activism could best be served by engaging rather than excluding the dominant society. To be sure, these publications were supposed to be followed, in characteristic Embera egalitarian fashion,

by a pictographic representation in order to prevent privileging words associated with one or another version of the Embera language.

Both Abigail Adams and Hans Buechler explore the ways in which the interchange of distinct cultural perspectives in the ethnographic encounter stimulates new perceptions of oneself and the other. Specifically, they focus on intellectuals, both indigenous and foreign, engaged in synergetic collaborations with one another. These collaborations played pivotal roles in the development of the social sciences in the countries where they engaged in research.

As Adams shows, we have a great deal to learn from the leading figures in founding ethnographic investigation and anthropology in the field sites we enter. Her chapter focuses on the public role of Antonio Goubaud, a man of German and mestizo ancestry, the first Guatemalan head of anthropological studies and a key intermediary in facilitating the research of North American investigators in Guatemala. As a public intellectual actively involved in the formulation of democratic institutions for Guatemala as it emerged as a democracy in the 1940s, his emphasis on indigenous contributions to the country set the pace for what might have become the foremost multiethnic nation of the hemisphere. This historic transformation was cut short by his untimely death in 1951. Similarly, Buechler shows how the interactions of specific individuals in Bolivia, including both foreign and native anthropologists, have stimulated new forms of egalitarian cooperation in their interaction with native intellectuals/activists in Bolivia. Buechler's chapter shows how those usually unnamed others involved in anthropological endeavors have become social scientists, and—following the trend in Latin America for conjoining sociocultural theory and political activism—politicians themselves. Far from acting only in local and national arenas, these individuals are involved in global political action networks with partially overlapping agendas.

Nash and her students Janet Page Reeves, Kathleen Sullivan, and colleagues from the City University of New York and the National University of Chiapas, who worked with her in Mayan communities of Chiapas during the late 1980s and early 1990s, formed relations with students and professors that have endured to the present. She is working with artisans in Chiapas and the Southwestern United States in collaboration with Jeanne Simonela and Kate O'Donnell (in press) to produce an anthology of studies on their cultural production in pottery and backstrap loom weavings for tourist and world markets. The money earned by these indigenous women enables them to

sustain their families, while retaining traditional designs and handicrafts in their household production.

Importantly, the kinds of cooperation initiated by these foreign anthropologists constituted a departure from the usual top-down engagement practiced by government officials as well as researchers, a change that paved the way for the active participation of local intellectuals in global exchanges.

Helen Safa, Whiteford et al., and Simone Buechler all address the specific issue of the challenges to developing collaborative research in situations in which nation-states as well as corporations and other powerful actors attempt to limit or narrowly channel global flows of ideas, persons, and goods.

Safa's difficulties engaging in research in Cuba and her positionality there were the result of the Cold War and its aftermath, dynamics that continue to affect the nature of globalization. She indicates the challenges in fieldwork undertaken under the auspices of the state, regardless of ideological differences. In a socialist society such as Cuba, the relationship of the anthropologist with collaborators differs from work in states with less control over the flows of information. The former may create difficult fieldwork situations. For example, she could only engage in interviews in Cuba when accompanied by one of the local researchers and, at the end, the organization she worked with, the Federation for Cuban Women (FMC), rejected her conclusions. As she writes, "Should I have given in and made the modifications the FMC requested? I don't think so. I was not prepared to give the FMC a whitewash and erase the criticisms we heard from working women. The FMC was disappointed and never published the results of this study. Nor have I worked with them again." At the same time, she is conscious of the fact that such attempts at controlling the flow of information are not limited to communist countries, for she adds, "On the other hand, [the FMC] did not try to 'blackball' me with other Cuban agencies, nor did they prevent the results of this study from being published in Cuba or elsewhere, a threat I once faced in Puerto Rico." She points out that she was never able to obtain permission to study a textile mill in the United States because of management's opposition. She concludes, "This would not have happened in Cuba if the state had agreed to the research in the first place."

Whiteford and colleagues Jeremy Slack, Sonia Bass, Daniel E. Martínez, and Alison Lee examine the importance and challenges of binational collaboration and the use of social media to transcend borders. The very existence of these borders is predicated on a globalized

economic system, neoliberalism, based on the free flow of goods and services, while at the same time placing severe limits on the movement of persons. Their project included researchers from 13 universities, who address the gauntlet of violence migrants face from cartels, border officials, *bajadores*, *coyotes,* and the extreme heat of the desert. Their research builds on cross-national trust and the sharing of knowledge to reconceptualize violence and challenge human rights abuses of migrants on both sides of the border. Their research is limited by the dangers posed by the global drug trade. At the same time, the team's elaborate use of new communication technologies—also an integral part of globalization—helps overcome the constraints they face, promising a path to binational collaboration and beyond.

Simone Buechler's analysis of the impact of the Wall Street global financial crisis expands our awareness of the personal dimensions of global interactions as she traces the responses of Brazilian migrants to the United States and the reverse flow caused by the recent financial crisis. In the tense environment in which Brazilian immigrants in Newark, New Jersey, strove to retain their employment in an increasingly hostile environment, her research required the mediation of trusted religious congregants of a church in the migrant neighborhood she studied in order to gain access to consultants. The feminist research techniques she had developed in all her fieldwork were a crucial means of attaining the confidence of her collaborators. Both her research on these immigrants and her research on women and work in São Paulo focused on the effect of globalization: the precarization of labor as a result of neoliberal economic policies and international migration.

## Cotheorizing and Close Collaborations in Globalized Settings

As indicated earlier, collaborative practices with consultants in the field are not limited to those situations in which the latter take full charge of the research agenda. Rather, they may include a range of relationships that run the gamut from perceptive consultants making chance remarks that redirect research, to the establishment of close and enduring friendships. While such relationships have always been the mainstay of anthropological practice, they are often taken for granted and undertheorized. Taking full cognizance of these relationships is becoming more and more important as globalization is increasingly transforming anthropology from the study of the incommensurate

"Other"[3] to the study of different positionalities within a common system. Frances Rothstein, June Nash, Stephanie Buechler, and Ann Miles all speak to the importance of allowing and acknowledging the active involvement of research participants in the field to direct the very focus of the research and in theorizing socioeconomic and sociopolitical processes. Perhaps just as importantly, they describe how these collaborations enable them to turn to research participants time and again for emotional and professional reasons as well as for safe haven.

Rothstein takes full cognizance of the debt to her research participants in the Mexican community, whose economy is closely linked to global competition in the garment industry, she has studied over her entire professional career. In her contribution, she makes the links explicit that lead her to reconsider her research agenda, which might otherwise have become mired in trendy concerns of the discipline. Rather than emerging from the sheer weight of diligently gathered "evidence," breakthroughs in her understanding of the socioeconomic dynamics of modern Mexico have a face. They came from listening to the comments of specific individuals she encountered in the field, which alerted her to pay more attention to previously overlooked or understudied phenomena. In other words, insightful research participants in the field evolve into coauthors of anthropological theories. Rothstein's research on this Mexican village now also takes her to New York City and New Jersey, where some of her consultants have migrated as a result of these same global economic dynamics.

Similarly, many of Stephanie Buechler's deepest insights come from her close collaborations with specific individuals in the field. In San Ignacio, a retired schoolteacher has opened her home to provide a haven for her and for her parents and, later, her bereaved father, when they accompanied her on trips to the field. With all the comings and goings of kin, household help, and friends, the teacher's home is also a community center and clearinghouse for ideas about the effects of climate change that Buechler is considering. Like Goubaud, the teacher's international background and her profession make her the ideal intermediary between the American anthropologist and the members of her community. In addition, Buechler has found a fount of knowledge and wise opinions about climate change and the transformation of the community in "José," an elderly bachelor who owns and tends the community's most diverse orchard. Her "field trips" to his plot with its odd cooking facilities and plush seating opportunities next to the irrigation ditches that give life to his orchard provide a trove of information on the cultural sources of ecological adaptation.

Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo credits her indigenous female students for the transformative change in her perspective, which allows one to perceive the location of consciousness in cosmological space in which one inhabits the world. This outlook dispels the colonization of subject, introducing the multicentric unity of a globalized world into which we are entering.

Globalization engenders both disjunction and commonality in the lives of Stephanie Buechler and her consultants. Unlike her own privileged position as a US, Canadian, and Swiss citizen, her research participants in both Honduras and Mexico are highly dependent on the option of migration for a living, an option which, as we have already seen, is fraught with danger. The poignancy of the limited choices a Honduran has in a poor Tegucigalpa neighborhood is made vivid in a conversation Buechler had with a very young vendor who asked her, "How dangerous is it to go to America? I want to go there because I really don't want to have to start robbing people on buses to make a living." Globalization also creates commonality with her collaborators. Buechler discusses the latest developments in US politics with the school teacher in San Ignacio, for whom, as a result of her own and her peers' migratory experiences, events across the border are very much part her life. Living in the same migration field as her Mexican consultants has made for a closer bonding with many of her consultants than was possible in her work with poor farmers in Hyderabad, India. However, in India, her collaboration with one of her assistants and coauthor of some of her publications was simultaneously predicated on the latter's cosmopolitan background and the close relationship she established with an interviewee who came from the same locality where she was born.

Miles shows how engagement with a small number of research participants over a period of 25 years creates bonds that lead to a deep understanding of emotions as perceived and experienced by her collaborators. Among these were their statements leading her to understand the explanatory power of concepts such as *sufrimiento* (suffering) in their lives in general and in dealing with illnesses as such lupus, an illness that was the focus of her most recent research, in particular. A major focal point of Miles's research is transnational migration, the attendant linkages between place of origin and destination, and the *sufrimiento* it occasions for women left behind: they employ a cultural etiology to diagnose an affliction caused by globalization. In the process, the meaning of *sufrimiento* changes to describe the changing circumstances.

Finally, in her concluding chapter, Nash gives examples of unacknowledged collaborations of the anthropological past and the reaction against such abuse by local intellectuals, who are empowered by increasing global connections that bring plagiarism by foreign researchers to their attention. Noting the current controversies raised by South American anthropologists in the Amazonian jungle, whose work has been ignored or expropriated by foreign anthropologists, Nash goes on to discuss changes in the ethnographic exchange based on personal experience in one of her three distinct field sites over the past 50 years. This sets the changes in the ethnographic encounter in an historical framework for our practice of collaboration. She describes a research project funded in the 1960s that pretended to wrest the intelligent responses of informants by relying on a questioning protocol that was incorporated in a computerized format. This protocol was then applied by anthropologists leading the project on multiple subjects, with little or no attention to the potential contributions of their "subjects" in directing the research agenda. After an uninspiring trial of this approach with one of her own research participants, she proceeded to question her interlocutor about the conflicts he raised, leading to a complete rethinking of the role of rituals and their relationship to power in the Mayan community she was studying. She too advocates a collaborative approach in the research process with greater acknowledgment of the contribution made in the questioning and interpretive process by those who inform us.

## Collaboration as Process

Close collaborations such as those described by the contributors to this volume often do not happen instantaneously, but develop over time. Thus, rather than analyzing our collaborative field relationships as objective interludes with fixed properties, we propose viewing them as processes engaging multiple actors in different locations in often disparate ways. The collaboration develops over many visits, gaining significance with each returning contact. In addition, the personal history of each anthropologist influences his or her ability to fashion close collaborations with research participants in the course of fieldwork.

Long-term involvement promotes the kind of deep trust that engenders the best collaboration. The impetus for Hans Buechler's chapter was the friendship over many decades with Mauricio Mamani originating from their jointly being mentored, albeit in different ways, by the

American anthropologist William Carter. Regular fieldwork in Bolivia was material in keeping this relationship alive. From a slightly different angle on this point, Adams credits Goubaud's copious and intelligent field notes with greatly facilitating her own work on the Nazarene evangelical Q'eqchi' Maya. Thus, Goubaud remained a collaborator on new research even after his death. Similarly, Miles's chapter shows how Judith-Maria and Hans Buechler's model of long-term involvement with key collaborators led her to study Ecuadorian migration to the United States and the multiple meanings of key concepts such a *sufrimiento* (suffering) in similar ways. Only such long-term relationships could reveal the flexibility of ethnic identification and the range of meanings of culturally specific descriptions of mental states.

Collaborative endeavors between anthropologists and their spouses, many of whom are also social scientists, is one of the most frequent forms of long-term collaboration. But, especially in earlier generations, such collaborations often remained unacknowledged and, even today, undertheorized. As a student, Nash noticed the many ways in which the wives of her professors contributed to their husbands' fieldwork, which ended up interspersed in their husbands' field notes and books authored by them, but who were never credited. By coauthoring their work, the Buechlers forged a different path that has become the new mode for intrafamilial collaboration.[4]

The impressive scope of the collaborations described in the chapter by Slack et al. is the result of the synergy of its differently positioned coauthors. First, it has its roots in the deep history of international collaborations in the Whiteford family. Two generations of Whitefords (including Scott's father and two of his siblings) paved the way for continued research in Latin America, in general, and Mexico, in particular. Scott's ability to maintain his widespread collaborations with intergenerational colleagues stems from this prior experience. Given the sensitivity of their research on the impact of the drug trafficking and immigration, this experience contributed to the deep trust that ensured the success of their endeavors. In the next generation, coauthor Jeremy Slack, who teaches at the University of Texas El Paso and has carried out research on multiple sites on the border, is married to a Mexican from near the border with the United States, which has experienced violence. Alison Lee and Daniel Martínez's backgrounds are, in some ways, mirror images of each other. Lee, who teaches at the Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, comes from a North American family long established on both sides of the border region, and Martínez's family comes from Sonora, but he grew up in Minnesota and teaches at

George Washington University. Finally, Sonia Bass Zavala is a professor of Sociology and Demography at the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo. She received her PhD from the Colegio de Mexico and an MA in Urban Planning from the University of Puerto Rico.

Like Whiteford, Stephanie Buechler and her twin sister, Simone Buechler, come from a dynasty of qualitative professional or amateur social scientists. In addition to their mother, Judith-Maria and their father, Hans, this dynasty included their father's mother, who was intrigued by Aymara customs well before one of her sons became an anthropologist, their father's brother a sociologist and development practitioner, and their father's sister a Latin Americanist historian. Stephanie and Simone were intimately involved in anthropological collaborations from a tender age with the Aymara vendor Sofía Velasquez and the Galician peasant woman Carmen, whose life histories Judith-Maria and Hans eventually published. As well, both twins established ties with local Galician collaborators Lucía and, until her recent death, her mother Narcisa, who, along with Lucía's son, who now lives and works in the United States, continue to be family friends who feel more like kin. Like in many family enterprises, traditions of collaboration and ties among collaborators may thus be transmitted and strengthened over generations.

More general influences in researchers' background play equally significant roles in the themes they choose to research and their ability to form collaborative relationships to carry out this work. Nash was raised in a New England working-class culture and worked in the Sylvania "Victory Shift" during World War II when she was still attending high school. As a result, she developed a consciousness of the hegemony of capitalist relations that fueled a lifelong recognition of the intelligent and creative entry of workers in the work process, often left unnoticed or denied by managers. This background manifests itself in her work with Bolivian tin miners and later in her study of the history of labor relations in a New England town. She chose an underground driller as the subject for a family autobiography rather than a leading political or intellectual leader, in part because of the political crisis that Bolivia was experiencing in the 1960s and 1970s, which would have imperiled lives and/or crucial information, but also to capture the incredible fortitude of workers in the inhuman environment deep inside the ground and far from life-giving forces of air and light.

Safa's personal history of hostility encountered in her grade school experiences during World War II, when she was vilified as a German

American helped her in overcoming or accepting the difficult fieldwork situations she encountered over the years. Dealing with these reactions to her German Protestant origin enabled her to contend with the difficulties of engaging in fieldwork in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where Americans were not readily accepted.

## The Jagged Edges of Collaborations

It will, by now, have become apparent that anthropological collaborations do not necessarily constitute smooth sailing. That the results may not conform to the intentions and expectations of the parties involved is amply illustrated in Hans Buechler's chapter in this volume. Indeed, the relationships between foreign anthropologists and their collaborators in field sites may be characterized by contradictions and paradoxes, compounded by the fact that funding agencies and researchers often do not see eye to eye when it comes to disseminating the research results. In addition, as Buechler argues, major contributions to the course of public life may even remain unperceived by some of the participants in the collaboration. Thus, William Carter appeared to have been largely unaware of his role in providing the theoretical and evidential underpinnings of the distinction between the indigenous use of coca as a major component of ritual and daily commensality and its deflection as a potent drug. Rothstein confirms the importance of the unexpected, which may, indeed, constitute the core of collaborations. Similarly, the influence that Nash has had on Judith-Maria's and Hans Buechler's careers as anthropologists over the last 40 odd years often hinged—in addition to their awe at the sheer virtuosity and scope of her writings—on small, apparently minor, details they discovered in her work. For example, reading an early draft of the autobiography of Juan Rojas (Nash 1992), they were struck by how this miner's early years as a peasant in Cochabamba resonated with the lives of their own rural research participants. They concluded that, with its broad scope, life history methodology could be a means of revealing hidden links between the work of anthropologists investigating different aspects of sociocultural dynamics. As a result, life history methodology soon became one of their primary research tools.

In contrast, collaborations may end in discord. Thus, Safa faced the opprobrium of her Cuban collaborators when she decided to publish unflattering conclusions of their joint research. Similarly, Vasco Uribe was forced to cancel a project that enjoyed considerable support

to reintroduce pottery making among the Embera region of Chamí because the local authorities were persuaded by the mission nuns that pottery was associated with the production of corn beer and hence with drunkenness.

Acknowledging collaborations is often not a simple matter of naming and thanking collaborators or asking them to become coauthors of publications. Collaborations may even have to be clothed in anonymity or the publication of their results postponed or abandoned altogether because of the possible harm their disclosure might occasion, or, more banally (and problematically), because publishers might object to the kind of document produced. Until their recent conversations and upon reading Nash's chapter for this volume, Hans Buechler had often wondered why she chose to publish the life history of a Bolivian man who was not an activist in the miners' movement, which was one of the principal foci of her research. The reason becomes painfully clear from her contribution to this volume. In the context of military control in Bolivia during her research of the early 1970s, publishing the life histories of two leading union leaders with whom she collaborated during her field research would simply have been too dangerous for their well-being. Their life histories will be archived in the library of the mining communities and in the New York University Labor History Archive. For similar reasons, Judith-Maria and Hans Buechler decided to leave out a poignant incident from Sofía Velasquez's autobiography illustrative of ethnic relations in Bolivia during her childhood that she had never even told her mother, because it was so sensitive an issue. Finally, the personal networks of anthropologists may conflict with their professional ones. This may result in the need to make difficult decisions about navigating conflicting loyalties, limiting certain lines of investigation. Thus Goubaud's involvement in politics, discussed by Adams, may have lead to his untimely death.

Global integration expanded anthropological horizons from colonized backwaters to the central arenas of rebellion and struggle. Reflecting on the changes in four distinct settings in which Nash worked, with Mayas of Guatemala in the 1950s and 1960s (Nash 1970), Bolivian tin miners in the 1960s to 1971 (Nash 1979), and New England industrial workers in the 1980s (Nash 1989), she noted how changes in their lives were shaking up their sense of the world. For Mayas, it meant a loss of security in which the village was no longer the center of the world and their self-sufficiency in small plot agriculture was no longer adequate to supply their basic needs. For mining communities, the exploitation of old mines could no longer ensure employment for their children and

grandchildren as they reached adulthood. And for General Electric workers, the outsourcing of US industry to low-wage areas throughout the world resulted in the closing of mines and the smelting plants that gave gainful employment to workers.

In an article entitled "Global Integration and Subsistence Insecurity," Nash (1994) summarizes what she learned from her collaborators in her revisits to these sites. Resistance in the new order imposed by neoliberal capitalist centers was strongest in former semisubsistence economies of Chiapas and the demobilized mining sectors of Bolivia in comparison with the industrial workers abandoned by General Electric. In the summer of 1989, Chiapas farmers and artisans joined a massive march inspired by Catholic Action groups. Mexico sent the army to confront sugar growers who had lost the markets for the cane they harvested that summer. The uprising of indigenous men and women in Chiapas on the eve of the new year, 1994, marked the changing face of rebellion and revolution in Mexico that reached capital centers throughout the world. Bolivian ex-miners joined urban workers in sites where they were forcibly transported from mining centers to demand their rights to food and work in 1986. They taught Nash that people considered marginalized are more aware of the injustices of their society than workers tuned in to television channels that promote the illusion of being au courant to world affairs. The rebellion of Mayan cultivators and subsoil miners of Bolivia evoke cosmological sources from their indigenous cultures.

Most painfully, death, the subtext of this anthology, also encroaches upon collaborations. In June 2013, Hans Buechler conducted life history interviews with two young artists in Bolivia, the daughter of the recently deceased painter Carlos Achata and his closest disciple. Since Hans himself was also grappling with his own loss of his wife, Judith-Maria, the encounter soon took the shape of a memorial. In the process, aspects of Achata's life that had remained unexplored during life history interviews with him taped in 2002 and 2012 were revealed (see H. Buechler 2006).

* * *

In conclusion, ethnographic collaborations in a globalized world require and benefit from a reconceptualization of anthropological fieldwork in terms of the positionality of the participants within a joint system. The basis of collaborations is empathy nurtured by both the sharing of the effects of globalization and the understanding

of the nature of different positionalities. This understanding is not given a priori by applying such facile categories as "the West" and "the Other," but is arrived at—as both Vasco Uribe and Hernández so cogently detail in their contributions to this volume—through a long process of mutual engagement. As we devise innovative methods in the study of how people respond to globalization processes, we should avoid scientistic efforts to control the ethnographic exchange in ways that have been tried and proven adverse. Only by generating scholarly exchanges that are recognized and rewarded, as is proposed by all the contributors to this volume, and by conceiving of collaborations as part of a process rooted in long-term histories in which globalization is playing an increasingly important role, can we benefit from the intellectual input of our collaborators and understand their dynamics. Through this kind of interaction we may promote creative ways to influence policy initiatives.

## Notes

* We wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Gloria Rudolf, who commented on two drafts of this chapter.

1. With a slightly different emphasis, the need for such cotheorizing is clearly formulated by Rappaport, who writes, "The concepts we [academics] encounter when we step out in the world should be incorporated into ethnographic interpretation."…"By entering into an intellectual dialogue with these ideas we establish a horizontal form of composite in which we acknowledge the capacity of ethnography's Other to theorize and occupy locations similar to those of academic ethnographers" (2008: 23–24). See also, among others, Brettell, 1996; and Field, 2007.
2. By 2005, CIPCA counted 110 workers working out of six regional offices (Gianotten 2006: 23).
3. A stance, the validity of which was, of course, always questionable, given the effects of colonialism.
4. Directly and indirectly their collaboration is addressed in H. Buechler (1969) and in Buechler and Buechler (1971, 1981, 1996, 1999, 2002).

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# 2

# Feminist Activist Research and Intercultural Dialogues

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In this chapter, I would like to address two experiences of intercultural dialogues that have taught me very important lessons to decolonize my own feminism and rethink my activist research methodologies from a dialogical perspective. Before discussing these two intercultural dialogues and their lessons for decolonizing feminist anthropology, I would like to share some of my own genealogy and the experiences that led me to question my way of living and understanding anthropology and feminism. The voices of organized indigenous women, together with critical reflections on the discursive colonialism of scholarly feminisms, led me to question the work methodologies of the feminist organization to which I belonged in the late 1980s in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, a Mestizo city surrounded by marginal Maya-Tsotsil indigenous neighborhoods and the administrative center of a mostly indigenous region.

But it was not only feminist scholarly readings that made me question the colonizing practices of some hegemonic urban feminisms. Living in Mayan communities of the sierra and jungle regions of Chiapas brought me close not only to other forms of knowledge but also to the political and organizational experiences of indigenous peoples, which caused me to rethink many of my Marxist and feminist views on resistance and social struggle, incorporating the critique of racism and internal colonialism as a fundamental axis of political struggle.

During those years, I experienced state repression and the criminalization of social movements firsthand, when several friends suffered

repression and sexual violence at the hands of government forces. These experiences led me to participate in the creation of a broad women's movement against State violence and sexual and domestic violence, which would later become the feminist organization COLEM, of which I was a member for ten years. My experience in COLEM, questioning and struggling against patriarchal violence, and my work as an anthropologist at the Center for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS), discussing racism and internal colonialism against indigenous peoples, led me to reflect on political alliances and on the need to develop a politics of solidarity among diverse women.

In 1994, the Zapatista movement brought together struggles against neoliberalism, racism, and patriarchy, becoming the first military political movement in Latin America to claim women's rights as a fundamental part of its political agenda. Its influence has been very important both theoretically and politically for a whole generation of feminists who have assumed the task of decolonization as a fundamental condition for reconsidering our political agenda.

My double identity as a scholar and a member of a feminist organization that works against sexual and domestic violence through a center that supports women and minors, where a considerable percentage of the users are indigenous women, led me to confront both the idealizing discourses on indigenous culture of an important sector of Mexican anthropology and the ethnocentrism of an important sector of liberal feminism. In a polarized context in which women's rights have been presented as incompatible with peoples' collective rights, it has been difficult to propose more nuanced viewpoints on indigenous cultures that recognize the power dialogues that constitute them, but that also assert indigenous peoples' right to their own culture and self-determination.

At this political crossroads, it was the indigenous women themselves who offered me clues on how to rethink indigenous demands from a nonessentialist perspective. Their theorizations on culture, tradition, and gender equity, set down in political documents, memoirs of encounters, and public discourses, but also systematized in their intellectual writings, are fundamental perspectives that must be taken into account by the project to decolonize feminist anthropology.

## Toward a Critical, Dialogical Anthropology in Our Local Practices

A great deal has been written since Karl Marx questioned the exclusively reflective nature of philosophy, when in his eleventh thesis on

Feuerbach, he stated that philosophers have dedicated themselves to merely understanding the world, when the point is to transform the world. The question of "knowledge for what purpose and for whom?" has been at the center of debate in the social sciences, and has periodically questioned the myth of positivist neutrality. In 1939, North American sociologist Robert Lynd—in his classic book entitled *Knowledge for What?*—questioned the pointlessness of social sciences that construct their research problems only in response to theoretical concerns emerging from the development in the field of study, without considering the problems and needs of the social actors with whom the work is carried out. In the midst of the Cold War, C. Wright Mills dared to point out that "[i]n today's world, it is not enough to be an academic; one must be sufficiently concerned about the world and angry enough to shout. It's not enough to understand the world; one should try to change it" (Mills 1956: 84). In Latin America, critical anthropologists, dependence theorists, and those promoting coparticipatory research dedicated much of their writings during the 1960s and 1970s to reflecting upon the need to decolonize the social sciences and on the use of knowledge for social justice.

Nearly half a century later, we continue to struggle against the ghosts of positivist social sciences that claim to be apolitical and, using a discourse of neutrality, discredit any attempt to link academic thought with activism, labeling it as "social work," while they conceal their own political commitment to the status quo (see Gross and Plattner 2002).

In response to these attempts at discreditation, which are frequently made from entities at which decisions are made regarding research support and funding, it is necessary to once again demonstrate that critical thinking is not incompatible with academic rigor, and that constructing a research agenda in dialogue with the social actors with whom we work does not distort anthropological knowledge, but instead strengthens it and makes it possible to transcend the limited academic world.

While these debates seem to repeat themselves cyclically in social sciences—like the Aurelians and Arcadios in Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*—we find that the theoretical and political arguments—like the lives of the inhabitants of Macondo—are not the same, although they appear to be. The changes in conceptualizations of power and the existence of historic truth point to important differences between Marxist anthropologists who promoted activist research in the 1960s, and those of us who continue to insist on/vindicate the need for collaborative research—however based on a

recognition of the partiality of our perspective, the multiplicity of *subject positions* that define the identities of social actors and their relations of subordination, and the limitations of our *situated knowledge* (see Haraway 1991).

Recognizing these differences does not imply rejecting the path taken up to this point. In fact, it is important to learn about and recuperate the experiences of past decades and not to pretend to have discovered something previously unknown (*descubir el hilo negro,* we would say in Spanish) when we talk of collaborative research and decolonizing theory. Beginning in the 1960s, the pedagogical and political proposals of Paulo Freire inspired an entire generation of social scientists, who developed a series of methodological strategies to recuperate the knowledge of popular sectors, promote processes of increasing political awareness, and through those processes, achieve social transformation. In the case of Mexico, these ideas led to a series of research projects that were linked to indigenous and campesino organizations, in an attempt to build a bridge between the academic interests of researchers and the concrete needs of those sectors. What is known as activist research or coparticipatory research was popularized during the 1970s, and is considered by many to be one of Latin America's principle contributions to the world's social sciences. When the Participatory Research Network was formed and headed by Fals Borda, Francisco Vio Grossi, and Carlos Rodríguez Brandao, it proposed "the integration of the people with the researchers, to learn about and transform their reality, and in this way achieve their liberation" (Hall 1983: 19).

The political enthusiasm generated by these new methodologies coincided with the emergence of a continental indigenous and campesino movement that questioned the national projects in Latin America—which excluded them economically and politically, and denied them the right to their cultural identities. These new voices raised the issue of the relationship between anthropologists and the "objects" of their research, and at a number of continental indigenous conferences, some participants charged that anthropology was being used to dominate and control indigenous peoples (see Bonfil 1981).

The voices of these new social actors played a role in politicizing many Latin American social scientists who were in contact with this changing reality. Some decided to renounce academic work and become involved as participants or advisers to indigenous, campesino, and popular organizations. Others decided to create independent research centers, in order to develop a new type of social science more

committed to dialoguing with social actors. In Mexico, this was the case for the Instituto de Asesoría Antropológica para la región Maya asociación civil C. (INAREMAC), directed by Andrés Aubry in San Cristóbal de las Casas; Circo Maya, coordinated by Armando Bartra; and the Centro de Investigación-acción de la Mujer Latinoamericana (CIAM), founded by Mercedes Olivera.

In Chiapas, where I lived and worked for 15 years, coparticipatory research was popularized by some independent researchers linked to nongovernmental organizations and to the Catholic Church, in which the pastoral work in this region was guided by liberation theology. Action research consisted of "recovering" the knowledge of popular sectors with respect to their social reality, supporting the process of systematizing that knowledge, and promoting their awareness-raising process. Even though this research model was intended to transform the hierarchical relationships between the researcher and those being studied, the theoretical premise—inherited from Marxism—that intellectuals could raise the awareness of the "oppressed" was based on a paternalistic view of popular sectors and their knowledge, which was considered to be "distorted" by a "false awareness."

This was part of the inheritance reproduced and eventually confronted by those of us who in recent years have opted for more collaborative research from a feminist perspective. Many of us who are feminist anthropologists decided to use research—in the academic institutions and independent organizations in which we are working—to support the empowerment and awareness-raising processes of women in popular sectors. Nonetheless, critical reflection has led some of us to recognize that we were reproducing some of the ethnocentric perspectives of Marxism. Now, the apparently infallible method is not historic materialism, but instead, a type of gender analysis that emerges from a Western intellectual tradition and that, most of the time, is insensitive to cultural differences.

The proposal we have been working on, with other women who are academic colleagues and activists who are part of the Red de Feminismos Descoloniales (Decolonial Feminist Network), is based on questioning the homogenizing, generalizing perspectives of patriarchy and what are considered to be "women's interests." By rejecting the idea of a preexisting collective subject ("women") and by considering any collectivity to be the product of alliances between those who are different, we are presented with the challenge of building a political agenda on the basis of dialogue and negotiation. Within this task, research has a great deal to contribute in terms of knowledge

and recognition of the cultural and historic specificities of social subjects. In contrast with the action research of the 1970s, this feminist proposal is not based on the premise that we have some historic truth to share, but rather, the purpose is to create a space for dialogue with other women—through research and organizational work—to discuss and analyze the different conceptions and experiences of subordination and resistance. And here, I would venture to borrow the concept of *dialogical anthropology* developed by Dennis Tedlock (1991), referring to a new form of conducting ethnography in which dialogue is fundamental for text development, and which proposes that the researcher is included and recognized as part of the dialogue established with those being studied. Taking this proposal beyond textual strategies, I would suggest that it can be applied to a new way of interacting in the field with social actors. Borrowing from Faye Harrison, we might ask ourselves, "Why conceive the dialogical relationships as textual strategies and not as concrete collaborations? Why is 'dispersal authority' considered to be a narrative style instead of an empowerment strategy for the people we work with? …and why is the notion of cultural criticism limited to granting academics the privilege of intercultural knowledge?" (Harrison 1991: 5).

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The dialogical feminist anthropology I am proposing, unlike coparticipatory research, does not intend to transform reality on the basis of a method or theory considered to be infallible. Rather, together with the social actors with whom we work, the idea is to reflect upon and deconstruct the issues in a shared social reality—and based on these dialogues, to jointly develop a research agenda that makes our knowledge relevant for the those social actors.

In coparticipatory research, the commitment of social scientists with their objects-subjects of study was an easy decision: it was only necessary to take sides with "the people" or those marginalized, in opposition to those responsible for exploitation. However, to the degree that our analyses of power become more complex, we are obliged to reject homogenizing, harmonious representations of those subordinated, recognizing the different levels of inequality experienced in social collectives. Committed social sciences confront new ethical and methodological dilemmas. If we accept the reality that

our representations and analysis—of indigenous peoples, of migrants, women, and religious minorities, to mention some examples—may have political implications for these groups, it is important to acknowledge the *gray* tones existing in between the *blacks and whites* emphasized in the analyses of the past.

By renouncing the certainties that Marxism granted to coparticipatory research in the 1970s and 1980s, we confront new challenges in carrying out socially committed research. The social actors with whom we work—in our case, women—often look to the collaborative relationship for infallible answers to the problems they are facing, more than seeking critical questioning of shared reality. The first collaborative research study that I conducted was together with members of my feminist organization and indigenous women from various political and productive organizations in the early nineties. The purpose of that research was to explore the possibilities and limitations of national law and indigenous normative systems, in relation to sexual and domestic violence. Resistance to giving definitive solutions to the problems discussed was sometimes disappointing for the women participating. Our idea was not to present national law as simply a tool for State control and domination nor to advocate it as a panacea for ethnic and gender oppression. At the same time, our intention was not to satanize what is referred to as indigenous law nor to idealize it as a mechanism for cultural resistance. Our proposal was to explore the possibilities and limitations of both legal systems in relation to the specific problems of indigenous women, for the purpose of seeking alternatives more in line with the cultural and social context in which our organization carried out its work in fighting against sexual and domestic violence. There were many problems in that experience, and I have discussed them elsewhere (see Hernández Castillo 2002). My intention here is not to present that experience as an ideal model for reversing the relations of power in a research process; however, it has been part of a methodological and political search to break with the dichotomies of the researcher and those studied, of the "I" and the "other," and together, to build a "we" based on the articulation of differences.

We have lost the apparent clarity in conceiving of the difference between those dominating and those dominated on the basis of a single axis of subordination: class. When we see the plurality of relations of subordination, all possibilities of homogenous collectives disappear, and it becomes difficult to acknowledge a collective interest that should be supported by researchers. Nevertheless, recognizing these

challenges should not lead to political demobilization, but rather to a search for creative forms of producing knowledge and proposing strategies for engaging in struggle.

In the following sections, I would like to address two dialogues that helped me rethink my feminist premises for activist research and deeply influenced my own identity as an anthropologist and as a feminist.

### *First Dialogue with the Continental Network of Indigenous Women: Cosmovision as a Political Tool in Indigenous Women's Struggle*

The first dialogue that I want to address is my activist research experience with organized indigenous women through the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, with whom I have learned the need to broaden my conception of gender rights from a nonindividualistic understanding of being a woman, and to reconsider the issue of domination through a more holistic perspective that includes not only the relations between men and women, women and women, and men and men, but also between human beings and nature.

Nation-states have promoted women's rights as "globalized localisms" through their programs to incorporate women in development, while assuming some international commitments to incorporate a limited gender perspective in their public policies. This epistemic colonialism started to be denounced by organized indigenous women who, from the early 1990s, argued for the need to recognize their collective rights as part of their peoples as a condition for an integral exercise of their rights as women (see Hernández Castillo and Sierra 2005) and to assert their *cosmovision* as a fundamental perspective to question the West's civilizing project (see *Memoria de la Primera Cumbre de Mujeres Indígenas de América* 2003). These voices were essential for the emergence of new theoretical concepts to decolonize feminism. At least two collective books were published that included this term in the title: *Decolonizing Feminism: Theories and Practices from the Margins* (Suárez and Hernández Castillo 2008) and *Feminisms and Postcoloniality: Decolonizing Feminisms from and in Latin America* (Bidaseca and Vázquez Laba 2011), which gathered voices of indigenous, Chicana, and Muslim feminists from various parts of Africa and Latin America, who question feminist universalisms and propose other epistemologies to think about domination and emancipation.

In the search for other ways to imagine the world and to conceive other possible futures, the temptation to idealize indigenous cultures

has been very present. In reaction to racism and ethnocentrism, indigenous intellectuals or scholars in solidarity have often tended to present an ahistorical view of indigenous people, denying internal contradictions and power relations in the communities, as well as the impact of colonialism on their current-day cultural practices. These representations can become new forms of "discursive colonialism" that do not allow observing how their cultural practices are constantly updated or perceiving the internal dynamics of domination and resistance that develop among indigenous peoples.

Among the challenges that those of us who have assumed the difficult task of decolonizing our feminisms have faced, is recognizing our own ethnocentrism and rejecting the logics of power that produce the "nonexistence" (De Sousa Santos 2009) of indigenous and peasant women, while we break away from "Orientalizing" strategies (Said 1978) that represent them as our alterity, as the holders of a "primordial knowledge" that will serve as the fundament of our emancipation. To impose on them, through our representations, the "responsibility of saving us" by means of their "alternative knowledges" is another form of colonialism and does not encourage the critical dialogues that we need.

Since its foundation, I have had the opportunity to follow up close the creation and consolidation of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, from whose members I have learned other ways of understanding culture and rethinking the relationship between decolonization and depatriarchalization. The Network is an international coordination body created in 1993 by initiative of native Canadian women. It brings together 52 women's organizations from 17 countries in North, Central, and South America, which seek a space to exchange experiences, develop joint initiatives, and give visibility to indigenous women internationally (see Berrío Palomo 2004).

The memoirs, resolutions, and internal documents of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women are a source of theorization that speaks of other ways of understanding women's rights and their relation to peoples' collective rights. In these women's voices and experiences, we can see how they have incorporated elements of their own *cosmovision* as a means of empowerment in their political struggles, reviving the discourse of the complementarity between men and women as an ideal to be achieved, more than as a lived reality. By recovering the spirituality of the ancestors and reinventing new practices and rituals that are more inclusive, organized indigenous women in the Americas are establishing the bases to rethink culture from gender and gender from culture.

The theorizations derived from these encounters account for the new utopian horizons that organized indigenous women are constructing based on the recovery of the historic memory of their peoples. I am interested in reflecting on the effects of resistance and the decentering of hegemonic discourses by the rhetoric and practice of indigenous women who vindicate the spirituality and cosmovision of their peoples.

Analyzing religious spaces as spaces of resistance to various forms of domination has been one of the priorities of the region's anthropology and sociology in recent decades. These studies have demonstrated the fallacies of the old Marxist premise that "religion is the opium of the people," by analyzing how ritual spaces allow social actors to reject, dispute, or negotiate with the structures of domination that frame their lives.[1] Along this line of analysis, I am interested in reflecting on how indigenous spirituality is being vindicated by the members of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, especially by organized women in Mexico and Guatemala, to resist the homogenizing impulse of globalization and the acculturating policies of nation-states, as well as to confront the ethnocentrism of some feminisms that, based on a liberal conception of the individual and a rhetoric of equality, develop their emancipatory projects.

The various genealogies and organizational experiences of the participants of this incipient continental movement of indigenous women have had an influence on whether they have appropriated the tools and critiques of Latin American feminisms and how they have done so. Some of them, especially in Mexico and Guatemala, have started to speak of the existence of indigenous feminisms that prioritize reflection and practice to transform inequalities between the genders. Other sectors, however, have rejected the concept of feminism and have opted to vindicate indigenous cosmovision as a space from which to rethink power relations between men and women. The discourse and practice of indigenous feminists, such as the members of the Kaqla group in Guatemala or some of the members of the Guerrero Indigenous Women's Coordinating Committee, has had much more resonance with the agenda of feminist organizations, which has created possibilities for political alliances. However, the ethnocentrism of some sectors of the academy and of feminist activism have hindered dialogue with the sectors of indigenous women who vindicate cosmovision, and the emancipatory potential that indigenous spirituality has for them has been hardly explored.

Despite the resistance against and the rejection of these culturally situated perspectives by some feminisms, their proposals have gained

an important place in the continental movement of indigenous women. Following the First Indigenous Women Summit of the Americas, held in Oaxaca City in 2002, these voices started playing an important role. As early as the preparatory documents, there was a rejection of the concept of feminism and a vindication of the concepts of complementarity and duality as fundamental to understand gender relations:

> In this document, a feminist inclination will not be observed, since, for indigenous people, cosmovision values each being, and duality is of great importance. It is important to acknowledge that the influence of the invading cultures partially deteriorated this vision regarding women's role in society; because of that, this principle is not observed in our days and great social imbalances and inequalities are suffered. In such a changing world with a model based on Western cultures, it has been difficult to maintain the culture of indigenous peoples intact. (*Memoria de la Primera Cumbre de Mujeres Indígenas de América* 2003: 126)

This explicit rejection of feminism is based on a perception of it as radical and separatist, a stereotype that underlies many of the viewpoints that women from peoples' movements have of feminisms, and that many feminists have unfortunately reproduced. Their unwillingness to understand the genesis of these non-Western political and epistemological proposals and the imposition of a feminist agenda that is insensitive to the cultural diversity of Latin America also contributes to the rejection of the concept of feminism by many indigenous women.

Indigenous women are developing their own theorizations based on the work of their organic intellectuals, who have participated in continental events in the last decade. These theorizations are reflected in the resolutions of the First Summit, at which the concepts of complementarity and duality were the axis of the debates of the Roundtable on Education, Spirituality, and Culture, which resulted in a declaration in which the participants stated,

> We recognize that spirituality is the basis of knowledge and that indigenous education therefore must strengthen it and maintain it, treating it with respect.…We propose developing our own identity, recovering ancestral knowledges and listening to the voices of our ancestors and our spiritual voices to choose the way and build the future. We reaffirm the need to cultivate spirituality by bearing witness, sharing our experiences and our own knowledges, taking advantage of mutual energies and assuming our culture's concepts and beliefs. We return to indigenous

> cosmovision or the science of indigenous peoples, acknowledging the elders as holders of ancestral knowledge, so that they are the teachers of future generations. We strengthen the community's spiritual practices, whereby adults teach youths and children through practice. We revalue spirituality as the main axis of culture by practicing our principles and through training to strengthen our knowledges. (op. cit.: 128).

This vindication of a spirituality and an epistemology of their own by indigenous women prompted rejection by both the most conservative sectors of the Catholic Church and liberal feminists. The letter sent by the Episcopal Commission of the Indigenous Pastoral to the First Indigenous Women Summit of the Americas, accusing them of approaching spirituality "from a perspective that is entirely distant from the cultural and spiritual reality of the various ethnic groups that compose our indigenous peoples" and of "imposing the concept of sexual and reproductive rights, which imply population control programs that are against the values of maternity and life, which are fundamental in indigenous cultures, a fact that has been repeatedly denounced by the communities,"[2] was the beginning of an intense controversy that took place primarily in the *Proceso* magazine, in which the polarized viewpoints on indigenous women's rights were made evident, but especially the practices of erasure and silencing of their voices by Catholic conservatism and liberal feminism.

Based on this conception of cosmovision and spirituality, some Mayan women propose a concept of gender that implies

> "a relation that is respectful, sincere, equitable, of balance, of equilibrium—what in the West would be equity—, of respect, and of harmony, in which both men and women have the opportunity, without it meaning an additional load for the woman, but a Facilitating element. Only this way can we be spiritually well, with human beings, with the earth, the sky, and the elements of nature that give us oxygen.…Because of that, for us, speaking of gender implies resorting to the concept of Duality as understood by indigenous cosmovision, according to which everything in the universe operates in terms of Duality, the sky and the earth, joy and sorrow, night and day complement each other: one cannot be without the other. If there were ten days with only sun, we would die, we could not withstand it. Everything works in terms of Duality, and undoubtedly man and woman." (Estela, indigenous woman from the Political Association of Mayan Women, Moloj, Mayib' Ixoquib', Guatemala. Cited in Calixta Gabriel 2004)

It is evident that, from these perspectives, the concept of complementarity is not an excuse to avoid speaking of power and violence in gender relations, but, on the contrary, a critical tool to question the colonizing attitudes of indigenous men and to argue for the need to rethink culture from the perspective of gender equity.

Recuperating their theorizations and recognizing their emancipatory potential should not imply idealizing today's indigenous cultures. Their proposals speak of a cosmovision that is based on important values that must be recovered and put in practice, and in no way mean to insinuate that they represent the culture that already frames their everyday lives. On the contrary, they acknowledge that "[t]here are currently vast differences between the situation of women and men, but this does not mean that it was always thus. In this case there is the possibility of going back to the roots and recovering the space that belongs to women according to indigenous cosmovision" (ibid.).

Disqualifying these proposals because they are not based on our notion of equality or because they do not vindicate our concern with sexual and reproductive rights, or they do not do so in the same way we think of them in urban and mestizo regions, reproduces the mechanisms of silencing and exclusion of political movements marked by patriarchal perspectives.

### *Second Dialogue from the Female CERESO of Atlacholoaya: Oral History as a Tool to Dismantle Multiple Oppressions*[3]

The second dialogue in my activist research experiences has been with indigenous and Mestizo women in prison, from whom I have learned that, even where there appears to be no room for resistance, in one of the most totalizing state institutions—the prison—reconstructing trajectories of exclusion through shared and collectively reflected oral history can be a tool for uncovering the intersections between racism, patriarchy, and capitalism.

I arrived at the women's Center for Social Rehabilitation (CERESO) in Atlacholoaya, Morelos, in 2008, believing that my anthropological research on the Mexican justice system could somehow contribute to improving women's access to justice, without imagining to what extent those women's reflections and experiences would change my life. This experience made me understand the importance of oral history as a tool for feminist reflection and as a strategy to destabilize colonial racist and sexist discourses. While it is true that feminist theoreticians have written much about the importance of recovering the history of

everyday life and accounting for women's experiences through oral history,[4] I could not imagine how the collective reconstruction of individual histories could serve to build sisterhood among diverse women and to write a counterhistory that revealed how the coloniality of power determines the lack of access to justice by indigenous and peasant women.

Oral history, in the context of our activist research experience, has ceased to be a "methodological tool for researchers" to become, instead, a means of collective reflection that exposes the way in which ethnic and class hierarchies impacted the trajectories of exclusion experienced by the women inmates and their lack of access to justice. Contrasting the experiences of indigenous and nonindigenous women, among women who are campesinas, factory workers, and professionals, between homosexual and heterosexual women—as they shared and reflected upon their life histories—has served to expose the hierarchies defining the system of justice in Mexico and society in general.

Expecting to have an ethnographic approach to the feminine penitentiary environment, I planned to undertake field research by recording the life stories of indigenous women in the women's CERESO in Morelos. This particular CERESO was established in the year 2000 to replace the old penal complex at Atlacomulco in the state of Morelos, which was criticized for the dreadful living conditions for its inmates. Designed as a modern correctional facility, the new detention center includes a section intended exclusively for female inmates, unlike most penal complexes that are made for male prisoners only and are later adapted to fit female inmates (Azaola and Yacamán 1996).

The women's section of the CERESO in Morelos is the penitentiary with the highest number of female prisoners in the state. It houses 205 inmates, 34 percent of whom are under preventive detention, and 65 percent are sentenced inmates, plus there are 15 minors.[5] The penitentiary's installed capacity is for only 120 interns (*Female CERESO's Penitentiary Diagnostics*, Morelos 2009), in spite of which it is considered to be a model penitentiary due to its modern infrastructure and because the complex has sports and educational facilities (Velázquez Domínguez 2004).

In accordance with the methodological design of our collective project, I was interested in applying collaborative methodologies inside the penitentiary environment. This entailed new challenges for me, since it was not the same as working with organized women fighting for social justice as in my work with the Continental Network of Indigenous Women, or as accompanying organizing processes in which I was

involved, as in my work with COLEM. An alternative would have been to approach a human rights or women's organization that would like to sponsor our research team's project. At any rate, collaboration came our way through a different channel.

An obstacle to carrying out the research was the resistance of prison authorities to grant research permits for correctional centers anywhere in the country. Nevertheless, most of the inmate programs for reentering society are of a cultural and educational nature. Many universities, like Mexico City's Autonomous University (UACM) and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and special government institutions such as the Social Rehabilitation Patronage or the Morelos State Social Reentry, are involved in these endeavors. Through a personal contact, I managed to enter as a guest to a workshop that was taking place at Atlacholoaya Women's CERESO. Elena de Hoyos, a feminist poet, was conducting a workshop entitled "Woman: Writing Can Change Your Life." It had been going on for a year, involving between ten and twelve inmates—none of them indigenous—with educational levels ranging from completed elementary school to technical education. When I introduced myself and explained my interest in writing life stories of indigenous prisoner women, they offered to do the interviews themselves with their fellow inmates if I provided the proper methodological training.

This was the beginning of a space for dialogue and collective construction of knowledge that has brought new challenges for me, as an academic and an activist. What began as a writing workshop has become the Colectiva Editorial de Mujeres en Prisión Hermanas en la Sombra (Publishing Collective of Women in Prison Sisters in the Shadows), which has already published seven books as well as various articles for cultural and penitentiary journals. The stories and denouncements in these publications have played a part in the review of prosecution files and the release of a number of women who were unfairly imprisoned.[6]

The formal goal of the Life Histories Workshop, in which ten writers were involved, all of them inmates at the Atlacholoaya CERESO, was to "train participants in the technical elements of elaborating life histories, as a literary and reflective asset for gender inequality." The workshop has been taking place from October 2008 up until the day I am finishing this article (May 2015), and the women involved have undertaken their own project, each elaborating the life history of one of their indigenous inmates. Once a month, the fellow inmates whose histories are being summarized take part in the workshop to listen to

progress made, and to comment on and question the ways in which their lives are being represented by the workshop members.

This collective process has allowed us to create new bonds between indigenous and nonindigenous women, and has opened up a reflective sphere on racism and exclusions in Mexican society, reproduced within the penal environment. Through these dialogues, we confront ethnocentric perspectives on defining a dignified life, while questioning perspectives on "backwardness and progress" that tend to delineate the contrast between the lives of indigenous women and urban mestizo women. When we compare their histories, we realize that in most cases the "national system of justice" does not represent "progress" in relation to community forms of justice:

> Since detention, most of us have suffered beatings, mistreatment, insults from the servants of the law, and in some cases, certain extortions that aren't subject to proceedings. Like magic, the medical reports and testimonies of these aggressions disappear in the trajectory from the prosecutor's office to the prison. And some little lines appear saying that the accused, now the alleged person responsible, appeared of her own free will to give her statement. The *costalazos*[7] don't leave any signs, but they have damaged my inner flesh. (Excerpt from *Los Costalazos* by Águila del Mar, in *Mareas Cautivas*, 2013: 32)

As participants shared their life histories, they came to realize that sexual and domestic violence takes different forms, and is more private in urban settings, but is still there. By contrasting their histories, reflecting on them, and writing them down in a collective text, the women were able to not only denounce the racism, sexism, and classism in the penitentiary system but also construct new subjectivities by denaturalizing violence. In the spaces for collective reflection created for the reading of their life histories, participants began to express the need to strengthen themselves from within to confront violence, and especially, to teach their daughters outside of the prison how to avoid reproducing the types of relationships they had experienced. In an exercise completed within the framework of the workshop, participants wrote letters to women who have been mistreated psychologically and physically:

> Break the chains of subjugation caused by the lack of high esteem. Find yourselves again and look around you. Life shouldn't be like it was for our mothers. We need to construct our own way of thinking and communicating with our spouses, instead of repeating the ways of life from

> our families. To have our own way of living, to know how to express our own feelings and to teach our children to express their own feelings both with the people around them and with their romantic partners. To know how to say "no" to violence.[8]
>
> Woman, if you dare to break the silence, you may be able to put an end to the pattern of violence that surrounds you and that you may actually be reproducing. It's understandable that if we live in a violent home, sooner or later we will reproduce the violence…but today, I encourage you to reveal yourself to fight against what humiliates you, what tramples on your dignity. Listen, you are invaluable. Don't remain silent. Shout, and fight for your rights, because after all, you're a woman.[9]

My experience has been by no means unique. Literary workshops have been a point of entrance for many academics into the penitentiary realm, and a number of analysts have pointed out the complicities that occur between "instructors" and authorities in penal institutions, since workshops act as a means to feed the penal system's control and domestication needs (Bruchac 1987, Olguín 2009). The way in which the contents of the literary workshops respond to the cultural context of inmates and allow or hamper critical reflection shapes the hegemonic or counterhegemonic role these vehicles may have.[10]

With these ideas in mind, my purpose for the Life Histories Workshop has been to encourage intercultural exchange between indigenous and nonindigenous women and to promote critical reflection on the chain of ethnic, gender, and class inequalities that gave rise to their reclusion. The participants have begun to elaborate their own theorizations and reflections that they incorporate into their biographical narratives, thus rendering hybrid and novel forms that go beyond mere life histories.

Discussing similarities and differences, has been a central part of the workshops:

> Personally, I feel this workshop helps me get to know my companions better, learn about their ideas, express ourselves better and I wish it also helps us become closer. I believe it is helping me be a better person, to express my feelings and thoughts and be more sensible to my companions. To illiterate indigenous women, our work has been a way of making their lives known, and along with theirs our own, as a form of mutual help. (*¿Y Ahora qué sigue*? 2008–1, 8: 3)

This collective process, which for a time broke with the prison's interior separation between rural and urban women, allowed for the

creation of new ties of solidarity between indigenous and nonindigenous women, and opened up a space to reflect upon the racism and exclusion in Mexican society that were being reproduced within penitentiary space.

Although the topic of violence was not central to these life histories, this theme surfaced in the majority of testimonies. The great challenge that we have faced, not just in the second part of the workshop but throughout the long-term process that has lasted until the present day (May 2015), has been to avoid revictimization in the name of denunciation. This has been a permanent preoccupation of those who work on processes of psychological and social accompaniment of victims of sexual violence (see Aranguren Romero 2010). Despite the fact that decisions to include experiences of domestic or sexual violence in life histories were taken in a reflexive manner by the women participants, as coordinators of the workshops we were concerned by the effects that having to narrate anew the horror of lived violence could have on the minds and bodies of the victims, and the lack of therapeutic resources to accompany these processes for those of us who had not been trained to deal with situations of emotional crisis. It was partly in response to this concern that, as the coordinators of the workshops, we requested the support of therapists Marie Laversin and Pilar Hinojosa who, using various healing techniques, have worked through the painful memories that this process stirred up in participants.

It is not my intention to give formulas or preestablished methods for feminist activist research, but rather I seek to share a collective experience of which I have been part, and to outline some ideas concerning how life histories can become an instrument for self-reflection, healing, and finally political contestation.

## Final Reflections

As a feminist, I have found that dialogical activist research with indigenous women has contributed to a process of reformulating my own conceptions of gender rights, and has led me to a process criticizing my own complicities in the processes of "erasing" other conceptions and expectations in relation to justice for women.

The voices and experiences of the members of the Continental Network of Indigenous Women and of the women who participated in the Penitentiary Workshops on Life Histories (*Talleres Penitenciarios de Historias de Vida*) are a source of theorizations that speak to us of other forms of understanding women's rights and their connections to

the collective rights of peoples. The theorizations arising from these collective spaces and others being created in different regions of Latin America point to new utopic horizons that organized indigenous women are constructing as they recover the historic memory of their peoples. My intention in this chapter was to reflect upon the effects of resistance and the process of decentering hegemonic discourses in the rhetoric and practice of indigenous women who are defending other ways of understanding justice and women's rights.

In the activist research with indigenous women, we have attempted to establish epistemic dialogues on the basis of research and organizational work. We have discussed and analyzed different conceptions and experiences of subordination and resistance. In these dialogues, the contributions from indigenous intellectuals have been vital. Working in the academic world and in political activism, they are developing their own theorizations in relation to the collective rights of their peoples and the rights of women. In this new context, voices such as those of Martha Sánchez (2005, 2012), Alma López (2005), Georgina Méndez (2014), Tarcila Rivera (2005), Irma Alicia Velázquez (2003), and Millaray Painemal and Emma Chirix (2003, 2013) have been fundamental in responding to the representations and victimizations being made of indigenous women in the academic world and in public policies.

It is impossible to continue to practice anthropology without addressing these new voices and representations, and only through dialogue will we find the paths and possibilities for committed feminist anthropology.

## Notes

1. Regarding religious spaces as spaces of resistance, see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Hernández Castillo 2004. A collection of works that specifically address the issue of religion as a space for women's resistance can be found in Marcos 2000 and 2004.
2. For the entire document, see http://www.convencion.org.uy/lang/en/mensaje-a-la-cumbre-de-mujeres-indigenas-de-las-americas?print=1.
3. A deeper analysis of the situation of indigenous women in prisons and the results of this collaborative research can be found in "¿Del Estado Multicultural al Estado Penal? Mujeres Indígenas Presas y Criminalización de la Pobreza en México," in Teresa Sierra, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and Rachel Sieder *Justicias indígenas y estado. Violencias contemporáneas* (2013).
4. See Diane Wolf (1996); Reinharz (1992); Fonow and Cook (1991).
5. The children are allowed to live with their mothers in the prison until they are six years old, at which time they are given to their relatives who have custody or they are kept under State custody.

6. The Colectiva Editorial has published, with support from IWGIA and CIESAS, a book/video entitled *Bajo la Sombra del Guamuchil. Historias de Vida de Mujeres Indígenas y Campesinas Presas* (2010) and a revised and extended version in 2015; with support from the Instituto de Cultura de Morelos, the handmade books entitled *Fragmentos de Mujer* (2011) and *Mareas Cautivas. Navegando las Letras de las Mujeres en Prisión* (2012); and with a scholarship from the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, a three-book collection entitled *Revelaciones Intramuros*.
7. *Costalazos* are a form of torture in which a person's body is wrapped in gunny sacks before being beaten to avoid leaving marks.
8. Exercise by Guadalupe Salgado, in the Life Histories Workshop at the Atlacholoaya Women's CERESO, May 17, 2009.
9. Exercise by Susuki Lee, in the Life Histories Workshop at the Atlacholoaya Women's CERESO, May 17, 2009.
10. In this regard, Ben Olguín (2009) contrasts the experience of Jean Trounstine (2001) with her literary workshop project known as *Shakespeare behind Bars*, in which the writer taught English theater from the sixteenth century to female prisoners, most of them women of color, while disregarding the prisoners' own writing, with the work of James B. Waldram (1997), who used Paulo Freire's pedagogy in his workshops to recover the spirituality and traditional knowledge of Canada's imprisoned native population. Sara Makowski, for her part, asserts that the Literary Workshop held in the Mexico City Women's Prison known as the Reclusorio Preventivo Femenil Oriente, where she conducted her research, was a space of counterpower: "In the Literature Workshop things that cannot be even mentioned in any other corner of the women's prison are spoken about and discussed. There, anxieties are shared, and the group increases its awareness of ways to transform complaints and pain into critical judgment" (1994: 180).

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# 3

# Interview with Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe

*Elisabeth Cunin*
*Introductory Note by Alejandro Castillejo and María Angélica Ospina*
*Translated by Hans Buechler*

(This interview was first published in Spanish in *Antipoda-Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* 2, January–June 2006, Department of Anthropology, University of Los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, from the original transcription furnished by the interviewee.)

Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe, a retired university professor of the National University of Colombia, is one of the central figures of Colombian anthropology. His trajectory in this field spans some 40 years, during which he engaged in a type of anthropology dedicated primarily to peasant and indigenous struggles, in particular those concerning the Guambiano, Páez, and Embera Chamí societies. His radical Marxist and Maoist positions, both in the exercise of his profession as an anthropologist and in his pedagogy, made him the target of criticism of both his closer and wider circles, even though he has unquestionably put his imprint on a whole theoretical and methodological direction, which we now consider necessary to reflect upon, namely, whether anthropologists can contribute to emancipation or are invariably a part of the status quo. Given that the relationships between "intellectual" and "political" concerns with reference to the uses and abuses of power has changed, how can we "localize" this connection today? What is the *locus* of the critical vocation of

the researcher, the anthropologist, and, more generally, of the academic? And, in this context, what direction should the formation of new generations of anthropologists take, given that, according to the present market logic, certain relationships with knowledge-power are privileged over anthropological ethics and practice? With the publication of this interview that the French anthropologist Elisabeth Cunin, who studies Afro-Colombian groups along the Atlantic coast, conducted with him in 2003, we would like to recognize the contribution of Professor Vasco. These fragments contain crucial information about the background and the functioning of Colombian anthropologists, from the experience of Professor Vasco qua anthropologist—or, perhaps, as many would say, qua "anti-anthropologist."

> *Every day more researchers discover that, to try to renounce their subjectivity means renouncing their creativity, their possibility to contribute positively to knowledge, and to derive from this knowledge elements to personal fulfillment and to something more than a profession that provides them with a means of making a living.*
>
> —Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe
> ("Objectivity in Anthropology: a Mortal Trap")

*EC*: *I don't know how to begin this interview…*

*LGVU*: Well, I don't define myself. I always say that I am simply a *licenciado* in anthropology, which is what I studied and the title I have. On occasion, my students said that what I was doing was anti-anthropology.

*EC*: *And what is that?*

*LGVU*: Well, in one way, it's a critique: an attack on anthropology, and, on the other, positing alternatives to working with indigenous people, not in relation to anthropology, but rather in relation to their struggles. During almost 20 years, I defined myself as solidary with the indigenous struggles. During that time, we defined what solidarity meant and we spoke about a two-way solidarity. The objective was to contribute to indigenous struggles; however, we expected that alternatives would result from this that would permit current generations to do things differently from what anthropologists usually did.

*EC*: *Such as what?*

*LGVU*: An anthropology that would not be an instrument of domination over indigenous people, an anthropology that participated in and constituted a contribution to the struggle in which they were engaging.

*EC*: *And how can one do this other anthropology?*

*LGVU*: By *doing* it.

*EC*: *But what is the difference between that colonial anthropology—one of domination—and the kind of anthropology that you propose?*

*LGVU*: It is first and foremost a point of view, a position: to engage in anthropology at the service of indigenous people.

*EC*: *Does that mean not to engage in anthropology in order to obtain academic recognition?*

*LGVU*: No. During that period we didn't even publish anything, because what we needed to do was to change things around. I believe that I was able to discover and to embrace the entire traditional anthropology with its theories, methods, and techniques of investigation, and to employ it for a different purpose. The character of that form of anthropology is marked by its colonialist purpose, and, as a result, it is useless. So one needs to do new things. Now, since one can't begin from zero, because one has already been indoctrinated for this purpose during four years at the university, one has to begin with what one has, but with the understanding that one has to create new forms of investigation and of interaction.

*EC*: *Specifically in terms of methodology—of the manner of working—what is this new anthropology?*

*LGVU*: One of the things that I don't like, and that fascinates anthropologists, is to give distinctive names to things in order to be able to say "look at my contribution" and "look how I have created this new concept," but, on occasion, it's actually appropriate. For the book *Entre selva y páramo* (Vasco Uribe 2002b), I used a concept that I named, for the purpose of investigation, "gathering the concepts of life." This is what people think that I have created during my work with indigenous people. Not I alone [of course].

*EC*: *In other words, one could say that the production, the result, is not just your own but also a collective product with the indigenous people?*

*LGVU*: The result of a collective effort in which indigenous people participated, especially those from Cauca, the Guambianos, as well as the students that involved themselves in this effort with an initial conviction which, in most instances—because the opportunities to work in this way are very rare—only lasts until they graduate and have to find work.

*EC*: *Does that mean that you never went to anthropological or other academic meetings to present this work?*

*LGVU*: After my experiences participating in the National Congress of Anthropology, one in 1982 in Medellín and another one, also in Medellín, where the Indigenous Organization of Antioquia organized a symposium about Embera culture, I concluded that these

places were not amenable to having discussions and confrontation nor spaces to present alternative conclusions. When I protested to one of my former professors about what was happening in these congresses, he answered, "Of course, old chap, what did you think they are? They are places where we can meet with old friends, drink a few glasses, and tell each other what we have done."

*EC*: *How does the work you are doing proceed?*

*LGVU*: I prefer to speak in the past tense. We had an organized group that we called *solidarios,* "the solidary ones." There were committees of solidarity with indigenous struggles in several universities: in Antioquía, in Cuenca, in the National University in Bogotá, in the Universidad del Valle…There were other groups that did not belong to the *comité de solidaridad*, who were not academics, but solidary nevertheless. They were located in the neighborhoods. Here there was one in Ziipaquiará, others in Yumbo, in Preira, in Armenia. We coordinated our efforts with them, and we worked jointly with the indigenous movement.

*EC*: *And what does that mean?*

*LGVU*: It begins with the most elementary things like, for example—when indigenous people engaged in actions of some sort in some city—to deal with the infrastructure and give the necessary assistance for them to be able to come; and to accompany them to government offices, to the poor neighborhoods, or to universities to present their point of view. Also to participate in the organization of the activities that they engaged in in the different regions, giving legal support, and producing knowledge that would serve all these purposes; participating in the discussions about planning things: recuperation of land, activities to obtain recognition from indigenous authorities, et cetera. And to these ends we needed to undertake research. We organized several meetings or get-togethers about research, and we created new research tools. The academic studies we had to do often focused on these themes. And the students did their school theses on these subjects.

*EC*: *Why did you stay at the university? Why didn't you leave your work at the university—at this academic venue that you didn't really like—to work directly with indigenous people?*

*LGVU*: Well, I frequently did leave it. In the Guambía, for example, I worked for one year, and then every year I went for at least two two-month stints. The university facilitated this with its resources and made it possible to present research proposals. Also, at that time, I believed that one could thereby gain the support of a lot of people for this kind of work and that I could provide young people with an alternative to traditional anthropology. So I was able to attract a lot of people, but I discovered that as soon as they graduated and

it came time to find jobs for which they were qualified, they abandoned everything they had learned because they had to do whatever they were hired for. On the other hand, the situation and this kind of work has become very risky because of the guerrillas and the paramilitary groups, and because the conditions for the indigenous movement are no longer the same. Now the relationship that one has with the indigenous groups is subject to different parameters. These are, among other factors, the result of what we have achieved with the indigenous movement. Now, the anthropologists that work with indigenous people do so under contract. While we never earned a penny, and had to spend our own money, they receive salaries. And they have to do what the communities tell them to do. Theirs is not a relationship of discussion nor of collaboration and—at times—of confrontation about make decisions to make. Now, if they don't like it, they leave and someone else is contracted instead. Or else, one appears on the scene, and if one doesn't come with a research project where money flows to the community and one contracts people from the community with good salaries et cetera, one isn't accepted.

*EC*: *This change in the relationship with indigenous people comes from the fact that they now no longer need anthropologists as much as they did before, doesn't it?*

*LGVU*: They do need them, but the mentality has changed regarding what they can contribute. They do need them, because they do, in fact, hire them, paying them salaries. They contract them as consultants.

*EC*: *Do they have their own indigenous anthropologists?*

*LGVU*: Yes, these do exist, but most of them are very bad, very traditional. They only are interested in the salary and not the needs the communities; they put on airs as doctors and consider themselves superior to the rest of the people.

*EC*: *Have you ever had difficulties with indigenous communities yourself?*

*LGVU*: Yes, of course I have, because communities are not homogeneous and because in the communities one confronts many persons and different interests, each of which has the support of different factions among the indigenous people themselves. Initially, I began work as an anthropologist with the Embera of Risaralda. In 1967, the Department of Anthropology of the National University took me on the path of the kind goes by the euphemism of "academic practices," and I remained on that path. But [at that time] I [also] worked with the National Association of Peasant Users (ANUC), peasants of a community in Cundinamarca. That association had a different orientation: they were more politicized, more leftist, more

confrontational. I stayed with the Embera, first, because I liked them a lot—I got along with them and liked the region—and I did the work for my degree there. But I already had a particular leaning, even before working with the ANUC. I am an Antioqueño and have lived in Medellín until I was 24. There I had worked with workers and was a member of a leftist political organization. When I went to Bogotá, I worked in poor neighborhoods before working with ANUC. So I already had a political stance in favor of the popular sectors. In the Embera region of Chamí, where I worked, there was no organization at all; everything was controlled by the landlords, the politicians, and the missionaries. So I became involved in the work [of organizing]. We were able to get rid of the landlords, not by recuperating land, but by fighting for the creation of an indigenous reservation (*reserva*), then a preserve (*resguardo*), and finally that Incora[1] purchased a few haciendas and sugar cane mills and handed them over to them. I worked with the Chamí, and I put them in contact with the people from ANUC to help them organize a *cabildo*, et cetera.

However, the mission nuns soon became a major obstacle. In the decade of the eighties, a development occurred here in Colombia that I would term "the missionaries became good." They found out that if they continued to oppose the organization and the indigenous struggles—as they had been doing—they would kick them out, as they had already done in various localities. As a result, they decided that "if you can't defeat the enemy, join it." So they "became good." They began to adopt the indigenous discourse of respect for their culture. They helped them organize in order to maintain control over them. The missionaries controlled the indigenous *cabildo* of Chamí and the running of the haciendas and of the sugar mills that Incora had given them. They continued to manipulate their education and the indigenous leaders. In 1975, after 18 years of going there, I began a study of what I called "recuperation of basketry and pottery." At that time I had the idea—I still have it today but I no longer think that it's the main thing—about the importance of recuperating and consolidating elements of indigenous material culture in the process of peoples' struggles. In other words, I felt that the struggle could not be limited to economics, the recuperation of land, or the political—creating a new form of organization—, but that one also had to engage in cultural recuperation.

I am an essentialist. As a Marxist, I believe that everything has an essence. The antiessentialism that is promoted today is a new weapon to attack the idealism that forms part of materialist positions. This

does not mean that essences are immutable, that they do not manifest themselves in forms that are variable, historical. But if you change the essence of something, it ceases to be what it was and becomes something else, even if you call it with the same name. I felt that my project with pottery and basketry was fundamental in strengthening the essence of being Embera, and this constituted the motive for my endeavor.

But right from the start I clashed with the nuns, who also realized the importance of pottery and basketry for Embera society. However, they had succeeded in convincing the *cabildo* to prohibit the production of pots with the argument that they were used to make corn beer thereby fostering drunkenness. They put the potters that continued to work in stocks. Initially, the *cabildo*, who knew about my 18-year effort there, authorized my project, but then the nuns pressured them to oppose it, and they revoked my permission and told me to leave. So, respecting their authority, I left, even though the other *cabildo*—the community was, at the time divided—asked me to stay and continue with my project. I haven't been back for 20 years now. I met with them in many other places; sometimes they have asked me to come back, but the past is past. From then on I dedicated myself to working in Cauca.

Already in my book *Jaibanás, los verdaderos hombres* (Vasco Uribe 1985), I advocated for the first time believing what people tell you, because anthropologists never believe what people say. Only what the anthropologists say is the truth. People provide information and give their point of view and their opinion, but the anthropologist is the interpreter and that becomes the truth. That is the very foundation of anthropology.

*EC*: *Nevertheless, when you write a book, you do so with the tools of the anthropologist, don't you?*

*LGVU*: That book was exactly what they say is the truth. I discussed and talked for a long time with Clemente Nengarabe and with other *jaibaná*. What is written in that book is what they told me a *jaibaná* is. The title is "Jaibanás, the true men (people)." It was published by the Banco Popular. Their publications were very "serious" and "scientific," and therefore their covers only had letters and muted colors. I proposed, instead, that they should put a photo of a *jaibaná* in full color on the cover with that title. Initially, they told me that this would "detract from its scientific weight." But I told them, "Look, in order to be valid, the title of a book must reflect its content as closely as possible, and what it says is that the *jaibanás* are the true people," so they did publish it that way. But this affirmation is of the Embera. They (the anthropologists) say that this is part of the

ethnocentrism of indigenous societies everywhere, who regard that they are the "true human beings," or "the men," or "the only ones," or "the humans," or that they are "the people" and everybody else is less than that. "Embera" means that too, "the people." But "the true people" are the *jaibanás*. In that book, I take a different point of view from that of the anthropologists, one which at the time was much more polemic than it is today, namely that one must believe the myths. Myth is truth.

Recently, I published an article in the *Boletín del Museo del Oro*: "Guambianos, una cultura de oro" ("Guambianos, a culture of gold," Vasco Uribe 2002b), and in the same issue there is an article written by a Guambiano woman who writes against my interpretation, claiming instead, "How can they say that we Guambianos are so naive as to believe that gold came from shrubs and was extracted by cooking these shrubs, and that in earlier times all things were made out of gold…How can that be? These are only comparisons." The only thing missing was to say, à la Lévi-Strauss, that these are metaphors. My first thesis that broke with the anthropological canon of the times was to say that myth was truth, that what myths said was true, that one had to believe what they said. In addition, in that book I wasn't content with presenting what the Embera said, but also what their criteria and conceptions were in a way that would resonate with us, because it was a tool against the extermination that the Embera *jaibanás* were suffering. The missionaries said that they were working with the devil, and every time there was an epidemic—and in the indigenous areas here there are terrible ones that kill many persons, particularly children—, they said that the *jaibanás* were the root cause. So the people of the community would go out and kill the *jaibanás*. There even was a decree, issued by the mayor's office of Mistrató, on which they depended, that issued jail sentences based on the Police Code for *jaibaná*-like practices. The missionaries had gotten rid of the *jaibanás*. One of the great deeds that the missionaries attributed to themselves was having taken away the staffs (which are now located in the museum of Mother Laura in Medellín, and I imagine that there are other ones in France) because they believed that without these staffs, the *jaibanás* would no longer be able to engage in curing…they gave them short courses and had succeeded them to abandon their beliefs. They even succeeded in convincing Clemente. So the book was a tool to fight against all the enemies of the *jaibanás*. One had to revindicate the *jaibanás* with the tools of the white people, with words and criteria of our society; it could not be achieved solely with what the indigenous people themselves said, because they didn't believe them. They didn't give any value to their words, not

even among themselves. And that is what the anthropologists from there think too, and make long speeches and write large books to interpret what the myths mean, for the myths themselves cannot be believed.

*EC*: *So one shouldn't interpret.*

*LGVU*: No, what one should do is believe them. That is the basic premise of the book. And there are other contributions that the book makes. For me, it was a good beginning, because my book *Los Chamí. La situación del indígena en Colombia* (Vasco Uribe 1975) (The Chamí. The situation of indigenous people in Colombia*),* my graduate thesis, did not get me very far, even though at the time Nina de Friedemann's critique, who was always against what I said, was that it echoed the best moments of Malinowski's classical anthropology, great praise for a person like myself who only studied anthropology for four years and graduated with a [generic] bachelor's degree (*licenciado)*, not even *licenciado de antropología* as would be the case today. In the introduction, I affirm that one had to apply Mao's thoughts to produce a kind of knowledge that would be of use to the Chamí, rather than to base oneself on what anthropologists write, but that was limited to the introduction and was not developed in the study.

*EC*: *How does that encounter between the Maoist movement and indigenous populations occur?*

*LGVU*: I don't know why it happened, but a large number of *solidarios* had worked with Maoist organizations and soon we came to be together. We didn't know one another. We got to know one another through the indigenous movement. The explanation may be that in Maoism there is an element of getting close to the people, of working with people. I once had read a little book written by Mao entitled *Opposing Oneself to the Cult of Books*. When we began working in Cauca, we found out that there was a way of working that the indigenous people used at meetings that gave impressive results. They called it *comisiones*, but it wasn't what one usually means by that term. There is a fundamental difference—I write about it in the book *Entre selva y páramo*—: there are no conclusions, at least not in way we understand them. The commissions meet, people gather according to criteria that depend on the circumstances, they discuss things among themselves, and then they return to the plenary to discuss in the full assembly. But no conclusions come from these *comisiones*, nor does anybody present them in the plenary session. The *comisiones* were formed according to what they termed ethnic criteria: people spoke in their language, so one would have been seen as nosy if one had attended them. Generally, they had one of Guambianos, another of Paeces, one of Pastos, of

Kamsás…and whites: the sindicalists, peasants, intellectuals, et cetera were separate. So, in time I realized that these were [not ??] the discussion meetings that Mao talked about in this little book as the basic way of knowledge of the militants of the party. It meant simply, according to Mao, that the party militant is the one who organizes, who reaches conclusions and achieves knowledge. Here, this was not the case. Neither was it the one of the Investigación-Acción Participativa (IAP; Participatory Investigation-Action) of Orlando Fals Borda, which is obvious when one reads his books. The IAP say that they don't want the intellectual to be the subject who creates knowledge, but when it comes to give back knowledge at the end of a study, knowledge remains in the hands of those where it should not be, so they need to give it back in some way. It's as though they had stolen something. The same thing happens with Mao's approach: the party must give knowledge back to the people in the form of slogans, of directives. This is not the case among the Indians of Cauca. There, knowledge remains in the hands of the people. There, I was *solidario* rather than investigator. So I would go and participate in those *comisiones*, but they were the ones who gave directions, who coordinated, who oriented, who said how one did things, who gathered the results, and, in accordance with this, advanced the struggle.

*EC*: *But you did publish on the academic level.*

*LGVU*: No. In that period nothing. The books on the Embera had already appeared. But that was history. When I was working with the Embera, I did not follow this criterion yet. While the book about the *jaibanás* was published for other reasons, and, to achieve it, I went to the reunions, the assemblies, and the forums for the book, it was a weapon to fight against the priests, the nuns, the anthropologists, and even the indigenous peoples themselves.

What happened after that? Thirteen years had passed since I had begun going to Guambía, when, in 1986—after I left the Embera—, the Guambianos, who had created a committee in 1982 to recuperate their history, felt that they had gotten stuck and asked the *solidarios*, "We need someone to come and work with us, with the history committee." We all discussed the issue, and they said: "Vasco." So I went. In other words, I only began to engage in a "study as an anthropologist" in Guambía after 13 years of going there. By that time, I knew the community and had established a foundation of confidence. They have a kind of assessing committee there: the Concejo de Cabildo, formed by all the former governors and leaders. They formulated all the research conditions: where we were going to live, where we would go to work, with whom, et cetera. My only condition was, "I am not going to live where they always take white

people to live; I want to live with the people, in the homes of people, sharing their lives." They had a very peculiar view of research. They gave us an office in one of the recuperated hacienda houses; they established an eight-to-five workday every day of the week except for Tuesday—market day—but including Sunday, and I fulfilled all of this.

*EC*: *In other words, they make the rules.*

*LGVU*: They make them, and they established that none of the information that resulted from the study could leave the community. But changes occurred there too. That study had talking maps as its methodological anchor. This was a method that Víctor Daniel Bonilla had basically established with the Paeces and that emerged from the struggle and the relationship we had established.

*EC*: *And all the knowledge remains in the community…*

*LGVU*: Well, not everything, because one also keeps it in one's head. The maps were a creative element, the amplification and socialization of knowledge. With that knowledge, one went to work in Guambía. We worked for six months on this, and there was not going to be anything in writing. But on our side there were a few research assistants. The Guambianos said, "We don't want any anthropologists," so the research assistants were *solidarios*, but at the same time, they were also students. They, the research assistants, didn't have anything to hold onto, because nothing was in writing; everything was oral. Since we have lost our capacity to remember—we lost that capacity ever since we learned how to write—they had nothing to hold onto. So we instituted a fieldwork diary, and so the Guambianos said, "We will also have a fieldwork diary." We also had note cards. In the evening, we wrote by candlelight—because in the first place, where they sent us there was no electricity. After seven months, they saw that nothing went anywhere else; no report was written, so they relaxed their hold on us.

But when we had reached half of the work dedicated to the talking maps about the war and about religion, which the Guambianos had defined as their priorities, the *cabildo* changed and the new governor decided that he was not in agreement with this methodology and that we had to write. Neither the history committee nor I myself were in agreement, but both they and I bent to the authority of the *cabildo*. "Where the captain rules, the sailor does not rule," and we introduced writing as the basis of our work. This is what antianthropology entails. In contrast, the professors who taught research methods at the national university, such as Myriam Jimeno, told the students, "How can one be a scientist if the *cabildo* comes, gives an order, and one has to obey even if one disagrees?" But our aim in the project was not that of anthropology but of the Guambianos. For

example, in this case the *cabildo* would tell us, "We need a primer written in Spanish to be able to confront the white people in the town of Silvia, the landlords, and Incora who tell us that we Guambianos have no rights to these lands, because we are not from around here, but were brought here from Peru by the Spaniards." And so we set to work to write one…

What does that entail? We had to examine a series of texts written by anthropologists and historians. But we also had all the Guambiano concepts that we had gathered during our fieldwork and we joined both elements to write the primer entitled *We Are Both Root and Shoot* (Dagua et al. 1989). We put it together, gave it to the *cabildo*, and the *cabildo* used it for its own objectives. From the beginning, when we initiated the project, the Guambianos would say, "One of the problems that anthropologists have is that they leave again, and we don't know what they did with the results of the study." So I told them, "We will find out what they did. We will go through all their texts related to Guambía—there weren't many—and we will find out. The general conclusion that the Guambianos reached from them was, "What they say there is a lot of hogwash." Why? "Because one of the things that has allowed us to continue living is to hide things, but a lot of people come to investigate here. How do we deal with that? By telling the anthropologists tall tales. In every hamlet, everyone who has worked with anthropologists has stories to tell." We would read from a book, and they would say, "Oh, this is the story that such and such a person from this or that hamlet tells." We would check whether that was the case, and, sure enough, such and such anthropologist had worked with such and such informants.

It's not surprising that indigenous people have certain conceptions of what research means. The Guambianos' own history begins like that: "The Spaniards arrived investigating." When I said that I had come to investigate in Chamí for the first time, they thought I was from the DAS, the Department of Security [Departamento Administrativo de Seguridad], because they associate investigating with the things that government intelligence agents do. And they are perfectly correct, that's what anthropologists are. It's just that they don't belong to the DAS or to the CTI, the Technical Investigative Staff (Cuerpo Técnico de Investigación); the latter work in more hidden ways, but that's our work. It's the fifth column.

*EC*: *So they invented stories for the anthropologists…*

*LGVU*: And they continue to do so. I had an office mate at the university, Roberto Pineda, who worked with Antonio Guzmán, and he would tell me how it worked, how these big tales were created. When

Antonio Guzmán had nothing to say, he went home and came back the next day with a very elaborate story, and Roberto Pineda was fascinated because [he thought] he had invented sliced bread, when, in reality, Antonio had invented it during the night.

A female student went to do a study of the researchers in Guambía, which overwhelmed her because she was only in the second semester. But she did find out interesting things such as the case of a female Italian anthropologist who was made crazy by the *Psihimisak*. [The story was that] she got lost, and the Guambianos had to retrieve her naked on some very high boulders somewhere in the highlands and somehow take her to Popayán and deliver her to the Italians to return her to her family.

The initial things we wrote only circulated and were used in Guambía. They consisted of booklets that we published on screen and in mimeographed form, and circulated in the teacher training courses. The governor told us, "Your work, once you make the booklet, will belong to the teachers. We found that limiting because we had already planned a major project with talking maps for all the hamlets. We had it all set up and had spoken to the teachers about it…

One of the Guambianos of the History Committee threw in the towel. The others said, "It doesn't matter. Let's continue our work; we are not in agreement, but the *cabildo* gives the orders." Other things were published in a more elaborate form, such as the book entitled *Guambianos, hijos del aroiris y del agua* (Dagua Hurtado et al. 1998) (Guambianos, children of the rainbow and water), which was published in Spanish under the names of three persons, but—as we mention in the introduction—was in fact written jointly with many Guambianos. Joanna Rappaport wrote a series of lamentations about why it appeared in Spanish, arguing that it implies recolonization, et cetera. But the reason is more simple: that book is not for the Guambianos, it's to counteract, even if only a little, the lies that anthropologists have said about the Guambianos. We had planned to do a double translation to the Guambiano language, *wan*. One version in the present-day Guambiano, so that young Guambianos would understand it, and the other in the language spoken by the elders, so that older people would understand it. But now it is being translated into a picture language, rather than letters by a group headed by Taita[2] Abelino Dagua. It is not being translated in letters because there is a problem with the Guambiano language: it is not unified, and there are several alphabets in circulation.

Before the publication of the jointly produced book, there was another experiment: the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and

History (ICANH) was going to publish *Encrucijadas de Colombia amerindia* (Colombian Amerindian crossroads) (Correa 1993), and they called upon me to write the part covering Guambía. I told them about the criterion of not publishing anything outside the area, and my own criterion of not writing anything alone, but I told them that I would consult with the Guambianos about it. I spoke to my colleagues of the History Committee, and they, in turn, discussed the issue among themselves, with others and with the *cabildo*, and they told me, "If we don't write it ourselves, they will give it to an anthropologist, who will continue to write lies."

We wrote it under one condition, that they [the editors] should not change anything and that if they thought that something should be changed, we would not allow its publication altogether. So we wrote, "On the second day the big people (*Numisak*) sowed the authorities and the plants, and with their juice, drank consciousness (in Correa 1993: 9–48)."

It was then that we learned how to write with various hands and heads, a methodology which we applied again in the book *Guambianos, hijos del aroiris y del agua*, which includes forms of writing that are not correct in Spanish but that reflect important aspects of Guambiana thought and expression. The text is full of words in Guambiano that cannot be translated into Spanish, but the book has no glossary. When we submitted it, the editors suggested that we include a glossary. I told the Guambianos what a glossary was, and they told me, "We don't want these translations because they tie down the words, they put them into an enclosure." There, words have very open meanings and are polysemic. But the polysemia is simultaneous; we have polysemic words too, but we must choose the meaning we want to give them or discover the meaning according to context. For the Guambianos, all the meanings occur at the same time.

In addition, there were many discussions about the text. Some parts were discussed in one location, and others in another. Some were discussed with the elders, and others with the teachers. [In fact] some of the parts we included were written by them. But the fundamental aspect of the book is that its structure is based on purely Guambino concepts, which are not abstract as our own are. They are concrete, thing-concepts. Lévi-Strauss would have intuited this, but as a good French intellectual, he proposed that they were good to think with, metaphors, metonyms, et cetera. What the Guambianos say, and I too believe them, is that these things have conceptual content that gathers knowledge. Let's take the concept of snail, which we think of as a spiral, but which is snail: they showed

me the snails of which they spoke and explained why these snails are history. They also have the concept of fork, the junction of one river with another or of two paths, or a crotch of a tree, or the loom which the Chumbes use for weaving, all of which generate meanings. The book is structured according to concepts like these. Where do these concepts originate? From life. They are concepts that they live in daily life. From there, we derived the notion of "gathering the concepts of life."

What we found was that to recover history, to recuperate history, implies—in order to serve as a tool in the struggle under present conditions—an advance in the way of knowing, at least when it comes to conceptualizing the Guambianos; a way of making things explicit that are implicit in their very form, the things-concept. For example, they have an activity they call *consejo* (advice), which takes place with preference in the kitchen. There are councils for different kinds of persons, different ages, and different circumstances. They tell you that when you find a double *ulluco* (tuber), or potato, you shouldn't eat it. If you do, whether you are a woman or a man, you will later have twins. Or one tells a child not to place an ember in the thick part of the candle, because otherwise you urinate in bed. If a child is warming himself at the fire, he shouldn't step on a base to place the pot. If he does, he will fall from a bridge or a river will sweep him away. *Consejos* are being lost for two reasons. The first is that people think they are stupid and [are] superstitions, because that is what they are taught in school, because that's what the nuns teach them, because the white people have taught them that, because that is what they have been taught for 500 years. And second, what sense does it make to speak about an ember when people have electric or gas ranges? Or where bridges are wide and have railings, and don't just consist of a simple log. That is, they no longer correspond to daily life. They were being lost, but the elders insisted that they should be kept up and remembered, that they were key elements and that if they disappeared, they would no longer be Guambianos. What did we find working with them? That behind these purely concrete and practical, utilitarian and immediate recipes, there was an accumulation of knowledge that explained them. In other words, it's not that someone thought up crazy things, but that we are dealing with practical knowledge, in and for daily life. But daily life has changed. The councils are no longer practical; they make no sense. As they say, they have become silly or became mere superstitions. But if you look at what is behind these *consejos*, if you go to their roots, you begin to understand what they contain in terms of abstract knowledge, of principles of thought and life, of values, worldviews, relationships

with nature, social relationships, and you actually can recover all that in order to resolve present-day issues. So we did analyze the *consejos*. Before, they used to work just the way they are, but that is no longer the case, and if one doesn't try to find out what is behind them, they get lost. But with whom does one work to find out? With the elders, the *mərəpik—the misnamed shamans*—with them and with common people, during discussions, chatting along the way…That is the work we did.

*EC*: *Why do people say that that is antianthropology, when that precisely could be anthropology?*

*LGVU*: Yes, that could be anthropology, but precisely, for me, one of the key characteristics that define anthropology is its nature of a colonizing tool, and I believe that it continues to be that and that you anthropologists are that, too.

*EC*: *Can't one get away from that?*

*LGVU*: If one gets away from it, then it is no longer anthropology—although one could continue to call it that—because one of the elements that define it, that characterize it, one of its peculiarities has changed into something else, into its opposite. What I did with indigenous people, I did, in addition to the Guambianos, with a lot of people who participated, who were not anthropologists. Among the solidarios there were philosophers, sociologists, lawyers, historians, engineers, agronomists. I say, if what I do, you want to continue to call anthropology, call it that; I don't care if they say that it is antianthropology.

## Notes

1. Instituto Colombiano para la Reforma Agraria (Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform).
2. Honorific term of addressing a senior man.

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# 4

# Relocating the Contributions to Ethnography and Public Anthropology of Antonio Goubaud Carrera (1902–1951), Guatemala's First Official Indigenist

*Abigail E. Adams*

Antonio Goubaud Carrera, known as Guatemala's "first anthropologist," and the anthropologist honored in this collection of essays, Judith-Maria Buechler, are both remarkable for bringing the cosmopolitan sensibility of our discipline, anthropology, and the specificities of our practice, ethnography, to bear on critical moments of world transition at the moment of the transition's unfolding. The career of Goubaud is that of a public anthropologist who developed public policy, public and academic anthropology, and Guatemalan-produced ethnography.

Goubaud was the first director of the Instituto Indigenísta Nacional de Guatemala (IING; Guatemalan National Indigenist Institute) and served during that country's Ten Years of Spring, the democratic opening of 1944 to 1954, which was ended by the CIA-sponsored coup. As Carol Smith has pointed out (1990: 18), Guatemala's governors had relatively little knowledge of life in indigenous communities. Goubaud as a state official was an exception to that rule. Hans Buechler's concept of mediating positionalities certainly applies to understanding Goubaud, before and after he formally became an anthropologist. Goubaud played a role in many different sites: Guatemala's racist and ruling elite, French and German expatriate society, California's Bay area, the export-import business, international tourism, Harvard, the

University of Chicago, and Guatemala's eastern, western, and northern Maya highlands. He was uniquely positioned to help create one of those "hybrid structures" that Buechler describes as emerging from the encounter of interconnected positionalities. In this case, I refer to the IING, with all of its paradoxes and unexpected properties (see Buechler, this volume).

The IING was founded during that country's "patriotic month" of September 1945, coinciding with the formal end of World War II (Goubaud 1945b). For the next nine years, Guatemala's new public anthropologists of the IING, which included Guatemalan Mayas, Ladinos, and elite as well as foreign scholars, tackled the work ahead with the immediate postwar era's energy, optimism, and discourse of the victory of democracy over totalitarianism, and with the sobriety of the opening of the nuclear age. The year 1945 also chartered the United Nations (UN) and its dependencies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The World Bank and other Bretton Woods institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were new. It was an era was marked by an exponential expansion in multilateral and transnational spaces, international collegiality, and intense globalization.

Goubaud was an important collaborator and consultant for most ethnographers working in Guatemala before and immediately after World War II. But he was determined to build Guatemala's ethnography with national anthropologists, and to achieve his vision, he drew on his own internationally obtained education, travel, fieldwork, observations, and connections.

He left the IING to serve as President Juan José Arévalo's ambassador to the United States as tensions between the two nations mounted. In little over a year, he was found dead in Guatemala after a set of meetings with President Arévalo. Three years later, after the coup, the IING was shut down and then reopened (Adams, RN 2000, Vela 1955). Goubaud's life and that of the institute he cofounded serve to illustrate the dislocations inflicted very quickly by the globalization of Cold War security.

## Early Biography

Goubaud was born on August 17, 1902, into one of Guatemala's elite families (Gillin 1952). Goubaud's family and educational background would hardly seem destined to produce an ardent champion

of indigenous peoples. Goubaud, the descendant of French and Basque colonial immigrants, educated in German and US circles, embodied the Guatemalan aspiration to modernity through racial upgrading by connection with Europeans.

He was born in the same age cohort as Guatemala's famous Generation of 1920, including Miguel Ángel Asturias (1899) and David Vela (1901), with whom he was good friends. But his path diverged from theirs and the other members, who would be so influential in overthrowing the dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera in 1920. Most attended Guatemala City's Instituto Nacional Central para Varones (National Central Institute for Boys), were active in the Huelga de Dolores (All Dolores Strike) and other student protests and demonstrations against Estrada Cabrera, and matriculated at the Universidad de San Carlos (University of San Carlos).

The Goubaud and Carrera family fortunes were built on coffee, and therefore, in part on their relations with German planters and financiers. Goubaud received his elementary schooling in private German academies, his secondary education at the Colegio Aleman (German Academy) in Guatemala City, and thus spoke and read three languages well by early adolescence: Spanish, French, and German (Gillin 1952, Vela 1955).

He would soon add fluent English to his resume. Family circumstances and the World War I eclipse of the Germans further modified the course of Goubaud's education. His father died suddenly in Paris, and his mother was unable to care for her children, who were placed in the care of Carrera relatives. In 1916, at age 15, Goubaud was sent to the United States to complete high school at a Catholic school in California's Bay Area, St. Mary's College, an arrangement facilitated by a US coffee exporter. In that same year, Ishi, California's "last wild Indian," died, and Goubaud's enduring interest in indigenous people reportedly dates from his years at St. Mary's (1916–1921). John Gillin records that "[Goubaud's] interest in Indians had been aroused while in the United States, and he set himself to reading and acquiring all the books on this subject he could obtain" (1952).

His unusual childhood left him with elite credentials, a good education, several languages, and international experience, but with little money. He also missed the revolutionary experience gained by many of his age-grade mates, who overthrew a dictator the year before Goubaud returned and who would play important roles in the Ten Years of Spring.

## Goubaud and the Indian Question

When Goubaud returned to Guatemala from the United States in 1921, he began work for a British import-export business (Gillin 1952). But he immersed himself in various Guatemalan forums for the discussion of what was called "The Indian Question" from Canada to Patagonia. In Guatemala, that question usually took the form of nonindigenous hegemonic actors blaming the country's indigenous majority for the lack of progress toward modernity Guatemala stood out as unique among those Latin American countries with indigenous majorities because of its twentieth-century rejection of a nationalism constructed around *mestizaje*. Elite Guatemalans continually promoted a "homogeneous nationality" that erased indigenous citizenship and identity (Casaús Arz 2005, Adams 2008).

A forum critical for the 1920s is Guatemala's influential learned society the Sociedad de Geografía e Historia (SGH; Society of Geography and History), organized in 1923 (Fernández Hall 1924). Goubaud, along with the protoindigenist Vela, participated regularly in SGH meetings and in the civic-academic intellectual space that its members generated. They were both elected members in 1935 (Vela 1955).

It is clear that the polyglot Goubaud read closely the ethnography available at the time, much of it written by foreigners in languages other than Spanish. Goubaud's primary work for the SGH was translation. He translated Otto Stoll's classic work, *Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala* (Ethnography of the Guatemalan Republic) into Spanish (1938), and completed, with Herbert Sapper, the translation into Spanish of Leonhard Schultze Jena's *Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala* (Life, faith and language of the K'iche' of Guatemala, 1945), as well as a chapter of Thomas Gage's travels from English to Spanish (*Anales*, Volume 14, 1938). Like the good nationalist that he was, he also translated the SGH's "Opinion on Guatemala's Right to British Honduras" (1939) from Spanish to English, to be sent to relevant English monolinguals.

Goubaud wanted to catch Guatemalans up on what foreigners were accomplishing on Guatemalan terrain. Goubaud admired the Germans' systematic approach to studying *Kultur* (culture) and carrying out ethnology, including working in Mayan languages, mapping cultural and language regions, recording direct observations, and close description. Goubaud began studying Kaqchikel himself. He researched and wrote his induction essay for the SGH on the K'iche' Maya calendar celebration, "El Guajxaquip Batz" (Eight monkey), based on

direct observation and interviews with calendar practitioners (1935). Meanwhile, another one of those foreigners, Mexico's Manuel Gamio, was carrying out archaeological work in Guatemala's highlands during the 1920s and became acquainted with Goubaud and Vela, who in turn became followers of American and Mexican anthropology and *indigenismo* (indigenism) through this friendship.

A second forum were the two Great Debates, two series of opinion essays and letters to the editor published between 1929 to 1930, and then 1936 to 1938, in the pages of the major papers of the day, including *El Imparcial* (The impartial). The debates drew in the major intellectuals of the era, some of whom, for the first time in public writings, promoted a vision of a democratic nation including the indigenous as citizens. Miguel Ángel Asturias, for example, modified various points he had made in his 1923 thesis on the need for eugenics (Mendoza 2006). Goubaud participated intensely in the second series, 1936 to 1938, and emerged as a serious man of ethnographic science. He wrote constantly and bitingly of Guatemalans of the dominant urban society and their great ignorance and disinterest in studying the indigenous of their country (Goubaud 1937).

The last forum is the 1930s appearance and fairly rapid expansion of ethnic cultural tourism for foreigners. This was the decade when Alfred Clark, the US expatriate and tourism entrepreneur, created his Tours and canonized Palin, Chichicastenango, and the towns of Lake Atitlán as the emblematic Guatemalan tourist experience. Goubaud left the import-export business in 1934 to work for Clark as a tour guide for European and North American visitors, in order to work more closely in Maya villages (Gillin 1952).

Clark opened the door to ethnic tourism with the push of Ubico, and coordinated his business with Grace Shipping, the United Fruit Company, and then Pan Am Airlines. By the end of the 1930s, he offered tours of seven to twenty days leaving from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans (Little 2008).

But here, I highlight the impact of Clark on the newly arriving American anthropologists, and the ethnology of a transitional Depression era. Clark arranged the travel of Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Aldous Huxley, and many others. As a consequence, Goubaud found himself at the center of the crossroads of prewar Guatemalan ethnography, a small world of quite a range of people: North Americans, Europeans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, and others. In addition to the Harvard archaeologists, and then those academics from the University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago, and Carnegie

Institution, came others—the self-taught, novelists such as Oscar LaFarge, collectors, business people, mystics, and artists supported by the Jungian Bollingen Foundation, such as Maud Oakes, and adventurers and bohemians coming south from Mexico across the cactus curtain.

Charles Wagley, Tax, Ruth Bunzel, and Erna Fergusson are among the many who mention Goubaud in their acknowledgments, thanking him for his generosity of time, expertise, books, articles, and maps (Wagley 1942, Tax 1953, Bunzel 1952, Fergusson 1937). He traveled for days with Wagley, orienting him to Huehuetenango and to Santiago Chimaltenango (Wagley 1983: 1–17). He helped Tax when he was intellectually stuck in Chichicastenango (Rubinstein 2002: 90). John Gillin, in his obituary for Goubaud, states that few American anthropologists in Guatemala were not helped by him (Gillin 1952). The Guatemalan ethnography scene was a rich mix of collaboration among interesting, active scholars, capable fieldworkers and boundary-crossers, who gathered in inns, hotel dining rooms, over coffee, in the field, and in Goubaud's and Vela's homes in the city. He also met his future wife, the artist Frances Westbrook, in one of his tour groups (personal correspondence, Monica Goubaud).

In the mid-1930s, Goubaud made an extended stay in the Boston area and took an introductory course in anthropology at Harvard University, encouraged by Alfred Kidder, whom he had met in Guatemala. During the course, he met Clyde Kluckhohn and other members of Harvard's anthropology department. He joined several US learned societies, including the American Anthropological Association (AAA), the American Ethnological Society, and the New York Academy of Sciences, and subscribed to their publications from Guatemala (Gillin 1952, Vela 1955).

## The War Years

With World War II came unexpected opportunities for anthropology as a discipline and Goubaud as an individual. Goubaud, who had worked closely with Redfield and Tax in Guatemala, enrolled at the University of Chicago in 1939, entering the master's program in 1941 as the United States entered the war (Rubinstein 2002).

The University of Chicago department of anthropology, with its focus on immigrants, peasants, and the inner city, scored high in relevance, given the wartime disposition toward pressing modern world problems. When the AAA committed its members and intellectual

resources to the fight against fascism, the University of Chicago helped a bit with the training of military personnel, but primarily used the new opportunities of the Institute for Social Anthropology, the Social Science Research Council, the Carnegie Institution, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs directed by Rockefeller, among other state and foundation-sourced funding, to send anthropologists to Latin America (Giraudo 2012, Price 2005).

The wartime shortage of college-age men freed scholarship funds for Goubaud and many others—women, minorities, members of the working class—and Juan de Dios Rosales, the Maya informant of Tax (Price 2005, Rubinstein 2002). While he began his work at the University of Chicago by paying his own way, Goubaud received a scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation for his master's degree work. He knew Rockefeller personally, and addressed him as "Nelson" (diaries, Frances Westbrook de Goubaud). Rockefeller and Edsel Ford, whose foundation opened in 1936, owed much of their wealth to Latin America. Rockefeller was fluent in Spanish. He had worked in his family's businesses in Latin America as a young man during the Mexican Revolution, experiences that gave him respect for the power of Latin American nationalism (Giraudo 2012, Stocking 1992, Wade-Lewis 2004).

Redfield made it possible for Goubaud to participate in the 1941 Cambridge meeting that created the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA), convened by two students of Lloyd Warner's, Eliot Chapple and Conrad Arensberg (Rubinstein 2002, SfAA website ). Their vision of applied anthropology did not promote Tax's "action anthropology" of advocacy and accompaniment, but rather a role in "directed social change" (Price 2005).

Goubaud received his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1943, presenting his thesis on "Food Patterns and Nutrition in Two Spanish American Communities." His project grew out of his connections with *indigenistas*, in this case with Michel Pijoan, of the United States National Indian Institute (the US Pátzcuaro Treaty-related Institute). Pijoan carried out several studies in Latin America, including with the Miskitu of Nicaragua. John Collier, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) commissioner, funded the study, and was the first US government official to hire anthropologists (Kelly 1983).

That year, Goubaud also joined Collier and Vela, whom Collier had invited to the United States, on a tour of several Indian pueblos and of the BIA. Vela and Collier had collaborated before and during the Pátzcuaro conference (Vela 1955, 1982).

Goubaud returned to Guatemala as that country's "first anthropologist," having graduated before Juan de Dios Rosales, and as a direct result of his interconnections with Redfield and Tax. They and other anthropologists working in Guatemala benefited from the urbane Goubaud's avocation for indigenous studies, his wealth of knowledge about the countryside, and his language fluencies. Once at Chicago, Goubaud landed a windfall scholarship opportunity, one that increased the presence at the university of many underrepresented minorities. He was working and studying at a time in the United States when people felt the urgent need to apply fieldwork and ethnography to current world problems. He got in on the ground floor of the SfAA, and his previous connections with indigenists opened the door for his graduate fieldwork.

## Goubaud in the Guatemalan Field

Goubaud began fieldwork in Guatemala in 1943, with his wife Frances, for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. For two years, he conducted comparative research on the nutritional practices of Indians and Ladinos in three *municipios* (townships). The project was designed on a comparative municipality basis. Researchers would collect data about the diets of Indians and Ladinos. Additionally, the researchers would keep notes on general observations.

Goubaud kept meticulous field notes, which later became part of the University of Chicago Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology. These notes were written to be read by Tax and the other members of the research team. These records communicate his firsthand witness of the grinding poverty and dehumanization endured by the Ch'orti' of Jocotán, eastern Guatemala, and also his encounter with Alta Verapaz Mayas, which I argue was transformative for him (Goubaud 1949a, 1949b).

What did he observe? San Juan Chamelco, Alta Verapaz, was a township set in a plantation region, a region that had been successfully developed for export coffee cultivation by Germans. It was a region that depended on indigenous labor. In the region and township, indigenous people had lost secure land tenure. Reading over San Juan Chamelco's 1944 municipal census, Goubaud found that only .013 percent of the population was declared landowners, while 66 percent were inscribed as manual laborers. The four stores and six butcher shops were all owned by Ladinos. In these aspects, it resembled much of Guatemala.

But San Juan Chamelco's residents presented anomalies. Among many anomalies, he was impressed by the culture of the town's economic specialty, tailoring, which seemed more open to progressive influences. Some 20 percent of the adults on the town census worked as tailors. Goubaud hired one, Martín Chub, as his translator and assistant. He noted that his assistant's wife was bilingual, in contrast to "99.9 percent of the town's women." He was struck by their interest in and knowledge about events outside of their region; his assistant and others asked him for further news on World War II. They read British propaganda that one expatriate planter distributed weekly. They were also quite interested in the strikes and contra-Ubico activity in the capital.

Many of the tailors were associated with US evangelical missionaries of the Church of the Nazarene. Goubaud rented his house from the town's wealthiest man, who was a Maya Q'eqchi' man, an evangelical and a former tailor. His landlord related his "rags to riches" story for Goubaud. He had abandoned one common-law wife before converting to the evangelical church. He married a second wife, a young Poqomchi' woman who was the ward of a missionary family. He raised all 21 children from both marriages and guaranteed their inheritances. He was rich, although he would not tell the anthropologist how much he held or how he had made his fortunes. "He is very diplomatic," concluded Goubaud (1949a: 78).

He contrasted the Q'eqchi' evangelicals with the town's active folk Catholics. Goubaud calculated that at least one-quarter of the township's men had official religious posts in the lay organizations, the *cofradías*, which did not include those recruited by the official past holders as assistants, nor the women. The ritual demands were both physically and financially quite a drain, particularly after the arrival of Ladino-supplied commercial liquor. He equated the whole system with the authoritarian exploitation of indigenous peoples. Emblematic of this was a two-year-old procession "tradition" in which the saints of the regional towns traveled to each other's "homes" and paid courtesies: the icons carried by *cofradía* members would meet in the streets outside of the *hermitas* (small chapels) and bow to each other three times in a choreographed pattern. Some 56 *cofradías* participated and 29 saints. The best exhibit was that of San Juan Chamelco, he wrote, and the most important courtesies took place in front of the arch and tower built by Ubico (1949: 89).

However, those who ascribed to the evangelical culture were no less Q'eqchi' in language, dress and work ethic, and they seemed to

be getting ahead economically. Their church services were held in Q'eqchi' Mayan. But they faced such restrictions: the evangelicals could not join the *cofradías* or serve as *barrio* (neighborhood) leaders (in Q'eqchi': *chinames*). They could not drink or make material offerings. "They pay dearly for their faith!", he wrote. He concluded that the evangelical church would not thrive independently of the US mission support (1949: 75).

I "met" Goubaud through his highly communicative, evocative, and intelligent fieldnotes. I was on a predissertation field trip that inadvertently traced his journey from eastern Guatemala to northern Guatemala's San Juan Chamelco. I responded to his experience of the contrast between these two settings, and to his open-minded and energetic exploration of San Juan Chamelco. His notes were invaluable to me as I carried out doctoral research on the Nazarene evangelical Q'eqchi' Mayas, who had flourished and gone on to build one of Guatemala's largest evangelical churches in 1982. His notes served me again during research in Chamelco about ethnic relations during the period between the 1940s and the new millennium for the major public project, "Por qué estamos como estamos?" (Why are we as we are?), carried out by Guatemala's Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica (Center for Regional Research in Mesoamérica).

Goubaud's work in San Juan Chamelco, Alta Verapaz, began the very month, July 1944, in which the Liberal military dictator Ubico was forced to resign after 13 years in office (1931 to 1944). Ubico was replaced with a military triumvirate, after which followed a revolt and then elections. Guatemalans placed schoolteacher Juan José Arévalo in power as their president, and the country's Ten Years of Spring began. Guatemalans became citizens of a democracy at the moment when most Latin America nations were constitutional democracies (although in Central America, Costa Rica and Guatemala were the minority).

The country's direction shifted dramatically, and so would Goubaud's. But he would bring to his new position, as the first director of the IING, his observations and analysis from his fieldwork. In summary, the experience showed him that Mayas would respond successfully to new technology, opportunity, and ideas, including those of faith and of world news, and still continue as Mayas (Adams 2008). He had also had the experience of working closely on ethnography with a team that included Guatemalans (including a Maya anthropologist, Juan de Dios Rosales) and local consultants.

## The Immediate Postwar

It is at this moment that what one Guatemalan anthropologist termed the meteoric period of Goubaud's career begins (González Ponciano 2005), and it utterly reflects convergences of interconnections in the newly democratic Guatemala, morphed by the postwar's exponential expansion of transnational space, but limited, as we shall see, by Guatemala's hegemonic racism and soon, by the Cold War. In fact, the IING barely made it into being. The IING owed its existence to Vela, who had participated in the 1940 (Pátzcuaro) Primer Congreso Indigenísta Interamericano (First Interamerican Indigenist Congress) as an unofficial Guatemalan delegate. Carlos Girón Cerna was the official delegate. Vela returned to pressure Ubico, with the help of the Grupo Indigenísta (Indigenist Group) that he also founded, to sign the Pátzcuaro agreement and to establish a Guatemalan Instituto Indígena Nacional (Barreno Anleu 2000, Vela 1982).

Vela had no luck during the Ubico era, and then participated vigorously in the constitutional assembly of the October Revolution. He lobbied for specific institutions, laws, and policies for indigenous Guatemalans and lost on all accounts—except for certain passages that later served as the basis for the IING. He did succeed in persuading the revolutionary government to sign the Pátzcuaro agreement (Arriola 1995: 29–31, Casey 1979). Jim Handy describes the sharp debates over the indigenist issues within the most radical of the revolutionary organizations (1994: 50). But once the IING was founded, Goubaud was off and running, with his hands in many projects. He directly and indirectly helped realize many other institutions of public anthropology in the forms of the new Museo Nacional de Arqueología e Etnología (National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology) and a new administrative unit of the Guatemalan government called the Instituto de Antropología e Historia (Institute of Anthropology and History). He was named the first professor of anthropology at the USAC. He established an official publication, the *Boletín del IING* (IING Bulletin, later published as *Guatemala Indigena*, Indigenous Guatemala). Goubaud also played a founding role in the creation of the USAC's Facultad de Humanidades (School of Humanities).

There is no doubt that the IING was a hybrid structure, as Buechler describes certain institutions that emerge from the convergence of interconnected positionalities. The IING, in the midst of the expansion of public anthropology and *indigenismo*, promoted the best means of indigenous acculturation, while preserving certain aspects of Indian

culture. However, Goubaud also regarded government as a source of support to indigenous people (Goubaud 1945a and 1945b). Goubaud was unique among the directors of Latin America's Pátzcuaro indigenist institutes in that he structured the *Consejo Consultivo* (Consulting Council) of the IING to include two representatives from indigenous towns (Giraudo 2012).

He could envision progressive government helping people develop a repertoire of cultural skills, in order to retain their separate local identities, and participate more fully as actors in the national economy and society. In one of his essays, he proposed a sixth stage to Oliver LaFarge's famous historical periodization of five stages (1940). The sixth stage would begin in 1945 and realize an optimistic multicultural scenario. The sixth stage was marked by increasing political involvement of indigenous peoples at the local level, by the government's commitment to social welfare, and by a general recognition of the importance of indigenous culture to the country's modern life (1964: 144).

The IING was not an anthropological silo. The IING and its staff collaborated with several agencies created by the new government (although not with the army, nor the army with the IING). In the Central American region, the IING was active in the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), the Interamerican Foundation for Education, the Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educación (SCIDE; Interamerican Cooperative Service of Education), and other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and regional institutions.

One of Goubaud's first projects was to develop the criteria for a scientific national census of Guatemala. He ordered a survey of the criteria used, township by township, to identify ethnicities. The results? There was no unifying set of criteria of what constituted an indigenous person (contrary to Tax's famous assertion). What emerged as most consistent, but still varied greatly across the nation, were use of indigenous language and the vague "customs and habits." Goubaud used the survey results to recommend that the national census use local criteria (1946b).

The AAA, famously, rejected the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which several Latin American countries were behind the initiative to create, as too culturally unrelative. Goubaud did not hesitate. Inspired by both the ethical universals of the time and the cultural particulars of his land, he had the Declaration translated into several Mayan languages, printed by the state, and distributed throughout the countryside. The IING also prepared pamphlets in different Mayan

languages on the laws of Guatemala, with recommendations for communities on how to participate more effectively in the legal system. These were distributed in the *misiones ambulantes*, the workshops sponsored by the IING throughout Guatemalan communities.

The IING carried out a number of studies in rural communities on political, social, and local economic organization. The IING also developed various bilingual education projects; one of the first sites for bilingual projects were the Q'eqchi' communities. The IING, during the 1945 conference of Indian teachers in Cobán, Alta Verapaz, suggested that rural schools should teach in the native language until the third grade and that the schools should be a means of reinforcing the Indian way of life.

These studies were published in the *Boletín*, which was another means of outreach and which Goubaud issued on a regular basis. He continued his publication of translations into Spanish of articles written by foreigners about Guatemala.

He hired Mayas and non-Mayas as IING staff. He recruited a young Nazarene pastor from San Juan Chamelco, José Botzoc, to come work on the IING staff. The young man was the son of the wealthy evangelical Q'eqchi' tailor, by the man's first common-law wife.

Goubaud, working with US anthropologist Benjamin Paul, developed a guide to help "community scholars" write monographs and ethnographies of their own communities, and the IING held workshops to train such community scholars (1945). He also hired foreign anthropologists, such as Paul, the African American linguist Mark Hanna Watkins, and later, Richard N. Adams, supported by those Rockefeller or the United State Department Institute for Social Anthropology (ISA) funds (Adams 1998, Wade-Lewis 2004).

The IING, although housed in a capital city government building, was that crossroads of the new, modern cultural anthropology, now expanded with budget, training, and purpose. These were not armchair anthropologists, but fieldworkers dealing with basic ethnographic work of mapping, documenting, surveying, analyzing and writing.

## The New International Circles

Goubaud, swept up in the responsibilities of directing the IING, never made it back to conduct the fieldwork he so loved. He participated in one gathering of the postwar Mesoamericanist anthropology community, those who met for several days in a 1949 Viking Fund seminar, published as *Heritage of Conquest* (Tax 1952). The

seminar was made possible, like so many postwar international seminars and conferences, with the funds from a twentieth-century family foundation. But instead of the fortunes made through the strategic sectors of oil, rubber and transportation, this foundation was based on the wealth created by Swedish vacuum cleaner and door-to-door sales entrepreneur Axel Wenner-Gren. Wenner-Gren established his Viking Fund in 1941.

The seminar was convened by Tax in order to reach some generalizations for this complex area, and another participant, Arden King wrote that "[i]n certain respects this was accomplished, or the direction to them indicated. Agreements and conflicting opinion and data were aired. Although in certain ways confusing, the verbatim printing of discussion enables the reader to gain far more insight into Meso-American problems than would otherwise be possible" (1952: 533–535). The transcript reveals a discussion fueled by a modernist drive to sketch out the Big Picture, alongside a counter-discussion undermining this possibility. It is as if the intimate, informal encounters of foreign anthropologists that characterized prewar Guatemala had continued, finally with the resources to Tackle the Project—but the moment of reducing a "culture area" to a list or singular description had passed.

Goubaud also circulated in the new postwar international circles on indigenous affairs. In 1947, he traveled to England and Paris as a consultant for UNESCO. He was Guatemala's delegate to the 1949 International Labor Organization (ILO) conference, in Montevideo, Uruguay. That same year, he traveled to the UN in New York as a consultant on native problems. In January 1951, he chaired the ILO's First Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labor, in La Paz, Bolivia (Gillin 1952, Vela 1955). These international spaces and networks of the UN, UNESCO, and the ILO were the foundation for what would become the world "village" of a new transnational community of indigenous peoples, as Ronald Niezen documents (2005).

## Museum Exhibits, the New Public Anthropology, and the Public

Back home, Goubaud developed three display cases for the new Museo Nacional de Arqueología e Etnología based on Tax et al's comparative nutrition study. The museum opened in September 1948, and Goubaud published an article about the nutrition exhibit in early

October in *El Imparcial*, the newspaper edited by Vela (Goubaud 1948). The exhibit opened three years into the IING's work. It is worth looking at Goubaud's article closely, to explore some of the challenges and ambivalences raised by the Guatemalan public's reception of its nation's new public anthropology.

In the article, Goubaud announces the three display cases, which show the diets of indigenous peoples, "graphically and statistically…based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of some 18,000 meals." The first display case featured the diets of the indigenous peoples of San Juan Chamelco, where Goubaud did fieldwork; the second display case, the diets of San Pedro La Laguna, where Benjamin Paul did fieldwork; and the third display case focused on the benefits of "our method of boiling corn in water with limestone, which increases the natural calcium of corn by one thousand percent." The display case about San Pedro La Laguna also compared the nutritional value of the indigenous diet with the recommended dietary standards for a European man of similar height and weight.

Goubaud immediately expressed his regret that the nutrition study was not complete or published yet, "in order to prepare the public for the revelation that the current, normal diet of Guatemala's rural indigenous population does not appear to be as bad as recently thought."

He then thanked several foreign institutions and individuals for their contributions to the museum, such as the Rockefeller Institute, which sent an expert to help the museum with its exhibits; the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which made several artifacts available to the museum; the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), for its help with the diet study; and the United Fruit Company, for its donation of an extensive weaving collection. After expressing his appreciation for the repatriation and donation of these materials, he wrote, oddly enough for this reader, "it seems appropriate to quote that wise saying, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'" He thanks those Guatemalans, from the president of the Republic to the humble worker, who made the new museum possible for the "new Guatemala."

He ended his article with two paragraphs of caution to those who, upon seeing the display cases, might misinterpret the information, for example, by seeking racist reasons for why indigenous peoples were smaller than Europeans. "Do not the Holy Scriptures say, 'Man does not live by bread alone?' If we find that the material bread of indigenous people is fine, then it would be the height of ignorance to think that their spirit must receive whole wheat bread."

There is in these lines the hint of the uphill battle that Goubaud and IING are facing in Guatemala's dominant culture, a racism that mere science is having a tough time fighting. He publicly regrets the slow progress on the complete publication of the nutrition study results. The Carnegie Institution had released all of the study information and data to the IING, and Goubaud made some attempts to analyze and publish the results. He had previously written an article for the first volume of the *Boletín del IING*, in which he laid out in careful detail how the study was conducted, in which communities of Guatemala, and with how many families, disaggregated by ethnicity and age (1946a). Although he stated that the results of the study would be published in future editions of the *Boletín*, Goubaud and the other researchers never fully realized an analysis of the copious amounts of data produced by the Carnegie Institution of Washington nutrition study (Vela 1964).

Nevertheless, Goubaud pushed forward to get some results of the study out to the public in the form of the museum exhibit. But he was left with the fear that the power of the spectacle might reinforce the museum-going public's worst prejudices, such as the idea that Maya peoples' diet was inferior to Western patterns of diet. In the absence of the complete scientific process of analysis, review, and publication, a perhaps premature demonstration of some conclusions from the study might end up serving as a racist society's "weapon." Perhaps that is why he ends up citing scripture more than science in this article.

The article also presents two interesting instances of apparent tone-deafness on the part of Goubaud. The first is his line describing "our method of boiling corn in water with limestone," which today strikes the reader as a white, urban elite man's appropriation of a method invented and practiced by Maya women thousands of years before the invention of the "new Guatemala." But another reading of the line is that, in keeping with his hope that a sixth stage for Guatemala's Maya people had opened, he was promoting a vital indigenous practice as important for the nation they shared with nonindigenous people.

Finally, there is the fact of Goubaud's thanking the foreigners first and extensively, even before the Guatemalan president, in the year of increasing tensions before the United States and Guatemala cut off diplomatic relations.

## The Cold War

In 1947, both the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the term "Cold War" were created. US foreign policy abruptly jolted from the

Good Neighbor Pan-Americanist soft hegemony to the Truman era of foreign aid directly tied to US military and commercial ends (Grandin 2006). The gleaming new offices and bright conferences of the new international civil service order became useful campaign grounds for the Cold War.

The AAA also reorganized, in 1946, even though the step was opposed by many anthropologists. The explicit motivation for the reorganization was to obtain and maintain the same level of state and foundation funding as during the war. In the words of historian George Stocking, "The war opened new and wide horizons, and the professional problem was how to capitalize on them. Towards this end, an integrated and scientific discipline would be more effective than a bunch of diverse fields, particularly those in which the humanities orientation was more marked" (1992: 173–174). With surprising speed and a massive expansion, the Cold War academic world established area and language studies programs with funds dedicated to national security (Price 2005).

Cold War tensions were affecting the new Guatemala as well. In January 1950, Goubaud took a leave of absence from the IING in order to serve as ambassador to the United States for President Arévalo. He took the post with considerable reservations. In 1949, Guatemala and the United States had severed diplomatic relations and sent home the respective ambassadors, Jorge García Granados and Richard Patterson (Vela 1955). While in Washington, DC, Goubaud continued to direct resources and to network for Guatemalan anthropology. For example, he arranged for Richard N. Adams to work at the IING supported by ISA funds (Adams 1998). He left a step-by-step plan in the hands of his interim director, Joaquín Noval, and wrote him frequently of longing to be back in the IING.

US-Guatemalan relations, however, continued to deteriorate. In 1951, Goubaud was recalled to Guatemala for meetings with Arévalo that he found humiliating and demeaning. Goubaud was found dead in his private rooms, both wrists slashed and a deep cut in the back of his head. His body was received for a wake at the National Palace and buried the following day in Guatemala City's General Cemetery. The circumstances surrounding Goubaud's death have never been satisfactorily resolved (Gillin 1952, Vela 1955).

Goubaud did not make it through the Cold War transition and neither did the IING he promoted. The coup leaders of 1954, who were responsible for the mass murder of peasants, indigenous and nonindigenous alike, also murdered those involved with the IING. They

imprisoned Noval, the IING director, who had registered as a member of the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajo (PGT, Guatemalan Workers Party), Guatemala's communist party, immediately after the coup (Adams 2000). IING influence within the state bureaucracy declined. By the late 1960s, the institution consisted of a few paid officials, with no working funds. At one point, they published a defense of *indigenismo* that included promoting the need for paternalism in the treatment of Guatemala's indigenous peoples. The IING was eliminated in the mid-1980s (Marroquin 1972). The three museum display cases of the nutrition study, however, remained on exhibit into the 1980s.

## Conclusion

The IING was made possible by the interconnected positionalities, in Buechler's terms, of many people, including by the work, resources, and position of Goubaud, who was connected to and mediating so many different circles of Guatemalan society and Guatemalanist public anthropology.

At one level, the scale of the hybrid connections and convergences that coalesced in the early IING were simply overwhelmed by the sharp polarities of the early Cold War. Goubaud, for example, depended on two men who were deeply committed and involved in the IING, Vela and Noval, but who were also fervently anticommunist and communist respectively (Vela 1982). Each worked for the IING, but on opposite sides of the forces converging on President Árbenz. Goubaud was a strong nationalist, but his preferred contribution to his country was through directing the IING. I note that the two dynamos of Mexican and Guatemalan indigenismo, Gamio and Goubaud, were caught up in anthropology but not in the emblematic revolutions of their generations: for Gamio, the Mexican Revolution; for Goubaud, the overthrow of both Estrada Cabrera and then of Ubico. I wonder if this apolitical distance was part of what marked Goubaud as the candidate for the IING directorship and then later, the ambassadorship, in addition to his considerable credibility as a member of Guatemala's elite, a cosmopolitan polyglot, and productive revolutionary government official.

His name and reputation were subject to Cold War polarities as well. Goubaud, at the very anthropology department he helped found and at which he was the first professor, the public USAC, was presented

to later classes students as a US puppet who promoted the erasure of Maya culture. At the private Universidad del Valle, he is held up as the founder of modern Guatemalan anthropology.

At another level, the IING under Goubaud was a fragile but productive hybrid institution, a vital center of ethnographic exchange. The IING recognized Mayan languages with state funds and bilingual programs, an important resource in later years for the Maya movement (Maxwell 2011). Perhaps the most important contribution of the IING (and it was singular among the rest of Latin America's IINs) was the recognition of indigenous people as professionals, collaborators, and representatives of their own experience. Goubaud helped found the major institutions of Guatemala's public anthropology. He realized his dream of a Guatemalan anthropology researched and written by and for Guatemalans.

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# 5

# "Interconnected Positionalities": Foreigners and Foreign Experience in the Lives of Aymara Intellectuals*

*Hans Buechler*

## Introduction

When anthropologist William Carter began his research on land reform and community organization, he could not have imagined that his assistant, Mauricio Mamani, would become minister of agriculture, nor that he would be nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize for his promotion of cultural rights based on their joint research on the importance of coca in Aymara and Quechua society. Similarly, when, as a small child, Elvira Espejo first narrated stories to the Aymara linguist Juan de Dios Yapita and the British anthropologist Denise Arnold, she could not have foreseen that this encounter would lead to the publication of her stories in her name (Espejo 1994); her move to La Paz to study and practice art; her subsequent engagement in the research and promotion of indigenous dyeing and weaving techniques in close collaboration with Yapita and Arnold (see Arnold and Espejo 2010); and, most recently, to her appointment as director of the anthropology and folklore museum in La Paz. This chapter is about such encounters and collaborations between first-generation rural-urban Bolivian Aymara migrants and foreign intellectuals, particularly anthropologists and linguists, during the period leading up to the present foregrounding of ethnicity in Latin America (and elsewhere) and their continuing importance today.

The past two decades have seen a sea change in the importance given to cultural rights. This phenomenon is strongly rooted in long-term local developments, but also has international and global dimensions. The discourse of multiculturalism has become omnipresent, precipitated by the confluence of, among other factors, the neoliberal emphasis on political decentralization, the search for a new discourse for social activism after the demise of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and, in the Americas, a grass-roots movement that began among Native Americans[1] in North America and culminated in a continent-wide effort to counter the plans to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. In the Bolivian Andes, these developments have engendered an enhanced consciousness of the value of Andean cultural traditions and beliefs particularly among politicians, intellectuals, artists, and artisans. This trend manifested itself in a shift away from an emphasis on incorporating Aymara peasants into the nation as a social class to reconceptualizing Bolivia as a multicultural nation (see, for example, Yashar 1999 and 2005, Webber 2009). It has led to reforms that are beginning to give indigenous groups political power commensurate to their numbers and to transform politics at all levels of government, as well as to a number of innovative schemes to showcase past and present artistic accomplishments. More importance is being accorded to bilingual education, and spaces are being provided for indigenous beliefs in the nation's religious life, in general, and within the various strains of Christianity, in particular.

But what are the concrete processes that led to these shifts in Bolivia? Are they the result of intangible forces of history of which individuals are mere pawns? Are they top-down adjustments made by traditional elites in order to avoid more far-reaching transformations? Or can they be traced, in part, to the concrete actions of and interactions among specific individuals, differentially positioned in broader cultural structures and differentially associated with sociopolitical and economic trends at all levels of sociocultural integration: actions and interactions whose outcome may or may not have been intended or predicted, but which, at least in retrospect, can be considered as manifesting agency on the part of indigenous majorities? In this chapter, I argue for the latter interpretation.

The extensive literature on the subject (for example, Albó 2002, Gustafson 2002, Hylton et al. 2005, Ari 2014) shows that, far from emerging full blown from an abrupt change in global ideology, the present prominence of ethnicity in many parts of Latin America,

including Bolivia, is also the culmination of a series of rebellious acts and cultural experiments in which individuals, placed in strategic positions in their own communities and in society at large, played important roles. In other words, the seemingly intangible forces that shaped and continue to shape ethnic revival in Bolivia are actually quite tangible, in the sense that they are traceable to—or through—specific acts and events, albeit not always in predictable ways. Further, I argue that, while many if not most of the interactions underlying the movement took place among national actors,[2] foreigners, sometimes working within official structures, sometimes not, played important roles in shaping some of the many strands that constitute the movement.[3]

In this chapter, I employ a life history approach to examine the ways in which the engagement by Bolivian first-generation rural-urban migrants of Aymara origin with a postsecondary education with foreign anthropologists and linguists in Bolivia and abroad have contributed in shaping their ethnic and—to a much lesser extent—class and gender identities, which define their role in the present ethnic movement.

Specifically, I analyze the life stories of a small subsample of what Antonio Gramsci would call "organic intellectuals," in particular social scientists and politicians, interviewed jointly with Judith-Maria Buechler during a year of fieldwork in the cities of La Paz and El Alto in 2002–2003 and by me in the summers of 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2015.

## Interconnected Positionalities

A useful starting point for the analysis of the interaction between my Aymara consultants and the foreigners they encountered is practice anthropology, which showed that "individuals in certain conjunctures actually set an historical course by virtue of the fact that they are empowered structurally by that situation (cultural agency) or by their position in a hierarchical order (systemic agency)" (Sahlins (n.d.) interview with Calvão and Chance,[4] accessed July 2010; see also, in particular, Sahlins 1985). I contend that the field of inquiry implicit in this observation can be extended to the positions individuals may occupy as they interact with others within existing and emerging social networks, and argue for an approach that combines Marshall Sahlins's structural model with a social network approach. The analysis of complex interpersonal behavior involved in ethnic movements, the dynamics of which cut across national boundaries, requires us to follow

George Marcus's call for a "multisited" ethnography (1989), for the observed trends—while located in, or mediated by, local structures—are increasingly fostered by individuals subjected to multilocal experiences and influences. More specifically, my position is similar to that of Michael Peter Smith who, following Marcus's call (1989), argues for an anthropology based on the complex interaction of individuals located in networks encompassing multiple locales (Smith 2005: 5): individuals who are rooted in local socioeconomic systems and are, at the same time, cosmopolitan (see Tarrow 2005). I use the concept of "interconnected positionalities" to refer to the relationships between such individuals who are inserted in different structures with relatively few patterned links between them.

Among the methods Marcus recommends for engaging in the ethnography of such networks/structures "in which micro-macro distinctions themselves are effaced (1989: 13)," is the life history method (1995). "Life histories," he argues, "reveal juxtapositions of social contexts through a succession of narrated individual experiences that may be obscured in the structural study of processes as such. They are potential guides to the delineation of ethnographic spaces within systems shaped by categorical distinctions that may make these spaces otherwise invisible" (1995: 110). I argue that an examination of the interaction of our consultants over time with foreigners abroad and with foreigners in mediating positions at home may shed light on the development of certain strands of ethnic movements. Furthermore, I argue that these contacts must be placed into the context of preceding, contemporary, and subsequent interactions with the hegemonic mestizo society in order to understand their role. Such a comprehensive inquiry may aid in understanding the processes whereby such interactions—sometimes consciously and sometimes not—contribute to shaping cultural revindications.[5]

## The Case Histories

I present examples to show the diversity of ways foreign intellectuals whom our consultants came to know in Bolivia and during their travels abroad have influenced ethnic identity. In particular, I focus on anthropologists and other social scientists who came to study the Aymara.

Anthropologists and linguists are prime examples of marginal positionalities purposefully situated to establish connections with other cultures. In the United States, their positionality was, in addition, influenced

by their role of dealing with the "Other" within the nation. This role is illuminated by John Borneman's analysis of the historical and present role of anthropologists in the United States (1995). Borneman argues that American anthropology's central characteristic has always been to "model foreign policy" within the United States through the study of American Indians and later globally as the United States became a superpower. To the extent Borneman is correct in his assessment, this role has also created a space for anthropologists to operate at the margins of American culture, since their unique entanglement through fieldwork with "the foreign" entails at least partial insertion in other systems. At the same time, American anthropologists have assisted their subjects, in general, and their local field assistants—whom they often encouraged and aided to become social scientists themselves—in particular, to define their own "nativeness," which, as we shall see, helped lay the groundwork for ethnic revindication movements of the last decades.[6]

The examples of Mauricio Mamani Pocuaca's, of Juan de Diós Yapita Moya's, and—in the next generation— of Elvira Espejo Ayca's involvement with foreign anthropologists/linguists span the time from the early 1960s to the present. This period saw the apogee of the already mentioned Bolivian National Revolution's top-down attempt to incorporate Aymara- and Quechua-speaking rural inhabitants into the nation as a literate peasant class whose traditions were slated to survive only as folklore. However, this attempt at homogenization ended, instead, in the rise of multiculturalism with its demands for ethnic empowerment.

The protagonist of our first story, Mauricio Mamani Pocuaca, is one of the first, if not the first, self-identified Aymara anthropologist in Bolivia and, for a short time, minister of agriculture. A schoolteacher in his community of origin, he became associated with an American anthropologist, William Carter, resulting in a lifelong collaboration and major joint publications, including the most detailed ethnography of an Aymara community and two in-depth studies (funded, interestingly, by USAID and the National Institute for Drug Abuse) of the economics and the role of coca in Bolivian Aymara culture. Our conversations recorded during many long sessions in 2002, 2012, 2013, and 2015, amounting to a corpus of over 350 transcribed pages, detail his life over a period of 80 years (see Buechler, in preparation), making it possible not only to describe Mamani's relationship to Carter and placing it into the totality of his relationships with other foreigners but also contextualizing them into the increasingly important context of the hegemonic mestizo society.[7]

Mauricio Mamani was born in 1935 in a community near the city of La Paz that had largely managed to escape the predatory expansion of landed estates. His family was relatively well to do, raising dozens of sheep and priding itself for the numerous large stacks of grains it amassed in the compound's courtyard. Following Aymara custom, according to which children were often farmed out to lonely family members, he spent much time with his grandmother.

Indirect and direct contact with the mestizo world came early. Mauricio's father, although barely able to sign his name and read and write a few words, skills he learned during the disastrous Chaco War in the 1930s, became his first teacher. As Mauricio recalls,

> I remember that my father would hit me in the head. I would sit at his side early on and he would teach me to read from a book. But I didn't get the point because he taught me to read whole phrases in conjunction. "El oso se para solo." ("The bear stands alone.") So I would learn it like a song: *el oso se para solo*. I would go off with my sisters to herd sheep. I would no longer have the book in front of me but I continued to sing *el oso se para solo*, running after the cows and sheep without having any idea what that meant. Later my father would open the book again and tell me to read. On every page I would read *el oso se para solo*. That was the first thing I memorized. You see, my father would tell me that he had suffered a lot during the Chaco War. School would be my salvation…

At seven years of age, an Aymara boy leaves herding to his sisters and younger brothers and becomes more and more involved in helping his father. Mauricio accompanied his father on his trips to temperate valleys to exchange salt for corn and dried fruit. When a mestizo mayor of a small town imprisoned his father and impounded his merchandise because he refused to sell the salt to the townsfolk, he got his first taste of mestizo bullying. Deprived of their trade goods, Mauricio and his father were forced to work in the lowland haciendas to have the wherewithal to buy the corn they needed.

Agriculture never was Mauricio's favorite activity. For one, he felt that he always ended up shortchanged. From a tender age, children received a lamb or two whose offspring became their own, as well as some seeds to plant in a furrow of a field, whose yield at harvest also became their own capital. As he remembers it,

> No one gives anything to you. The sheep you now own have to multiply. One goes to sell them. That's your income. You harvest the potatoes you

> planted in the furrow of each field allotted to you and you go to sell that. You administrate your own economy and work and with the fruit of your labor…

At least that was the theory. But his sisters surreptitiously appropriated the lambs from his sheep, and when he helped his father plant potatoes on virgin, fertile land he had rented in a nearby community using his own seed, he received none of the proceeds of the abundant harvest. He had more luck as a stonecutter:

> My father was a stonecutter. He fashioned paving stones, grinding pestles and grinding basins to grind quinua in Pan de Azúcar. I would help him. And, finally, by the time I was eight or nine, I was already working independently. I was making paving stones. There is a saying: *amparam nayranitaw* (You have eyes and you have hands. Now you can live).

As Mauricio saw it, Aymara children were both taught to become independent and, at the same time asked to contribute to the household economy without direct personal benefits. School was one means of escaping obligations to the household. But that did not absolve him from helping at home. As he explains,

> What my father really wanted me to do was to help him in his agricultural activities. That, I did not like to do. I preferred going to school, because for me school was restful and a time to play. I also played soccer.
>
> But it was not all fun. The teacher was mean. The teacher—who was from the community—made us cry. He would say, "Well, you have to learn Spanish." But he didn't really teach us. How could we possibly learn? As a result, he would punish us. We would have to stand on the wall and shout, "Comrade, it's prohibited to speak in Aymara at school" fifty times.

Apart from his dislike for most agricultural work and his engagement in stonecutting, Mauricio's childhood was not that different from that of his age-mates in the community. He lived in a sphere both separate from and conjoined with that of the dominant mestizos with whom he, like his Aymara peers, engaged in trade and who provided the limited education recently defined as appropriate for indigenous peasants, particularly males, one which excluded indigenous languages and was geared entirely toward mestizo concerns.

This was to change after he finished fifth grade. From then on, his trajectory appears as a dance involving positions in hegemonic national structures as well as identity politics at all levels of sociocultural integration, a dance that entailed both consecutive and simultaneous sometimes mutually reinforcing and sometimes incommensurate positionalities.

When Mauricio was finishing school in Irpa Chico, the path to upward mobility was relatively clear cut. It not only meant the adoption of Spanish but also at least the overt abandonment of identification as Aymara. For Mauricio, obtaining an education beyond sixth grade and becoming a schoolteacher involved a—at times—highly contentious distancing from his parents' and sisters' world of agriculture and herding, and an even more violent struggle against his schoolmates' discriminatory practices.

By bringing him cheese he stole from the family larder, he ingratiated himself with his teacher with whom he soon established a close relationship. When Mauricio expressed his desire to continue beyond the sixth grade education offered in his school, the teacher told him that his pronunciation in Spanish would not make it possible for him to continue beyond grade school. He advised him, instead, to go to the nearby town of Viacha and finish his primary education there. With money from his work as a stonecutter, he bought white cloth and, with his mother's complicity, he clandestinely went to an uncle to have him fashion a school smock. Then, against his father's wishes, who wanted Mauricio to stay on the farm, he enlisted the help of an uncle in Viacha, a raiload worker,[8] to get him into the school there. This relative took him to the school director, who took one look at his report card and exclaimed,

> "No, no, no, he is from the country. He has to go there. We can't accept him here." "Please, sir." (My uncle) pleaded with him for at least five minutes, practically on his knees, "This boy has to enter. He no longer lives in the country. He is my ward." "OK, OK, because we know one another." So they enrolled me as my uncle's ward.

In this way he entered the mestizo world of Viacha schools, the only one of his community to do so. Living in a room in the house that his father owned there, he arranged for Agustina, an elderly neighbor, to cook for him in return for his help. Soon he was also helping Agustina's boyfriend make rosettes and he rummaged around on garbage piles for broken pots and kettles, and repaired them for the old woman to sell.

School went less smoothly. He recalls,

> The first shock I received when I entered school was the sixth grade schoolteacher, Mr Ortuño. With him there was no such thing as recess for me. During every recess period, I was kneeling in front of him clutching the book, repeating every word until I had the pronunciation down. He really corrected me. He would say, "Caraspas! This boy! Let him have the stick!" That's how he taught me. I was the only one who did not pronounce well, so for me everything meant the stick. Then, when I left school at noon, the other children would hit me. One kid would beat me, then another would give me a kick. Everybody was hitting me, and no one was on my side. What could I do? I didn't have any friends. The children in Viacha really abused me. Two months, then three months passed. Now I could at least go out during recess. I was getting the hang of things. And I had a friend or two. But the children still waited for me on the way home and continued to beat me up. For a long time, I did not resist them. Then one day I had enough. I took off my jacket…It seems as though I went mad. I closed my eyes and flailed madly at all of them at once. They were bleeding. They went flying to the floor here and there. Then I thought to myself, These kids are weak, heck I am strong! It went to my head. I had a superiority complex…But then the older children came to beat me up. I could no longer withstand that. I think that one of them kicked me where my kidneys are. I was sick for two months. My father didn't even have me cured. The old lady, Agustina, took care of me, making me drink *andreswaylla* tea…That cured me. And my mother secretly sent me produce, for I was still banished from home…
>
> Now, though, I was getting good grades. Then they unexpectedly changed the teacher Ortuño who was so mean to me. A Mr. Antezana took his place, and he liked me…And he taught me gently…
>
> And soon the end of sixth grade came…

When Mauricio explained to his father that he wanted to become a schoolteacher, he finally took notice, for schoolteachers commanded a lot of prestige. He gave Mauricio the proceeds of the sale of a mule to purchase the items required by the teachers' college in Warisata, and later, when the school wanted to get rid of him because he had also applied to another institution—which, as it turned out, was no longer functioning—he appeared in person to discuss the matter with the Aymara town elders, who, as a result of an earlier movement of ethnic assertion, retained the ultimate authority over the school. As he was a community leader himself, he was able to arrange the matter. Now Mauricio could avoid agricultural labor altogether, even during

vacations, when he engaged in all sorts of odd jobs in La Paz from making guitars to fixing watches and giving injections.

After he graduated in 1958, Mauricio insisted on being placed in his home community. As he put it,

> I was capricious. I had a superiority complex. People would say: el m*aestro normalista*, "the teacher with a teachers' college degree." All the other teachers were temporary, because they didn't have a degree. So those with degrees were something special. We realized that even the director didn't have one. Consequently, we didn't take him seriously either. I (simply) demanded to be assigned to Irpa Chico, and he acceded to my wish. I also dabbled in politics. I was an activist in the teachers' union and engaged in all sorts of maneuvers. Things like that…

A year later, Mauricio met Carter at a plowing competition Mauricio had organized in the community under the auspices of the agricultural extension service. When Carter's vehicle got stuck in the mud at some distance from the event and he arrived on foot, Mauricio arranged for a group of boys to drag it out. Since Mauricio planned to go to La Paz that evening, Carter took him along and, when Mauricio proceeded to describe the community in great detail, Carter was so impressed by Mauricio's knowledge of local affairs that he decided to offer him a job as his assistant on the spot.

Mamani's activities as Carter's assistant, which entailed a thorough training in anthropological methods, meant an intellectual but also an emotional return to his ethnic roots, a return for which his position as a schoolteacher, although physically located in his community of origin, would not have been conducive. That role was too intimately associated with Westernization and with the automatic status it conferred him in the mestizo hierarchy.

Nevertheless, Mamani's subsequent trajectory as an indigenous anthropologist and politician did not exclude what he himself characterized as un-Aymara status games. He also fully espoused the rhetoric of modernization.

Before Carter's return to the United States after his dissertation research, he secured a position for Mamani in the section for cooperatives at the Interamerican Agricultural Service (SAI) of the Institute for Agrarian Reform. As SAI was a refuge for right-wing Falange party members who had lost their landed estates after the Agrarian Reform, Mamani's elitist colleagues at first treated him as little more than a driver who could be counted on to drive to distant locations and to

stay with the organization's vehicle, while they went off to get drunk. At the same time, they taught him to treat the secretaries as social inferiors, who could be addressed by their first names. Soon, though, he copied his colleagues who got themselves grants to engage in studies abroad and landed himself a grant to study cooperativism in Israel.

Mamani's experience there, although imbricated in modernization agendas, also involved observing the very process of subalternization in a non-Andean context. Mamani's account to me of this, his first trip abroad, in 1964 reveals the multiple perspectives from which he viewed the world. Intrigued by the possibility of observing a radically different culture from his own, but one also considered "underdeveloped," he insisted on spending a week living in a tent with Bedouins. On the one hand, he appeared to espouse the discourse of the mestizo world with which he was now involved in La Paz. He felt that his hosts lived in more "primitive" conditions than his Aymara relatives. On the other hand—ever the anthropologist—he keenly observed sociocultural differences, such as the strict gender separation practiced by the Bedouins.

Later, in Japan and subsequently in Europe, he was acclaimed as an indigenous scholar with an unorthodox view about the role of coca. Indeed, when he attended a seminar on coca, cocaine, drugs, and drug addiction that the European Community had organized in Spain, he represented the World Council of Indigenous Peoples of which he was a founding member, rather than his country, Bolivia.

Mamani's work as an anthropologist at the Institute for Agrarian Reform in projects initiated by other North American and Peruvian social scientists, mainly anthropologists but also economists—such as Ronald Clark—in association with the institute, soon led to an interest in politics. Here too, Mamani played a mediatory role between Aymara and nonindigenous society. When Clark sought a local collaborator to engage in research on agrarian politics in free communities, Mamani received a warm welcome by Mariano Flores, an elder of Intipampa, a community near his native Irpa Chico, who suggested his son Jenaro Flores. Clark soon became aware that Jenaro was a born leader, and thus aided in launching what was to become an illustrious career in peasant syndicalism.

While Clark was intent on pursuing the agenda of the Bolivian government and its US advisers,[9] Flores and Mamani did not always see eye to eye with those plans and covertly resisted their implementation. Thus, when they were asked to seek peasant support to gain peasant acquiescence for an unpopular new policy supported by

international creditors to tax peasants, they felt obligated to secretly undermine it. As Mamani recalls,

> They were buying the leaders' conscience. They were paying them so that the *impuesto único agropecuario* (single agrarian tax) would be accepted in the Peasant Congress. But that was against Jenaro Flores's interest. As a member of a free community, he was frightened by the thought. I was too, because, although we were accustomed to paying a "territorial contribution" (*contribución territorial*), we didn't pay a tax on agriculture.[10] So we were against it. Well, they were preparing to invite only those leaders to the congress on whom they could count to raise their hand in favor of the tax. They were engaging in trickery. Those who were against the proposal were not invited.
>
> But those who were against were actually the strongest leaders, people like Ticona from Pacajes, who went by the nickname Chinosaku. And he had a coterie of his own. So Jenaro and I did something that was disloyal to the institution, but which was indirectly in support of the peasants. We knew that the credentials of persons who were allowed to attend the congress were being stamped in our office. So we took them out and replaced them with the names of those who were against the *impuesto único*…

Aymara peasants strongly associate taxation with a return to colonial times when they were singled out to bear the brunt of taxation, so the proposal soon led to open revolt against President Barrientos, who tried to implement it. While Clark was aware of Mamani and Flores's role in subverting his aims, he continued to believe that he could sway Flores to the government's agenda and gave him material support in his bid to become a regional syndicate leader. At the same time, the episode awoke Mamani's interest in party politics.

In May 1969, Mamani; Mario Gabriel, Flores's brother-in-law; and several other indigenous intellectuals founded the think tank Minkha. Minkha's (successful) efforts to free the union leader Constantino Lima from imprisonment by the military government of Hugo Banzer[11] earned it international visibility, and later, in 1983, Mamani, Constantino Lima, and Samuel Coronel were invited to participate in the founding of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

Such international encounters were to become a major part of Mamani's life. In the 1980s and 1990s, multiculturalism and cultural rights became accepted—indeed sometimes dominant—tropes. That, in turn, influenced the way in which he was perceived at home and abroad. A major milestone came, when, in the early 1980s, his study

of the role of coca (see, for example, Mamani 2006 and 2011), mentioned earlier, led him to be appointed to what turned out to entail his heading the antinarcotics police. During a trip to the coca-growing Yungas region, his consultants from an earlier pest control project, who—unaware of his new role—showed him their cocaine-producing facilities where they manufactured what they called ALBARGRIN (*alimento balanceado para gringos*, "balanced nutrition for gringos") and regaled him with stories about what they would do to the narcotics police, who they expected would soon pay them a visit. In search of a means of escaping an untenable situation, he managed to obtain a short-term fellowship to study Japanese and museumology in Osaka. His choice to leave turned out to be life saving. Two months after he left for Japan, the coca growers slaughtered a number of his antinarcotics colleagues in the Yungas.

It was in Japan that he lectured on the distinction between coca and cocaine for the first time. That distinction was to become an oft-repeated slogan that contradicted the UN policy on coca that, equating coca with cocaine, sought to prohibit the use of coca altogether, until it finally granted special dispensation for Bolivia in January 2013. His stance also earned him invitations to give talks in Europe as a representative of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and to coach Model UN students, as well as a nomination to become a candidate for the Noble Peace Prize for this campaign for cultural rights, which his sponsors, the International Institute for Resource-sharing on Drugs and Human Rights, however, interpreted as a campaign for the decriminalization of drugs. His stay in Japan was to have other unexpected consequences. Selected by Paz Estenssoro—for whom he had campaigned in rural areas during his successful renewed bid for the presidency in 1984—for the post of minister of agriculture and peasant affairs, he was able to avail himself of his knowledge of Japanese to gain admission to the presidential palace to be sworn in by joining the line of Japanese diplomats waiting outside the palace to attend the ceremony, after the palace guards, because of his "Indian looks," refused him entrance. Later, as minister, he was able to persuade the Japanese to build a state-of-the-art trout-breeding facility on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Most recently, he has complemented his earlier, more scientific writings with two more popular books on coca. Finally, already in 2002–2003, he advised Evo Morales's party, the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), on foreign politics. The United States, he argued, no longer provided the lion's share of foreign aid, and its wishes could therefore be safely ignored, when it came to setting national policies.

Mamani's trajectory has its counterpart in the simultaneous and consecutive positionalities involved in the career of his mentor, Carter, who first came to Bolivia as a Methodist missionary, married a Bolivian Methodist nurse, and later left the ministry to pursue a career in anthropology. Perhaps unlike Mamani, who was well aware of his contribution to ethnic revindication, shortly before his untimely death, Carter seemed quite unaware of the influence his research was to have on the assertion of cultural rights such as the use of coca in ritual and daily life.

Yapita's trajectory is similar and, in fact, linked to that of Mamani, with the difference that the US connection was a linguist in the same department of anthropology in which Carter worked, and that his path to ethnic consciousness first led him to a much stronger identification with the Hispanic-oriented middle-class Bolivian society. Raised in La Paz, after his parents left Compi, their community of origin (owned, at the time, by a mestizo landlord, who unjustly seized their yoke of oxen), he became a secretary and worked for middle-class companies in that and other capacities. In spite of his close relations to his middle-class bosses, he also was active as a union leader, which ultimately led to his dismissal. With the severance pay he received, he purchased a plot of land in Compi, an act that led him to reconnect with his indigenous roots and to radically reconsider his future. A further link to his home community was established when, at the time of the agrarian reform that led to the expropriation of highland haciendas, his father reclaimed some of the land he had worked in usufruct and returned to Compi, leaving the rest of the family in La Paz. Yapita decided to enter a teachers' college in La Paz and took classes with the American linguist Martha Hardman de Bautista (married to a Peruvian), who had founded a facility for linguistic training, in general, and Aymara linguistics, in particular. After further studies of linguistics in Lima, he was invited to teach Aymara and work on Aymara materials at the University of Florida, including establishing a standardized alphabet that does not depend on vowel distinctions that are meaningful in Spanish, but not in Aymara. When Yapita first distributed a leaflet in 1968 on the Aymara alphabet he had developed, it was regarded as a quite revolutionary document. Motivated by the fascination with the "Other"[12] he encountered in the United States, he was material in organizing the first folklore festival to be held in the Bolivian altiplano, in 1965, in order to attract tourists to his community of origin.[13] This idea resonated with the revolutionary Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario's

(MNR) attempt, in the 1950s and 1960s, to folklorize Aymara culture as part of its efforts to incorporate rural Aymara speakers into the nation as a peasant class (see Canessa 2006).[14] As part of this *indigenista* (engagement with "the indigenous" for assimilationist ends) venture, the Bolivian government created a department of folklore that, among other things—perhaps to serve as a vehicle to promote both national identity and global ideologies—organized folklore competitions in major cities. Sponsored largely by the government, the folklore festivals represented a validation of the indigenous, but only as seen through the lens of the dominant power structure. They forefronted dances that were often no longer performed during community fiestas and excluded the, by then, ubiquitous brass bands (see Buechler and Buechler 1971). Later versions of the festival organized by Yapita also included reed boat races, a type of boat that was also falling into disuse. However, the rural version of the heretofore exclusively urban folklore festivals also highlighted modernity and women's emancipation. It was touted to have featured the first women's bicycle race to be held in a rural altiplano community. In spite of its insertion in the government's effort to assimilate the indigenous majority into the hegemonic mestizo culture, Yapita's mediating positionality as a person who had already reclaimed his indigenous identity was already path breaking—a harbinger of future trends. Sahlins's remark (1985: vii) that structures must be viewed as unfolding over time, revealing different inherent possibilities both diachronically and synchronically according to the changing conjunctures, possibilities, and constraints, as well as divergent interests of differently positioned individuals is well taken.

In addition to fostering such development projects in his home community and, in 1972, founding Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara (ILCA), an institute dedicated to the research and dissemination of the Aymara language and culture—together with another member of his community—Yapita was among the first to teach Aymara at various institutes and at the university. His first students included the noted Aymara historian Roberto Choque; Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, who—as vice president—was later to become the major protagonist of the use of Aymara in schools; and the latter's father who, as a rural school teacher, already pioneered this idea. At present, Yapita, in close collaboration with Denise Arnold, engages in anthropological and ethnolinguistic studies in the Qaqachaka area in the southern altiplano and in promoting traditional weaving for the tourist and export market. Their research there was to have further repercussions. One of their

consultants, Elvira Espejo, who was three years old when they first met, came to live with them in La Paz and to accompany them on the couple's trips abroad, and became a protagonist of the use of traditional weaving techniques as a means of modern artistic expression (see Buechler 2006); has followed Yapita's example of writing haiku style poetry in Aymara and Quechua (Espejo 2006); and, as mentioned previously, is now the director of the Museum of Anthropology and Folklore. The major innovations she announced at her investiture in 2013 were a greater stress on documenting textile traditions and the creation of "portable" (i.e., online) museums to give access to the museum's collections to rural communities.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, an analysis of the interconnected positionalities of foreign anthropologists, linguists, on the one hand, and Aymara intellectuals, on the other, helps elucidate the dynamics of ethnic identification, in particular, and, more generally, sheds new light on the nature of certain processes of globalization such as multiculturalism.

Particularly in their early stages, ethnic movements depend on connections among individuals who occupy strategic, but not necessarily powerful positions within institutions (or even within only incipiently regularized structures in cultures/social systems). These positions place them in contact with similarly positioned individuals in other cultures/social systems with few previous links.

Foreign anthropologists and linguists have played a facilitating role in the lives of organic leaders of the ethnic movement in Bolivia. First, they highlighted the relevance of language and cultural traditions to modern life rather than simply as curious and perhaps colorful customs to be preserved or discarded at the whim of hegemonic structures. Thereby they contributed in opening and institutionalizing a field of inquiry and social action in which ethnicity is central. And, at a time when access to academic institutions was still extraordinarily difficult for persons with their background, they provided training in social scientific methods for their Aymara assistants and/or counterparts, who then became social scientists in their own right and were able to fill the open positions or create them themselves.[15] In this connection, the material support provided by these foreigners was often of crucial importance in the latters' quests. Thus, Mamani would probably not have become minister of peasant affairs without it. Flores's career received a major boost, and Espejo could not have

acquired the education to become the first indigenous woman to head the Museum of Anthropology and Folklore.

I argued that the life history method enables us to examine such processes in detail. Such an examination highlights the role of the peculiar positionalities of foreign social scientists who, while beholden to power structures back home, become entangled in new power structures in their new settings, at the same time having considerable leeway in their relationships with their indigenous counterparts.

More importantly, this method highlights the need to place interconnected positionalities into the totality of the trajectories of the actors involved—in this chapter especially the relationships of native intellectuals with the hegemonic mestizo society that preceded their encounters with foreign social scientists—and assess the role of their continued involvement with mestizos throughout their careers. The nature of these trajectories, in turn, changes over time and according to rural-urban migrant generations. Thus Espejo's appointment as head of the anthropological and folklore museum provides evidence of the increasing role of women, including indigenous, first-generation rural-urban migrants in public affairs at the national level. Interestingly, in the case of the indigenous protagonists of this chapter, the process of ethnic revindication becomes largely truncated in the next generation, for none of their children maintain contact with the place of origin of their indigenous parents.

Perhaps most significant is the fact that the initial interconnections between foreign and indigenous actors in many ways prefigured future trends. The protagonists of this chapter were pioneers in ethnic revindication who took advantage of whatever opportunities presented themselves at a given time in an intricate play between means and ends. At times our consultants had to go against their own political and ideological inclination both to earn a living and to achieve what was possible within the constraints of the moment. As a result, agency often took contorted forms. Thus Carter and Mamani obtained funding from US antidrug organizations in order to engage in a study that, contrary to the result expected by the funding agencies, led to the validation of the claim that coca is a vital part of indigenous culture and identity, a claim that, in turn, led European activists supporting the decriminalization of drug use to nominate Mamani (who, at one point, found himself working for a government agency in charge of eradicating coca) for a Nobel Peace Prize. Later, these results contributed to legitimizing the leader of the coca producer unions, Morales, in the eyes of Aymara and Quechua majorities.

The examples given of the older leaders show how the ethnic movement evolved over time from expressions constrained by the MNR's agenda of incorporating indigenous peoples merely as a peasant class, highlighting only those aspects of indigenous culture that were regarded as colorful and harmless to an increasing valorization of cultural traditions even in the face of hegemonic opprobrium. Thus the movement now insists on the right to maintain the traditional uses of coca, even though it knows that the practices are considered by the United Nations as complicating the control of the production of cocaine. Similarly, Aymara linguists and educators like Juan de Diós Yapita are struggling to achieve recognition and teaching of their language as not just worthy of preservation as an exotic manifestation of human variation but as a living tool in day-to-day transactions in the nation.

As Brysk (1996: 46) has argued, one of the ways in which indigenous leaders have been able to circumvent impediments imposed by national (and one should add binational) structures, has been to skip the national level altogether and enlist the support of hemispherical or even global structures and movements, as Mamani did when he promoted the liberalization of the use of coca as a representative of the World Commission of Indigenous Nations, rather than as a representative of Bolivia.

The identity that our consultants have formed in the course of these entanglements can certainly be characterized as a "return of the Indian," as Xavier Albó (1991) has called it, a return, however, often with a new twist: a "return of the Indian within the global" that makes the indigenous more global through publications, gallery exhibitions with an international audience, participation in international conferences,…

To promote their cause in the cases examined, the aspect of Aymaraness that our consultants forefront often depends on the context. Thus Mamani moves readily from the political slogan "coca is *not* cocaine" to the fine-grained knowledge of the customs of his community and other localities he studied that made him a superb campaigner for the MNR party. And today he cautions circumspection even regarding the distinction of coca and cocaine he pioneered. Thus, in a recent newspaper article (2014) he writes that this difference should not become an excuse for the excess production of coca and that, in fact, practices to boost production such as plant fumigation have made traditional uses of coca dangerous.

Yapita supports the movement toward bilingual education, but he decries the academic purist bent presently pursued, that is, in the

form of teaching a stilted version of the language that no one actually speaks, which, as he argues, limits its practical usefulness. Instead, he advocates teaching Aymara in the way it is actually spoken, making it of practical use in daily life. The need to understand the particular has also led him to collaborate in detailed studies of Qaqachaka culture with Arnold.

Similarly, Espejo's artistic creations make both more generically indigenous allusions and, at the same time, involve weaving techniques that are specific to her place of origin, and, more recently, have resulted in a personal style, in which her indigenous origins are integrated into a cosmopolitan artistic language in new ways. In her case, too, the practical (e.g., virtual museums) trumps the ideological and dogmatic.

Our examples indicate that perhaps Michel Foucault was right about the diffuse nature of power, but neither the conclusion that power—in the cases at hand, the power to effect or influence change—is randomly distributed nor that it follows a master plan entailing implicit consent (or resignation) is warranted. Rather, they simultaneously provide evidence of common purpose among indigenous actors, partially shared by their foreign counterparts; conjunctural flexibility; an emphasis on practical contributions (influenced by their foreign anthropological collaborators' quest for ethnographic specificity) rather than ideological purity; and continued struggles against persistent and perhaps also new forms of discrimination.

## Notes

* Earlier versions of this article were presented at the conference "Re-imagining the Americas," sponsored by Syracuse University's Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, Latino-Latin American Studies, Imagining America, and the Mellon Humanities Corridor; and by Cornell University's Latin American Studies Program and Latino Studies Program, Syracuse, April 10, 2010; in the session "The Vagaries of Neo-liberalism: Migration, Crises and Multiculturalism," Simone Buechler organizer, at the XXIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, Oct. 6–9, 2010; and in the session "Popular Responses to Globalization Dislocations in Space and Time: Dedicated to the Memory of Judith-Maria Buechler," June Nash and Helen Icken Safa organizers, at the American Ethnological Society (AES) Spring Conference, 2012 in New York City. It has benefited from comments and bibliographical references to parallels in the sociological literature from Paul McLaughlin and from comments by Lars Rodseth and Gloria Rudolf, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

1. For a reference to the role the resistance by Native Americans at Wounded Knee in 1973 played in ethnic movements in Latin America, see Brysk 2000: 68 and Maybury-Lewis 1991.

2. See Ari (2014) for a comprehensive historical analysis of a major ethnic movement involving grass-roots intellectuals that had its origins in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and lasted into the 1970s. In this movement foreigners, especially Protestant churches played only minor (and only partly supportive) roles. Salient in his analysis are the connections through marriage established by indigenous activists in other regions of Bolivia.
3. See Buechler 2009 for another discussion of some of these strands.
4. I am well aware that my reading of Sahlins is not consistent with his reputation as a dyed-in-the-wool culturologist who sees change as constrained by ingrained cultural traditions. I emphasize, instead, his observation that individuals faced with new situations take risks in the interpretation of their cultural traditions, risks that may have far-reaching, transformative consequences.
5. For a fascinating study of a social movement in Argentina using a life history methodology, see Auyero 2003.
6. For a description of similar roles of anthropologists among indigenous cultures in Brazil and lowland Ecuador, see Brysk 2000: 214–221.
7. For reasons of space, only a small sample of the interactions with mestizos and foreigners that Mamani describes in his life history can be presented in this chapter.
8. Working for the railroad was one of the few means of upward mobility open to Aymara men. It played a role in the background of other Aymara intellectuals we interviewed as well.
9. To be fair, this particular project was not characteristic of Clark's research, which included a study of cattle raising in southern Bolivia, which was highly critical of the treatment of workers by hacienda owners, resulting in the cattle farmers association declaring him and Mauricio as personae non gratae in the region.
10. In fact, after the agrarian reform of 1953, peasants ceased to pay taxes altogether.
11. Ironically Banzer's wife, Yolanda Prada de Bánzer, was named honorary president of the organization in 1971, when Minkha supported the Military/Peasant Pact. As for Jenaro Flores, he was exiled to Chile by the dictator Hugo Bánzer after the fall of General Torres, from whence he returned to wage clandestine resistance against the Bánzer regime (Rocha 2006).
12. For references to the influence of exoticism in North American and European NGO involvement in social movements in Latin America, see Brysk 2000: 41, 90.
13. For an analysis of the positionalities of other individuals involved in organizing the festival and engaging in other mediatory functions in that community, see Buechler and Buechler 1971–72.
14. For a parallel Eastern European example of folklorizing traditions under communism in order to neutralize them, see Kaneff 2003.
15. A wonderful example of these dynamics is the project Otros Saberes (Hale and Stephens 2013), carried out under the auspices of the Latin American Studies Association (see Introduction). Of particular relevance is the research undertaken by Gallois and her indigenous collaborators among the Wajãpi, in Brazil. The researchers she trained not only documented the knowledge of

their elders but also systematically compared this knowledge with the neo-Brazilian beliefs and practices they were taught in school, forming the basis for cross-cultural understanding and syntheses (Gallois et al. 2013, pp. 72–73).

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# 6

# Collaborative Research on the United States-Mexico Border: Social Media, Activism, and the Impact of Scholarship

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## Introduction

For several decades, pundits and critics have predicted the end of borders, envisioning a globalized world that ushers in a new era of collaboration and cooperation (Friedman 2005). Yet despite these proclamations and significant advancements in communication technology, as well as the explosion of social media, we have not seen significantly greater collaboration, even between partners as close as those along the United States-Mexico border. This is especially true in academic research. Perhaps communication technologies have taken more time to be fully integrated into the often age-restricted fields of academia. Maybe the very nature of academic collaboration needs far greater contact than is achievable through online and technological resources. Whatever the cause, intense debates in recent years about the safety of working in northern Mexico have complicated research efforts and created a huge divide between Mexican and US colleagues, as many institutions have banned official travel to Mexico.[1]

In this chapter, we discuss the new opportunities that communication technologies and social media offer to academic research projects, especially collaboration. This chapter outlines research methodology, and our strategies for disseminating our research provide new

opportunities to expand the audience for our work and make our findings more relevant to people looking for change. The results of the study have already been incorporated into many of the debates on US immigration policy and treatment of migrants held in detention facilities. In Mexico, the work has informed discussion on the treatment of migrants in detention, and the problem and frequency of migrants being deported to Mexico without their possessions, including identification documents, money, and medications. While it is still too early to analyze the long-term results of this approach, our efforts are based on scholars' attempts to more directly engage with groups struggling for social change (Hale 2008). We discuss this idea more fully in the second half of the chapter, after we have discussed our methodology and research questions, as well as how they relate to the local contexts within which we are working.

The escalation of drug trafficking-related violence along the border has increased the need for communication technology in research as some people are now increasingly restricted from traveling into zones where they once freely collaborated. Through our recent collaborative experiences, not only directly across the border but also across multiple research sites spanning the Mexico-United States border from Tijuana to Tamaulipas, we have had to deal with numerous logistical challenges and have relied on technology to help manage complicated and difficult research. While our use of these technologies is far from cutting edge, this chapter focuses on the interplay between technology, communication, and collaboration in a context of border insecurity. Our principal questions are the following: What is the nature of binational academic collaboration and how can it be advanced by technology? Conversely, what are the limitations of technology's role in collaboration? In order to explore these questions, we examine the successes and failures of our recent research, exploring issues stemming from four constraints challenging our research: the multisite setting of the research, the multidisciplinary training of the collaborating researchers, the differing US and Mexican academic systems, and the contemporary challenges of border violence. Technology plays a significant role in all of these areas.

The majority of our discussion is based on our experiences collaborating along and across the United States-Mexico border during recently completed fieldwork that studied undocumented migration and deportation. The fieldwork took place between 2010 and 2012 in Tijuana, BC; Mexicali, BC; Nogales, Sonora; Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua; Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas; and Mexico City. The

research, funded by the Ford Foundation, Mexico, involved six teams of researchers conducting surveys and interviews in each city. Thirteen universities on both sides of the border worked together to study migration, security, and violence on the United States-Mexico border. It was a logistical challenge that involved multiple trips to each site as well as constant communication with each site to maintain coordination and ensure quality control. Colleagues from the following universities collaborated on the project: University of Arizona, Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, San Diego State University, University of Texas at El Paso, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, Texas A&M International University, Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Universidad de Sonora, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, and Tecnológico de Oaxaca. Counting research assistants, more than 60 people worked on the project.[2]

The central research questions in this chapter examine the following: How can new social communication technologies enhance border research communication and collaboration, as well as the overall impact on public policies? What effect does this technology have on the scholarship, policy initiatives, and dispersal of information in the two countries? To answer these questions, we have divided the chapter into three sections. The first provides a detailed overview of the project and the methodological challenges and issues involved in trying to improve collaboration. The second presents an overview of the social media technologies we have implemented and what we have learned in the process. The third examines the potential of these communication technologies for future border research and the expansion of activist academic frameworks as a way to increase the impact of research and challenge asymmetrical power relations.

Despite a long history of social science research on the United States-Mexico border, binational collaboration has not been the norm. This situation can be traced to separate educational systems, the different languages spoken in the two neighboring countries, and diverse research priorities for both countries. Each country has its own professional associations and distinct sets of priorities that determine promotions and tenure-like appointments. At the same time, globalization, free trade, and new communication technologies have enhanced or even necessitated collaboration. Increasingly, scholars on both sides of the border speak both languages and attend meetings in Mexico and the United States. Mexico's National Council on Science and Technology (CONACYT) awards scholars who publish in

international journals. Organizations like the University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States (UCMEXUS) encourage joint research, and the Puentes Consortium explicitly requires collaboration (Whiteford, Ochoa O'Leary, and Deeds 2013).

Nevertheless, binational collaboration for the study of migration has made striking contributions to our understanding of social change. The extensive collaboration between Jorge Durand and Douglas Massey, and the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) is one of the best examples of binational scholarship, with a strong publication record in both US and Mexican academe (Durand and Massey 2004). The research projects by Wayne Cornelius and colleagues on the dynamics of migration, especially from the perspective of the sending communities, entailed long-term engagement with Mexican colleagues (Cornelius and Lewis 2007). Other projects such as the Encuesta de Migración Internacional en la Frontera (EMIF) have struggled to gain acceptance in the United States, with relatively few articles being published in English-language journals (for an exception, see Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo 2014). With time, these pressures and opportunities should increase the frequency and depth of international collaboration.[3]

## Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS): (In)security and Violence on the Border

The deadly conflict being played out on the Mexico-US border links drug-trafficking organizations (DTOs), the Mexican government and law enforcement officials, US immigration policy, US immigration officials, and the militarization of the border. While this has impacted many scholars, activists, and journalists working along the border, it has also provided an important point of self-reflection. What is the purpose of academic research and how can we push ourselves to improve our work so that it leads to better results? This comes on the heels of extremely anti-immigrant legislation passed by Arizona (SB 1070) and Alabama (HB 56), as well as border enforcement policies that have increased death rates for migrants in the Sonoran Desert in Arizona and indirectly contributed to the horrific massacre of 72 would-be migrants in San Fernando, Tamaulipas, in August 2010. Even more difficult to understand, and equally important for academic research to address, is the abuse and violence occurring every day on the border, particularly with people attempting to cross into the United States. The authors have documented many cases of robbery, kidnapping, physical

abuse, rape, and manipulation by drug traffickers, as well as abuse of border crossers by US authorities (Martínez, Slack, and Heyman 2013, Slack and Whiteford 2011, Slack 2015).

The results of the Migrant Border Crossing Study (MBCS) have important policy implications for border security and migration. There is no academic data that quantitatively addresses the experiences of undocumented migrants in the highly charged political context of the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century. The majority of the quantitative work on migration has been done in sending communities in central Mexico (Durand and Massey 2004, Massey, Durand, et al. 2002, Cornelius 2005, Cornelius and Lewis 2007, Massey 2011). There is often a large time lag between the migratory experiences and the interviews, which contributes to retrospective bias and impacts the depiction of the experience. Scholars have suggested that these factors lead people to recall the border-crossing experience in a more positive light (Spener 2009).

Based on the results of research in Nogales, Sonora, from 2007 through 2009 by Daniel E. Martínez and collaborators, the Ford Foundation offered to support a larger study that would include six sectors of the border stretching from Tijuana/San Diego through Texas, with demographic and political characteristics very different from those found in the Sonora-Arizona border region. The first few years of research were instrumental in developing the survey questionnaire, leading us to ask specific questions about migrant experiences with the US justice system and issues such as "fake" kidnappings and other types of extortion of migrants. We also included input from human rights organizations, lawyers, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that work with migrants in order to produce the most useful questionnaire possible. Between 2007 and 2009, Martínez and a diverse interdisciplinary team of research associates conducted more than 400 interviews with recent deportees in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico.

In broadening the scope of the border project, we needed to incorporate more colleagues from all along the border. This type of study would be impossible without incorporating colleagues from both sides of the border from the cities where we were carried out research. In addition, it was important to include colleagues who could interview both people in the home communities of migrants in Mexico and migrants repatriated by airplane to Mexico City. We held a two-day workshop with colleagues to decide on a timetable, lines of inquiry, and a methodological design. We discussed the results of the first wave

of data collection in order to get as much input as possible before we selected the questions to include in the pretest phase from January to February 2011. While not all of the participants currently in the project attended the workshop, Mexican and US colleagues who took part in the workshop played a major role in framing the project. Since that time, we have tried to cooperate with one another by exchanging information and resources, sharing data, and reflecting on the emerging comparisons.

The MBCS is the first binational multidisciplinary research project to comprehensively and systematically gather quantitative data on abuses and violence experienced by recent border crossers who were subsequently deported; it addresses issues of banditry, violence by gender, kidnapping, extortion, physical abuse, and misconduct by authorities on both sides of the border, as well as legal misconduct in the court system and detention centers, among many other issues. More than 1,200 surveys consisting of 250 questions per survey were completed in addition to detailed qualitative interviews and life histories.

Research questions guiding Wave II of the MBCS are the following:

1. To what degree do Mexicans encounter violence on their travels to and across the United States-Mexico borderlands?
2. Who is affected more by which types of violence, and how can our understanding of these abuses help protect specific populations (indigenous language speakers, women, the elderly, and children)?
3. How do regional conditions along both sides of the border vary, and do these differences influence migrant decision making and ultimately affect personal security?
4. What policy reforms need to be made in Mexico and the United States to reduce violence and insecurity on the border?

## Collaboration and Technology

The MBCS II team had to maintain communication with the teams conducting research. The constant flux of people as well as developments in regard to the violence and turmoil along the border created a hectic and dynamic atmosphere. It was helpful both to document these changes and provide support in adapting the methodology and requirements for research. Because of this, the teams were in constant contact with each other and the project manager. We used Google Docs to organize, scan, and analyze completed surveys, which allowed

us to maintain central control of data entry, but provided flexibility for cooperation and help in data analysis among different regions. We used Skype for team meetings and social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, to create longer-term collaborations between graduate students and younger faculty who will hopefully generate future collaborations and binational research. We also have been using these tools in conjunction with a formal website to raise awareness of the project and increase the impact of our findings.

## Technological Tools and Lessons

While we, like everyone else, use technology almost every waking minute, we have selected a few specific areas in which communication technology and social media have helped integrate collaboration and reflection in a large and complicated research agenda. We have divided these areas into three categories: research tools, collaboration and communication, and dissemination of results.

### *Tools for Research: iPad with TagPad*

While we settled on the least technologically advanced method for data collection (a writing implement and paper), we piloted some other possibilities for future research. The research team at San Diego State University (SDSU) was collaborating with individuals working on developing the TagPad app for the iPad (Bornoe et al. 2011). The team programmed our 250-question survey into the application, allowing spaces for open-ended answers and precoded answers. The most intriguing function of TagPad is its ability to record audio of the interview while simultaneously answering precoded and open-ended questions within the structure of the survey. The audio recording was then divided according to which of the questions was being answered, allowing one to skip ahead to the audio that was being recorded, while specific questions were highlighted in the application. For example, if we were asking questions about Border Patrol abuse, we were able to easily skip to this point in the audio recording because it was divided by the same structure as the survey. This allowed for quick and easy coding of the audio files so that we can address specific issues, such as finding the verbatim recordings associated with people who experienced a kidnapping or abuse by the US Border Patrol (USBP), for example.

We conducted test interviews with TagPad in Tijuana, but were not able to use the technology border-wide because it would have required

a significant shift in our practices and, as we had already begun the research process, it would have hindered progress. Moreover, unifying the databases would have required a significant amount of work. While the TagPad would have saved a significant amount of time in analysis, there were several drawbacks. One minor drawback that the lead author of this chapter found while conducting interviews with TagPad was the inability to maintain eye contact with the subject. In addition, a technological device positioned between the interviewer and interviewee created a sense of separation and challenges for developing a rapport, and may have even raised suspicion among our respondents. While this issue would have lessened with experience, the main concern about implementing border-wide use of iPads was a concern for the security of interviewers. Many of the shelters along the border are contentious areas where people have been released from prisons or detention and may have a need for fast cash to pay for a bus ticket back to their hometown in Mexico, or an even greater need to make money in order to pay their way back to family in the United States. Once it became known that researchers were carrying such valuable equipment, it could have created a situation in which a researcher could have been at risk. Moreover, as most of the shelters are only open at night, iPads provided yet another aspect of vulnerability that was already a point of concern among the team. However, as this technology has developed, become cheaper, and more prevalent, we anticipate future rounds of surveying to be done electronically. The EMIF has since transitioned to tablets for surveying, which has greatly reduced cost and time to data analysis. Considering that it took more than a year to enter all of our data, the benefits appear to far outweigh the limitations.

### *Collaboration and the New Social Media*

The research teams are using Skype, Facebook, Twitter, and geographic information systems not only to enhance communication within the research network but also to share the results of the project with a binational audience. Twitter, which has 140 million users, and Facebook, with more than 510 million users, have transformed international communication. However, their potential to enhance cross-border communication has not been examined. The MBCS is one of the largest binational research projects along the United States-Mexico border, and it is unclear whether this type of collaboration would even be possible without modern communication technologies; five

binational research teams completed more than 1,000 one-hour surveys and interviews at five major border crossing locations (Tijuana/San Diego, Mexicali/El Centro, Nogales/Tucson, Ciudad Juárez/El Paso, and Nuevo Laredo/Laredo).

*Skype*

Skype was key in maintaining contact with distinct teams in each field site. As everyone knows, there are always multiple complications that arise in the field. These issues often include questions about sampling and methodology, or clarifications about the specific meaning of questions, planning conferences, and coordinating master's theses, as well as how to maintain a workable timeline for research. In addition to these fairly standard concerns, we were also dealing with issues of security and potential violence.

Skype was used to communicate on about a biweekly basis with team leaders in Ciudad Juárez and Nuevo Laredo, but where Skype really provided the most significant benefit was in allowing us to participate in team meetings with the Tijuana team. The lead author was able to participate in four team meetings in which he fielded questions and gave suggestions based both on his experience conducting two field visits to Tijuana during planning phases and on the previous three years of development conducting research in Nogales, Sonora. This was useful in getting a feel for the unique challenges being faced in that city. For instance, Tijuana has a much longer history of research, which was both an asset and a drawback. We are able to draw on well-trained research assistants, but people living and working in research sites were at times concerned with the flow over years of students and other researchers wanting to interview. This complicated the ability to gain access to certain research sites. Moreover, Tijuana has the most shelters of any city along Mexico's northern border, followed by Mexicali. These different shelters often compete with one another for resources, including charitable donations and government aid. This makes it difficult to work in multiple shelters, as it casts suspicion on researchers, whose often-murky roles may be misinterpreted by owners and workers as evaluators of the services they provide. Moreover, these shelters provide different types of services to diverse groups, often leading to support that is a cross between a homeless service, drug rehabilitation center, halfway house, and migrant shelter.

Our conversations over Skype helped us understand the challenges of the city in question and brainstorm with colleagues necessary modifications to the survey instrument in order to replicate the research

process and sample in each research locality. This meant limiting the time that had elapsed since deportation in order to eliminate people who began living permanently in shelters or on the border. However, in our overzealousness, our restrictions on the amount of time since deportation were too stringent, making it difficult to find people who fit into the sample framework. Our collaboration and communication were key in adapting to needs in the field and greatly increased the quality and quantity of the research.

We had not anticipated the value of this tool beforehand, and when we repeat this project in the coming years, we hope to formalize this aspect and arrange to use video conference calls in team meetings at all research sites to better communicate and provide direct feedback and contact with central organizers and teams on the ground. This was a great learning experience and opportunity to plan for better future research.

*Facebook: Collaboration and Connections*

As the most pervasive worldwide social network, Facebook has the added benefit that everyone you work with probably already uses it. Therefore, it also provides the most convenient way to communicate on a day-to-day basis. The chat function, although rudimentary, is useful because, due to the nature of spending a lot of time working in an office in front of a computer, it can be used frequently both to say hello and to ask questions such as "what is the address to send the hard copies of the surveys?"

While we are not suggesting that one can create the type of relationship that leads to collaboration over the Internet, the use of Facebook is highly complementary to fieldwork because it is easier than ever to keep in touch with contacts and maintain friendships. The visiting scholar is no longer the only person who has the opportunity to look into someone else's life—the people being "studied" also now have at least a limited opportunity to learn more and see more than has been available during typical research interactions. Many participants in the study are part of the MBCS Facebook page as well as those of the research team, making it easier to maintain contact, see developments in the future and share research projects.

This by no means eliminates the anthropological dilemma of unequal power dynamics in research, but it is nonetheless a tool for providing greater equality and intimacy. Many of the researchers have developed friendships with people who participated in the project after the interview experience, as well as created stronger ties between

teams of researchers from the United States and Mexico, and from one city to the next. However, while Facebook is a revolutionary tool, it will never replace face-to-face interactions.

Especially in regions where cities have basically been abandoned by the outside world and stigmatized internationally as a "murder city" (Bowden and Cardona 2010), the act of showing up, participating in local events, and creating sustainable contacts is in itself a strong political statement. While it is true that new levels of caution are necessary while navigating border cities, decrees that ban research or official travel have a damning effect on binational relationships (Slack et al. 2011). However, facilitating interactions between people is not the only utility of Facebook.

We created a Facebook group to communicate with members and send out invitations to conferences, notices of publications, and new requests for proposals. While e-mail is still the standard-bearer for these types of announcements, the number of invitations to participate in conferences or to publish that people receive on a daily basis can be overwhelming. Therefore, establishing a group specifically dedicated to this project helps limit the scope of the content, allowing users to focus more specifically on the events associated with our group research rather than on more general inquiries. It also makes it easy to check up on the project at any time, rather than searching through a mailbox for past e-mails. This can also be done in our open Facebook page (MBCS—Violencia y Migración, https://www.facebook.com/pages/MBCS-Violencia-y-Migracion/214057608671086). Whereas the group is limited to members who are directly involved in the project, the Facebook page is open to a general audience and serves as a forum to list open publications, public lectures, news coverage, and other forthcoming activities that might be of interest to the general public.

Our stated goal with this project is to create high-profile, high-quality, methodologically sound information about violence and undocumented immigration along the border. We are not content only to publish our results in peer-reviewed academic books and articles, although scholarly review is critical in legitimizing our research and findings. The team feels an obligation to share with the public our research inquiry and results and the ways that it will impact policy. This goal is more easily stated than accomplished. Strategies to achieve this goal have traditionally included writing white papers and policy reports, and capturing the attention of the media. The use of social media is a powerful new tool to share information and interpretations

to create broader public awareness of immigration and border security issues. At the time we are writing this chapter, 2014, these new social media tools to address policy issues are just beginning to be utilized within academia, because evaluations for advancement (such as tenure) often do not take this type of activity into account. Funding agencies such as the Ford Foundation, however, are driving this type of innovation. In pressing grantees to contribute to a national debate, the Foundation is furthering the connections to social media.

Our journey of sharing research finds with multiple audiences including policy makers, academics and citizen social justice organizations is just beginning and filled with hazards of different kinds. Nevertheless, our analysis has received broad media coverage, with more than 200 media citations and interviews ranging from CNN to Al Jazeera within a couple of months of the first publication. New discussions with NGOs working on issues of border social justice and immigration policy forged dialogues and cooperation. It resulted in team members testifying before congressional committees and the first report being cited in Senate hearings. Opportunities were created by the Department of Homeland Security and the US Border Patrol to discuss research methodology, the results, and policy.

### *Dissemination of Results*

In the following section, we discuss how we also planned and used other social media to communicate within the team, increase communication with the public, and broaden the impact of the results of the project.

#### *Twitter*

Twitter is a social network service created in 2006 with more than 140 million users. Tweets are visible publicly, but senders have the ability to limit messages to a set audience. There is no charge. Because Facebook and Twitter can be closely connected, we have set up a Twitter account for our Facebook page that simultaneously publishes the information on both sites. We have been using Twitter as well as Facebook to send out descriptive statistics from our reports. For example, "only 30% of deportees have contact with the Mexican consulate" or "25% of migrants were robbed by bandits on their previous crossing attempts." We hope that these tweets will serve to help raise awareness of the data and provide people with a more accessible way of getting information that may direct them to our publications and full reports. Since we are attempting to push the boundaries of public- or

policy-oriented scholarship, this is an indispensable tool and requires that we adapt our product accordingly. Twitter is most effective when the volume of tweets is high. That is why dividing a report that may be several hundred pages in length into small descriptive findings can do more than simply translate the information into an accessible, easy-to-find medium. It also provides an entry point for people who are interested in learning more about MBCS and the debates surrounding migration, border violence, and drugs. Moreover, the frequent media coverage of the project has allowed us to share both articles and videos online with greater ease providing a further chance to promote our work.

We are completely aware that the majority of our research findings will not lead to meaningful policy changes, especially in the current political climate of 2015, when border policy predominantly focuses on security. This includes critiques on the human rights violations of deportees, which suggest allowing the freer movement of people back and forth so as to remove the incentives for human smuggling and make it easier for authorities to focus on combating drug trafficking. Some of our findings simply reify the current debates—supporting the push to allow a path to US citizenship or to pass the DREAM Act or a guest worker program, as well as the ever-present dream of open borders—and therefore provide nothing new to policy makers or activists. Other more specific findings—like the discovery that rates of abuse by US Border Patrol agents, such as throwing away possessions of migrants who were sentenced for jail time for having crossed into the United States are much higher in the Tucson Sector than for other Border Patrol sectors—provide specific, addressable concerns. A recommendation that people not be deported to dangerous Mexican border cities where border violence is endemic and where they have neither family nor knowledge of local conditons, known as lateral repatriation, has not been incorporated into policy. While deporting women and children at night has been prohibited, we found that it occurs despite regulations.

Making our findings available to the public in multiple forums has made it possible for the findings to be used by NGOs addressing human rights issues on the border and beyond. The NGOs, especially No More Deaths, and lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have spearheaded a broader coalition protesting the repatriation of people without the possessions they had when taken by US authorities. This has drawn the attention of the Department of Homeland Security, with whom team members met, which promised to address the problem. The response illustrates the value of carrying out methodologically

sound social science research and making the finding public, not just for the academic audience but also for the broader public. We are using methods outside of traditional policy reports that create awareness and provide more resources to the wide-ranging activist communities that are struggling for change on innumerable levels. This can hopefully become a new avenue for activist researchers to gain further access to the public and other groups interested in their research.

*Multimedia and other products*

We are currently developing a multimedia section of the project, archiving video interviews and photographic documentation of the border, shelters, and the people involved. Murphy Woodhouse has become the photographer in residence for the project, producing beautiful and important images that complement and humanize our research (see www.arizona.edu/mbcs, for our full report). This will highlight the individual characteristics of the people who are kind enough to open their lives and their tragedies to outsiders in the hope that their experiences will mean something. We have also worked with CNN, NPR, PBS, Al Jazeera, Univision, and other news outlets to produce short news segments and documentaries on our research findings. These additional types of media productions are important in achieving our overall goals of social change.

By simply producing policy documents, researchers limit the impact of research to activities that can be carried out by politicians, bureaucrats, and other privileged people in positions of power. This is far too safe an approach for the type of research we are conducting and the type of change we hope to effect. We are drawing on the work of activist scholars such as Laura Pulido, Charles Hale, and Shannon Speed, among others (Hale 2006, Pulido 2006, Speed 2006, Hale 2008) to make a case that engaged research needs to be put in a form and context that is available to a wide range of actors with a broad set of goals in order to facilitate social change that happens from the bottom up, and not just the top down. In the next section, we would like to discuss our rationale for conducting this research.

## Activist Scholarship and the MBCS: Opportunities through Technology

Social media as a form of globalization may increase both transparency and accountability. All too frequently, globalization works to increase

economic and political inequality, reinforcing the status quo. The ethical challenge of engaged social science—which involves a choice between pragmatic reforms that accept the status quo but attempt to make things "better" and a call for radical transformations—runs through activist scholarship. Some scholars have suggested an ongoing stream of moral thinking and decision-making on the part of researchers (Heyman 2010).

For the border region, fundamental reforms of national programs on both sides of the border may be required. In this context, others have found that cultural critiques are a failed exercise. Hale describes a "cultural critique" as embodying "familiar progressive desires to champion subaltern peoples and to deconstruct the powerful…[by] research and writing in which political alignment is manifested through the content of the knowledge produced, not through the relationship established with an organized group of people in struggle" (2005). For Hale, this is a failed endeavor, and he proposes an activist framework in which "we affirm a political alignment with an organized group of people in struggle and allow dialogue with them to shape each phase of the process, from conception of the research topic to data collection to verification and dissemination of the results" (Hale 2005: 97). While commendable for its radical and difficult paradigm shift, there are limitations to this approach as well. Namely, we ask how one engages with a group that is not organized. As is the case of undocumented immigration, there are many humanitarian and activist groups that protest and work toward immigration reform, but should we as researchers accept their political and ideological projects as our own? We tend to reject this view and take a broader, nonbounded conceptualization of community and struggle in order to address the broad range of issues and opinions set forth by people who agree to talk with us during our research.

The majority of the authors in activist scholarship, as well as other forms of engaged or social justice-oriented works, collaborate closely (if they do not fully integrate with existing or nascent social movements) (Hale 2008: 98). We hope to push the boundaries of this kind of research by associating with a unbounded (spatially or temporarily) community that is often disparate and too afraid in the current political climate to actively participate in any sort of overt struggle. In a sense, the tools provided by social media are key in escaping this limited perspective and reaching the unbounded community of undocumented migrants. We want to reach the "1.5-generation"—the children born abroad who are struggling to find a place in the world

they know, the only world many of them know. We want to gain the support of second-generation immigrants who do not understand the realities of the border, but understand that, for many, there is simply no feasible way to legally migrate to the United States. We intend to provide reports and publications that go beyond policy recommendations. We do not look directly to the activist organizations such as No More Deaths, Samaritans, or Humane Borders to take up our research as a tool. We want to go beyond and speak to a nongeographical community. While many of the scholars involved in promoting activist scholarship have not yet dislodged themselves from static communities (often rural, with the notable exception of Laura Pulido), their work is inspiring in that it breaks the dichotomy of "academic" versus "policy" research. We hope to further discuss the successes and failures of this approach as the project ends and we begin to use the data as a tool for change.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, we began by discussing how technology facilitated cross-border collaboration, provided more immediate feedback, and allowed the extra flexibility to manage a large and complicated research project. However, the most interesting opportunities that spring from technology lie in the use of new media outlets to publicize and generate a higher profile for the results of our project. There has been a constant tension between academic and public research. Academic critiques and dense theoretical discussion provide the foundation for a deep understanding of the root causes and systemic problems of inequality and violence that underlie issues such as migration. These findings, however rich and sophisticated they may be, often suffer from a lack of applicability and can fail to relate to people who are looking for ways to apply research, so are therefore rejected in certain circles. However, "policy" research works within a highly limited set of possible conclusions, making for very mundane research results. The big picture is frustratingly missing, and social inequality, poverty, structural factors, and racial and ethnic divisions are ignored.

There is a constant struggle to produce academic work that takes into account the bigger picture and more nuanced findings, while trying to produce social change. In this sense we are drawing from so-called activist scholars (Hale 2006, Pulido 2006, Speed 2006, Hale 2008, Speed 2008) and taking advantage of new methods of communication and social media to reach a broader audience and contribute

to greater research impacts. This is precisely because our goal with this project has been to provide missing information about what is happening to people along our shared border. We are committed to using this information in every way possible to push for broader social change.

Intrinsic to this struggle is the use of technology. We outlined tools such as the TagPad and Google Docs, which can help the process of research, as well as Facebook and Skype, which provide new ways to collaborate and communicate effectively. Other tools such as Twitter can help provide new ways to access our results and create greater impact and awareness. This is key to our overall goal of providing something of use to as many people as possible. On that note, we would like to leave with a few brief policy points.

While social media can have the power of collapsing ethnographic boundaries and allow people whose lives we come to know extensively to see a little bit of our own lives, no matter how skewed these online personas may be, this is far from a panacea. Just as the accessibility of written ethnographies was subject to biting critiques by the populations being studied, so might the use of social media. Indeed the increased accessibility they offer may intensify criticism. While journal articles and even books can be easily disseminated across the world, this creates still greater challenges, namely, does this type of knowledge production really result in the changes we are working for? For people who are participating in our research, the results of their participation are now plain to see, and easy to critique. We frequently receive questions as to the substance, form, and style of the outputs in our research: Why did it take you so long to write that? Why don't you use my name? I wanted you to. How do I get a copy of this in Spanish? Will this change anything for me? It is always helpful for these questions to come from multiple directions, from friends and well-wishers, as well as disgruntled participants. These reminders are necessary (and now easily received through social media) if we are to truly engage with the role of anthropology in this globalized world.

## Notes

1. Binational interdisciplinary team research on border environmental, social and health issues has been supported in recent years by funding from foundations and federal grants from both Mexico and the United States. Nevertheless, publications based on collaborative research represents only a small percentage of publications by researchers based in Mexico and the United States. Funding

from the Ford Foundation made our collaborative research possible. For a discussion of the challenges and need for collaborative border research, see Whiteford, Ochoa O'Leary, and C.M. Deeds (2013). Anthropological collaborative research on migration began in the 1970s Weaver and Downing (1976), and with the support of what is now CIESAS (Whiteford and Henao 1979) and (Palerm and Urquiola 1993). UCMEXUS, led by Juan Vicente Palerm, has been a force for bi-national collaborative research.

2. Drawn together by the Puentes symposium, the MBCS team was linked with Mexican colleagues at the Universidad de las Américas, Puebla and the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla who were carrying out a complementary study in Puebla with return migrants who had experienced border violence, who had been turned away at the border when returning home, and who faced the challenge of reinsertion back into the community. Both teams of investigators reached similar conclusions about the escalating violence that migrants experience and its consequences, coming from different methodologies. While the BMCS speaks directly to the impacts of US immigration policy, the Puebla study addresses one of the key causes of migration, that is, the failure of neoliberal policies to secure basic livelihoods for workers and their families in Mexico, and how the resulting population displacements intersect with US immigration policy, creating further distress for Mexicans and their families in Mexico (D'Aubeterre et al. 2014, Lee 2014). Close research communication, therefore, allowed both teams to explore critical aspects of international migration, a quintessential dimension of globalization, more profoundly than originally proposed in their research protocols. The collaboration raised new research questions and generated collaborative papers and future research, while addressing policy issues.

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# 7

# Collaborative Research under Socialism

*Helen I. Safa*

My inspiration for this essay comes from the book *Contesting Agriculture* by Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler, published in 2002, a decade before Judith-Maria's tragic death in late 2011. Much of this last decade was spent in Judith-Maria's gallant fight against her aggressive cancer, so this turned out to be the last in a series of joint publications she and Hans authored.

Judith-Maria and I had known each other since graduate school at Columbia University in the 1950s. Although she then left for McGill University, we remained in touch and would see each other at meetings and conferences. The Buechlers contributed a chapter to the volume I cochaired with Brian Du Toit, *Migration and Development*, published by Mouton as a result of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences Congress in Chicago in the l970s.

Our friendship grew. In later years, as we visited them in their large Federalist home in Geneva, I was delighted to meet Judith-Maria's German mother, who lived with them and died shortly before her one-hundredth birthday. We also have fond memories of dinners together in New York City, where they maintained a small apartment.

This book on agriculture was their first book on Germany, where Judith-Maria's parents lived prior to their departure for China when the Nazis came into power. Judith-Maria's upbringing was very German, and both she and her husband, Hans (who is Swiss), spoke the language fluently. This is evident from the close collaboration they developed with their principal informants. The book is enriched by

long quotations that reveal their informants' strong opinions. The study was timely, as they started their research shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, although the fieldwork took place over several years.

Their book gives no evidence of collaboration with public authorities to give permission for this study to be conducted. I assume that with the fall of socialism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), such permission was no longer required. The Buechlers could choose a field site of their own volition, and armed with Fulbright and DAAD grants, required no further introduction. In fact, Hans feels their decision to focus on agriculture, about which they knew very little in the GDR before starting fieldwork, actually assisted them. They could draw long explanations from their informants, all academically trained, which appear in the book.

As we shall see, this is very different from Cuba, where I spent years gaining acceptance and convincing authorities that it was appropriate and advantageous for our study of factory women to be conducted.

There are other sharp differences between the Buechlers' study in East Germany and mine in Cuba, outside of the obvious historical and cultural differences between these two countries. The Buechlers' focus is on agriculture, largely because it is an area in which the effects of collectivization and privatization can be seen most clearly. My focus on women textile workers stems from my interest in comparing them with my prior research among garment workers in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic (Safa 1995). We compared the three countries in terms of the impact of paid employment on women's status, in the home and within the public sphere. Our principal interest was in gender, so the survey we designed interviewed only women operators, although I now wish we had more comparative material from men. The Buechlers' study is an analysis of the impact of East German agricultural privatization on different groups of citizens. Most of their principal informants are men.

The most interesting comparison between our two studies lies not in collaboration, but in the extraordinary fact that the changes in both Germany and in Cuba stem ultimately from the same world-shaking event, marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This is clearer in the case of East Germany, where the fall was a manifestation of German resentment over the Wall's construction and symbolism, and the country's expression of the desire for reunification. The fall brought about almost immediate political change in East Germany, leading to the decline of socialism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. This in turn brought about drastic changes in the Soviet Union and its

suspension of massive aid and trade with Cuba. Cuba's dependence on this aid and trade, and the suspension signified a breakdown in its economy and the undermining of its form of socialism. This abrupt change brought on drastic cutbacks in food, fuel, and other basic necessities, what in Cuba is officially called the Special Period.

Our studies came at different periods during these abrupt changes. The Buechlers did not go to Germany until years after the Berlin Wall fell. And their study was designed to study the impact of the economic changes that took place. My study was concluded before the Special Period, when Cuba was still enjoying some relative prosperity, so our results do not measure its severe impact. Articles I published later reflect on these changes, but they are not based on new empirical data (e.g., Safa 2009).

What I find most interesting is that workers in both Germany and Cuba expressed nostalgia for socialism as it declined. In East Germany, collective farms resisted total privatization through the maintenance of cooperatives. Cuban workers still speak nostalgically about the textile factory, which is now closed as workers have shifted into agriculture and other pursuits to try to eke out a living in a modified market economy Both Germany and Cuba faced large-scale unemployment and underemployment. German and Cuban workers are nostalgic for the full employment and other benefits guaranteed under socialism. Not all welcomed these changes, as some would have us believe.

But this essay is not designed to compare our two studies. In order to describe collaborative research under socialism, I shall focus primarily on my experience in Cuba. To do so, I detail below the process of acceptance, design and fieldwork, analysis and write-up, indicating points of collaboration and conflict at each stage.

## The Study in Cuba

### *Acceptance*

In 1986, when I began my research in Cuba, I was one of the first US social scientists given permission to do ethnographic research on the island. Others such as Jorge Dominiguez had interviewed top-level officials, but not workers and the general population. Such a process of acceptance is one way in which research under socialism calls for greater collaboration.

There are several reasons why I was granted this privilege. I had begun visits to Cuba in 1977 because of my friendship with Cuban

scholars living in the United States, specifically Lourdes Casals, and my interest in the Hispanic Caribbean and Latin America more generally. However, the agencies I came to know there dealt largely with United States-Cuba relations, and did not do research in Cuba. I gradually became acquainted with officials at the Federation for Cuban Women (FMC), especially when the Latin American preconference for the 1975 Nairobi UN World Conference on Women was held in Havana. I was invited, and due to the persistence of my Latin American feminist friends, ended up elected as one of the principal session moderators. This evidently impressed Vilma Espin, president of the FMC, and other officials, who invited me to discuss collaboration during my next visit to Cuba.

I knew many Latin American feminists through my previous work on gender and through helping to organize one of the first international feminist seminars in Latin America. I became active in LASA, the Latin American Studies Association, and was elected to its Executive Council and later to the presidency in 1981. LASA was a prestigious organization and well respected in Cuba. As its president, I was able to initiate a program funded by the Ford Foundation to bring Cuban scholars for participation in LASA Congresses. This program is especially popular with Cubans (who have no independent way of attending LASA) and has grown to large numbers.

### *Planning, Design and Fieldwork*

At the time we initiated this study, Vilma Espin, then long-term president of the FMC, called a meeting with me and the other study participants. She impressed on me the importance of this initiative, and how much they were counting on me. Perhaps I did not fully grasp the implications of her statement, but I certainly was prepared to give it my all. By 1986, I was no longer director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, which gave me more time to devote to the Cuba study. Still, I had to come and go as the study unfolded.

All of my coparticipants in the study were assigned by the FMC, young professional women with some social science training. One woman was an assistant to Vilma Espin, and fully bilingual. Another had a PhD in economics from the University of Moscow, and we have remained close friends ever since. She became so interested in gender issues that she pursued studies on her own, and has now become a leading Cuban feminist, who is invited to speak and publish abroad.

Part of my mandate was to train these women in ethnographic analysis, a task I welcomed. While my previous studies in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic had involved some collaboration, it was never on such a scale. It was fruitful and fun to discuss our findings with this group and to debate issues of theory. My hope, which was largely realized, was that this study would broaden gender research in Cuba by the FMC and other agencies.

There was some hesitancy on taking me to the field, because the FMC participants felt my presence could be disruptive. Many workers in the rural town where this study was conducted had never seen a North American, and though I speak Spanish fluently, it is with an American accent. But I insisted, and it became clear to them from our first encounters, that my presence would not be a problem. However, they did insist that all my interviews be conducted with some FMC staff present, to which I did not object. This was one way of their learning.

Choosing a factory as the principal site of the study was a challenge. The textile authorities preferred one of their newer factories, which we visited, but it held little interest. I asked if there were not an older textile factory in the vicinity, and they pointed one out to me, which we also visited. It had been established in 1931 by an American, nationalized in 1960 by the revolutionary government, and reequipped with newer Soviet machinery. I later became aware of severe problems of flooding and other technical problems, which would hasten its closing. We were able to interview three retired women operators, all aged, who spoke to us enthusiastically about the history of the mill and the gender and racial changes brought about by the revolution. In the prerevolutionary period, the mill's labor force was exclusively white and male. Women (and blacks) did not begin working massively until 1973, when the female labor force began to rise. By the time our team left, we were all convinced this was our appropriate site, and the choice was made.

I had a survey instrument that we had developed in Puerto Rico and modified in the Dominican Republic to interview women workers. Using the same instrument was preferable for comparative purposes, but it needed to be pretested for use in Cuba. The FMC team and I did so, and made some changes. For example, educational and employment history was collected for both the prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary period, reflecting the additional training many women received through the literacy program and other opportunities offered by the revolution. Information was also obtained on participation in mass organizations (like the FMC), which play an important role in Cuba.

There are important differences between textile and garment factories, of which we are aware, but in Cuba the textile industry was an important source of female employment for women, while virtually nonexistent in Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. The most important criterion is that both the textile and garment industries represent entry-level jobs for a relatively unskilled female labor force, giving women their first exposure to industrial employment. One advantage of the textile mill is that it allows for comparison of mobility patterns between women and men. The small percentage of women managers in this textile mill was one of the questions this study tried to answer.

Basically, this problem was a holdover from the prerevolutionary patriarchal system, which had governed the mill originally. Mill workers were promoted to management within the factory by first becoming mechanics, but this was an avenue never opened to women. Men do not give up their privileges easily. Most women mill workers were operators, while some were in administrative and technical positions.

All of our 168 respondents were operators, except for 14 technicians, with a higher level of education. This number was considered sufficient to be representative of the approximately 1,300 women workers then in the factory, about one-third of the total labor force. However, one mill cannot be considered representative of the entire Cuban female industrial labor force, so the results should be considered exploratory.

Women workers were chosen at random from groups stratified by age, to measure the impact of employment experience. We deliberately oversampled women over 50 years of age (50%) compared to a 10% sample of other ages. A random sample of substitute cases was chosen for workers who might not be located, which turned out to be 33 replacements. The oversampling of older women gave us a large enough number to examine generational differences among Cuban textile workers, and this turned out to be one of the more interesting aspects of the study.

Unfortunately, I could not be present during the actual application of the survey instrument, but I gave the staff careful prior training. The interviews were conducted in workers' homes by the Cuban team. In order to familiarize myself with these workers, after the survey was complete, I conducted 17 in-depth interviews with a carefully chosen subsample of women workers of different ages and marital status. This allowed us to obtain more qualitative data and better understand the survey results. We also had several lengthy interviews with

representatives of management (including the union). Management was initially furious with our preliminary results, which detailed complaints by women workers, given to us unhesitatingly. Here is another aspect of "collaboration," which would not be common under capitalism, but which proved most worthwhile.

### *Analysis and Write-Up*

My greatest conflict with the FMC occurred in the last phases of the research, when I presented them with a draft of the book I was preparing, comparing Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. Write-up had been a solitary venture, which they agreed to, because of the constraints of time and distance.

The strongest objection of the FMC was to my critical interpretation of the image the organization created among our respondents. Many of our respondents felt that the FMC was primarily a service organization, which gave vaccinations, held parties, and offered other benefits. The majority thought the FMC had done the most for working women nationally, but the major accomplishments are seen as day care and employment, former functions of the FMC that are now carried out by other government agencies. Again, working women's demands for home support services such as laundries and special shopping hours cater primarily to women's domestic needs.

The ideological work the FMC could do with working women is limited by the role of mass organizations under socialism. They are designed to implement strategy rather than to design it, which is the function of the Communist Party and the party elite. This top-down approach has led women to look to the state rather than themselves as a source of equality. While the FMC has forcefully defended women's interest in employment and been critical of a traditional household division of labor, it must struggle within and not against the state to press their demands. This lack of autonomy from the state impedes the growth of gender consciousness among working women and limits their possibilities of mobilization and self-empowerment. Gender consciousness among Cuban women has grown since the Special Period limited the benefits the state can provide and forced women to become more self-sufficient (Safa 2009).

The hierarchical relationship between the mass base and the state and party elite became most evident to me in the 1990 FMC Congress I attended, at the behest of Vilma Espin, who thought I would see an example of democratic participation. Preparations for the Congress had been noteworthy, addressing many of the problems discussed

here, including the shortage of women among the managerial class. But the Congress coincided with the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and with the new threats posed by impending shortages of the Special Period. As a result, the proposals were scrapped, and the FMC Congress turned into a rallying cry for national and party unity. Fidel Castro attended the Congress throughout and warned women to expect more shortages and to postpone their needs in defense of the fatherland, which was again under siege.

## Conclusion

Should I have given in and made the modifications the FMC requested? I don't think so. I was not prepared to give the FMC a whitewash and erase the criticisms we heard from working women. The FMC was disappointed and never published the results of this study. Nor have I worked with them again. However, they did not try to "blackball" me with other Cuban agencies nor did they prevent the results of this study from being published in Cuba or elsewhere, a threat I once faced in Puerto Rico.

I am sorry that after investing so much in me and in this study, the FMC was disappointed. I realize they spent a lot of their scarce resources on supporting this study: paying their staff and financing the transportation in the field and all of the computer analysis. The cost was significant. I hoped the criticism might help them improve their image, and I know they made greater efforts at reaching a mass base by establishing smaller FMC centers throughout the island.

This study could not have been done with the shortages in the Special Period, which may be another reason it was never published by the FMC in Cuba. The book was translated into Spanish and published in Puerto Rico by the University of Puerto Rico Press, under the title *De Mantenidas a Proveedoras* (From dependents to providers), a title that I actually picked up from one of the members of the Cuban team. I brought several copies to Cuba, including the FMC.

What should we learn from this experience? First and foremost, that collaborative research under socialism is far more complex than under capitalism, where I have generally worked on my own, as the Buechlers did. Studies that require state cooperation and support, as mine did, should make clear the obligations of the researchers from the outset.

This issue is not exclusive to socialism. In Puerto Rico, as I mentioned, where my study of *The Urban Poor of Puerto Rico* (Safa

1974) had been conducted under the auspices of the Puerto Rican Housing Authority, the Authority tried to prevent an article being published in a journal published by the University of Puerto Rico. The article was critical of the Puerto Rico Housing Authority, which claimed the research results belonged to them since they financed the study. However, the editor of the journal refused, and eventually the University of Puerto Rico Press published the entire book. Here is an example of interagency conflict and competition under capitalism. I also mentioned in a footnote that I was never able to obtain permission to study a textile mill in the United States (see Safa 1983) because of management's opposition. That would not have happened in Cuba if the state had agreed.

Underlying these tensions is the question of autonomy: of the state and its agencies, of management, of our respondents and of the researcher. But how the state defines its autonomy may be very different under socialism than under capitalism, and it behooves the researcher to be aware of these differences.

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# 8

# Studying Workers in Crisis: Economic Crises in São Paulo, Brazil, and Newark, N.J.

*Simone Buechler*

The vagaries of neoliberalism resulted in economic crises affecting low-income Brazilians in both São Paulo, Brazil, in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, and in Newark, New Jersey, starting in 2008. In my studies of both crises, I sought to understand the unequal impact of crises on low-income communities, as well as show that the inhabitants of these communities are an integral part of neoliberal processes, even if they are not CEOs of multinational corporations, investment bankers, or finance ministers. My relationship with the research participants in both fieldwork sites was influenced by the economic and political crises taking place, as the crises made it relatively easy for me to enter into new communities. The inhabitants felt the need to share their hardships with a sympathetic listener. However, my entrée into other communities, especially communities with large numbers of undocumented workers, was made more difficult because they felt more threatened. The process of gathering and understanding different perspectives and the greater importance of empathy during difficult times encouraged the use of feminist interview methodologies and not distant, "scientific," methods.[1] Bringing in the voices of "native intellectuals" that this type of methodology particularly enables, was essential to understanding the crises. Yet, determining the identity of these native intellectuals and distinguishing between insiders and outsiders was further complicated by the crises. Studying crises and economic globalization in both São Paulo and Newark encouraged reflection on issues of mixed methods, scale, entrée, native/local intellectuals, and of giving voice.

## Researching the Economic Crisis of the 1990s and early 2000s, Globalization, and São Paulo: The Importance of Scale and Mixed Methods

Although as an urban planner by discipline, I originally set out to study the role of social movements on urban planning rather than economic globalization and its impact on low-income women's labor and communities, when I arrived in São Paulo in 1996, my research participants rapidly convinced me of the importance of the latter topic. They no longer felt they could concentrate on social activism, but needed to focus on finding economic activities to sustain themselves and their families. Impacted by an acceleration of flows of capital in and out of Brazil—a central characteristic of neoliberal economic restructuring—at a rate never seen before,[2] the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (MRSP)[3] was undergoing a major economic crisis in the late 1990s and early 2000s. While the service sector increased, the region experienced a dramatic decline of the industrial sector entailing large-scale unemployment and the weakening of organized labor, with the casualization of labor relations including the increase in temporary work contracts. The *Real* Plan (*Plano Real*)—a drastic stabilization plan—followed textbook neoliberal recipes and furthered trade liberalization policies. It entailed major cuts in federal spending and privatization of government-owned industries, and further opened the Brazilian market to outside competition.[4]

Rather than focus on the dominant topics in the scholarly literature, the flows and economic policies, I concentrated on the issues with which my research participants were concerned and the everyday labor practices that took place in the factories, streets, communities and homes, as well as the perception of the workings of globalization by actors working at different scales. In order to study globalization, I realized I needed to collaborate with people working at different geographic scales since the global economy and neoliberal economic model and their impacts are manipulated and influenced by various actors working at different scales. Global capital flows and development models are mediated by national and local forces. It is these various actors' perceptions of reality—that vary according to the level at which they operate and their positions in terms of class, gender, race, and professions—that influence their actions. Workers, union activists, industrial managers, government officials, and investment bankers had both divergent and overlapping perceptions on the

unemployment crisis and economic globalization, but together these positions depicted a seeming paradox, namely that São Paulo is a rising globalizing city with a complex financial and service sector and a highly technological manufacturing sector, but at the same time it is also a city with a growing sector of microenterprises; degradation of work with decreasing salaries, fewer benefits, and little legal protection; and widening income disparities. However, I primarily listened to low-income women, as their voices are rarely heard, since they are not considered to be a part of the global economy. In my book *Labor in a Globalizing City: Economic Restructuring in São Paulo, Brazil* (Simone Buechler 2014b), I contend that the managers working in corporate headquarters are not the only ones who are a part of economic globalization, but so are the Bolivian sweatshop workers living in São Paulo and the Brazilian workers living in the city's favelas. Some, for example, clean the headquarters of the multinational buildings and the houses of the CEOs, and others provide cheaper goods and services to these janitors and maids, and underpaid and exploited industrial workers. Saskia Sassen (1991), my former doctoral adviser, a sociologist then teaching in an urban planning program and an honorary geographer, had made this argument for workers in First World countries, and I sought to test its validity for a globalizing city.[5] I found ample confirmation. My research participants not only described the intricacies of their inclusion in the global economy but also their exclusion from the profits. While some of the women workers I interviewed did not perceive themselves as being an integral part of the global economy, many did analyze their situation as impacted by globalization. They clearly argued that they had to compete with cheaper industrial workers in other countries where these firms invest, accepting even lower salaries in order to get the scarce formal employment that more highly mechanized multinational industries continue to provide, as well as the outsourced, nonunionized, badly remunerated employment that multinational and national corporations also provide. As Maria José,[6] a participant in the Metallurgy Union's education program for the unemployed, told me, "Today they are crushing us.…The boss is squeezing many of the employees because many people are unemployed. I am suffering a lot in my work. Do you know why? I am persisting because I have a small son. One is forced to tolerate a certain degree of humiliation.…It is because I need [the job]. It is not that I do not have skills."

In order to understand exactly why, how, and the extent global economic processes were affecting my research participants and other low-income women in São Paulo, I needed to expand my study to include quantitative analysis of labor market trends and specific economic sectors.[7] The quantitative analysis encouraged other kinds of collaborations with statisticians and quantitative researchers, but especially with those working in government offices conducting large surveys such as the Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados (the State Foundation for Statistical Analysis—Seade), a governmental statistics office. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods showed more clearly how São Paulo's neoliberal labor market was radically restructured in order to lower wage and nonwage costs, and achieve a more flexible labor market by hiring and firing workers through short-term contracts, outsourcing, and employing unregistered workers.

The statistical analysis confirmed the prevalence of precarization and informalization of the labor market across many sectors with the percentage of industrial workers in the MRSP who were unregistered salaried workers, many in larger firms and self-employed workers working either for themselves or for firms increasing substantially, from 19.64 percent in 1995 to 29.54 percent in 2003 (Seade/Dieese 1995–2003). My qualitative interviews with union activists showed what these statistics meant for them and the workers. As one union activist for a clothing union for the Municipality of São Paulo exclaimed, "With this issue of globalization, our area was one of those that suffered most, because the market opened.…They close, tertiarize, or go to the Northeast [of Brazil].…Some firms let a worker go and hire him informally as an outsourced worker…and thus he loses all his hard-won rights."[8] Another union activist, the president of the garment union of São Paulo and Osasco, made an even more succinct comment: "In reality, the firm is gaining because the worker is losing." Women workers in other industries also clearly showed what the statistics signified. When asked whether there were many unregistered workers like herself, Márcia, who puts together lipstick holders at home for a cosmetic packaging company, said, "There are many people in this kind of work. There are two other girls over there [down the street] that do it. My sister-in-law also does this here. My nephew is unemployed. My niece is unemployed, and they were paying R$250 in rent. It is lucky that one of them works, but she earns only R$450, poor thing."

## Studying the Global Financial Crisis; Economic, Political, and Cultural Globalization, and Brazilian Immigrants in Newark, N.J.: The Importance of Mixed Methods and Multiple Types of Ethnographic Exchanges

My second research site was Newark, New Jersey, one of the destinations of Brazilians fleeing the Brazilian economic crises. My much briefer and less extensive field study of Brazilian immigrants there took place from November 2008 to May 2009, and in September 2011. There too the topic on which I had originally wished to focus as an urban planner, the new vibrancy of Newark, was no longer the most relevant issue. With the financial crisis starting in 2007, the burning issues were immigrant unemployment, foreclosures, the inability to get driver's licenses, and return migration. Like at the beginning of my study in São Paulo, I arrived during an economic crisis, this time the global financial crisis that hit the inhabitants of Newark—neighbor to New York City, where it had begun—particularly hard. This research brought in the study of the actual demise of a different type of globalization, cultural globalization—a celebration of multiculturalism. The research methodology I used was similar in regard to multiple types of exchanges, style of interviews, and mixed methods. However, due to time constraints, the interviews were only conducted on the local scale. I started my research collaborating with two ministers, a Brazilian couple, at a Lutheran church in Newark N.J., who encouraged me to interview the women who were part of the breast mammogram program they were hosting in the basement of their church.

The majority of the Brazilian immigrants I interviewed had come during the latest economic crisis I had studied in Brazil. The wave of Brazilian immigrants to the Newark area, a principal destination, started in 1988 partially as a result of the Portuguese population.[9] By 2003, the editor of *Brazilian Voice* stated that the number of Brazilians in New Jersey already approximated 60,000, with 60 percent, or 36,000, living in the Newark, Hillside, and Harrison area.[10]

Brazilians primarily live in the Ironbound, an old manufacturing and residential neighborhood, which they share with Portuguese and Galicians, and recently with Ecuadorians, Peruvians, and Mexicans. They have transformed this area of Newark with restaurants, stores,

music, and nightlife, attracting even some artists from Manhattan. As a result, the Ironbound falls outside of the deindustrialized, crime-ridden, and dilapidated image of the rest of Newark. The Ironbound's booming businesses before the crisis, nicely fit the neoliberal image of entrepreneurship. The image of the Ironbound portrayed by journalists and politicians up to the crisis also reflects a relatively new notion of multiculturalism, in part due to cultural globalization, as a cause for celebration in the United States instead of assimilation and the melting pot being portrayed as the ideal. This remained true—even though to a lesser extent—after September 11. There had been a commercialization and popularization of Brazilian culture in Newark by the media and politicians building upon a positive exotic image of Brazil focused solely on its food, beaches, Carnival, and beautiful women.

Between 2007 and 2009, the media switched their romanticization of Brazilian immigrants to one of sympathy as more Brazilians had to return to Brazil with no or little money, as another month went by without employment due to the current global economic crisis.[11] Through my exchanges with Brazilian ministers, parishioners, and participants of a breast mammogram program at the Grace Lutheran Church, as well as Brazilian business owners and their workers in the Ironbound neighborhood in Newark, the different impacts of the economic crisis on Brazilian immigrants became clear. These included un- and underemployment with a slowdown of construction contracts, and cuts in the number of housecleaning days by unemployed or fearful clients; the inability to send as much in remittances; an increase in crime and in physical abuse of women; foreclosures; a decline, sometimes sharp, of clients of restaurants, English classes, hair salons and other businesses; increased animosity toward Brazilian immigrants for supposedly taking away jobs that US citizens needed; and ultimately an increase in return migration.

As in my study in São Paulo, I combined qualitative and quantitative research methods, using a mixed-methods approach. For example, in order to understand the vast unemployment of Brazilian male construction workers, I examined statistics from the Pew Hispanic Center, and found that 21 percent of unauthorized immigrant workers were employed in the construction industry in 2008, with the industry shedding 700,000 jobs between the first quarters of 2007 and 2008 (in Simone Buechler 2014a: 608). However, only through my exchanges with Brazilian immigrants did the full reality become

apparent as they explained to me how these impacts were aggravated by the political crisis that resulted in the inability to get driver's licenses. Workers who still did have employment could not get to work, and women housecleaners had to work for documented Brazilian women who got a large cut of the earnings per house, unable to continue working for a formal company, and unable to live without constant fear of deportation. In 2009, Sandra, a Brazilian immigrant residing in Newark, who cleaned houses, told me, "I am planning on returning to Paraná, because it isn't like I told you it was before.... I like it a lot here, but I do not have it easy here.... I think it is both [political and economic] reasons [that it is more difficult this year]." In September 2011, there were mixed opinions about whether the number of Brazilians leaving and returning to Brazil had slowed, remained the same, or increased since 2009. My research participants explained that one of the reasons that Brazilians in the Newark area were particularly affected by the crisis is that they had begun to adopt neoliberal ideals of homeownership with subprime loans, thinking that they could rent out part of the homes in order to pay for the mortgages and thus making it a cheaper alternative to renting. One documented Brazilian immigrant I interviewed was petrified that she was going to lose her house that she had paid the mortgage on for ten years. Her documented husband, who was a construction engineer, had not been working for three years, and she was losing many of her housecleaning jobs. I investigated the available foreclosure programs to help her. A few months later, she told me her luck turned around when her husband finally became employed with the US census, but only because he was documented and educated. The same neoliberal ideals of growth that had provided many more Brazilian immigrants with jobs in the construction boom and in housecleaning for Wall Street CEOs now led to their unemployment. Employers feared hiring undocumented workers, preferring to forego hiring new workers altogether. The crashing housing market resulted in the loss of construction jobs, while economic recession led to the loss of employment for domestic servants and other service workers such as hair dressers.

And yet, a few Brazilians *did* benefit from the crisis, or at least were able to find alternative economic activities, such as a Brazilian travel agency owner selling one-way tickets and providing a service of escorting children back to Brazil and the Brazilian owner of a moving/shipping company moving Brazilian families back to Brazil.

## Studying Neoliberal Economic Crises: Entrée, the "Native Intellectual," and the Insider/Outsider Debate

The study of crises was not the original idea for either of my two research projects, although this ended up being my focus due to the time period when I started both projects. I had intended to study positive urban change—the flourishing urban social movements in São Paulo and the thriving multicultural immigrant neighborhood in Newark. I realized only after conducting the research in both settings that I was following the research of my parents, Judith-Maria and Hans Buechler, whose fieldwork also often focused on crises, whether it was the debt crisis in Bolivia and its impact on small-scale entrepreneurs—the topic of their book entitled *Manufacturing Against the Odds* (1992)—or the transition period after the fall of the Berlin Wall and its impact on German private and cooperative farming—the focus of their book, *Contesting Agriculture* (2002). As they have aptly argued in exchanges with me, crises are times in which people are more likely to reveal much more about their life stories and their current struggles to ethnographers. I found in both my fieldwork in São Paulo and in Newark that—although certainly not uplifting—the richness of my interviews came out of the turmoil in which people found themselves. Studying crises also enabled me to use my interdisciplinary academic background to its fullest extent in that these crises—although economic in nature—not only had social, political, and physical urban impacts but also resulted from social, political, and geographical dynamics occurring at global, regional, national, municipal, and submunicipal levels.

### *Similarities in Research Methods: Gaining Trust and Entrée*

The economic and political crises taking place during both periods on which I conducted my research, on the one hand enabled me to have an easier entrée into the communities because of the desire on the part of community members to share what they were going through, but on the other hand, with the undocumented immigrants, led to increased fear of strangers. Gaining trust was therefore particularly important in both research sites. In order to gain trust and entrée into the communities, I enlisted the help of organizations that had been working in the community.[12] Churches and religious leaders particularly aided my entrée in three research sites: Favela Sul in São Paulo to interview

low-income women, the center of São Paulo to study Bolivian sweatshop workers, and Newark, N.J, to research Brazilian immigrants. Because I did not live in any of these communities, I needed to find someone who was not necessarily from the community, but had gained the trust of community members. In all three instances, religious leaders had become even more important as they were helping undocumented immigrants whose situation not only was negatively affected by unemployment or underemployment from the economic crisis, but also because they were blamed by citizens for taking away jobs and, especially in the case of Newark, feared deportation. Perhaps not using true "insiders" provided me with more of an entrée. On the occasion when I did use community members to do surveys in the favelas in São Paulo, certain kinds of private information, such as income, were concealed from the surveyors. My entrée to the Brazilian immigrant community in Newark was through the Brazilian pastors in the Lutheran church in the Ironbound who introduced me as someone to be trusted and an advocate. The pastors were "insiders" in that they were Brazilians, but were documented, brought to Newark by the Lutheran synod to run the church. My research with Bolivian sweatshop workers in São Paulo was facilitated by a priest who was also the director of the Center for Migration and the Pastoral Center for Latin American Immigrants. The priest, however, was not Bolivian himself, but was an anthropologist who had become interested in the Bolivian community in São Paulo.

Conducting interviews with Bolivian workers and owners of the garment sweatshops was the most difficult part of my research given the clandestine nature of their work and their limited free time. (Simone Buechler 2004) My personal ties to Bolivia, where my father grew up and where an aunt still lives, also aided my entrée. These ties, along with the media attention in 1998, had originally drawn my interest to studying this group of workers. Garment production in São Paulo has been increasingly outsourced to mainly Korean and Bolivian sweatshop owners—today mostly Bolivian—who hire primarily Bolivian undocumented workers. During the unemployment crisis, animosity grew against the more recent Bolivian immigrants as they were being blamed for taking scarce jobs away. I have continued to study the situation of Bolivian sweatshop workers, collaborating with a Brazilian former journalist, this time bringing in more legal and policy issues at different geographic scales—municipal, state, national, and supranational—again stemming from economic globalization and neoliberalism. Concentrating on the upward and downward shifts of

power, this new study has again demanded collaboration with actors working at different geographic scales.[13]

In the case of Favela Sul, one of my research sites in São Paulo, contact with Sister Isabela, a Catholic nun and leader of the community association, provided me with a special entrée, this time into a community of Brazilian citizens, but a community that would also have been very difficult to enter. Sister Isabela lived in the favela since the late 1970s, organizing the community, helping with employment through hiring many workers herself and encouraging others to do so, pushing the government to pay for projects, and working to improve the community's infrastructure and social situation. "In reality, this favela was invaded by me," she liked to say. Her recent death has brought great sadness to the community and to me, but has also resulted in an even closer relationship between myself and some community members as we celebrated her life together when I returned in April 2013, sharing our memories and agreeing that the community will just not be the same without her.

### *The "Native Intellectual," Perceptions of Reality, and a Critique of Positivism*

In this volume, the authors bring forth two crucial interwoven issues in ethnographic fieldwork and writings: engaging native intellectuals and giving voice to research participants. Narayan (1993: 681) also aptly argues that it is urgent for anthropologists—and I would argue for all social researchers—to "allow people to speak out from our writings." Sister Isabela, although not a university scholar, analyzed the economic crisis and provided a history of the community. She not only provided me with an entrée into the community but also invaluable historical and current knowledge.[14] Antonia, an owner of a small private day-care center in Jardim Sudoeste that suffered with growing unemployment of community members, provided me with a detailed analysis of the role of evangelical churches, whose growth can also be attributed to globalization, claiming they lead to a decline in community activism. *All* of my research participants are native intellectuals, as it is not only those with higher levels of education who have knowledge and analyze the impacts of economic globalization. I address the need to share the perceptions and interpretations of my research participants by dedicating the chapter after the introduction, in my book *Labor in a Globalizing City,* to the voices of various actors, from low-income women workers living in

the favelas, to union activists, government officials, factory managers, and Wall Street bankers. I provide their interpretations of the economic crisis, the impact of economic globalization, the reasons for industrial change and unemployment, the struggle of the workers, and what needs to change. I do this through the use of long, not indented, quotes from interview transcriptions. I "put the actors in the same room" as though they were directly responding to one another, although in actuality no dialogue between these actors has actually taken place (in fact little if any direct communication is likely to take place between differently placed actors in our hierarchical society). People act on their perceptions of reality, and not necessarily on so-called "facts." "Narratives are not transparent representations of what actually happened, but are told for particular purposes, from particular points of view: they are thus incipiently analytical, enacting theory" (Narayan 1993). Yet, I influenced the initial interviews by posing the questions, reacting to their answers, choosing who was to speak and in what order, and translating the quotes from Portuguese to English. Therefore, although attempting to counteract the tendency to speak for research participants, did I also lose the voice of the "native," as is so frequently the case? Was I actually using an emic approach, or did the theoretical framework I employed cause my own voice to dominate instead.

Feminist research methodologists such as Ramazanoglu (2002) helped me grapple with these issues of objectivity. First, I was not losing the voice of the "native," but in my very involvement in conducting the research I was influencing it through the theoretical and political framework that I was using to collect and organize the information. Ramazanoglu (2002) has particularly criticized the idea of positivism—the claim that rigorous rules of knowledge production can prevent connections between knowledge and reality from being contaminated by the researcher's values—questioning the possibility that knowledge can be free of the researcher's values. Science is not a neutral, dispassionate, value-free pursuit of truth. All researchers cannot be free of their social positions, their access to resources, their ambitions, their grounded and gendered experiences, their political and theoretical commitments, and the limits of their languages. The critique of positivism by feminist methodologists is important as it not only allows us as researchers of globalization and crises to become more aware of the impossibility and the nonessential need to avoid influencing our research but also encourages us to enable our research participants to help guide the study. As Fluehr-Lobban (2008: 177) contends, the use

of feminist methodology can lead to "a transformation of the research relationship," because it is "an egalitarian, nonhierarchical methodology that tends toward a view of 'informants'—who were often women like the researcher—more as 'participants' with whom the researcher engages in mutual exchange and sustained trust-building conversations" and "employs inductive strategies to elicit voices, narratives, and perspectives of the historically suppressed collective voice of women in the West and elsewhere." My background as a political economist and interdisciplinary urban planner encouraged me to analyze the impacts of globalization critically, but also to explore economic, political, social, and physical factors operating at different scales. The perceptions of industrial managers, Wall Street bankers, and government officials encouraged me to see the difficulty of their jobs working at many different levels under global, national, and local regulations and pressures. As is the case of the researchers, research collaborators/participants working at different, but integrating scales will perceive globalization and crises in diverse ways. Collaborative researchers should listen to different actors and include and build upon their research collaborators'/participants' interests, but also be aware of and discuss their own values and theoretical and political interests. As Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler contend in *The World of Sofía Velasquez: The Autobiography of a Bolivian Market Vendor* (1996: xx), the themes they concentrated on in the book combined Sofia's interest in magic and dream interpretation, Sofia's and Judith-Maria's in marketing, and Hans's in ritual activities. Their strong collaboration in listening to and influencing each other greatly enriched their research. In the case of my research in São Paulo, my concentration on the topic of robotization and industrial technological change came out of my discussions with union leaders and workers. I then decided to do industry case studies, taking tours of the factories in order to further understand how factories were changing and what it meant for workers.[15]

### *Insiders/Outsiders and Native/Nonnative: Useful Concepts?*

Using direct quotes to give voice to an array of actors working within São Paulo and being impacted by global economic restructuring has been crucial to my research and writings, but who are the "authentic" voices, the "native" intellectuals, or the "insiders?" Am I an insider

and the native researcher, when doing research in my home country, but an outsider in Brazil? Totalizing categories, however, such as insider and outsider, are problematic. These categories become even more problematic during periods of crises. Then, fellow countrymen are often classified as outsiders if they are regarded as contributing to the crisis, while the sympathetic researcher becomes the insider. Especially during crises, but also because of other factors such as my personal background, my relationship to the research participants should not be assumed a priori. If not problematized, I would simply be put in the category of outsider in both fieldwork sites, or as an outsider to the research participants in São Paulo and an insider in my research in Newark, simply because of my citizenship. In their thought-provoking articles and books Narayan (1993), Naples (1996), Kusow (2003), H. and J.-M. Buechler (1996) all strongly argue that "outsiderness" and "insiderness" are in flux both in terms of how the researcher is viewed by the research participants and vice-versa, and how the research participants are viewed by the other research participants. In particular, Narayan (1993: 672) questions the term "native anthropologist" and argues that "[a]mid the contemporary global flows of trade, politics, migrations, ecology, and the mass media, the accepted nexus of authentic culture/demarcated field/exotic locale has unraveled."

Narayan's (1993) examination of her own mixed background, with an Gujarati Indian father who grew up in the state of Maharashtra, and a German-American mother who, at the time of writing the article, had lived for 40 years in India, shows the possible complexity of a researcher's identity and led me to contemplate my own complicated background and how it affected my research. Both of my parents were first-generation immigrants to the United States. My mother had German parents, but grew up in China and came to the United States when she was ten years old. She considered her parents and herself refugees, as her parents had to flee Germany when the Nazis took control and China when the communists came into power. My father came to the United States to study, but was born in Switzerland and grew up in Bolivia of Swiss parents. His father had immigrated to Bolivia and worked for an American company due to the Depression and lack of employment in Switzerland. Although my father went to school in Switzerland, he has often felt like an outsider in all three countries, Switzerland, Bolivia, and the United States. In *The World of Sofía Velasquez*, Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler (1996: xxi) argue

against the insider/outsider dualism, contending that their personal backgrounds and close relationship with Sofía problematize these categories. They focus on differences in social class, Hans's background growing up in La Paz, Bolivia, and near the rural community from which Sofía's mother came, and Judith-Maria's mixed national background and her relationship as a "student" of and an employer of Sofía. They vividly tell the story of a butler who came with the house they had been renting, refusing to announce Sofía's arrival, and gloating together when they later heard that he had been fired from his job because of getting caught in acts of petty larceny. They ask whether it was not social class that society used to dictate who was an insider and an outsider. They also question whether Hans was really an outsider, having been raised in La Paz, and whether Sofía was really more of the insider when both she and her family were not from La Paz. My background was similarly complex. I spent most of my childhood in a small US town, but was born in Canada and often traveled to other countries. Growing up in small-town America, I too often felt like an outsider because my classmates viewed me as strange with my "foreign" parents and cosmopolitan experience. Therefore, when asked to compare myself as a researcher in my home country and in Brazil, I began to question, like Narayan (1993), what it means to be a native researcher. I was supposedly an insider when I started new research on Brazilian immigrants in the United States, my native country. However, I realized that I was also an outsider, not being from Newark, nor an undocumented Brazilian immigrant. Unlike many other immigration scholars in the United States, I do not have the same ethnic background as the people I have studied.[16] Yet, I am a child of immigrants and was not born in the United States. For those adhering to the notion that objective knowledge can only be found coming from detached researchers, this apparent separation in that I was neither Brazilian in the case of my Brazilian fieldwork, nor a Brazilian immigrant or resident of Newark, would be viewed positively (Agar 1980, Boon 1983, and Simmel 1908 in Kusow 2003). Yet, from an insider perspective, my a priori "distant" position would be viewed negatively, calling into question how I could have empathetic understanding since I must not have the same cultural values (Weber in Kusow 2003: 592). However, as Merton (1972: 23–24) importantly also points out, "differences of religion or age or class or occupation work to divide what similarities of race, sex or nationality work to unite."

My research in Newark made me feel more American in that I felt fortunate to have a US passport, allowing me many privileges that my

research participants were denied and which they desired. However, feeling more American did not allow me to completely remove myself from the situation of discrimination against immigrants, inasmuch as I could easily deny being an elite Brazilian or a multinational corporate CEO in the case of my research in São Paulo, and thus remove myself as the enemy. However, as I was a postdoctoral fellow at a university, a position with little power, when I first started my research in Newark, I could at least attempt to claim that the financial crisis was not any of my own doing, for I was not a Wall Street CEO or banker. Besides not being Brazilian, my position as a student and later professor also allowed me to claim little responsibility for the crisis in Brazil.[17] Nevertheless, even though I disagreed with US immigration laws and voted for the political candidates who I thought would try to reform them, as an American I still felt culpable for the fate of undocumented Brazilians in Newark. I felt even more strongly about the need for immigration reform after hearing my research participants' stories and reflecting further on my own immigrant family's ability to prosper only because they were allowed to legally work in their new country of residence and escape the economic and political crises and lack of employment opportunities in their professions, in their native countries. The legal, education, and social class privileges they gained and then bestowed on me separated me from my research participants. The political crisis after September 11 leading to increased deportations and harassment, and the economic crisis since 2007 increased this separation. Yet, even with this widening gap in opportunities, Brazilian immigrants were more open to talking, since I was seen as an empathetic American who listened. I was also adopted by some individuals as Brazilian because of my ability to speak Portuguese and my relationship with Brazil. I "knew" their home country, fellow compatriots, names of politicians, economic situation, and food.

My research experience, like that of Kusow (2003) and Naples (1996), revealed that the nature of the research topic, the status characteristics of both the researcher and the participants, and the local conditions, such as the crises, complicate insider/outsider identities. Kusow (2003), a male Somali scholar who studies Somali immigrants, considers himself to be an outsider because he is a black, non African American Muslim in a predominantly white Christian city. At the same time he is an insider in the Somali immigrant community because he is Somali. Kusow (2003: 594) soon realized that being a male Somali was not always advantageous as there was distrust among Somalis because of the violent political situation in Somalia and because, as a male, he found it difficult to

interview women (Kusow 2003: 597). Naples (1996), a white female, also clearly shows how her relationship with her research participants in two rural towns in Iowa with growing Mexican and Mexican-American populations was repositioned to more of an outsider by social, demographic, and political changes. Further changes occurred when a Mexican-American male graduate student joined the research team and when she left her residence in Iowa to live in California. Naples's (1996) research, however, complicates the insider/outsider dichotomy further, arguing that her research participants also paint themselves as outsiders either because they are outside the powerful and rich category, or outside the white category, or, if they are part of the ruling and rich category, an outsider because they are not liked by other community members.

In both my research with Bolivian immigrant sweatshop workers in São Paulo and my research with Brazilian immigrants in Newark, there were similar "shifts in constructions of 'community'" (Naples 1996: 83). In both cases, the distrust and the scapegoating of immigrants as "workers stealing jobs away from natives" grew during the two economic crises that I studied. During the unemployment crisis in São Paulo, Bolivian garment sweatshop workers were suddenly at fault for the loss of garment manufacturing jobs and the increase in street violence. When Newark was benefitting from the development of the Ironbound by the Brazilians in terms of music, restaurants, and nightlife, Brazilian immigrants were viewed as exotic, and more as part of the community. Yet, after September 11 and particularly when the global financial crisis hit and unemployment grew, Brazilian immigrants told me that they felt that they were being accused of being terrorists as all immigrants of color were lumped together. However, the workplace raids where undocumented Brazilians worked also produced a mixed reaction, with a growing group of sympathizers because families were being split apart, but also glee by others, who needed someone to blame for the loss of jobs. Similar sentiments also against the Bolivians in São Paulo made it extremely difficult for me to conduct interviews, as even with my connection with the *Pastoral*, I was viewed extremely suspiciously. I was not perceived suspiciously by the Brazilians in Newark, either because I was female and the raids were mostly conducted by men, or because the interviews were usually conducted in the church, linking me even closer to the pastors who were known to help Brazilian families find the whereabouts of their family members and to try to use legal channels to get them released and not deported. Because Brazilians range from very white to very black in color, my whiteness did not separate me from the research participants.

The insider/outsider concept is further complicated when we examine the different social actors. The case of one manager in São Paulo illustrates that, in fact, a native intellectual can be even more of an outsider than a nonnative ethnographer. A manager at a cosmetic packaging company, one of the suppliers for Avon, who outsourced part of its production to a small family firm, which, in turn, outsourced production to women in Jardim Sudoeste who spent hours a day putting together 15,000 lipstick holders and making only 13 dollars, described the practice of outsourcing as the company's "social role." The manager most likely had never been inside the community nor had spoken to the workers to see how they were surviving on such little income. The workers are also unlikely to share their life histories with elite Brazilians. I was seen as an exotic outsider who was, oddly in their minds, interested in their lives, coming all the way from the United States to talk to them.

The reason for their openness was most likely more complicated, as I was told I was an empathetic person. Many feminist methodologists argue for less structured interviews that are interviewee guided, are more likely to include free interaction between the researcher and interviewee, and encourage the researcher to express empathy (Rheinharz 1992).[18] The topic of economic globalization and crises is highly emotionally charged as people see their own, firms', employees', cities', and countries' predicaments highly connected to outside forces that they often view as uncontrollable. I was able to relay true concern.[19] Yet, it was still only during the third and fourth visits that many of the details of their lives were revealed to me. The type of relationship had changed from that of an "informant" to that of a friend. As Narayan (1993) asks, are not those researchers doing long-term field work then partial insiders? However, this status also had its downside. I began to feel strange taping our conversations because, does a friend tape another friend's life secrets? After 13 years of doing research in the same communities, I often did not put on the recorder, regretting it later because I could not use direct quotes.

The use of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and collaborations with numerous actors working at different scales allowed me to study São Paulo and Newark as prime examples of aspiring neoliberal cities, privileging free market approaches to development that were leading to the precarization of labor in both cities. In order to study economic, political, and cultural globalization, I have combined the disciplinary strengths of urban planning with its focus on economic, political, and social factors, and quantitative analysis; anthropology, with its attention to ethnographic details and its giving

voice to the disempowered; and geography, with its emphasis on geographic scale. The various exchanges that resulted from this interdisciplinary approach clearly showed both similar and different impacts of globalization and economic crises on workers in the two research sites. In both sites, labor became precarized. Yet, in the case of Bolivian immigrant workers, work continued in the garment sweatshops during the economic crisis, whereas Brazilian immigrants in Newark found employment opportunities especially in construction and domestic work dwindle. In the case of the Bolivians, the economic crisis led to the increased demand for cheap labor, while in the Newark case, the financial crisis led to an overall decrease in the demand for Brazilian workers employed in nonessential services, home remodeling and construction; and in many Brazilian businesses, including beauty salons, language schools, and grocery stores catering to their compatriots. My two studies particularly required the use of feminist research methodologies and entrée through religious leaders because the studies were taking place during economic and political crises, which both encouraged and discouraged exchanges. My research experiences also further problematized the insider/outsider dichotomy and the concept of native intellectuals, as issues of my family background, privilege, empathy, current events, gender, race, and interview methodologies significantly influenced the mutual relationships between myself and the research participants.

## Notes

1. In this chapter, I am not necessarily arguing for the use of feminist theory to study economic crises and globalization, but the use of feminist research methodologies such as empathy and nonpositivistic methods, which I think is relevant for the study of the impacts of globalization and economic crises in many Western and non-Western countries. I therefore would argue that, although some of the first feminist research methodologists have been Western feminists influenced by Western feminist theory, I do not think that the same criticism of Western feminist theories as ethnocentric applies to the kind of research methodology that I am advocating.
2. The 1990s showed extraordinary growth in the percentage share of foreign capital in Brazilian industry (36% in 1991 to 54% in 1999) (Simone Buechler 2014b: 13).
3. I will use MRSP, or just São Paulo, to refer to the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo. The 39 municipalities of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (MRSP) include the municipalities in the industrial ABCD region: Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, São Caetano de Sul, Mauá, Ribeirão Pires, Rio Grande da Serra, and Diadema. I conducted research in both the Municipalities of São Paulo and Diadema.

4. Several factors forced President Lula da Silva to continue with neoliberalist policies, including the lack of market confidence and the alarming devaluation of the *real* because of the Central Bank's loss of control over the open market (Simone Buechler 2014b: 23). Nevertheless, already in President Lula's second term, he added neodevelopmental policies, which the current president, Dilma Rousseff, has continued. However, as of January 2015, with Joachim Levy, the new finance minister trained as an economist at the University of Chicago, Brazil has again adopted more free-market orthodox economic policies, including austerity measures such as budget cuts. At the time that this volume is going to press, Brazil is suffering again from recession and from a major political crisis, with the threat of impeachment for President Rousseff.
5. Saskia Sassen gave a keynote address for an annual conference of the Association of American Geographers, and is truly an interdisciplinary scholar addressing geographic scales in her work.
6. For purposes of anonymity, I use pseudonyms for most of the research participants in both research sites and for the communities in São Paulo. Although the use of pseudonyms presented a quandary for me because I might be diminishing my effort to give voice especially to low-income women, I decided to tell my research participants that they and their neighborhood would remain anonymous because they already often felt vulnerable as they were being negatively impacted by global change and the violence in their neighborhoods.
7. Quantitative analysis is actually the main method of most urban planners, but I had grown up with parents in anthropology, accompanying them during their fieldwork, and had therefore always seen the advantages of qualitative methods.
8. In Brazil, registered workers—those having a signed worker's card—are guaranteed access to unemployment insurance; unemployment benefits according to their time of service; a minimum wage; a thirteenth-month bonus; an eight-hour workday; annual vacation; one-month advance notice in case of dismissal; risk reduction in the form of hygiene norms, better security, and healthy work conditions; accident insurance; pension benefits; and recognition of conventions and collective accords.
9. According to analyses of US census data, the Brazilian immigrant community in the Metropolitan area of Newark, with 5.4 percent of the Brazilian American population in 2000, is considered to be the fourth-largest Brazilian community in the United States. By 2009, the percentages had remained largely unchanged (Simone Buechler 2014a: 600).
10. Some studies contend that the number of undocumented Brazilians in the United States at least raise the official census numbers by a conservative 50–56 percent (Ramos-Zayas 2004: 104).
11. During the period from November 2008 to May 2009, the number of returnees reported by the research participants grew steadily. Already in November 2008, everyone had a close friend who had returned, and many people knew at least five families who had returned in the last six months, doubling by April 2009.
12. There are many researchers who use churches and other organizations to gain entrée into undocumented immigrant communities (i.e., Kohpahl 1998).

13. My collaboration on this study with Amanda Pinheiro has been different from my previous studies, as I am jointly conducting research and writing with a native, although also an outsider in that she is not from São Paulo and not as connected with Bolivia as I am. She has provided her journalistic skills, key to pursuing interviews and data from government officials, and I have helped her in honing her social science research skills.
14. Although Sister Isabela was of Italian background, I consider her a local intellectual because she lived and worked for over 30 years in the favela.
15. This addition to my original research plan entailed learning many new Portuguese words in order to understand the language being used by the industrial managers.
16. Rumbaut (Kusow 2003: 591) reported that almost half (48 percent) of immigration scholars, according to the National Survey of Immigration Scholars, were themselves of immigrant stock.
17. There was only one instance during my fieldwork in São Paulo when I felt I was being blamed for the economic crisis because I was American. Local government officials were having a town hall-type meeting in Favela Leste. Frequently glancing at me, they spoke about how the colonialist power of the United States was behind global economic changes. The favela inhabitants, however, did not like these politicians, who were failing to improve the favela's infrastructure, viewing their banter as just an excuse for their own inaction.
18. Rheinharz (1992) argues, however, that there are differences in opinion between feminist researchers as to how interviews should be conducted, reflecting how feminist research methods are both rooted in and protest against mainstream disciplines. See also Ramazanoglu (2002).
19. In both research sites, in order not to shame the research participants, I first commiserated about the general economy and growth of unemployment, and then asked about their side-line activities and about the difficulties of workers in the United States.

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# 9

# Ethnographic Immersions and Local Collaborations in the Study of Globalization and Environmental Change

*Stephanie Buechler*

## Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the role of feminist research methodologies I used across four research sites over three decades to develop collaborative research on the gendered effects of globalization and environmental change and their intersections. I focus on differences and similarities in the development of research collaborations in these four sites and on how feminist research methodologies formed and solidified these collaborative projects. I argue that these collaborations had a cumulative effect: each built on experiences gained during earlier field experiences, but were also adaptive to the specific conditions encountered in the fieldwork settings. In these ethnographic research endeavors, globalization affected the collaborations between the researcher and the interviewees: the more the social group being studied had been touched by globalization, the more common ground was found. Ethnographic research shed light on the interlinkages between environmental change and globalization, especially where research was conducted over a longer period to illuminate processes of change. Ethnographers utilizing feminist research methodologies can bridge differences between interviewer and interviewee, but these methodologies must be adapted to each new context and to each new

relationship between the ethnographer and interviewee. This type of research allows for deeper collaborations between the ethnographer and myriad local experts with whom she/he works. Collaborative research in these settings often entailed creating new, or becoming integrated into existing, groups of scholars. Globalization processes have further complicated strict dichotomies underlying the terms "insider" and "outsider." Social class also plays an important role in shaping lives and in influencing the relationships between local populations and outside researchers. In this chapter, I discuss how feminist methodologies were used as tools to create collaborations in which researcher and study participants worked together as equals. In this way, power relations, including control over natural, social, and economic resources based on gender, class, age, ethnicity, and location could be studied, particularly as these involved globalization's effects on internationalized markets, labor and commodity flows, and natural resource extraction.

Discovering linkages that transcended localized dynamics illuminated how lived experiences of low-income women and men were shaped by their expanding global environment. Sofía Velásquez, a vendor with whom my parents, Judith-Maria and Hans Buechler, collaborated over several decades and who was part of my life since early childhood, became involved in ever-widening rural/urban, national/international socioeconomic circuits. My close relationship at six with Carmen, a farmer in Galicia, Spain, led to Judith-Maria and Hans taping her life history, and my translation skills from the local language, Gallego, at eight endeared me to local shopkeepers. These early experiences inspired my later collaborations in fieldwork in upstate New York, Bolivia, Honduras, India, and in central and northern Mexico. I was also influenced by Judith-Maria and Hans's inclusion of gender as salient to dynamics wherever they conducted research. I became immersed in local communities in all these regions by living in or close to my fieldwork sites. In upstate New York, Honduras, central and northern Mexico, and India I worked (or am currently working) with scholars and practitioners from the same regions but not the same communities as my interviewees. These field experiences fostered collaborative analyses that made me keenly aware of the limitations related to conceptualizations of insider-outsider divisions (Naples, 1996). In addition to local scholars' insights, I attempted to elicit my informants' own reflections on relationships between gender roles, globalization, livelihoods, and environmental change.

I adopted a gender focus to conduct empirical, qualitative research learned while watching Judith-Maria and Hans in the field conducting interviews or in the community engaging in interpersonal interactions. There were many ways, they revealed, to bridge differences between people. As an adult, I practiced constructing these bridges during my experiences living abroad, my academic studies, and later in my field research in the disciplines of public policy, sociology, anthropology, and geography. I came to realize that my multiple roles as a person who had grown up in an agricultural region in a family with a strong and recent migration history (see Simone Buechler's chapter, this volume) and as a student, worker, instructor, wife, mother, daughter, urban agriculturalist, and so forth, meant that there were myriad topics that would resonate with those whom I interviewed, providing common ground from which to initiate dialogue.[1]

The impacts of globalization on the local scale were ubiquitous in all of my research sites, yet it was also clear that context mattered in the particular ways that globalization shaped local livelihoods and responses to globalization. This necessitated a reformulation of my research methods, especially as they related to the study of gendered livelihoods.[2]

In my research that spans from the early 1990s to the present, I have paid particular attention to the complexities involved in individuals' membership in nations and communities as well as households. Through fieldwork I became aware of the intricate linkages between globalization and environmental change. However, culturally patterned modes of addressing challenges related to these linkages made me realize that comparative research was necessary. An inclusive form of feminist research (taking into account the multiple, culturally distinct forms of feminisms that exist) was an avenue to incorporate different levels of actors in a manner that made me sensitive to differences in the ways individuals and social groups were impacted by and helped shape local to global processes, including environmental issues. It helped me become immersed in a social setting rather than distanced from it as I conducted the research. Fluehr-Lobban (2007) elucidated the mutually beneficial relationship between feminist research and newer collaborative approaches in anthropology thus:

> [F]eminist research and collaborative anthropology offer multiple areas of mutually reinforcing approaches. The weakness of Western feminism has been its Euro-American centrism, thus a feminist anthropology had

> an opportunity to step into this ethnographic vacuum. Collaborative anthropology benefits from the dual strengths of an infused feminism for its non-Western research and the transformation of the research relationship that it represents. (177)

Globalization and environmental change both entail a speeding up of the rate of change, while producing an uneven pace of change that produces differential and often more extreme and unpredictable effects on human livelihoods, environments, and ecosystems. Globalization and environmental change are also both associated with increased interconnections between places, peoples, technologies, markets, and biophysical systems (Leichenko and O'Brien 2008). The two processes are closely connected, yet until recently, studied separately. Leichenko and O'Brien (2008: 10) used the framework of "double exposure" to reveal how vulnerability to one causes vulnerability to the other process: "the two processes influence exposure and capacity to respond to a wide variety of stresses and shocks . . . [a]dopting a longer-term and more dynamic perspective on double exposure makes it clear that the two processes are closely interrelated." However, as these authors elucidated, globalization processes also enhance the possibility that networks can be established with a broader reach that can act as a platform to promote the interests of vulnerable, local populations.

## Collaborating with Women Workers in a Japanese Assembly Plant in My Native New York State

I began my research career by examining livelihood strategies of women from dairy farming households in upstate New York who worked in a Japanese-owned and managed assembly plant in an industrial park in the nearby city of Oneonta, New York. There I became aware of the importance of fostering mutual exploration of topics familiar and important to women and the importance of dialogue between researcher and interviewee (instead of question-answer periods) (Oakley 2003, Gorelick 1996). I relayed the voices of my interviewees through the inclusion of their exact words in my final research products, as De Vault (1990) prescribed, helping to bring ethnographic research to life and uncovering lived experiences of hitherto invisible social groups.

Multiple, gendered livelihood strategies of these household members included working on their land as dairy farmers (one of the few viable agricultural livelihoods due to poor, glacial soils) and as Christmas-tree nursery tenders, businesses that depended on local and regional markets. The price of milk, the women told me, was too low for smaller-scale operations to make a living. This dairy farm crisis, part of the small farm crisis that began in the 1980s across the United States, necessitated dairy farming families' off-farm employment. The women I studied went to work in a Japanese-owned and managed coat factory converted from a locally owned and managed dress factory. The high-end coats for Japanese markets were made with materials from global suppliers. The factory was located in an industrial park in the nearby small city of Oneonta. In the women workers' homes in the rural hinterlands near Oneonta, located in the same state in which I had grown up and where I undertook graduate studies, I was on many levels an insider. My background in the state, and my gender and age, which was similar to that of many of the workers, served as a bridge to the women I interviewed. However, I was also an outsider on many levels, and these differences in social class and educational attainment, and in life experiences that included living and traveling outside of New York State, even outside the nation, did impede developing longer-lasting collaborations with my interviewees. In subsequent research in other regions of the world, I was to discover that in some ways I was always an insider due to globalization.

"Insider-outsider" dichotomies have since been critiqued as overly simplistic. Recent work has emphasized instead that researchers and interviewees will be, in any given context, differently positioned depending on many different factors that include dynamic processes such as historical period, recent lived experiences, social networks, and researcher and interviewee socioeconomic characteristics (Naples 1996, Mullings 1999, Parreñas 2007, Trainor 2013). This positionality of researchers has been framed as a state of "in-betweenness" (Valentine 2002). Gendered power and culture clashes were revealed in my research in Oneonta with one woman's exclamation: "the men's coats get zippered linings but the women's coats only get linings with buttons; we women are always short-changed!" (Buechler 1992). The women further revealed strains with their Japanese managers by stating that the managers seemed unhappy with the women's assertive nature. With the globalization of the factory, unions were forbidden (Feldman and Buechler 1998).

As Bickham Méndez reminds us, "despite the influence of globalization, "place" and "location" continue to "matter" (2009: 68). Women's social, physical and political locations influence globalization's impact on them. Landholding size and the type of agricultural production they practiced on poor quality soils, in conjunction with national policy influenced their push into a globalizing local labor market. Environment and economy were deeply intertwined, and globalization was influencing the type of employment available to rural residents. However, despite Oneonta factory workers' entry into the global labor market, these women were very tied to place.

## Collaborations with Children in a Barrio in Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Research I conducted in Oneonta made my move to, and research in, a slum neighborhood or *barrio marginal* of the capital city of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, easier in many ways: I knew that as a researcher, I would feel both connected to and disconnected from the life experiences of my interviewees. My research in Oneonta, New York, had trained me to examine effects of the global economy on local livelihoods. Feminist research methodologies teach us to question the hierarchical relationship between researcher as knowledge holder and those studied as passive subjects (Oakley 2003). I was certain that if I listened well and observed daily life, I could learn a great deal from the community members as resident experts on gender relations, social class, power relations, and the complexities inherent in local connections to the local and international economy. In addition, my experience in this *barrio marginal* contributed to deepening my knowledge of the influence of social characteristics such as age on these linkages. Collaborations with my husband, who had been studying water issues for ten years, generated my own interest in water. The slum did not have running water, and the effects of this were at once visually apparent: teenage mothers and girls and boys with two buckets lined up every afternoon to purchase poor-quality water from a water tanker truck that would leave their hair and skin dry and irritated, paying a great deal more for water than I paid to the municipal government for water delivered to the taps in my home. Most could not afford to buy the minimum necessary for a family, a fact particularly evident during the severe drought. I therefore began to examine, as a newlywed, environment-related factors like water and climate and how these were linked with livelihoods.

I initiated the research after approximately one and a half years coordinating a project on income generation and skill building for single mothers and at-risk youth. I went daily to one neighborhood, at first alone, and then with a Honduran colleague I hired. Three instructors, two of whom lived in the neighborhood, also worked with the project. The project's principal goal was to provide skills to younger community members who sold, for example, candy, soft drinks, and homemade food, in the streets of Tegucigalpa so that they would not end up living on the streets where they worked and would also not have to migrate (or have a household member migrate) to the United States. The other project goal was to steer the teens away from participation in criminally oriented gangs. The role international migration played as an alternative to involvement in criminal activity was elucidated for me the day I attended a ball game in a stadium in downtown Tegucigalpa. A nine-year-old boy who had been selling soft drinks on a tray attached to him via a sling on his small shoulders sat down next to me under the hot sun in the stands and wiped his brow. I started chatting with him, and after awhile he turned to me and said with great emotion in his young voice, "How dangerous is it to go to America? I want to go there because I really don't want to have to start robbing people on buses to make a living." After a few months of working as a project coordinator in the barrio, I decided to combine this work with conducting interviews of youth in the projects whom I came to regard as resident experts. I asked them how they combined the various types of work they engaged in and their aspirations for the future. The children and teens in the barrio in which I worked also considered migrating. They could not avail themselves of employment in the increasing numbers of global assembly plants in Honduras partly because these factories only hired youth with more education. The girls could only rarely access these employment options because of the high teenage pregnancy rate, which in turn impeded young mothers from working far from their homes due to a lack of affordable childcare. They also, as mentioned above, had to spend time as daughters, then as young mothers, carrying water from tanker trucks to their homes due to the lack of domestic water supply. Toward the end of the two years I spent there, the government connected their barrio to the municipal water supply; however, a severe drought in Honduras depleted the dams supplying water for Tegucigalpa, so the government cut off that supply. Wealthier areas of the city had an intermittent supply of water, but it was not politically expedient to continue to supply the poor in barrios with water.

Aitken et al. have argued,

> [N]ew ways of understanding reproduction and geographies of economic development suggest that the lives of young people are increasingly important for understanding larger notions of change…[C]hildren are actors and competent arbiters of change…[T]hey, and their voices, are still largely missing [though] from larger academic debates on globalization. (2007: 4)

Research collaborations with these youth underlined for me the interconnections between environmental change (drought and government practices exacerbating drought's effects on low-income populations) and globalization (especially globalized local employment and labor flows to the United States) for those in the barrio, particularly female youth. In addition to working with the youth, I collaborated in a continuing forum with local and international professionals working in nonprofits in Tegucigalpa on working, at-risk children, thereby bringing the concerns of my child interviewees to a national and international audience. This experience highlighted that research collaborations can be strengthened through associations with a broader group of relevant actors, which in this case were professionals from globalized organizations and networks.

## Collaborations in Agricultural Communities in Irapuato, Mexico

Research I conducted in rural communities near Irapuato, Guanajuato, a small city in central Mexico, built on insights garnered in the barrio in Honduras, including the importance of developing collaborations through networks and the utility of feminist research methodologies. However, I added the use of key informants and households. I studied four communities and explored location, gender, and class-stratified access to water for agriculture in a semiarid region highly dependent on groundwater to even out the seasonal availability of water for irrigation and to cope with drought. I also continued to collaborate with my husband by contributing to his edited book on this topic. In the field, I collaborated with water user associations of the National Water Commission. As in the case of Oneonta and Tegucigalpa, resident experts (water user association state employees and farming households) shared their knowledge with me on the linkages between water and livelihoods. A water user association employee introduced

me to key people in the communities I studied. In this way, I made an entrance into the communities accompanied by an actor who was both an insider (from that general area) and an outsider (not a farmer and not from the community). I then employed a resident expert in each community to accompany me to each interview. In each case, she was a young woman from a farming household, well known and well liked in the community and unmarried, with fewer household responsibilities. This facilitated my entry into fields and homes to conduct interviews because I was seen as less of an outsider when accompanied by a community member. The young woman often suggested names of people to interview based on certain selection criteria I had. She revealed insider information on the community, on households, and on gendered and place-based water resource access for agriculture-based livelihoods. My relationships with these women assistants who were similar in age to me broadened to include other members of their households.

During my two years of fieldwork, I developed relationships with key households, including those of my research assistants, that transcended the interviewer-interviewee relationship and took the form of longer-term friendships. I also had a baby in the third year of living in Irapuato, and the friendships I had established in the field often revolved around questions about how my son, the *fresero*[3] and my bilingual young daughter were doing. As Oakley states, research reporting should (but usually does not) include information on whether or not there was an extension of the interviewer-interviewee relationship into "more broadly-based social relationships" (2003: 243). She argues that this is what feminist research strives to accomplish—the introduction of emotion and attachment into the research relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

Almost every household I studied in Guanajuato had members who were either temporary migrants (most engaging in periodic migrations over their lifetime) or permanent migrants to the United States or Canada, and this helped me seem more familiar to them. The average age at first migration in Guanajuato state is 16, orienting many toward the globalized labor market. My research in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, had underlined for me the importance of examining migration, labor, and globalization linkages. Here in Guanajuato, unlike in the barrio in Tegucigalpa, the young people, particularly young women, did work in assembly plants or *maquiladoras* owned (or partly owned through joint ventures) by foreign capital. Farming and employment in global assembly plants were combined here, just like in Oneonta, because

neither constituted a sufficient source of income due to both environmental challenges (poor soils in New York and variable water supply in Guanajuato) and labor issues tied to the global economy. The *maquiladoras*, many of which were located within walking distance or an easy bus ride from the rural communities I studied, were mainly comprised of vegetable-packing plants (one community even had a smaller packing plant located within its boundaries). The cut vegetables were exported to the United States, Europe, and Japan. Men who worked in the assembly plants quickly realized they needed to migrate to earn a wage to support a family. I discovered this by interviewing men who had come from the United States and Canada, often for brief visits home. They spoke easily to me because they could envision my roots in rural America, and because many had children who had married and were raising families in the United States.

Daily visits to and chats with members of key households, plus interviews accompanied by my research assistant, helped illuminate the key role water played in shaping livelihoods in these four communities. Their agriculture was oriented mainly toward regional and national markets. Canal water was used for irrigation in communities nearer to the water source (head-end communities in the systems of canals), but in the midreach and tail-end communities, where canal water availability diminished due to upstream use, groundwater (midreach) and urban wastewater (tail-end community) was used. Most groundwater users shared this access with a group of well users. Many members of farming households combined work on their land with agricultural labor for large-scale landowners who, with the well water they had access to as sole well owners, cultivated crops such as asparagus for the global market.

Incorporating feminist research methodologies and specifically incorporating female actors into the study revealed linkages between gendered livelihoods, environmental change, and globalization. These interviews required arranging my interview schedules to the windows of time women had and to listen to them as resident experts on topics considered by community members to be men's domain: irrigation, agriculture, and paid employment. I discovered that widowed women's households had least access to coveted well water for agriculture.[4] These households had both the most members working in export and domestic-oriented assembly plants and the most migrants. Many people working in these global assembly plants were female teens, taking labor away from household tasks and thereby adding to older women's responsibilities (Buechler 2003; 2005). One woman

farmer with children in the *maquiladoras* was a de facto head of household because of the long absences of her migrant husband. Her words formed an important component of my coedited book's title: "Estaba detrás de todo a la corre y corre" (I was taking charge of everything at once, always on the run) (Buechler and Zapata 2000).

There was a strong history of migration. Male migration was often necessitated by the need for income to deepen a well. Falling water tables due to drought and groundwater overuse led to a need to delve deeper into the ground to reach water. The tail-end, urban wastewater irrigated community had higher migration rates (especially of men) than the upper and midreach communities. In Guanajuato, too, I discovered that depleted natural resources and drought, globalized employment including *maquiladora* work, migration, age, and gender each exerted a strong influence on the other. The dynamism inherent in these linkages became apparent through the use of follow-up interviews with key informants, especially those in my research assistants' households, over the course of three years. In subsequent visits, it felt like visiting old friends. After an emotional goodbye with the mother of one of my research assistants, the taxi driver inquired empathetically whether the woman was my mother and whether I was a migrant returning to the United States.

The research in Tegucigalpa had convinced me of the value of collaboration through networks. In Mexico, I worked with Emma Zapata Martelo, a professor at the Colegio de Postgraduados in Montecillo, Mexico, to coedit a book in Spanish. The book compiled the work of Mexican graduate students at that university and of a European colleague, all funded by the same research institute I worked with, the International Water Management Institute. The work of these researchers, like my own, addressed gender and water issues and helped further in Mexico and elsewhere a hitherto understudied area of academic inquiry and policy and programmatic action. For me, it served to form a community of researchers comprised of foreign and local researchers. All of us were studying communities not our own, and we shared field experiences. As a transplant from Colombia to Mexico, a former graduate student in Austin, Texas, and a mother of children and a grandmother of grandchildren residing in the United States, Emma was both an insider and outsider in her research collaborations in the communities and in the globalized network on gender and water she helped form with us. This facilitated my collaboration with her. Working with this network and publishing the work in Spanish helped me better convey what I had learned from

resident experts to a larger, globalized group within Mexico, Latin America, Europe, and the United States.

## Collaborations through Intermediaries in and near Hyderabad, South India

My next research project was conducted over four years in southern India in urban wastewater irrigated fields in and downstream of the large city of Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh state. Here I engaged in research with two women, one from Hyderabad and the other from a nearby city, who were my research assistants.

As in the case of my research in central Mexico, long-term research collaborations with key informants served to highlight the dynamism in livelihoods linked to environmental change and globalization. Migrants, often with their families, came to wastewater-irrigated fields to work because their own farmlands in Andhra Pradesh or other states were left unplanted, except during the often disappointing monsoon season. In these areas, the children of larger landowners often studied and worked in Hyderabad, a rapidly globalizing city (Buechler 2004; 2005; 2012).

The documentary film I codirected with my research assistants facilitated in capturing and conveying the voices of myriad wastewater-dependent women, men, and children to a wider public (Buechler et al. 2003) that was broadened still further by the fact that the main funder was a nonprofit coalition based in Holland. It built on my experience in 1994 directing a film (1994) in collaboration with Hans and Simone Buechler and with a New York-based nonprofit coalition that gave voice to a Bolivian Aymara Indian woman artisan, her husband, and her children (this film was part of a study on micro-credit that also involved both of my parents (H. Buechler et al. 1998).

Although I did not fully recognize this at the time of directing the film in Hyderabad, my research assistants' views, shaped by their own social characteristics and identities, helped mold the content of the film as research output.[5] My research assistant and coauthor came from a small city a few hours from Hyderabad, held a Master's degree from a prestigious Indian university, and was more comfortable in urban areas. For her, field research in the hot climate near the sulfur-smelling wastewater was more onerous than for my other research assistant, who had been an elementary school teacher in a low-income neighborhood of Hyderabad. The latter was also respected because of her position as former teacher and familiar through her proficiency in the local

dialect. My coauthor, however, formed an easy bond with a young woman migrant day laborer who worked in periurban, wastewater-irrigated, jasmine fields, because this migrant came from an area near the small city in which my coauthor had grown up. Their easy, affable communication was captured in the film. This coauthor, now with a PhD from an Australian university, conducts research in Australia on cities and water scarcity.[6]

An international workshop I led on wastewater use in agriculture and a book I participated in based on case studies presented at the workshop (Buechler 2004) formed a community of local and international researchers and helped include gender as a focus in wastewater research. Collaboration, I realized, sometimes requires mediation through others via a network. The use of video served as a tool to enhance these collaborations, in part by highlighting rarely heard voices.

## Collaborations with Border Residents in San Ignacio, Sonora, Mexico

In 2007, as part of my work at the University of Arizona, I began to study gendered livelihoods in San Ignacio, Sonora, near the United States-Mexico border. My research in India had conditioned me to keep my eyes wide open and not to take anything for granted. Women, in particular, engage in a daily negotiation of local and global in their fruit-processing enterprises in Sonora. Just as Judith-Maria and Hans's research assistant Sofía Velásquez in La Paz, Bolivia, was involved in wide rural-urban, national-international economic and social circuits, women and men in San Ignacio have extensive economic and social networks. However, these networks in San Ignacio were under increasing pressure from rapid economic and environmental change.

San Ignacio, near Magdalena city, is 75 kilometers from the twin border cities of Nogales. The paradigm of translocality developed by Appadurai (2003) and others has relevance in San Ignacio in the ways the community extends to other places through its members' mobility. The processes associated with translocality are gendered. It is this translocality that helped me become integrated into San Ignacio and again accentuated my researcher role as existing in a position of "in-betweenness." Border areas (like San Ignacio, but also Tucson, Arizona, which in 2006 became my hometown) themselves are, in physical and cultural terms, also in a state of "in-betweenness," and this fact further integrated me into this community.

I have utilized participant observation, interviews, and, as in my other research sites, follow-up interviews to better illuminate processes of change. My research in San Ignacio focuses on social networks and their linkages to adaptation mechanisms related to globalization and environmental change, such as growing irrigation water scarcity and climate change. I often stay with an olive and olive oil producer (cum retired teacher) when I go to San Ignacio. Her life straddles both sides of the border, a prime example of translocality, since she grew up and then became a teacher in San Ignacio, and later married a man of Mexican origin who was a US citizen living in California. She raised her children in California, then returned to live in San Ignacio after her husband died. As a US citizen, she still goes for extended visits to California to see her children and grandchildren. She herself is a kind of insider and outsider, and views me as occupying an analogous position. She can also comprehend my role as a teacher and welcomes any students I bring with me. This olive oil producer has also taken in a young man on a more permanent basis who is from a very poor background and who studied and is now working as an assembly plant supervisor. Staying in her house enables me to more intimately engage her thoughts on environmental, social, and economic change related to fruit and vegetable production and processing in San Ignacio. The fact that I reside there during my visits has also established me as a trustworthy person in the eyes of the community members. Her home is a kind of mini community center; she often has daytime and evening visitors, who include her sister and brother-in-law, and a neighbor. By staying there I am able to interact with them and the assembly plant supervisor on a more informal basis than a formal interview context would afford.

I also have another key informant household in the community. One member is a farmer, and another member, his nephew, has worked in a number of urban-based jobs, including *maquiladora* work, and his sister is a fruit processor and dried citrus fruit flower tea vendor. Many of their relatives have lived and worked in Tucson, Arizona. These and other key households give me a greater understanding of the dynamism of life in San Ignacio and of the global ties that exist there. They understand me well because of their relatives' globalized forms of employment and international lifestyles. Collaboration here has entailed frequent visits over eight years in which I sit and have coffee with them in their kitchen, or in their orchard where they have a wood-burning stove, table, and chairs. During these occasions, we catch up on one another's lives. This has caused the researcher-interviewee relationship

to evolve over the years into a deep friendship. This friendship has most recently included sitting over a cup of coffee, even if only for a few hours, en route to another community in Sonora, Mexico that I started studying in 2012. I came to realize that these visits were a valuable research technique, rendering a deep understanding of adaptive strategies over time.

In San Ignacio, employment strategies are increasingly multipronged and globalized, a trend further accentuated by nonlocals moving there. Women work in small grocery stores or run microenterprises (including meal preparation for national and international tourist groups). Men have construction businesses dependent on migrant remittances. Many men are employed as workers in nearby foreign-owned greenhouses or in globally owned and managed copper or gold mines. My fieldwork in Oneonta, New York, then near Irapuato, Guanajuato, had conditioned me to explore links between agriculture, land tenure, water scarcity, and employment in globalized assembly plants. I found that, here too, young women and to a lesser extent young men, work in nearby assembly plants (*maquiladoras*) often in addition to working with family members in agriculture. As the full-time farmer in San Ignacio (who is a member of the above-mentioned key household) contemplated the future of his orchard, he smiled, yet said with a worried air, "My nephew is working again in the EDS *maquiladora*; soon all we will have to eat are our television sets because no one will be producing food" (Buechler field notes 2012). His smile belied the serious tone of his voice and revealed his recognition of the ironic humor in his words. A week's salary in the assembly plants is only slightly higher than weekly agricultural wages, and the number of hours of work per week (therefore wages earned) is highly variable due to flexible production tied to demand fluctuations in the global economy. Temporal economic conditions had huge ramifications for the type of employment farming households could obtain. In 2014 and 2015, this nephew engaged in a variety of jobs to make ends meet. He worked as a farmer in his uncle's orchard (that had suffered damage from poor rains and extreme climate variability), as a self-employed auto mechanic, as a welder to produce security bars for windows and doors, and, for a few weeks until he was laid off, as a miner in a nearby, multinational-controlled copper mine.

These field experiences reinforced for me how critical it was to form longer-term collaborations with resident experts to study communities and their members, to be able to decipher the intricate linkages that globalization has with other processes, to unveil the dynamism in

these processes, and to better understand the challenges women and men face over time in global labor markets. In-migrants to San Ignacio coming from Sonora, from other Mexican states, and from the United States, still affected by the recent economic crisis and ever-stricter US immigration control, attempt to obtain work in the mines, *maquiladoras*, or highway construction. These highways advance global links between this border area and the United States and between the border area and the international port city of Guaymas, Sonora. Some women in San Ignacio are transmigrants, working as live-in maids and nannies in the United States and returning home on weekends. This activity was very distinct from migration in Irapuato in central Mexico, where such weekly migrations were impossible. There is also longer-term out-migration to the United States from San Ignacio. In fact, most residents have a close relative living in Arizona, many in my city of Tucson. Compared to Honduras and Irapuato, it is much easier for those living in San Ignacio to visit migrants due to San Ignacio's border location.

My residence in Arizona provides a platform for me to establish common ground with many residents in San Ignacio. As Hopkins (2009) and Nast (1994) have elucidated, because ethnographic research depends so much on the timing and location of the interview, researchers and their interviewees are always in a state of "between-ness" with regards to gender, class, age, race, and, I would add, migration experiences. Researchers are consequently neither ever insiders nor outsiders but a combination. Due to the globalized migration experiences of the people with whom I interact in San Ignacio, I was able to establish closer relationships with them than with the assembly plant workers in my native upstate New York whose personal ties had been limited to the local.

From my research in Oneonta, Irapuato, and Hyderabad, I knew that globalized assembly plant employment and/or out-migration were highly likely to be connected to unfavorable environmental conditions for farming. Indeed, agriculture in San Ignacio, which is largely focused on fruit and vegetable production, is deeply impacted by the environmental context such as Sonora's current 70-year drought. San Ignacio also borders the expanding Sonoran desert, which is showing accelerating climate-warming trends, greater rainfall variability, and declining annual precipitation. Agriculture competes with growing cities and with industry for scarcer water. Human-induced pressure on water thus caused farmers to be more susceptible to climate change, and most attempted to combine agriculture with other increasingly

globalized employment activities, as discussed above. Capturing interviewees' exact words was again used (mostly via my handwritten notes) and used in my publications. For example, one woman with a well, who has a fruit orchard in her home compound, elucidated the intertwined nature of environmental and economic struggles in her community thus: "All of my neighbors' wells are drying up.…There is little work with the economic crisis, and soon there won't even be orchards" (Buechler 2012).

Fruits and vegetables are processed into canned and candied goods involving gender-differentiated activities, and are then sold in local, national, and international markets or given as gifts to family and community members. Women in particular give them as gifts to visiting US and Mexican migrant relatives to help maintain important contacts with them (Buechler 2012). Migrants living in the United States reciprocate by giving goods like clothes, household goods, electronics, and basic food items, while migrants living in other Mexican states bring self-produced agricultural foodstuffs or goods easier to purchase in larger cities (Buechler field notes 2012–2015), an exchange enabled by the relative close proximity between this community and most migration destinations. In addition to cementing social ties across borders, production inputs often come from the United States. Used and new jars are often obtained from relatives and friends who come to visit from the United States. Less frequently, processed goods are brought to relatives in the United States, who sell them in their neighborhoods or to specialty small grocery stores (Buechler 2009).

As researcher, I have become a part of this cycle of reciprocity. I bring used or new glass jars, used clothing, shoes, and toys to San Ignacio on every trip. Homemade canned and candied fruit and vegetable products are gifted to me by the people I collaborate with in the field in a cycle of reciprocity. To study social networks, then, I adapted the type of feminist research methods I used, and have immersed myself in social networks to an unprecedented degree compared to my other fieldwork sites. This approach has helped solidify long-term research collaborations based on trust and reciprocity. This immersion has also positioned me differently than if I had maintained social distance and did not partake in the community's relations based on reciprocity. Utilizing feminist research methodologies allowed me to feel comfortable about becoming integrated into these types of relationships; feminist researchers are encouraged to share parts of themselves with their interviewees and to embrace the subjective nature of this relationship.

Part of my newer research in Rayón, Sonora, involves working with academics from the Colegio de Sonora and the University of Sonora on the same research project, with my University of Arizona colleague and husband, and, recently, with a woman from Hermosillo who is a PhD student at the University of Arizona. We are collaborating on a publication on youth and agriculture, and will create international linkages surrounding scholarship on changes in agricultural livelihoods (including the option of migration) in riparian communities affected by climate change and water scarcity. My other new research includes work in Uttarakhand, India, with my husband, University of Arizona students, a local university, and a local nonprofit, as well as international research organizations. Research communities thus continue to play an important role for me in establishing and broadening collaborations.

## Conclusions

Conducting ethnographic, long-term collaborative research utilizing feminist research methods has helped shed light on gendered, grassroots responses to environmental, social, and economic processes associated with globalization. In all of my research sites, each of these processes was part of an intricate web related to livelihood production spun by adult women and men, teens, and children. Context made a difference in how the community members experienced and reacted to globalization, but there were also surprising commonalities between the very different research locations. Conducting fieldwork outside of Latin America made me take more notice of social, environmental, and economic contexts when I reentered research communities in Latin America.

Ethnographic field methods based on feminist research methodologies helped me establish more intimate relationships with my interviewees in these different settings. I attempted in each interview to establish a conversation with my interviewee and also engaged in follow-up interviews to help deepen the relationship and better gauge the pace and nature of change. I used some interviewees' exact words to convey their thoughts on globalization processes and on globalization-environment linkages. Collaborations with resident experts shed light on the interplay between globalized employment, water scarcity, climate change, and small-scale farming. Drought played an important role in shaping employment-related decision-making as did gendered access to water for productive and reproductive needs. Thus, vulnerability in the face of environmental change influenced vulnerability

to globalization processes such as exposure to low wages in global assembly plants or in export-oriented agricultural fields that in turn often necessitated internal or international migration.

In each setting and indeed with each interview, I was in a state of "in-betweenness": an insider because of some of the characteristics and life experiences I shared with my interviewee and an outsider due to myriad socioeconomic and geographic differences between us. Insider-outsider identities proved to be complex rather than simple dichotomies. My collaborators, that is, my interviewees, coresearchers, and interpreters, straddled different locations across time, place and social identity and this often helped establish common links.

I used feminist research methodologies to help the voices of women, men, and children vulnerable to environmental change and globalization (and their intersections) be heard and to promote a research process that entailed working together as equals. Feminist research methods taught me to place value on knowledge possessed by local or regional experts who lacked formal training. I collaborated in each setting with those who were either formally educated or trained through life experience, to be a local or regional expert. These local or regional experts, while different from my coauthors or translators, helped me interpret daily life in the communities. As a result of these ethnographic immersions, I felt comfortable entering new sites (which now also include neighborhoods in my present community of Tucson, Arizona) to conduct research. My work in all locations linking researchers studying similar issues in similar contexts helped create community on understudied populations and topics. This enabled me to highlight gender issues in certain research topics and to share how I have utilized feminist research methodologies. These networks of collaborators extended conversations between community members, research assistants, and me as researcher to involve larger collaborations with a globalized community.

## Notes

1. Mellor et al. (2014: 2) assert that researchers must engage in "[p]ersonal and collegial reflexivity…in order to acknowledge the affinities, dissonances and defenses that may influence interactions and can unlock the resources of life experience that reside within every researcher."
2. As Méndez (2009: 68) argues, "[G]lobalizing feminist research methods must involve a critical evaluation of the ways in which…locally unfolding global processes complicate social membership in nations, communities, groups and organizations."

3. *Fresero* refers to someone from the Irapuato region because it is a strawberry (*fresa*)-producing area.
4. Well water was coveted by farmers as it was relatively abundant year-round unlike the rains and surface water in canals. Women were often at a disadvantage in obtaining access to well water due to less negotiation power within the well user association (Buechler 2005).
5. As Temple and Edwards (2002: 6) argue, translators and interpreters do exert considerable influence over research outputs. Like researchers, interpreters bring their own assumptions and concerns to the interview and whole research process. The research thus becomes subject to "triple subjectivity" (the interactions between research participant, researcher and interpreter), and this needs to be made explicit. Rigorous reflexivity in research where researchers are working with interpreters requires an exploration of the social location of the interpreter.
6. Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler in Bolivia also worked through interpreters who spoke Aymara and whose origins were in the Lake Titicaca area they studied. La Paz market vendor Sofía Velásquez herself became not only the subject of a film they directed and a biography they wrote but also worked with them as an interpreter, coresearcher, and mediator (Buechler and Buechler 1996; Buechler and Buechler 1990). The family life history project is continuing into the next generation with Sofía's daughter, Rocío.

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# 10

# Not Just Migrants: People on the Move in Rural Mexico

*Frances Abrahamer Rothstein*

Following the lead of Judith-Maria Buechler and Hans Buechler, who have always been guided by a dialogic approach that called for listening to the people we are studying, has led me to the examination of the movement of people from San Cosme Mazatecochco within and beyond Mexico. Over the years, community members pointed not only to the connections and movements between and among people, but also between economic sectors, rural and urban communities, and the local and world economic system.

Guided by the Buechlers' important footsteps, this chapter describes and analyzes connections, continuities, and change in San Cosme Mazatecochco, a rural community in central Mexico, where I have been doing research since the early 1970s. Although I went expecting to be studying *campesinos/as* (small-scale cultivators), by listening to San Cosmeros/as I learned, during my first field visit in 1971, that, beginning in the 1940s, men migrated weekly to Mexico City, 60 miles away, to work as *obreros* (factory workers) in the national textile industry, while women and children stayed home.

Later, when I returned in 1984 to study left-wing politics that had been emerging in the community in the late 1970s, I found that when neoliberal policies exposed national industries to lower-cost global competition, thousands of men, including many from Mazatecochco, lost their jobs in the textile industry. The economic crisis and what people were doing to deal with it was what everyone talked about. I learned how families adopted a variety of strategies to deal with the

job loss and the economic crisis. Women, working for minimal wages, increased their participation in the labor force in *maquiladoras* (in-bond assembly plants) in nearby factories brought by globalization, and men and women began working in small garment workshops in their homes. Then, as *maquiladoras* increasingly moved to even lower-wage areas in Asia or other regions in Mexico, such as Chiapas or the Yucatan, and as competition from China and elsewhere in Mexico led to a decline in local garment production in the 1990s, hundreds of men and women from Mazatecochco migrated to the United States. While a few of the more successful garment producers have been able to survive not by labor migration, but by going elsewhere in Mexico for cheaper labor and more distant markets to sell their garments, many could not.

At the same time, while many people from Mazatecochco are now on the move for work, workers, or markets, others travel to Oaxaca, Chiapas, and elsewhere as tourists. By listening to community members, I have learned how one small agricultural community has changed from reliance primarily on subsistence production to international migration for many and leisure travel for others. From these changes, we can see the encompassing reach of globalization in a way not as evident in metropolitan centers.[1] This chapter describes these changes and analyzes how and why neoliberal globalization has differentially impacted various segments of Mazatecochco's population so that some must migrate to the United States and others are staying home and enjoying at least some benefits from that same globalization.

## Long-Term Fieldwork, Long-Term Friends and Collaborators

Before I go into the consequences of globalization in Mazatecochco, I want to emphasize that my four decades of research in Mazatecochco has depended on collaborative work with friends in the community who have repeatedly led me to the significant questions to be addressed and how to begin to answer them. Even today, with numerous visits every few years, with telephone and Internet contact, and news of the community on Facebook, YouTube, and online newspapers, when I get there I invariably end up studying something I did not anticipate. And it is because when I am in Mazatecochco someone says something that is the key to what is going on and points to a new direction that I and other scholars had not anticipated.

I went to Mazatecochco the first time in 1971 to do research on factions, a form of political conflict that was not, at the time, well understood. I had chosen the state of Tlaxcala and Mazatecochco in particular because the literature suggested that factions were found "under conditions of rapid social change" (Nicholas 1965: 22). A summer field program in which I participated in 1968 and anthropological and other sources on the area suggested that the region was characterized by rapid change (Ballesteros 1968, Nutini 1968). One of the most important lessons I learned from that first fieldwork experience and which has been repeated every time I do research is that what I thought I would study, turns out not to be the most important question once I am in the field and listen to what people are saying.

I chose the community of San Cosme Mazatecochco because I was told by contacts in the state capitol of Tlaxcala that the community was characterized by a great deal of divisiveness. Although Mazatecochco was in fact characterized by factionalism, I encountered a kind of change for which I was totally unprepared. I had thought I was going to a community of *campesinos* (small-scale rural cultivators). Although I knew Mexico had industrialized during the mid-twentieth century, everything I had read about Mexico by anthropologists was about *campesinos*. In his 1968 ethnography on another community in Tlaxcala, Hugo Nutini mentions that some men (about 7 percent) were daily or weekly migratory textile workers, but he mentions little else about industrial work or workers. Thus, I had not anticipated that the changes I would find in rural Mexico would be related to Mexico's mid-twentieth-century industrialization. Not only was industrialization not discussed in the anthropological literature on Mexico at that time, but also it was rarely discussed in the anthropological literature elsewhere.

What I found in Mazatecochco was that men from the community were increasingly working not as *campesinos* but as *obreros* (industrial workers) in textile factories in Mexico City, 60 miles away, or Puebla, 10 miles away. I did write my dissertation on factions (Rothstein 1974), but much of the dissertation and, for the next decade, most of my research, focused on factory work. The next time I went to Mazatecochco in 1974, I learned from friends that although proletarian families continued to grow corn (despite numerous social scientists suggesting that this was a mistake because it meant that such peasant-workers never became "true" workers[2]), proletarian women were increasingly staying home to take care of the increased domestic tasks generated by the new proletarian lifestyle. Children were more

likely to be in school and thus not available to do domestic chores. Proletarian houses were getting larger, people had more clothes that needed to be washed, and new tile floors were more laborious to keep clean. Proletarian families were consuming new kinds of foods and drink. Although some of these changes, such as *refrescos* (soft drinks like Coca Cola) rather than homemade drinks like *agua de jamaica* (a hibiscus drink they had made in the past), saved time, others, such as not eating leftovers for breakfast and supper, made more work for proletarian women. I wrote, therefore, about the differences between the families of *campesinos* and the families of *obreros* (Rothstein 1982).

When I was in Mazatecochco in 1980 studying the changes among proletarians, I had noticed that local politics had changed. Instead of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) dominating the local political scene as it had since the 1940s, several other parties, including two Left parties, had emerged, especially among the sons of the factory workers. The next time I returned, in 1984, I planned to study the politics of this second generation. When I arrived, however, all everybody talked about was *el crisis*. As they discussed the loss of the men's factory jobs, it became apparent that one way they were dealing with job loss was through subsistence production. Although proletarian families had cut back on agriculture in the 1960s and 1970s, usually by not planting squash and beans and not weeding as much, they had continued to cultivate at least corn throughout the period of factory work. During the "lost decade" of the 1980s, the advantages of having maintained subsistence production were evident (Rothstein 1986).

Looking back on what I have studied, I can always trace my interest in the topic to a specific comment made by a friend, which set me on the path I subsequently pursued. For example, in 1974, I asked a friend, Don Carlos,[3] who was an *obrero*, whether it was better to be a *campesino* or an *obrero*. "Neither," he replied. "It is better to be a professional." His response led me to look at the growing focus on children whose parents sought, through access to better education to provide them with more opportunities by soliciting funds from the national government and building more schools. As a consequence, the educational level, especially of the sons and daughters of *obreros*, increased significantly (Rothstein 1982, 1986). By 1980, 30 percent of the sons and daughters of *oberos* between 15 and 19 years old had completed secondary school, compared to 15 percent of the sons and daughters of *campesinos* in that age group. By 1989, young women and men between the ages of 15 and 19 averaged 7.9 and 8.2 years of schooling respectively, compared to averages of 2.6 and 2.8 for women

and men between 50 and 59. And by 1989, also, almost 6 percent of the men and 19 percent of the women who worked for wages were professionals (Rothstein 1995). Of the six children of Don Carlos and his wife, Doña Elvia, two became teachers, and the other four became an accountant, a nurse, a lawyer, and a medical doctor.

The next time I went to Mazatecochco in 1989, at a fiesta for the community's Saints' Day, some of the younger members of a family made disparaging comments about kin from Mexico City whom they barely knew and who, they said, just came to eat mole (the traditional dish served at fiestas). Their father, Don Jaime, let them know that he objected to their disparaging comments. He knew the value of kinship. And he taught me the value of kinship at a time, the 1990s, when anthropologists were viewing kinship as less important in "modern" societies. My 1999 article "Declining Odds: Kinship, Women's Employment and Political Economy in Rural Mexico" showed how families in Mazatecochco used kin and social networks, developed and maintained through life cycle and ritual celebrations, to obtain more secure employment and improve the education of their children. It was through the ties of marriage and *compadrazgo* (ritual kinship) with people from other communities, met usually through the men's factory work, that they developed contacts that enabled them to develop the political ties that helped them get more schools. Until the late 1980s when a high school was built in Mazatecochco, proletarian sons, and sometimes their daughters, often attended high school in another city, such as Tlaxcala, by living with *compadres* (ritual kin) or other kin and friends, developed usually through the men's factory work, in communities that had high schools.

More recently, as I discuss below, when the popular media in the United States and some scholars see Mexicans only as migrants, my research took a different turn after I heard a comment made by a woman in 2009 about a bus that was filling up with men, women, and children from the community who were going on a trip. "Where's the economic crisis?" she asked. I, too, began to wonder how some could move not as migrants but as tourists. In order to answer that question, it is necessary to go back to the mid-20th century.

### *Four Decades of Change: From Peasants, to Workers, to Professionals and Tourists*

Until the 1950s, Mazatecochco was characterized by a family economy. Most families relied primarily on their own production of squash, beans,

corn, and the raising of some animals, such as chickens and pigs. A growing population on a limited land base meant that increasingly they needed to supplement subsistence production with wage work. During the post–World War II boom period, Mexico experienced significant economic growth due in part to its import substitution industrialization policy and growing industrial development. Beginning in the 1940s, a few men from Mazatecochco began migrating weekly to work in the growing national textile industry in Mexico City (60 miles from Mazatecochco) or daily to the city of Puebla (ten miles away). By 1970, most families had come to rely on wages, usually from the wages of a husband or son in a textile factory. Through their union contacts and higher wages, they were able to obtain municipal status for the community, more schools, potable water, electricity, drainage, and improved roads. Then, however, in the 1980s, with neoliberal globalization, Mexico opened its doors to textiles from elsewhere. Thousands of factory workers, including many from Mazatecochco, lost their jobs because their factories could not compete with foreign imports. My introduction to the impact of the free trade brought by globalization, beyond the loss of textile factory jobs, came when, not long after I arrived in Mazatecochco in 1984, some friends brought me to a new shopping mall in the nearby city of Puebla. What I found there were many of the same items I had brought from the United States for gifts that I purchased in a New York shopping mall. And they were cheaper in Mexico!

Throughout the 1980s, the residents of Mazatecochco used a variety of income-generating strategies, including increased employment of women and children to deal with the economic crisis. Women, men, and children increased their participation in the informal sector, and many women began working in the growing number of *maquiladoras* in the state of Tlaxcala or Mexico City. In the late 1980s, a few families in Mazatecochco began producing garments in home workshops, which they then sold at regional markets in Puebla or Tlaxcala. I remember learning about this when a colleague and I visited Mazatecochco on our way to a conference in Mexico City in the early 1990s. We arrived in the evening, and before we knew it, my friend, Doña Maria, at whose house we were staying, dragged us off to her niece's house about two blocks away to see the niece's garment workshop, and the two workshops of the niece's brothers-in-law, which were adjacent to her house and workshop. Thus began my research on small-scale garment production in Mazatecochco, which had been made possible by the decline of the Mexican garment industry and the relatively high costs of imported clothing.

By the mid-1990s, there were hundreds of small garment workshops relying on family labor, and some larger workshops relying also on paid labor. In these workshops, garments were designed, cut, and sewed. Then, they were taken to regional markets where they were sold. Within a few years, there were hundreds of garment workshops in the community. Some of the larger workshops began subcontracting some or all of their sewing to smaller workshops. Everyone was talking about how the community was becoming more prosperous. There were many *coches del año* (new cars every year) and big houses. Young people were leaving school to work in workshops because such family entrepreneurship promised even better returns than preparing for professional careers for which there was increasing competition and declining wages (Rothstein 1996, 2007).

Unfortunately, by the late 1990s, increased competition from the growing number of workshops within the community and elsewhere in Mexico as well in increased imports from China made small-scale garment production increasingly problematic. At the same time, many of the workers in *maquiladoras* lost their jobs as their factories moved elsewhere in Mexico, such as to the Yucatan, or to Asia, where labor was cheaper.

### *San Cosmeros/as On the Move in a Globalized World*

In the late 1990s, I received a few phone calls from people I knew in Mazatecochco who were in the United States, initially in New York City and then in New Jersey. Today, there are hundreds of men, women, and children from Mazatecochco in the United States, especially in New Jersey and Connecticut. Many of today's international migrants from Mazatecochco are former workers in *maquiladoras* or former workers or owners in the local garment industry. Initially, I began studying Mazatecochco's migrants in New Jersey with the idea of focusing on women and employment. I was struck by the literature on migration, which rarely talked about women migrating. When women migrants were discussed, they were usually referred to as "associational migrants" who had followed men, husbands, lovers, or fathers (Kanaiaupuni 2000: 1335). Some of the first women who contacted me had come here, not following men, but with male and female friends, cousins, or neighbors, and they came for the same reason as the men. They came to work because they had lost their jobs in the *maquiladoras* that had moved, and the local workshops were failing because of increased competition with other local producers

and more imported, cheaper clothes entering the country, especially used clothing. Again, my friends from Mazatecochco taught me to question the dominant ideas in the literature. But then they taught me something else.

Although migrant women's employment in the United States is very important, women's presence has another significant effect. As a banner celebrating Carnival in New Jersey said, "Porque las raíces no se olvidan" (We do not forget our roots). Like their families in Mazatecochco, migrants in the United States maintain and develop social ties through kinship, marriage, *compadrazgo* and friendship, and the celebration of ritual and life-cycle events. And, like kinship, family, and ritual in Mazatecochco, women are crucial in these networks because they arrange the home fiestas associated with these rituals (Rothstein 1983). Similar to the networks of the factory workers decades earlier, the networks created and maintained by migrants through the kinship/ritual system help today's migrants survive and challenge constraints of class, gender, and legality (Rothstein 2010). Through these networks they find jobs, housing, how to get a driver's license and car insurance, medical care, and how to avoid *la migra* (US immigration enforcement officers).

Meanwhile, at home in Mazatecochco, a few of the larger garment producers have continued to thrive with a different kind of spatial movement. Initially, many of them did well by relying on subcontracting the production labor to the smaller workshops in Mazatecochco. As competition for labor in Mazatecochco grew and an increasing number of women and men migrated to the United States, wages for workers in Mazatecocho rose. The larger garment producers then began subcontracting to workers in a poorer community nearby. Today, they are going farther away for still cheaper labor.

As competition and conflict in regional markets has also grown, they are increasingly going to more distant markets where competition is less than it is in central Mexico (Montiel, 2012, 2014). In order to sell the garments they produce, several merchants now go to a market in the city of Guanajuato, north of Mexico City. Once and sometimes twice a week, they travel 350 miles each way to sell their garments. Others are marketing their products in Veracruz, Oaxaca, and Chiapas (where they sell to Guatemalan merchants) rather than the large regional markets where they used to sell. [4] Another man, who used the profits from his garment production to invest in trucks, now has a long-distance trucking company (as well as a "Super Bodega," and a five-story building on the highway that will be Mazatecochco's

first apartment house). The reason why merchants are on the move is similar to the reason for the movement of international migrants—economic opportunities. Although many of the merchants are still in a precarious situation, and some who were not successful have migrated to the United States, those with greater control of resources and contacts in new marketplaces enable them to remain based in Mazatecochco and to take advantage of some opportunities not available to others.

## "Viajes Especiales a Toda la Republica Mexicana"

Another new form of movement, also facilitated by globalization and the reduced cost of air travel and greater awareness of the outside, involves a different segment of Mazatecochco's population and both spatial and social movement. The bus I mentioned above is only one of the signs of increasing tourism among Mazatecochco's population. Bus trips, such as that, are frequently organized by the Catholic Church. Others are organized by families or a local tourist agency. On the same main street where the bus was loading up, a sign on the wall says, "Special Trips to the Whole Mexican Republic" and "Whatever part of the republic you find yourself, call us and we will come for you" (*"Si te encuentras en cualquier parte de la república 'llámanos' y vamos por tí"*).

While much of Mazatecochco's population is crossing the border for necessary income or traveling to find cheaper workers and to sell garments in more distant locations, others apparently have money to spend on travel as national tourists. One family, consisting of a married son (a retired teacher), his wife, his mother, their married daughters and their families who live in Mazatecochco, the wife's sister with her extended family from another nearby community, and a married daughter who lives about five hours to the north and her in-laws, all traveled on a luxury bus they had rented to Cancún, where they stayed at the Fiesta Americana, a four-star hotel. Another couple, their married son (an engineer) and two married daughters (a nurse and a teacher) and their families flew to Chiapas, rented a van, and toured the sights, including San Cristobal, El Sumidero, and las Lagunas de Montebello. One day recently, I received an e-mail from the son of a man born and raised in Mazatecochco saying that he and his mother, Doña Lourdes, were coming to New York City the following week

and could they stay with me. The previous year they had gone to Los Angeles. The father, Don David, had traveled as a high school student to live near Morelia in the state of Michoacán with his sister who, when she became a teacher in 1980, was placed in that area. The sister eventually married a man from there. Don David went on to study at the university there, became a lawyer, and married a woman from the area, who was also a lawyer. Although they too stayed in Morelia, about 250 miles from Mazatecochco, like the sister, they frequently visit his family in Mazatecochco and are visited often by their relatives (and the visiting anthropologist) from Mazatecochco. The first time I went with their mother, Doña Sofia, to visit them in 1980, I learned how when traveling, a woman might change her identity. When we left Mazatecochco, Doña Sofía was wearing a traditional black cotton *rebozo* (shawl), and her hair was in braids. Along the way, she took off her *rebozo* and put on a sweater. She also unbraided her hair to prepare herself for the modern city of Morelia.

Despite the fact that Don David and his wife and son live in Morelia, since Don David is the youngest son or *xocoyote* (the son who inherits the house and has the responsibility of taking care of the parents), he has built a large, new house in Mazatecochco with five bedrooms and three bathrooms where his parents now live and where he stays when he and his family visit. His sister, who also still lives in Morelia, has just completed another six-room house on land she inherited from her parents so that when she, her husband, and her grown children and grandchildren visit, there is a place for them to stay.

San Cosmeros/as have thus been on the move for many reasons for many years. But traveling for leisure as tourists, as opposed to work, church-sponsored trips, or to reinforce kinship ties, was not, until recently, one of the reasons. Especially during the economic recession in 2009, like the woman who commented, "Where's the crisis?", I wondered how some people either still in Mazatecochco or living elsewhere were faring so much better than others. As indicated previously, during the postwar economic boom, many of the men from Mazatecochco worked as textile workers. Although globalization meant that most lost their jobs in the 1980s, many not only received severance pay and still have pensions but also with their earnings from factory work they had bought land on which they still grow corn that they consume and sometimes they sell. The land they bought is also used by the next generation on which to build houses. Furthermore, in the 1970s many, like my friend Don Carlos, whose six children are all professionals today, invested heavily in the education of their

children. They took advantage of a time when the Mexican government was supporting the expansion of educational facilities and training for teachers, nurses, and other professionals. Today, it is the former factory workers and their sons and daughters—teachers, nurses, and other professionals often working for (or recently retired from) the government—that is, people who are in their late forties, fifties, and older, and their children, who travel throughout Mexico and sometimes beyond as tourists.

There is no doubt that international migration from Mazatecochco and many other Mexican communities has grown enormously in recent years. But people are on the move throughout the world for a variety of reasons. International migrants are only one segment of what Arjun Appadurai (1996) calls "the world in motion." During the 1950s and 1960s, the Mexican state, like many other governments that pursued Keynesian policies, played a significant role in supporting health, education, and welfare. It was never enough, and many, including myself, were critical because the benefits from the economic miracle were very unevenly distributed (Rothstein 1982). But, although inequality in Mexico continued to grow, especially for small-scale cultivators and working-class Mexicans, many, including some women and men in Mazatecochco, experienced occupational mobility. This mobility was due to the state's support of education and as an employer in expanded educational and health services. The new middle class, as Agustin Escobar Latapi and Bryan Roberts, suggested was "an 'open class,' in the sense that it was growing much faster than the economy, and there was a degree of upward social mobility for those children of workers and petty merchants who acquired the right credentials" (1991: 96). Gender and class discrimination persisted and kept most women and men out of higher-status professional occupations, but nursing, teaching, and for some medical practice, engineering, and accounting, especially in the public sector, offered possibilities for mobility. Thus, for some of the children of Mazatecochco, especially those of factory workers, the Keynesian policies of the past enabled them to take advantage of the new opportunities of the postwar economic boom and later of globalization.

Today, the policies of the post–World War II period and the opportunities they afforded are allowing these better-educated San Cosmeros/as and their families to take advantage of some of the possibilities of the shrinking globalized world. Whether those who have managed to survive and even prosper in Mexico can continue to do so remains to be seen. For now, however, for at least some, globalization does not

mean a dangerous and expensive trip to the United States, separation from their families, insecure employment, and constant fear that they will be apprehended and sent home. It should be pointed out, however, that although Doña Lourdes, the lawyer mentioned earlier, and her son were able to visit the United States as tourists, they were held up at the airport in New York for several hours in the middle of the night while her papers were checked.

As I thought about the many ways in which San Cosmeros/as have moved—as factory workers migrating to the Federal District, as migrants to the United States looking for work and more recently returning home, as merchants searching for cheaper labor and new markets, as family members visiting relatives who have moved elsewhere, and increasingly also as tourists, I was struck by how often scholars have overlooked some of these movements or how our categories are so frequently misleading.

In the early 1970s, when I could not find a tenure-track job in New York City where I was living with my family, I accepted a job, involving weekly migration, to a city three hours away. I thought, if the men of Mazatecochco could migrate weekly, why couldn't I? Over the years, I have wondered why what the *obreros* were doing when they went weekly to Mexico City 60 miles away was described in the academic literature as "migrating," but what I did involving a 200-mile trip and a three-day stay every week was called "commuting." Similarly, when I began to think about San Cosmeros/as as tourists, mostly within Mexico, and not just migrants, I started looking for scholarly discussions of domestic tourism and wondered why there were so few.

### *Locals Visiting Locals*

Although domestic tourism in Mexico "plays a vital role in Mexico's economy" (De Angelis 2013), and in 2012 there were 178 million domestic tourists compared to 23 million international tourists (Granjei 2013), I could find only a few articles on Mexican domestic tourism. One article was written 50 years ago on *weekendismo* (Nuñez 1993) about wealthy urban Mexicans building weekend houses in a rural lakeside community in Jalisco. A more recent article by an economist focused on domestic tourism and development (Barkin 2001).

One of the areas of domestic tourism that has received the most attention is travel to pilgrimage sites. Beginning with the work of Edith and Victor Turner (1978), work on pilgrimages has grown. San Cosmeros/as also frequently go on pilgrimages to shrines such as the

Cathedral of the Virgin of Guadalupe, organized by local *mayordomos* (persons selected to sponsor a religious celebration). The Turners' discussion focuses primarily on the history of such shrines and how they developed, rather than the visitors and why and how they travel. When I asked Doña Liliana about her various visits to such shrines, she described one trip, which she referred to as "a pilgrimage." She talked about the special mass for their group and mentioned that they could stay at the home of local residents and have food they brought with them heated up, or they could stay at a hotel and eat in restaurants. She also mentioned the various excursions they made to shop, for example, in a nearby community that makes and sells tablecloths.

Much of the discussion of pilgrimages, as David Gladstone (2005: 173) notes, has followed the Turners in viewing pilgrims today in relation to pilgrims of the past. Gladstone asks, however, "to what extent are today's Third World pilgrims leisure tourists, and vice versa." He goes on to suggest that the categories are blurred with leisure travelers visiting shrines and pilgrims describing themselves as tourists (2005: 173). The pilgrimage described above by Doña Liliana is an example of such blurring and another example of the importance of the Buechlers' dialogic approach.

Despite a large and rich literature on tourism in anthropology as well as other disciplines, there is still relatively little on domestic tourism, which, as in Mexico, has grown enormously elsewhere also.[5] More than ten years ago, in the introductory chapter to her edited collection, *The Native Tourist: Mass Tourism within Developing Countries*, Krishna Ghimire pointed out that "information on domestic and regional tourism in developing countries is very obscure" (2001: 2). More recently, Olivier Evrard and PrasitLeepreecha have asked, "Why does the anthropology of tourism so often confine itself to a sociology of Western tourists?" (2009: 301). Although there are a growing number of excellent anthropological studies of tourism that examine relations between tourists and hosts, development and tourism, tourism and the environment, and gender and tourism,[6] the anthropology of locals visiting locals, "native" tourism (Ghimire 2001), or domestic tourism is not frequently discussed. Furthermore, as Evrard and Leepreecha point out, "Even when non-Western tourists are mentioned, they are usually considered as late avatars of their Western counterparts. In other words they are denied their own originality" (2009: 302). Thus, even when domestic tourism is addressed, rather than being guided by the kind of collaborative methods and insider insights that influenced the work of Judith-Maria Buechler and Hans Buechler and that informs

much of the recent anthropological research on international tourism, domestic tourism, to the extent that it receives any scholarly attention at all, is often viewed in terms of outsider perspectives regarding its development potential or as following a Western pattern. As Victor Alneng has argued, even more problematic is "the relative indifference towards, and sometimes complete denial of, non-Western tourism [which] stands out like a sore thumb" (2002: 137). Perhaps this is because most of the limited work on national tourism is being done by scholars interested primarily in tourism and development without any sense of (or interest in?) who the tourists are, why they travel, and how they are similar to and different from other tourists. Perhaps also we do not want to recognize that people in many places are reacting to globalization in similar ways, as tourists in our own circles do.[7]

## Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to go back to the contributions of Judith-Maria Buechler and Hans Buechler. As June Nash (2012) pointed out in her introduction to the session at the American Ethnological Society Meeting in New York memorializing the work of Judith-Maria Buechler, their work "can inspire generations of anthropologists grappling with the complexities of global change." Their long-term fieldwork in Bolivia, as well as their work in Europe, allowed them to develop a model of the impact of national and international political and economic forces that seem unitary at the time, but that, over time and place, have differential outcomes. Some people are in the right place at the right time (such as some of the proletarian sons and daughters, and some of today's merchants in Mazatecochco). Some have more resources—more land (or as in the case of many of the first *obreros*, less land), more capital, more family members, more outside contacts; some have talents for new circumstances—entrepreneurial skills, school smarts. We seek the threads to tease out causes and effect, but at the same time increasing differentiation and unequal outcomes have been a major thrust of our observation and theory for the last few decades. The tension is in explaining what works for most, utterly fails for some, and allows a few to get ahead and smooth the way for their children.[8]

The "faithful attention to the ethnographic evidence" that Nash noted in her "Introduction" that characterized the work of Judith-Maria Buechler and Hans Buechler, along with their attention to

agency, history, and the relations between the local and extra-local, continues to help us examine how people experience contemporary change in particular ways. Furthermore, although they did so long before the term "globalization" entered our vocabulary, their method and theory encourage us to take into account continuity as well as change and allow us to see connections over time as well as place. But above all, along with systematically examining the broader context in which people live, they listened to local voices and made those voices heard. It is by listening to those voices that we not only learn what *is* important but also why.

## Acknowledgments

The research on which this article is based has been funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Towson University, Montclair State University, and Fulbright Research/ Teaching Awards.

## Notes

1. I am grateful to June Nash for bringing this point to my attention.
2. See, for example, Laite 1981 and Leys 1971.
3. All the names used here are pseudonyms, and other identifying characteristics have been changed.
4. See M. Montiel 2012 and 2014 for discussions of some of the strategies used by the more successful merchants.
5. Domestic tourism accounts for the significantly more tourist activity than international tourism. According to estimates of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), out of 4.8 billion tourist arrivals per year (2008 figure), 4 billion, or 83 percent, correspond to domestic tourism.
6. See, for example, Stronza 2001, Babb 2012, and Wilson and Ypeij 2012.
7. I am grateful to Hans Buechler for bringing my attention to these blinders.
8. I am grateful to M. Barbara Léons for this point.

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# 11

# *Sufrimiento* and Long-Term Ethnographic Engagement

*Ann Miles*

Although anthropologists have mostly agreed for quite some time that culture is enacted in contingent moments, nothing brings this idea home more thoroughly than going back to the same place over and over again, and seeing things you thought were "true" dissipate, disappear, or be flatly denied. As Elisabeth Colson stated, long-term fieldwork helps you see very clearly how both you and your informants are "in the stream of time," and time, as we know, changes everything (Colson 1984: 1). Ethnographic "informants" so very often do not do what they tell us they are going to do, and our own points of departure shift along with their altered and increasingly globally engaged lives. Those of us who do long-term ethnography in the same place all have, no doubt, particular moments that come to mind that now almost make us cringe in their once-certainty, snapshots of particularly resonant moments in the field when something suddenly was so wonderfully "true" and clearly write-uppable. For example, in writing about identity 20 or so years ago, I reported that one of my Ecuadorian collaborators, Rosa, told me that she would never change her "traditional" dress of the *Chola Cuencana*, especially the pleated *pollera* skirt, the most resonant symbol of rural identity. Changing her clothing, she told me, would be like wearing a carnival costume; it would be a performance, not an honest display of identity. Here, I thought, was textbook identity politics at play, with a slice of hegemonic resistance for good measure, and that is how I wrote it up. This was the early 1990s, when identity and resistance were heady

themes in anthropology and, taking our cues from Paul Scott, we saw "everyday" resistance in, well, just about everything (Scott 1987; see also Abu-Lughod 1990).[1] Then, my certainty slowly unraveled as I watched Rosa, year by year, shed the *Chola Cuencana* clothing, if not wholly the identity. The braids turned into a ponytail, the *pollera* into a common skirt, and before I knew it she was tottering around in tight pants and stilettos. Was she still a *chola*, and if so, what does this say about changing identities and peasant resistance?

Moreover, long-term ethnographic engagement with a single individual or a small group of people can create sympathies of mind that are difficult, if not impossible, to unravel. For example, much of my early work was centered on families adjusting to multiple migrations, and I spent many years going back and forth visiting with a very small group of families. At a certain point, however, I came to wonder if my presence in the lives of the families I worked with no longer made them typical examples of how life was changing over the generations for the poor. Some of my interventions over the years were big, and only a pretender could claim they did not matter, and sometimes, as I have learned, even the smallest things I said or did were taken into some account. To wit, Rosa's daughter is sure that her mother's favorite ice cream flavor is blackberry, not because she loves blackberries, but because I do. "She likes anything you like," she told me. I don't know how to truly take into account what I have meant in their lives and how I might have changed things both big and small for them. At a certain point, I had to confront the realization that I might be seeing something that is to some extent a product of my own creation, and I do not mean theoretically. Would they be who they are today without my influence? Is that bad? After years of conversations, of watching our children grow up, and seeing one another through good times and bad, are we too close? Hopefully, and if one is fortunate, these close relationships will be enriching, productive, and reciprocal.

These cautions aside, the advantages of long-term engagement in one place for truly understanding cultural concepts and change are incalculable (Howell and Talle 2012: 3). While much has changed over the years in our anthropological orientations, the truth is that what we as anthropologists strive to understand is still as simple as the "native's (s') point (s) of view." Yet, as we know, so much of the cultural is unknowable, even, or perhaps especially, for those deeply enmeshed in its every nuance. Nothing should be taken at face value. Yet we do that all the time. Sometimes we take things at face value because our informants manage to convince us to do that. Sometimes we take things at

face value because it fits with our own schematic understandings of how culture ought to be enacted, and sometimes we take things at face value because that is all we can know and it appears to be better than knowing nothing. It is here where time well spent in the same place affords some advantages.

The meaning of the concept of *sufrimiento* in Ecuador provides a good example. Literally, the word means "suffering," but in practice I have come to find it references a whole host of cultural messages about modern Ecuadorian womanhood. But, getting to those messages is not straightforward as Ecuadorians cannot elaborate on the term as a concept. We all know what happens when we ask about the implicit: we are met with dumbfounded looks, half-hearted attempts to find some logic in the question, or, in the case of one Ecuadorian physician, an elegant attempt to biomedicalize it right into clinical depression. Everyone in Ecuador knows what *sufrimiento* is, but no one knows how to talk about it in generalizable or definitional terms. It is indescribable and undecipherable in any meaningful way outside of the context of a particular lived moment. Given this, I had to wait for discussions of it to come to me; it was useless to attempt to approach the concept by direct questioning of my collaborators.

In this chapter, I explore the concept of *sufrimiento* as I came to understand it over the course of more than 20 years of ethnographic engagement in Ecuador. I hope to show that my interpretations of women's lives and their suffering are strengthened by moving the anthropological lens across social space and time, in a kind of "mobile positioning" where various perspectives emerge and vantage points shift (Metcalf 2002: 107). Like many ethnographers who stay in the same place for a long time, I was led to many of the questions I have asked over the years by Rosa, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. I met Rosa in 1988 when she was a rural-to-urban migrant living in the city of Cuenca. Then, in the 1990s, first her son and then her husband migrated to New York City, leaving her with several young children at home, and then in 2002 she was diagnosed with the chronic illness lupus. All of these events provoked sentiments of *sufrimiento*, and while my analysis of the concept always moved well beyond Rosa's life and family, she remains a kind of anthropological touchstone for me and it is usually through her that I first begin to recognize the meaning of what I see and hear in Cuenca. Indeed, one of the most profound features of long-term ethnographic practice is that, as Joan Talle writes, "it enables to researcher to follow the parallel passing in the lives of others and her own" (Talle 2012: 90). For example,

anthropologist Judith-Maria Buechler and her long-term Bolivian collaborator, Sofía, found a particular kind of kinship as young women in their mutual interests in breaking down gender stereotypes, especially about women's participation in the economic sphere. Their lives reflected those concerns in different but mutually collaborative ways for the next three decades, as, together, they explored other women's, and their own, changing roles in both the public and private domains (Buechler and Buechler 1996).

Cuenca is the third-largest city in Ecuador, and it is a booming global metropolis at the same time as it heralds its folkloric heritage. Cuenca likes to advertise that it represents the best of the old and new worlds, an ideal blending of past and present. The city grows larger every time I visit, and today traffic jams clog the narrow cobblestone streets of the central historical district, and new neighborhoods are being carved out of the countryside. Buses rumble through city streets endlessly, linking the center to the growing periphery, spewing dense black exhaust that soils the thin air. In the years that I have spent working in Cuenca, the population has risen from around 180,000 in 1988 to more than 450,000, as reported in 2007. Much of the growth is due to rural-to-urban migration, and it is increasingly difficult to figure out where the city ends and the countryside begins, as new neighborhoods with substantial homes spring up out of what once was farmland. Most of the homes in these newer neighborhoods are *hecho de dólores*, in other words, funded through remittances sent by loved ones working in the United States.

Most middle- and upper-class Cuencanos bemoan the changes that are occurring to the city as more and more of the poor engage in transnational migration and send remittances home. They see these changes as leading to irretrievable culture loss as transnational migration threatens their control over the access to wealth. Less touted by the tourist board, but fundamental to local life is Cuenca's centuries-old pattern of social relations, which privileges those with "good" Spanish surnames over those with "Indian" names or less prestigious family backgrounds and less dense social networks.[2] Transnational migration disrupts these patterns as remittances sent from the United States provide heretofore unheard of opportunities for the poor. Migrant families send their children to good, urban schools; build large, new houses; and open and operate new businesses. The elite response has often been to denigrate the migrants, claiming that they are blinded by wealth and unable to understand how their rich culture is being replaced by one of crass materialism.

## *Sufrimiento*

I first heard the term *sufrimiento* in 1988 when I began working among poor rural-to-urban migrant women. These women lived in crowded *conventillos* (tenements) in the city center, and while they had come to the city for better educational opportunities for their children, it was not clear to me that their own lives had improved much at all. The women with whom I worked came from circumstances of rural poverty; they had little education and few occupational opportunities; they dealt too often with difficult and abusive husbands; and they spent their daily lives in a city where their very embodiment of self identity, the *pollera* skirt, braids, and panama hat, marked them as *cholas*, who are a source of significant social derision (see Weismantel 2001). To be sure, *cholas* represent that highly valued "folkloric" heritage of Cuenca, but their presence in the city, as opposed to the country, is disturbing and undesirable. The urban *chola* is an oxymoron; she is matter out of place. Indeed, because urban gender norms constrain the movement of women, the abilities of *cholas* to traverse the public domain were diminished relative to their rural lives in their communities. Their presence on the city streets often left them vulnerable to racist and negative class-based commentary (Weismantel 2001, Miles 2004).

In 1989, when poor women spoke to me of their childhoods of rural poverty or their current urban marginalization, they often used the phrase *qué sufrimiento* (what suffering) to add resonance to their descriptions. Knowing the multiple strains of these migrant women's lives, their use of this phrase made complete sense to me. I saw it as a fairly literal description of the objective conditions of poor women's economic and social lives. Yet, I also thought I heard an unspoken sense of unfairness in poor women's descriptions of their *sufrimiento;* somehow they knew that things should not be the way they are. This was a time in which resistance theories were prominent in anthropology, and given what I knew of the social stigma attached to rural to urban migrants and the daily indignities their status brought them, I wondered if women's expressions of *sufrimiento* were an indirect critique of the systems that oppressed them (see Scott 1987 and Abu-Lughod 1990, Ortner 1995, Brown 1996 for critiques of resistance). In other words, they were not willing to accept the objective conditions of their lives as the "natural" lot of the *chola,* or something they personally deserved, and their *sufrimiento* highlighted the distinction between how they saw themselves, that is, as good and worthy women,

and the difficult conditions of their lives, something that they were unable to change, despite their and sometimes their husbands' best efforts. Their *sufrimiento* indexed the difference between who they believed themselves to be (humble, hard working, and moral) and their social circumstances of poverty, which hinted, in local understandings, at the opposite.

As the Ecuadorian economy stagnated throughout the 1990s, the urban poor found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet while paying their children's school fees, something they saw as essential to their future upward mobility. Many then turned to transnational migration to New York as a means of circumventing the entrenched class system in Cuenca and finding a way to *seguir adelante* (move ahead) (see Miles 2004, Pribilsky 2001). When I returned to Cuenca to study the effects on women and families of transnational migration, women's discourses of suffering emerged as even more pronounced than earlier, despite some obvious improvements in the material conditions of their lives. Women whose sons or husbands had migrated to the United States often received remittances that enhanced their economic positions, yet they talked frequently of loss, loneliness, and a sense of abandonment.[3] While some women were, quite frankly, happy enough to have remittances without a husband's daily demands, for others the absence of their husbands or sons provoked expressions of suffering that reflected an emotional vulnerability that I had not perceived previously. Women complained to me about how challenging it was to manage a household and raise children without a father's presence, while others commented on the difficulties of negotiating kin relationships, especially with in-laws, and especially when remittances were involved. While conditions of poverty obviously exacerbate the vulnerabilities in women's lives, *sufrimiento* appeared to me now as a more complex concept. It was more than a descriptor of women's material hardships or a critique of a denigrating power structure. It also seemed to reference some sense of women's understandings of how their social networks and connections, their reciprocity with others, ought to be configured and enacted in everyday life.

Although *sufrimiento* is not an illness per se, my sense making of it at this point followed the logic of much of the literature about poor women's "culture-bound" syndromes in Latin America. That literature centers on examining how the difficulties of poor women's precarious lives create emotional stress that ultimately leads to culturally understood expressions of physical illnesses (see Finerman 1989, Tousignant 1989, and later Dargouth et al. 2006). This robust literature attempts

to link an understanding of women's bodily experiences and complaints, undifferentiated headaches or diffuse pains, for example, to their social roles as women in circumstances of patriarchy and poverty. So, women suffer from *pena* (grief, sadness) when relationships of reciprocity fail, or *nervios* (nerves) when kin are inattentive. These illnesses are described both as expressions of a physical and emotional state, as well as an embodied plea for greater social support. *Sufrimiento,* I surmised, might be a similar kind of expression of distress for those on the social margins in Cuenca. *Chola* women new to the city with unexpected life disruptions, migration of a loved one resulting in unfulfilled relations of reciprocity, for example, employed an idiom of suffering to describe their social and emotional vulnerabilities, and in doing so perhaps rally kin support. The women left behind in transnational migration might have fewer economic worries than they had previously, but they must navigate new social terrain without the expected support of the missing loved one. Rosa, for example, counted on her revered eldest and literate son to navigate much of her urban life, from paying bills to registering younger siblings at school. His absence forced her to take on social roles for which she was ill prepared.

What, then, was I to make of the middle- and upper-class women who seemingly had "everything," nice houses, good jobs, and Toyota Troopers, who also complained to me of *sufrimiento*? By the middle of the 1990s, many of my Ecuadorian university friends were married with children and living the lives that they mostly envisioned for themselves. Yet, in the midst of their conversations about family or work, they too, I noticed, spoke of *sufrimiento*. Contrary to what I had seen up to that point, their cases were not tied to any discernibly difficult life conditions, either of poverty or loneliness, or, in fact, any tangible and obvious social or physical suffering. To be sure, their lives are complicated as so many urban women's lives are, and they felt the tensions between work and family, sometimes had marital discord, and worried about fulfilling nearly impossible role expectations as mothers, wives, daughters, and wage earners. But, their particular use of *sufrimiento* led me to think that there was something more going on than an expression of distress about life's insecurities. In fact, middle- and upper-class women spoke of a *sufrimiento* as less tied to their own objective or even perceived conditions and more centered on larger moral and even social concerns. Their feelings about the absence of what is right or just in interpersonal relationships but also in civic and political affairs could provoke an exclamation of *sufrimiento*. Indeed, one woman exclaimed "*qué sufrimiento*" while pointing out

a particularly hideous new building that she felt marred the view of a recognized Cuenca landmark. It was as though she felt the pain of the entire city as it endures (from her point of view) significant shifts in capital accumulation and consequently in taste. Simply put, women suffer, it seemed to me, because they are good, caring women in a difficult world, even when the world's difficulties seemingly do not directly touch them. My conversations with middle- and upper-class women led me to see that *sufrimiento* is as much tied to sentiment as it is to circumstance; it is a kind of being in the world. It can reference difficult life circumstances and hardship, but also more existential qualities of selfhood and moral positioning. It is a distinctly feminine idiom, but it is shared across social classes in ways in which the descriptions of culture-bound syndromes that focused only on the economically marginal seemingly were not.

I then turned to Evelyn Stevens's now very polemical work on *marianismo*, as it is one of the first to explore the linkages of morality and suffering (Stevens 1973). Steven's argument is an historical and contemporary account of the "syndrome" of *marianismo,* which she describes as the tendency of Latin American women to interpret their lives through a lens of suffering and abnegation. Stevens argues that *marianismo*, while based on Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary, is now fully secular and integrated into contemporary notions of Latin American femininity. Stevens suggests that women's *marianismo* is a counterpoint to men's *machismo,* providing women, many of whom are dreadfully subjugated, with a moral superiority in their relationships to men. While men may be obviously dominant and dominating, perhaps even abusive, women who endure and submit and suffer, and through that suffering (like the Virgin Mary) emerge morally and spiritually superior.

Like other dichotomizing paradigms, Steven's concept of *marianismo* has been roundly critiqued on several fronts. Borque and Warren (1981), for example, argue against the reification of the private/public split that *marianismo* implies, and the homogenization of all Latin American women into the mostly false "private" domain. As it was described, *marianismo* placed women firmly and exclusively within the domestic sphere, in which their only recourse is to manipulate the sentiments of others. However, ethnographic work with indigenous women and others clearly showed that the public/private split is rarely as clear cut as it was often portrayed (see J-M. Buechler 1976b). This is not to say that subordination did not exist, but rather that the forms of it and responses to it were so varied that the generalization

becomes an impediment to seeing how women could strategize within those spaces of negotiation and movement. Moreover, in urban settings in Latin America, only middle- and upper-class women can really afford the kind of seclusion in the home that Stevens describes and on which *marianismo* relies (Borque and Warren 1981).

Others worry that *marianismo* glosses over women's agency, portraying them as only reactive to others (and ideologies) rather than as creative social, economic, and political actors who can transform meanings through action (see Bachrach Ehlers 1991, Nash 1990). Even more directly, Navarro, writing in 2002, interrogates Steven's methods and data more fully than those before her, concluding that Stevens relied far too heavily on "images, impressions and personal observations" from a limited number of areas (Mexico and Puerto Rico) and neglected to examine the political and economic histories and realities of women's lives, as well as the current literature of the time that pointed to less universalizing conditions. Navarro gives the most trenchant critique of *marianismo* to date, calling the idea "an ahistorical, essentialist, anachronistic, sexist, and orientalist fabrication" (Navarro 2002: 270).

My own view of *marianismo* as a conceptual tool to think about expressions of femininity in Cuenca is closer to that of Peruvian anthropologist Norma Fuller, who also works in an urban setting in the Andes (Fuller 1993 and 1995). Fuller's position on *marianismo* is not to take it entirely at face value as a wholly applicable explanation for the behavior and lives of The Latin American Woman, but rather to recognize that there are multiple discourses and multiple iterations of femininity and that some aspects of Steven's description of *marianismo*, concern for morality for example, might play a role (albeit variable) in how some women (in particular middle- and upper-class women) give meaning to some aspects of their lives. Fuller advocates for the historical contextualization of women's roles in the public and private domains and notes that change is always in the making (Fuller 1995). To be clear, I am not making a case for resurrecting *marianismo* here—there are far too many good arguments against doing that—but rather pointing out that I found some useful elements in Steven's descriptions of women's "suffering" that resonate in the lives of the women with whom I spoke over the years. My interest is not in portraying female suffering as a universal principle in "Latin American" femininity, but rather in showing when, how, and why the idea may be deployed by urban women. Given this very contingent reading, there may indeed be value in throwing out the concept of *marianismo*

altogether, as Navarro would suggest, allowing us a fresh start to rethink gender relations freed from those essentializing binaries. That, however, would not negate the fact that Steven's descriptions of suffering and morality do resonate in some women's lives and that her work still remains one of the most elaborated discussions of women's social suffering outside of embodiment work in medical anthropology (see Lewin 1979, Mattingly, Tobo and Vargas 2005, and Matta 2010).[4]

My next project in Ecuador on women with the autoimmune disorder systemic lupus erythematosus (SLE) brought ideas about suffering front and center to my work. I started studying lupus because Rosa, who first introduced me to the word *sufrimiento* two decades earlier, was diagnosed with the disease. In fact, I was completing a book about her family's experiences with transnational migration when she fell ill. Lupus is a very difficult disease to manage, and I wondered how someone like Rosa, a rural-to-urban migrant with a third grade education, would be able to manage the costly and confusing medical regimes. Fortunately, and largely due to her son's and husband's transnational migration, her remaining children were well educated, and they took on the burdens of navigating the health system and managing the remittances sent home to pay for care. Rosa's encounter with chronic illness, while experienced personally, mirrors the larger shift in health visible throughout Latin America. As national health profiles continue to transition from an emphasis on acute conditions, including vaccine-preventable illness, toward conditions of "modernity," such as obesity, heart disease, and chronic illness, both the health system and individual sufferers find themselves in new terrain as they seek ways to medically and personally manage the disruptions of a chronic illness suffering (Manderson and Smith-Morris 2010). Chronic illnesses, which by definition are life long, burden individuals, families, and health-care systems in very different ways than do acute conditions.

SLE is an autoimmune disorder whereby the immune system is unable to distinguish self from foe, and begins to attack and inflame healthy body tissue. The disease is difficult to diagnose and treat, and the course it takes in any patient can vary widely. The disease usually starts with fatigue and moderate to severe joint pain, and if left untreated can result in permanent organ damage from unchecked inflammation. There is no cure for lupus, only the ability to manage symptoms with a range of pharmaceutical options. Some lupus patients are able to control their lupus fairly well at relatively low cost, while others suffer from debilitating flare-ups that leave them in extreme

pain, unable to work, and bed ridden for long periods of time. Rates of lupus are not officially enumerated in Ecuador, but Hispanic populations generally have higher rates of lupus than whites in the United States, and women are diagnosed with lupus eight to nine times more often than men (Manzi 2001). Like many autoimmune disorders, the causes of lupus are multifactorial, and while there may be a genetic tendency for the disease, the disease must be triggered in any individual. With the obvious exception of exposure to UV radiation, many of the triggers for lupus can be interpreted as consequences of modern life, including increasing social stress and exposure to household and environmental contamination.

Women who have SLE obviously suffer in myriad ways. They are often physically debilitated, chronically fatigued, and sometimes in agonizing pain, and frequently they cannot fulfill their social roles, leaving them feeling socially inadequate or "delegitimized" (see Ware 1999, Estroff 2001, Miles 2013). In discussing their experiences with SLE, women from a broad range of social classes commonly evoked *sufrimiento* as a means to describe what was happening in their lives, but they did not have a singular interpretation of the meaning of that *sufrimiento*. S*ufrimiento* as a familiar idiom provides a starting point for women to think about the meanings of an ambiguous chronic illness, but where the stories end and how *sufrimiento* is deployed within them is wholly contingent on their lived experiences, not just of lupus, but more broadly.

Several women I interviewed described their lives as ones of endless *sufrimiento*, not because they were poor and marginalized, and not, surprisingly, only because they suffered with a debilitating chronic illness, but because their lives had earlier taken unexpected turns that left them vulnerable socially, emotionally, and materially. These women described how *sufrimiento* can build up over time and how the effects of its accumulation can result in bodily breakdown. Women described *sufrimiento* as an additive concept with one hardship, overbearing parents for example, added onto another, an unsympathetic husband perhaps, until the body can take no more. *Sufrimiento* is not itself an illness, as *pena* or *nervios* have been described, but women who experience it for an extended period of time find that it has an influence on the body, making them vulnerable, through diverse means, to lurking illness. Lupus, in other words, is the body's response to a lifetime of social distress and perceived unfairness. Some examples here will best illustrate the range of possibilities that the concept affords.

One working-class woman with a rather serious case of lupus described herself as having a life full of *sufrimiento* because her husband was seriously disabled for most of her married life, and she received little financial or emotional support from his family. She saw herself as "out in front all alone" in the world, with too little help from extended family. She told me that the relentless *sufrimiento* she experienced while working to support her family on her own was as much a cause of her lupus as genetics, or environmental contamination, or anything else she was told were contributors. Two other women who described their life courses as filled with continual *sufrimiento* had few financial worries, but they both had children out of wedlock in families that could not tolerate such transgressions. In one case, the woman was exiled from her family for a period of years. They both believe that the emotional and social stress they experienced led to lupus, albeit through slightly different mechanisms. One described the buildup of *sufrimiento* as something that gradually weakened her body so that lupus, which runs in her family, had a chance to *coger* (take hold), and the other saw her *sufrimiento* as accruing over time until it reached a breaking point and it "exploded" in lupus.

Drawing parallels to my earlier work with rural to urban migrant women who I sensed used *sufrimiento* to deflect potentially shameful judgments about their poverty, I noted that, implicit in the last two women's accounts, is an attempt to affirm or reaffirm a moral position. Women whose transgressions (like unwed motherhood, for example) place them in suspect positions employed the concept of *sufrimiento* as a means of reestablishing a moral presence in the face of what may look like contradictory evidence. And here is where I agree with Stevens. *Sufrimiento*, like *marianismo*, connects women to well-understood Catholic understandings about female suffering and gives women a discourse to reframe their distress, and even shame, in socially acceptable terms. So, for example, *sufrimiento* can shift the focus of the conversation away from the possible "transgression," unwed motherhood, for example, which conceivably a woman can or should be able to control, to how she has been victimized by how others have reacted to it, which she cannot control. Lupus described in terms of *sufrimiento* references a bodily manifestation of social suffering, not a woman's moral lapses.

Yet, here is where I break with Stevens's homogenized suggestions of how *marianismo* is deployed in women's lives. Among other distinctions, different women's interpretations of the cause and significance of *sufrimiento* vary considerably from one another as they are

integrated into their interpretations of Catholic suffering as well as their own life experiences, which may include living with class stigma, judgmental relatives, or troubled family relations. Women with lupus not only experience different bodily and social indignities but also their *sufrimiento* can reflect different orientations toward meaning making. In fact, s*ufrimiento* appears to be a fairly labile term that encapsulates both messianic meaning and tragic meaninglessness (see Escalante 2006).

Messianic suffering, according to Escalante, seeks to uncover a rationale for the human experience of suffering, linking it to an irrefutably logical and often divinely inspired system in which punishments, rewards, or reparations are meted out based on some purposeful judgment, a kind of "you reap what you sow" understanding of God's logic. Messianic interpretations do not always have to be negative judgments (although they often are), and sometimes suffering can be seen as a gift that brings one closer to the divine or offers a chance at redemption. In Ecuador, women had different interpretations of the "cause" of their lupus, and therefore expressed different versions of messianic suffering. Most, frankly, sought to dispel any hint that their suffering came as divine retribution for anything they had done, but they were clearly troubled by this idea all the same. One women plaintively asked me, "I'm a good person…what did I do to deserve this?", while another walked me carefully through her life history, pointing out that there was little blameworthy to be found there. Her unwed pregnancy was recast from a transgression, as her family interpreted it, to an experience of unbearable loneliness and abandonment when her family exiled her to Quito for years. She also pointed out that she has a cousin who also has lupus, but that her cousin drank too much alcohol, while she never did. Her behavior, she assured me, was not the cause of what had befallen her, and she was morally blameless for her suffering, despite what she thought her neighbors might be thinking about her.

A different messianic interpretation can be found in those who believe that their suffering is a divine gift. One woman in particular, who is a member of a very conservative Catholic prayer group called Catechumenal, believes that her lupus was sent to her so that she could learn to suffer, and in so doing achieve redemption. Her bodily suffering, which she likened to the suffering of Jesus on the cross, would bring her closer to God. Her illness was a "gift from God." Implicit in this kind of messianic interpretation is the idea that suffering can be transformational in some way (Escalante 2006). This is a

common trope in North American illness narratives in which people rationalize that their experiences "happen for a reason," and it is their job to figure out what that reason is. In the case of the Catechumenal lupus patient, she believes that her suffering represents God's love for her and that she has been specially chosen to more closely follow the path of Jesus.

Tragic suffering, on the other hand, is suffering that has no obvious purpose, rationale, or explanation (Escalante 2006: 7). Tragic suffering simply happens as part of life, and it does not signify or represent some larger metaphysical order or logic. Some have argued that tragic suffering may be worse than messianic because, while messianic suffering can lead to cruel interpretations about the wages of sin, tragic suffering is devoid of social meaning, offering only abject emptiness to those in pain (Morris 1991). Tragic suffering may be more difficult to endure, writes Morris, since the only thing worse than thinking that one's past sins may have caused pain and suffering is the realization that pain and suffering are devoid of meaning altogether (Morris 1991). Meaninglessness seems preferable to many Ecuadorian women, however, as they struggled whenever possible to shift conversations away from the messianic, with its inherent and usually negative judgments about the possible wages of sin, to more neutral tragic orientations, which leave their moral selves intact. Women in Ecuador often ask the impossible-to-answer "*why me?*" question in relation to their lupus, and while they did not have good answers, few fully embraced the notion that their lupus occurred "for a reason." They did not think God would give such a painful gift to them, nor did they think they had ever been so bad as to deserve this kind of punishment. Indeed, they took pains to speak of their moral positioning as good mothers, hard workers, and generally "good" people whose suffering is simply tragic, that is, unpredictable and undeserved. Their suffering therefore demands sympathy, not censure.

## Women and *Sufrimiento*

So what does all of this mean? In short, I believe that Ecuadorian women from all walks of life contemplate their life experiences through a moral calculus, probing their past and present behaviors and circumstances, questioning what others might be thinking about them, and trying to position themselves as worthy of respect, admiration, or sympathy, to themselves and to others. Perhaps they are looking to have their ambiguous illness suffering recognized as "real" *sufrimiento* and

therefore legitimized, or perhaps their intent is to establish their moral character in the face of possible evidence to the contrary, including, oddly, both poverty and privilege in conditions of inequality. Wealthy women who do not experience obvious social hardship can still assert a moral position in the world through their understanding of doing a certain kind of emotional work that involves the recognition of the pain of others; they are concerned about others and burdened by a (perhaps privileged) sense of what is right and good.

While it may seem that we have heard the broad strokes here before, I think the interest lies in the disparate ways in which the idea of *sufrimiento* is deployed. It is not a "culture-bound" syndrome linked specifically to a marginalized group, nor are its parameters easily drawn so that universalizing patterns can be discerned. While it may in part reference a kind of Catholic martyrdom that Stevens writes about, and while it can be deployed in manipulative ways to garner social support, as some of the literature in medical anthropology hints, I think these readings impoverish the idea and the women who use it. Rather, I see *sufrimiento* in part as an assertion of a sense of one's subjective moral self as, for example, poor and humble, as rich yet caring, as a victim of patriarchal oppression and so forth, but also partly as a gendered social critique that condemns the conditions that generated the suffering in the first place. Implicit in *sufrimiento* seems to be the idea that something beyond the interpersonal is not quite right. It highlights forces beyond the suffering individual, often described in terms of economic or gender vulnerability, and in so doing gives women a way to speak of their lives as fully embedded not just in interpersonal relationships but also as connected to and constrained by gender and class hierarchies. *Sufrimiento* references a distinctly feminine understanding of vulnerability to personal loss, to patriarchy, to economic insecurity, to illness, and even to one's own sentimental nature. As such, *sufrimiento* can be seen as a strategic way to index much more than one really can or wants to articulate.

My 20-year quest to understand *sufrimiento* has shown me that the power of long-term ethnographic fieldwork is to be found in the accrual of interpretations. Indeed, not only did my collaborators' life conditions and points of view change as they moved through time, but my own anthropological understandings as well were altered as I was faced with trying to make sense of varied and sometimes new (to me) expressions of *sufrimiento*. To be sure, awareness of these multiple vantage points does not necessarily clarify things, but that is not really the point. In a hyperglobalizing world, our job as ethnographers is

to reflect the world we live in and take part in a collaborative venture with those with whom we work so that we privilege the constant "formulation and reformulation of ideas and events" (Buechler and Buechler 1996: 218).

## Notes

1. A variation of the critiques of resistance theories comes from Ortner (1995, who argues that resistance studies in anthropology are weak because, in essence, the ethnography is poor. Ortner particularly draws attention to the fact that anthropologists often neglect to fully sort out the internal power differentials and domination within groups.
2. Elsewhere (Miles 2004 and 2013) I have written about *palanca*, or social leverage. Having *palanca* means knowing the right people, having social connections, that can further economic and social gains.
3. Leinaweaver writes that loneliness is the "worst possible fate" in Peruvian families (2010: 77).
4. Cuvi Sánchez's interviews with Ecuadorian nuns reveal that they link discourses of gender and feminism with discourses of poverty. When asked whom they admire, younger nuns in particular pointed to poor women who struggle daily for others, their own families, and their neighbors. These women were described as "anonymous," "valiant," and "humble" as they take on the pains of their families and others (2006: 22). The poor wife-mother is associated with the Virgin Mary and seen as the moral backbone of the family (23). Nuns associate themselves with a spiritual maternity, one that has an ample capacity for love and selfless giving.

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# 12

# Ethnographic Exchanges in Global Spaces

*June Nash*

Until recent decades, anthropologists could assume that their informants did not have access to university or publishing circles that might allow them direct entry into ethnographic accounts. In the globalized spaces of intellectual interaction, ethnographic exchanges are no longer limited to the colonized spaces of police barracks, as in Alfred Radcliffe-Brown's time, or headman's porches, in the case of E.E. Evans-Pritchard. Native interlocutors in the ethnographic dialogue may possess degrees from the same universities and have access to the networks of colleagues who cite each other's published works. It may be possible to transgress the intellectual property line of either party to the exchange, but it is no longer done with impunity.

I recently opened my e-mail to find a message from Armando Marileo Lefio, a *ngenpia*, or ritual orator of the Mapuche, charging Magnus Course with appropriating sacred knowledge of the Mapuche, while ignoring material he had published on the same topic. He challenges Latin American and US scholars to help him stop Course's "colonialist unethical behavior," and urges him to recognize his errors. Course parried these claims in a broadcast e-mail that I received shortly afterward, charging that Marileo was trying to "commoditize" all intellectual engagement with Mapuche for his own financial gain.

Their controversy frames what Course calls the existing "politics of knowledge," which continues to formulate the relations of anthropologist and native intellectuals as asymmetrical (Course, e-mail received August 30, 2012). This is not a case of an anthropologist violating

an established code of professional ethics, since innumerable scholars from the United States and European countries have for generations failed to acknowledge the contribution to scholarly exchanges made by natives in the cultures they study. What differentiates this case from the past is that Marileo has access to people in academic circles of other countries who would attend to his denunciation of the failure to recognize and engage with the scholarly work of native anthropologists.[1] The discipline may well suffer if we fail to respond to such questioning of the prerogatives of Euro-American scholars working on a similar topic with native scholars.

The interdependence of scholarship is now worldwide, but recognition of authority is still bounded. Carlos Fausto phrases the goal of international scholarship in an article in the *Royal Anthropological Journal* as follows (Fausto 2013): "Our job as scholars is to engage and build upon the work of others and to show how we further their perspectives and create new interpretations." He illustrates the tendency he notes among European and American scholars not to recognize the work of local scholars with Harry Walker's appropriation (2012) of an ethnographic description of behavioral syndrome of self-abnegation, to avoid conflict in the presence of big men in the Amazonian region. Walker, he maintains, fails to cite the work on this syndrome that was recognized previously by several Brazilian anthropologists who published their research findings in the same area (Bonilla 2005, 2009). Fausto (2013 concludes that "[i]gnoring the work of others, misrepresenting them or misquoting them, constitutes bad scholarship and does a disservice to the field of anthropology as a whole."

These recent examples of transgressions of scholarly exchanges make it clear that the unequal access of anthropologists in disparate power positions related to language, connections to prestigious universities, and publishing houses, still exists despite astute critiques calling for leveling forces in the past half century. Talal Asad pointed out almost four decades ago the importance of such changes in his introduction to his edited anthology of critical essays, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973).

We must begin with the fact that the basic reality that made prewar social anthropology a feasible and effective enterprise was the power relationship between dominating (European) and dominated (non-European) cultures. We then need to ask ourselves how this relationship has affected the practical preconditions of social anthropology: the uses to which its knowledge was put; the theoretical treatment of particular topics; the mode of perceiving and objectifying alien societies; and the anthropologists' claim of political neutrality.

The questions raised by Asad require continual attention. They were part of my introduction to the field over half a century ago, and remain present in the consciousness of anthropologists. I shall address the central aspect of this, which is the attempt to preempt the intellectual authority of the native. My own experiences with the changing modes of ethnographic exchange provide an abbreviated notion of the transformations in the encounter.

## Ethnographic Relativism and Learning to Be an Ethnographer

A half century ago when I began field research for my thesis, we saw ourselves as observers with scientific interests in the variety of ways of being human. We went into the field not to judge, nor to rescue, endangered peoples, but to record their ways of adapting to, or failing to adapt to, an environment. We were outside their system of exchange, where reciprocity on either side endangered the conditions of a "laboratory" encounter, a metaphor for field sites that even Margaret Mead used. An unstated rule forbade payment for information since that was tainted with commodification, but gifts of food and products of the ethnographer's country of home were acceptable. Nor was it acceptable to introduce programs to improve people's lives since that would deny the cardinal rule of cultural relativism in ethnographic exchange: one should only judge people's behavior and conditions of life in accord with a given cultural system. On the basis of this premise the American Anthropological Association rejected the United Nations Convention on Human Rights in 1946.

With this simple model of learning about the ways of life in other cultures by living it, I undertook my first research in Chiapas in 1957. During my second field stay in the 1960s, a team of researchers from the universities of Harvard, Stanford and Chicago arrived in San Cristobal de Las Casas with a large computer capable of correlating coded data punched into index cards that were fed into the machine to derive comparisons among the diverse indigenous villages. This device was set up in a vacant motel with numerous rooms that were soon to be occupied by indigenous informants and their interlocutors—the foreign anthropologists.

Taking as their model the linguistic approach of eliciting vocabulary and grammar in a stimulus-response behaviorist model popularized by psychologists at that time, the team developed a series of questions that

were applied to informants recruited from among indigenous informants who had worked with anthropologists in Chiapas. Culture, they claimed, consisted of a set of responses in accord with cognitive understandings of the social structure gained in the socialization process. The assumption was that using the same set of questions to elicit models of behavior among nearby indigenous communities would enable ethnologists to construct a comparative base for a predictive model of regional culture.

With these assumptions, it was taken for granted that this ideal culture could be elicited without the tiresome, and sometimes even dangerous, observation and participation in events in accord with the Malinowskian fieldwork tradition. Informants' responses were then coded and punched on computer cards, lending a scientific aura in the early days of the computer to the correlations made among various communities. The intellectual power in the encounter was assumed to lie in the questioning process devised by the ethnologists.

It was soon discovered that the informants were adept at devising the questions themselves, allowing the anthropologists to withdraw to a nearby bar. Left alone, the informants from a number of highland indigenous villages thoroughly enjoyed the new atmosphere of conviviality. As I listened in to their conversations, I was struck by their interest in differences and commonalities for standardized rituals and began to take notes on their mode of ethnographic inquiry.

Before critiquing the approach to the "new ethnography" of those times, I thought I should at least try it out. Accordingly, I went to the house of Simon Perez, one of the town officials with whom I had been working in Amatenango del Valle, an indigenous municipality 37 kilometers from the colonial capital city. He was among a cohort of literate young men who had graduated from a boarding school for Indian boys in the indigenous township of Chamula, initiated during Lázaro Cárdenas' presidency (1934–1940). He and other graduates were entering town offices that had been dominated by *ladinos,* or acculturated Indians, and *mestizos* (children of Indian and Spanish parents) from the neighboring town of Teopisca. This group also initiated a cooperative that purchased a truck and delivered pottery made by women, as well as liquor brewed in local stills, to markets at a distance.

With the prepared questionnaire in hand, I set out to elicit the ceremonial change of officials on New Year's day as my informant, Simon, envisioned it on the basis of his participation in past performances. I intended to observe it the following day to see how the observation conformed to the expectation.

I found Simon stretched out on a wooden bench on his porch. He claimed to be incapacitated by a sprained back. In the course of eliciting according to the protocol of the new ethnography: "What happens on the morning of New Year's day?", "What is the order of officials in the procession?", "And then what?" and so on, he responded until he became bored by the enunciation of the ideal order. He then diverted the subject to talk about his own expectations for this year's performance. Wanting to get on with the protocol for eliciting the ideal performance, I said, "Shut up, Simon, let's get on with the ritual celebration!"

Fortunately, Simon ignored me and continued to recount his own fears of what would happen in the upcoming celebration of the change of officials. He remarked that the president had decided to march at the very end of the procession instead of leading it, as was the custom, and this was because he feared that he might be shot. I began to sense that Simon's backache was an excuse to avoid being caught in the crossfire he anticipated. With that, I began to take notes on what he was saying about the intense competition for power going on in the *cabildo* (town office).

This introduction to formal methodology convinced me of the value of following protocols only up to the point that the informant, as we called them in those times, grasps the problem in his/her own terms. They then begin to pose significant questions related to processes of change that cannot be anticipated. In a veiled criticism of the eliciting model, I concluded that adhering to fixed protocols "runs the risk of getting only stereotyped responses" in a process in which informants "often become acculturated to the questioner's categories." I concluded that both formal eliciting and participation are mutually correcting strategies in an article called "The Change of Officials in Tzo'ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico" (Nash 1970a: 210).

Putting together the formal procedures of investing officials with many interviews I had done about the rising homicide rate in the town (Nash 1967), I could grasp the full dimension of the power struggle as young literate men took posts in the town offices that had been the prerogative of *principales*, or senior officials who had occupied all the posts in the civil and religious hierarchy. The title of this earlier paper, which I called "Death as a Way of Life," was itself a caricature of the familiar phrasing about customs as "ways of life," inserting the nonfunctional behavior of homicide in the slot presided over by customs and traditions that were the common concerns of anthropology in those days.

In short, I learned from these attempts to control the respondent that total control in a stimulus response mode results in replication of ethnocentric assumptions. Informants were often providing functionalist models that reinforced their interrogators' presuppositions. Alternatively, to meet native intellectuals on their own ground in an encounter in which they interject questions and correct assumptions, as Simon did in our encounter, generates an informed discussion that advances cross-cultural communication.

## Interpretive Anthropology and the Preemption of Indigenous Knowledge

Only a decade after the contributors to *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* had made searing critiques of persistent colonialist postures in the field, a new attempt at imposing the intellectual priorities of the Western, that is, Euro-American anthropologist arrived. This took the form of giving priority to the intellectual control of anthropologists in the interpretation of observed phenomena, enshrined in a literary text. In particular, the anthology *Writing Culture*, edited by James Clifford and George Marcus (1983), brings together essays that give precedence to the interpretive mode in a literary text, over ethnographic discovery derived from listening to as well as participating with and observing the life of people one studies. According to one of its contributors, the door to the interpretive mode had been opened by Clifford Geertz, but he "did not walk through it." They apologized for the paucity of feminine contributors, explaining it as a "regrettable fact" that feminism had not contributed much to the theoretical analysis of ethnographies as texts" (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 20).

Geertz provided entry into the ethnographic exchange in drawing out the "webs of meanings," especially those that are, as he put it, "so wrapped up in experience that they cannot extract the concept" (Geertz 1979: 228). Although his own interpretations did not specifically attribute credit to native participants, he made anthropologists aware of the task of decoding behaviors that were deeply embedded in symbols and metaphors acquired in generations of cultural transmission that were not easily transmitted or interpreted in textual representations. His prioritizing of anthropological interpretation may be justified in the kind of "deep play" he addresses in his essay on the Balinese cockfight. His analysis draws upon folk tales of the fortunes lost or

squandered by heroes and villains, and from aesthetic and dramaturgical criteria rather than strictly formulated responses. Fortunately for anthropology and his own textual interpretation, he did not fall into the essentializing trap of gender behavior then being constructed.

Yet with interrogations on questions of structural changes in the political and economic life of the community, I have found that natives in the culture can provide as concise and penetrating analyses as those of major theorists when they reformulate the problem in their own terms (Nash 1993).

Returning to Clifford and Marcus' anthology, the interpretive mode of the contributors to *Writing Culture* is marked by the anthropologists separating the "raw material" of facts uttered by natives in the culture and drawing out the "nuanced" (one of the favored terms) meanings contained in word and deeds, either seen, heard, or plagiarized from ethnographic texts of others. The voice of the native is lost, as the verbal exchange that inspired the understanding is either mystified or appropriated.

The pretensions of *Writing Cultures* went unchallenged, except by a younger generation that included women then emerging. No women or natives in the culture studied are included in the volume because, as one of the contributors stated, no female anthropologist reached their standards. This omission occurred over a decade after women had already upended the favored myths of man as the forerunners of the neolithic revolution, inventors of fire, agriculture, tool making, and culture itself.[2] Anthropology, like all academic social sciences up to the late twentieth century, was dominated by male professors and researchers. The pervasive sexism of the field was demonstrated in a chart depicting human evolution that featured a man emerging from the great apes, striding along without the handicap of women and children, displaying his cultural accumulation of skin garments and tools. This chart was often hung in anthropology departments until it became too embarrassing to display publicly.

Although we were taught to be alert to ethnocentric assumptions, practitioners often disregard the richness of ethnographic material in favor of theoretical exegesis. Alcida Rita Ramos (2012: 481 et seq.) criticizes another aspect of interpretive overgeneralization in the case of "perspectivism," a concept that is currently popular in Brazilian Amazonian research. While we advocate the importance of revealing the root sources of our perspectives (see Hans Buechler, this volume), it can become overly generalized when applied unilaterily to native cultures. Ramos notes that this conception turns upside down

the nature/culture relationship from one involving multiculturalism versus unidimensional nature, to its opposite, multinaturalism versus unidimensional culture. This involves, according to Ramos, the ever-recurrent tendency to "take local precepts from around the world as raw material to construct grand descriptive or explanatory schema." She concludes that, "by reducing each native theory of knowledge to the anonymity of ethnographic knowledge," the anthropologist can rob indigenous people of their history and of their theories.

This was certainly happening in the attempts to control the ethnographic exchange by advocates of textual representations in the anthology *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1983). It reminds us of the need to include in the ethnographic exchange the input of our ethnographic collaborators in the field, not only as respondents to key questions posed by the anthropologists but also as stimulators of the problems posed. Hans Buechler gives us a sense of how such exchanges with a variety of academics can transform the relationships involved in field work from a one-sided authoritative frame to a shared intellectual encounter (Buechler, this volume).

## Assimilating the Native Experience in Autobiographies

The increasing diversity in life opportunities for indigenous people in a globalizing frame requires a refocusing of the anthropological encounter. Among the strategies initiated as early as the 1930s in the American Southwest was the autobiography. This approach gave almost full control over the selection of material to the native in the culture. An outstanding example of this is the recently republished *Black Elk Speaks* (Novark 2008).

Among the problems I have experienced in publishing autobiographies is that editors prefer known scholars as authors. The Latin American publisher of the first autobiography I published in Spanish did so just as I presented it, listing him as first author, with me as associate, namely Juan Rocha with June Nash, *He agotado mi vida en la mina* (1975). But, when I submitted an expanded version over a decade later, with chapters by Juan's wife and four children, the US editor included my name only, without consulting me (Nash 1992).

The other problem is that people have inflated ideas of what royalties may result, due to Domitila's blockbuster, *Let Me Speak!* The autobiography of Juan Rojas was published with a pseudonym to protect

his identity, *He agotado mi vida en la mina* (Rojas and Nash 1975), by an Argentinian press just before the military coup, and the editor was forced into exile. As a rank-and-file worker, Juan was more self-critical about the role of unions and political figures than the leaders in these events, and he agreed there might be reprisals. We never received any royalties. Although I passed on the royalties from Columbia University Press – where the expanded version was published in English – to Juan and Paulina, Juan's youngest son, who was born over a decade and a half after the first edition, challenged me for using a pseudonym in order to claim the proceeds. His older children still call me periodically to update me with news on the family. The latest call came when the son who enlisted in the army called me from the US Pentagon, which really would have shocked his parents.

The autobiography I worked on with Basilia Saavedra, a woman who worked underground in the Siglo-XX mines during the Chaco War, reveals the many contradictions within working-class society faced by a woman who carried out a "man's" job (Nash and Rocca 1976). She rarely experienced the camaraderie that was one of the few rewards that men experienced working underground. In contrast, she was blamed for an accident that caused the death of a coworker, even though it was not clearly her dynamite stick that was discharged at the same time as those of the entire work gang that caused the death. She also found difficulty in seeking marital companionship since any miner who took up with a working woman, whether she worked on the slagpile or underground in competition with them, was ridiculed as lazy and incompetent in his social as well as in his work life.

Like most ethnographers who have incorporated the authorial role of natives of the culture they studied in their publications, Hans Buechler and Judith-Maria Buechler (1983) in their collaboration with Carmen in Spain, and with Sofia, an Aymara market woman in Bolivia (1996), demonstrate that autobiographies elicited in long-standing collaborative relationships enrich and deepen the ethnographic encounter. Their exchanges with both Sofia and Carmen show that categories of class, occupation, gender, and ethnicity are not isomorphic, and hence must be judged as an interconnected dynamic. Carmen personifies the dynamic changes for women taking place in the Galician countryside as she manages multiple kin and neighborhood relations to ensure the survival of herself and her children. Sofia Velasquez's vocation as a market vendor in Bolivia does not restrict her to an entrepreneurial spirit aimed at beating the competition, but rather, fosters a collective

spirit. This is celebrated in festivals held in the markets and in their defense of colleagues who are in trouble.

Velasquez experiences some of the class and ethnic subordination along with the solidarity among vendors that I found in transcribing and editing the autobiographies of miners. When the subjects of ethnographic investigation take control of the text in such autobiographies, ethnology takes on a new dimension. Taking their stories together with more recent autobiographies by mine union leader Filemón Escobar (2008), and union leader and social activist Felix Muruchi (Kohl and Farthing with Muruchi 2011), we can sense the priorities and personal motivations of those engaged in political struggles responding to the superexploitation in their arduous and dangerous work. Each generation is molded by particular events that shape the rest of their lives, as they relate their life histories. Both Escobar and Muruchi developed a Marxist position, Escobar in the Trotskyist Party of Revolutionary Workers (POR; Partido Obrero Revolucionario), and Muruchi in the Communist Party. When they were imprisoned, their political consciousness expanded beyond that of the class struggle that inspired miners. Escobar was imprisoned in a camp in the lowlands, where he met agricultural workers who taught him a new way of living close to the land and in touch with the Pachamama, the spiritual power of the mother earth. Muruchi found his way into exile in the Netherlands, where he gained an advanced education that fostered a new road to revolution, working in neighborhood alliances with nongovernmental organizations. Escobar was beginning to link his party's commitment to the working class to peasants when I interviewed him in 1986. This meeting occurred during the March for Life and Peace staged by miners to counter the conditions for regaining entry into global markets that were demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which were signed into law by Paz Estensorro, thus closing the nationalized mines (Nash 1993).

Muruchi's outlook on revolution was transformed in his encounter with the New Left during his stint in college in the Netherlands. He chose to return to Bolivia in the 1990s when campesinos were beginning to mobilize around their rights to grow the traditional crop of coca, which were being denied by antinarcotic agents trained by the US Army. His life history bridges the change from class struggle to an alternative movement inspired by indigenous people in the countryside. Their organization was helped by ex-miners who were forced

out of the mines when former President Paz Estenssoro carried out the IMF edict closing the nationalized mines. The shift from class to ethnic mobilization was spreading throughout the continent.

The autobiographies show the dynamic interaction of categorical imperatives of class, ethnicity, and gender that cannot be isolated as predictors of consciousness and behavior from the processes in which human behaviors are embedded. They also reveal the importance of compounding the multiple perspectives that make up history in our interpretation of the events in which they play both leadership and membership roles. It is only in prolonged contact in the ethnographic encounter that we can gain a full awareness of what triggers responses.

## Being a Native in the Culture Studied

I was challenged to begin my study of corporations in my own culture by miners, whose questions about General Electric, General Motors, and other transnational corporations I could not answer. I learned both the advantages and disadvantages of being a "native in the culture studied" when I accepted their challenge and undertook the study of General Electric's power transformer division in Pittsfield in 1982. Professor Robert Redfield once raised the issue of how, when studying one's own culture, it is harder to recognize the existential force of custom in our own culture since it is so subliminal a part of our behavior. It was something I had to learn myself, however.

My assumption was that, as a native, I had privileged access to people such as I had known all my life. It never occurred to me that people would think of me as being strange since I grew up in a town on the eastern coast of Massachusetts and went to public schools much like those in Pittsfield. Just when I was beginning to feel completely adjusted to the place, falling back into my regional accent as I relived my own working-class roots in the former mill town of Ipswich, a woman whom I had come to know well commented, "I just don't know what it is, but you do seem so foreign to us." She was born in Poland and had arrived at the age of two some decades before I was born, but I was the outsider in her world for reasons I could not readily fathom.

The people I spent the most time with in Pittsfield, were workers and middle managers, most of them in their fifties who, like myself, grew up during the Depression era and worked on an assembly line

while going to high school. They shared the same values of hard work and the importance of education that I did. Yet I did not hold some of their values, such as high expenditures on late-model automobiles or on life passage ceremonies such as weddings, graduations, and funerals. Even so, the majority of the workers with whom I had continuous contact in the months of fieldwork did trust me, as I learned a few weeks after we began our survey interviews of 100 workers selected in a random sample.

The occasion was a union meeting of the retirees club, to which a number of candidates for congressional and local offices had been invited, and I was allowed to attend along with my student research assistant, Max Kirsch, provided that I would not make public any of the proceedings. On the following day, the local newspaper published an article stating some of the questions raised by the union leaders, along with the responses of the candidates, who had spoken candidly since they had assumed they were in a closed session. Since Max and I were the only outsiders, suspicions were immediately centered on us. My closest friend in the union told me that what I had to do was to call up Silvio Conte, the congressman in question, who had demanded the session be off the record, and tell him what I was doing and why. I did, and much to my surprise, Silvio's wife responded to the phone call, saying, as though she knew me all her life, "Oh yes, June, I'll call Silvio." When he spoke, he said, "We didn't have any question about your telling about our meeting to the press. It was probably one of the candidates' sons who was hanging out in the hall who talked to them, and he had a tape recorder." It was soon after the disgrace of Richard Nixon, who had been caught telling his aides how to upend the Democratic election process, when his taped conversations turned up against him in the impeachment process. Tape recorders were incriminating in themselves, and I never used them on public occasions because of that.

It was clear to me in this experience that people are judging us carefully before engaging with us in the ethnographic exchange. We cannot control this, other than by building a mutual trust that enables us to overcome the misadventures that inevitably arise. This is the basis for all collaborative engagements.

For me, the major problem in doing fieldwork at home was the greater inhibitions I experienced in a familiar setting that restricted my venturing into sensitive problems. Sex, communism, and religion were contentious issues in the case of many compatriots, and I did not try

questioning them directly on these subjects. Instead, I relied on their initiative in bringing them into the interview, or on public statements on record regarding their predilections. In contrast, I found that most of the people I worked with in Guatemala, Chiapas, and Bolivia questioned me directly on those issues, insisting that I put their responses on the tape recorder so that I would get it right. Women in particular wanted to know how I limited my family to two children. Many were curious as to why Congressman Joseph McCarthy, whom they had heard of, was persecuting communists, and most wanted to know what was my religious faith.

## Reciprocal Exchanges in Ethnographic Encounters

As yet we have not achieved equal exchanges between indigenous and foreign investigators, and between investigators from the Global South to the Global North. It has begun to happen as indigenous anthropologists enter the field to study cosmopolitan societies. Even then, equality can only be achieved in a broader playing field than the discipline spans, when differences in wealth and ethnic origins no longer determine access to libraries and universities. Earlier attempts to level the field have not been advanced to overcome the dominance of paradigms from the North to the South or from cosmopolitan to native voices, an issue I discussed in Argentina (Nash 2008).

Lacking this external condition, we can attempt to reconceptualize our relationships in the field encounter. We will not become fully sensitized to the issues that Marileo and Fausto raise in their present critique of the dominance of the North over the South in academia until we experience the reverse discrimination. We can approximate a reciprocal scholarly discourse in which, as Marilyn Strathern phrases it, "We [readers of colleagues' debates] consume one another's insights, feed each other with thoughts, recognizing their origins when we can." (quoted in Fausto 2013). By listening carefully and recognizing our dependence on the intellectual insights of colleagues in the field, we can attempt to be as generous to them as they have been to us. Hopefully these chapters will inspire others to open our understandings of other cultures by expanding our acknowledgment of the contributions made by native intellectuals in our encounters with collaborators.

## Notes

1. The ensuing debate between Marileo and Magnus Course can be accessed on the Web at https://br.groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/superiorindigena/conversations/topics/8487.
2. Earlier assumptions in anthropology regarding major innovations in societies were challenged with gender-differentiated analyses. Based on observations of contemporary hunter-gathering societies in which women routinely encouraged the growth of wild plants near their homes where they could attend them while caring for infants, Margaret Conkey hypothesized that women were among the first agriculturalists. Other feminine anthropologists speculate that the first tools may have been baskets to carry infants while working.

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