Chapter 3: "We are los *Afros de Cala Cala*"[1]

Cala Cala is located in the *Departamento* of La Paz, Province of Nor Yungas, *Municipio* of Coripata at about twenty minutes by car, bus, or motorcycle from the town *(pueblo)* of Coripata and approximately the same distance from the *pueblos nuevos* of Arapata and Trinidad Pampa. In administrative contexts, Cala Cala is considered and treated as part of the much larger *comunidad Nogalani*, a unit of about 150 households and approximately 500 inhabitants.[2] Cala Cala's approximately 30 Afrobolivian inhabitants are distributed over eleven households. Nine of these Afrobolivian households are concentrated geographically in the 'lower parts' *(la parte de abajo)* of the *comunidad's* territory (i.e. closer to the river), one Afrobolivian household is located even further downhill on the shores of the river, and one is located in Bella Vista (see figs. 4 and 5). The Aymara households are grouped together in two geographical locations, referred to as *Bella Vista* or *Vaquería* and *Nogalani pueblo* (see fig. 4).

The distances between the different parts of the *comunidad* are short (approx. 1.5 kilometers between Nogalani and Bella Vista) and Cala Cala borders Bella Vista directly. What is now Cala Cala was once a small independent estate (referred to occasionally as *estancia Cala Cala*) populated by Afrobolivian slaves whose legal status changed to that of *peones* after the abolition of slavery in 1851. Later, Cala Cala became part of the *hacienda Nogalani*, a much larger estate inhabited by Aymara *peones*. I was not able to determine when exactly Cala Cala became a part of Nogalani but in a detailed listing of coca producing *haciendas* from 1902, Cala Cala is not mentioned explicitly and it can be assumed that it was by then already administered alongside Nogalani, one of the biggest coca producing *haciendas* in the Yungas at that time (Soux 1993:197). It certainly was part of the *hacienda Nogalani* by the 1920s, as a stash

1 "*Somos los Afros de Cala Cala*."

2 The *Plan de Desarrollo Municipal 2001-2005* (Municipal Development Plan) cites the following figures for Nogalani: 508 inhabitants in 137 households. There is, however, a certain fluctuation. People in Nogalani repeatedly stated that there are "more than 150" *sindicato* members (*afiliados*, i.e. households) in the *comunidad*.

Figure 4: Map showing the locations of Cala Cala, Bella Vista and Nogalani (© OpenStreet Map contributors) Terms: www.openstreetmap.org/copyright.

of the *hacienda's* administrative documents show.[3] However, there was a separate *casa de hacienda* in Cala Cala, including a *kachi* (an area used to dry coca leaves), offices for the administrator *(oficinas)* and two coca presses *(prensas de coca)* that were still functioning in the 1940s. This supports suggestions that Cala Cala was once independent since *oficinas*, *kachi* and *prensa de coca* are the fundamental equipment needed to produce and market coca leaves. The remnants of the buildings' outer walls remain visible and are referred to as *el Matuasi* by the inhabitants. There was another *casa de hacienda* in what is now referred to as *Nogalani pueblo*,[4] whereas the area referred to as Bella Vista/Vaquería – where the *comunidad's* school and soccer

3 The documents – mostly inventories of the *hacienda's* assets (including *peones*) and correspondence between the owner Jorge Cusicanqui and the administrators of the property, as well as the local and national authorities – were first shown to me in 2014 by a lawyer and self-taught historian in Coripata who claimed that he had obtained them from a descendant of the former owner. The lawyer then sold the documents to the Afrobolivian researcher Martín Ballivián who published facsimiles of certain parts in 2015 (Ballivián 2015). I obtained the original documents in 2017 from Martín Ballivián and they remain in my possession.

4 The term *pueblo* here is slightly misleading. Normally, *pueblo* is reserved for larger settlements like Coripata (with over 2000 inhabitants in almost 600 households) that are furthermore not entirely agricultural. What is expressed with the term *pueblo* here is rather the fact that *Nogalani pueblo* is a nucleated settlement grouped around a small *plaza* where the church and the *sindicato* headquarters are located as opposed to the pattern of dispersed settlement in Cala Cala.

field are located – has only been populated since the 1970s and before served as a place for pasturing animals (hence the name Vaquería, derived from pasturing cows *[vacas]* there).

Cala Cala's history and its incorporation into political and administrative units are quite particular. In what follows, I will analyze one specific aspect of the way *Cala Caleños* (inhabitants of Cala Cala) view their community ("*nuestra comunidad*"). This aspect comes to the fore when they use vocabulary such as *"los Afros de Cala Cala,"* or *"comunidad Afrobolivana Cala Cala"* – thus referencing ethnoracial identification and origins as the foundation of self-identification. Many people from Cala Cala very strongly express a sense of belonging to Cala Cala, despite the fact that they are deeply entangled with Nogalani historically, economically and politically (see chapter 4). *Cala Caleños* furthermore clearly stress that Cala Cala is a *"comunidad Afroboliviana,"* inhabited almost exclusively by Afrobolivians, whereas Nogalani's inhabitants are in their majority non-Afrobolivians (mostly referred to as *indígenas*, *Aymara* or "*gente del altiplano*" by people from Cala Cala).

Comparing the categories that *Cala Caleños* employ in order to describe individuals and groups in the local context to ethnographic accounts of the Yungas from the 1960s, shows one decisive difference. Whereas earlier accounts describe the Yungas as fundamentally marked by social differentiation between *mistis* (*mestizos* and *blancos*, see chapter 2) and peasants (the former *peones*, i.e. *indios* and *negros*), the category *misti* is absent from contemporary classificatory schemes. From the perspective of Afrobolivians in Cala Cala, the most salient boundary is that between Afrobolivians *("los Afros de Cala Cala")* and Aymara (also referred to as *indígenas* or "*gente del altiplano*"). Likewise, people from Nogalani refer to themselves as Aymara or *indígena*. That is, if they use an ethnic/cultural label in the first place and not just simply refer to themselves as *comunarios* or *cocaleros* (see chapter 4). This shift, marked by the declining importance of the category *misti* and the parallel rise of ethnoracial and 'cultural' categories of identification, stems from a variety of developments. On the one hand, the Yungas experienced profound transformations in the last fifty years that displaced *mistis* as the politically and economically dominant group. The landowning elite left the Yungas in the wake of the National Revolution and although many *mistis* remained important political brokers in the post-revolutionary period and also held on to many economic privileges in trade and transportation, their position vis-à-vis the former *peones* weakened steadily. This process was accelerated by the fact that the former *peones* pressed for their demands through the *sindicato* structure. What is more, many former *peones* sought economic opportunities beyond their *comunidades* (former *haciendas*) in the villages *(pueblos)* of the Yungas engaging in trade and transportation (hitherto *misti* privileges), as well as pursuing formal education in Spanish in rural schools. Those developments destabilized the boundary between *mistis* and peasants, as the latter had been defined mainly by their agricultural lifestyle and the fact that they

did not speak Spanish. However, the blurring of the boundaries between *indios/negros* and *mistis* did not lead to the integration of Bolivian society within a 'modern' *mestizo* nation as the post-revolutionary politics had envisioned. Emerging in the 1970s, indigenous movements and later the *Movimiento Afroboliviano* (see chapter 8) challenged the ideology of *mestizaje* (Stutzman 1981) and began mobilizing a growing constituency on the bases of ethnic and cultural identity (cf. Scheuzger 2007). With the advent of multicultural politics in the decade of the 1990s and plurinational reform in the 21st century, indigenous and Afrobolivian identity politics became an increasingly important frame of reference also in the Yungas. In my view, one of the effects of those developments is the partial restructuring of classificatory schemes in Cala Cala – and the Yungas more broadly. When *Cala Caleños* intend to describe differences in their social environment that matter for them beyond the overarching similarities as *cocaleros* and *Yungueños* (see chapter 4), they address the boundary between Afrobolivians and *indígenas,* rather than that between peasants and *mistis*.

Being *Afro* in Cala Cala

The notion of identity and collectivity as Afrobolivians is, in Cala Cala, rooted in various interrelated dimensions. The most immediately observable difference between Cala Cala and the rest of Nogalani is the phenotypical appearance of its inhabitants, who are in their majority identifiable as *negros/Afrobolivianos*. However, according to Alison Spedding (Spedding 2013), being *negro/Afroboliviano* in the Yungas does not say much about a person:

> In the province [Sud Yungas], this [being *negro/Afroboliviano*] means little more than saying 'he is tall' or 'he is fat'; that is to say, it's a physical characteristic that helps distinguish or identify the person without adding or withdrawing virtue in any other respect […]" (Spedding 2013:189, my translation).[5]

Spedding is arguably one of the most prolific authors with regard to the Yungas. She is, in Bolivia and internationally, considered an authority, especially on the coca economy and the Yungas, where she has worked from the 1980s until today. With regard to Afrobolivians, she has maintained a firm position, arguing against the salience of *Afroboliviano/a* as a category of identity and sociocultural differentiation in the Yungas from her earliest publications on the subject (Spedding 1995) until very recently (see for example Spedding 2009; Spedding 2013). She grounds

5 *"En la provincia [Sud Yungas] esto [ser negro/afroboliviano] no significa mucho más que decir 'es alto' o 'es gordo', o sea, es una característica física que ayuda a distinguir o identificar a la persona sin añadir o quitarles valor en cualquier otro aspecto […]."*

her assertion in two observations. She maintains that the "cultural expressions" *("expresiones culturales")* that are generally associated with Afrobolivians (mainly the dance *saya*) are of no further significance for collective identifications and social organization in the Yungas (Spedding 2009:446). For her, the topic of Afrobolivians in the Yungas is a question of race, which she equates with phenotype.[6] As the quote above shows, however, she does not consider phenotypical variation a meaningful referent for collective identification or social differentiation.

Contrary to this assertion, I argue that being Afrobolivian in Cala Cala is more than a mere physical characteristic without social consequences. In fact, the physical appearance of an individual is in most cases considered of secondary importance for belonging to "*los Afros de Cala Cala*." I approach the term "*los Afros de Cala Cala*" as a "process of collective identification" in which different categories of identification and changing frames of reference for those categories become relevant. Speaking of "identification" rather than of "identity" takes into account that it is only through the actors' engagement with certain categories that they are "activated" and become the bases of a collective identity (Eidson et al. 2017:341; cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Analyzing the emic concept of "*los Afros de Cala Cala*" as a "[process] under the appearance of [a] stable entit[y]" (Elwert 1995) not only helps avoid the "common sense groupism" (Brubaker 2002) that has frequently been criticized, but also enables my analysis to examine dynamics of "re-identification," understood as "alterations in the actors' orientation, attitude, and behavior with reference to selected categories of identification" (Eidson et al. 2017:342).

Most importantly for *Cala Caleños*, being *Afro* is tied to a notion of shared history and to how this history relates to networks of kinship in the present – cognate and affinal ties, as well as *compadrazgo* (godparenthood [Foster 1953; Mintz and Wolf 1950; Van Vleet 2008]). My approach to kinship in Cala Cala follows Krista Van Vleet's proposal (2008) taking into account that 'being related as kin' "is not solely about the genealogical relationships between people but about the practices of connection – and disconnection – through which people maintain and contest the emotional, social, political, and material parameters of their daily lives" (Van Vleet 2008:25). She argues that rather than focusing on "some essential biological relationship or on static social structures," it is important to track how "relatedness emerges among individuals who have differing life experiences and move within and between communities" (Van Vleet 2008:2). The narrative and practice-centered approach to kinship she proposes is based on the concept of "relatedness" first introduced to the anthropological study of kinship by Janet Carsten (2000). Instead of focusing solely on formal aspects of kinship and genealogical connections, the aim

6 In the Spanish original the passsage reads: "*[En] el tema afroboliviano […] definitivamente se trata de un problema de raza, es decir, de fenotipo*" (Spedding 2009:447).

is to understand "the ethnographic particularities of being related in a specific cultural context without presupposing what constitutes kinship" (Carsten 2000:4–5). In her study of a rural village in Bolivia, Van Vleet identified "everyday talk […] and especially the telling and retelling of stories" (Van Vleet 2008:2) as an important arena for negotiating notions of relatedness through contested narratives. Such narratives are common among *Cala Caleños*. A sense of shared history is expressed, for example, in the fact that people take considerable pride in pointing out the existence of a *casa de hacienda* in the community or the fact that in the registers of the municipality of Coripata, Cala Cala is occasionally listed as an independent *comunidad* because of its former status as an independent *estancia*. They deploy these facts in narrative representations of Cala Cala's history in order to highlight the historical continuity of their status as a separate community. The local history of Cala Cala is discoursively linked to notions of kinship and the social networks it entails in the present by representing Cala Cala's current inhabitants and their relatives as being linked to a handful of Afrobolivian ancestors *("los abuelos Afros")* who inhabited the *estancia Cala Cala* (later incorporated into the *hacienda Nogalani)* in the period before the Agrarian Reform in 1953. The connection to *"los abuelos Afros"* is important in formal terms since it secures access to land within the *comunidad*, but also central to narratives of belonging and the identification as *"los Afros de Cala Cala."* What is more, kinship has also long linked Afrobolivians from Cala Cala with Afrobolivians from other *comunidades* in the Yungas and more recently has been the basis for establishing and maintaining connections to the growing parts of the Afrobolivian population in Bolivia's major cities. Although less common in comparison to narratives of local Afrobolivian history and kinship, specific 'cultural elements' are occasionally invoked by people in Cala Cala in order to define their Afrobolivianity. I agree with Spedding's critical approach that problematizes the often taken-for-granted salience of 'cultural elements' for notions of Afrobolivianity. I argue, however, that 'cultural elements' are not entirely inconsequential. Although *saya*, for example, might have fallen out of practice for decades and is not usually performed in Cala Cala, it is invoked in discursive articulations of Afrobolivianity. As will become clear in my discussion of the changing tides of *"lo Afro," saya* and 'Afrobolivian culture' more generally are important discursive spheres of resonance for debates on Afrobolivian history and collective identification.[7]

The chapter is structured as follows: First, I will introduce Cala Cala in its most basic geographic and demographic dimensions. I will then discuss the importance of understanding Cala Cala fundamentally as a group of relatives that can be traced back to the inhabitants of the *estancia/hacienda (peones)* that became the owners of the land (called *sayañeros)* through the process of land reform starting in 1953,

7 See also my discussion of *saya* in chapter 7 and of Cala Cala's tourism project in chapter 10.

and the historical backbone of the contemporary community.[8] Moreover, kinship networks are also key to understanding Cala Cala's entanglements with the growing urban population of Afrobolivians and they are a fundamental link that ties local concepts of belonging to nationally circulating ideas of collectivity and identity as *el pueblo Afroboliviano*. I will end the chapter with a brief contextualization of the notion of "*los Afros de Cala Cala*," since in addition to identifying as *Afrobolivianos*, *Cala Caleños* also express a strong sense of *cocalero* identity and are embedded in social relations transcending "*los Afros de Cala Cala*."

Geographical aspects of community in Cala Cala

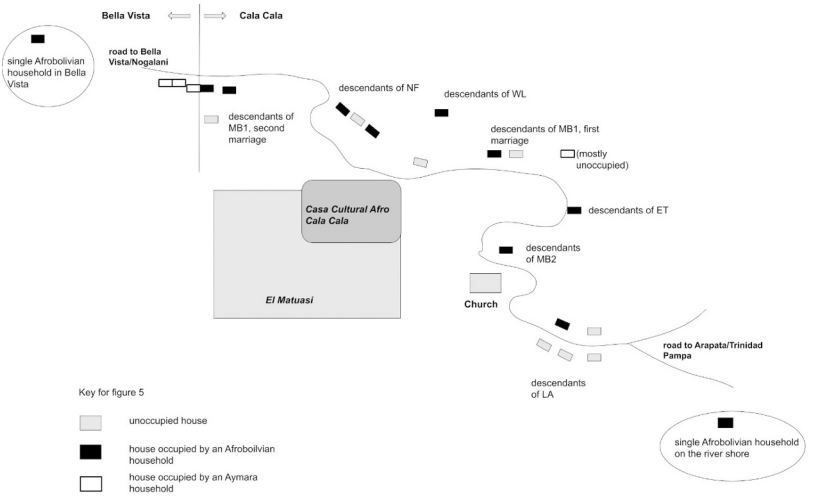
Cala Cala is a small but dispersed settlement consisting of eighteen houses (some of them unoccupied) in the core area of settlement. There are two households that people consider part of Cala Cala, although their houses are located beyond the geographical boundaries associated with Cala Cala: one household in Bella Vista and one whose house lies at the river shore close to the road to Arapata/Coripata. Incuding those two, Cala Cala is home to eleven households belonging to six families. With the term house I refer to the material buildings, whereas household designates units of cohabitation and economic activity. Most households in Cala Cala consist of an adult couple with their children who live together in one house. However, there are also cases where (unmarried) siblings live together and form a household and one case of a widow living with her unmarried children. In economic terms, it is very important that the household is the unit that administers the coca fields and is the basis for exchanging labor. With the term family, I refer to a group of individuals tracing back kinship to the same 'original inhabitant' of Cala Cala and houses, households and families overlap in different ways (see below).

Approximately thirty people live permanently in Cala Cala. That I can only give approximate numbers of inhabitants has to do with the fact that some people live in Cala Cala only temporarily and that during the four years (from 2014-2018) that I have known the community some people have left, while others have returned to Cala Cala or have recently established residence there. Cala Cala does not have a central square and its houses are scattered along a winding dirt road. The only public building is a small, one-room chapel that is rarely used and only rudimentarily taken care of. Cala Cala's geographical boundaries are neither visibly marked nor

8 The word *sayañero* is derived from the land entitlements (called *sayañas*) the former *peones* received through the Agrarian Reform. It has no connection to the word *saya* referring to the Afrobolivian music and dance genre. The origins of the word *saya* are unknown (see chapter 7). It is sometimes said to derive from the Latin "*saga*" or alternatively from the Kikongo "*nsaya*" (Rey 1998: 100-102).

established in any formal way. However, there is tacit agreement among its inhabitants concerning which houses "belong to Cala Cala." It is furthermore known – and very strictly observed – where the boundaries between Cala Cala's *cocales* (coca fields) and those of other *comunidades* lie. Figure 5 shows the location of the eighteen houses (occupied and unoccupied), the small church and the area known as *el Matuasi* where the *casa de hacienda* was located and where the *Casa Cultural Afro Cala Cala* was built recently.

Figure 5: The distribution of houses and households in Cala Cala



Each house (or group of houses) is associated with a certain extended family that can be traced back to the times of the *hacienda* and more specifically to the individuals that made up the last generation of *peones* living and working in Cala Cala, who became *sayañeros* by receiving land through the 1953 Agrarian Reform and being founding members of the *sindicato* established during the same period. There are the houses of the families Angola, who are the descendants of the *sayañero* Lorenzo Angola (LA), Ballivián 1 (descendants of Manuel Ballivián 1ro [MB1]), Ballivián 2 (descendants of Manuel Ballivián 2do [MB2]), Flores (descendants of Nicanor Flores [NF]), Landaveri (descendants of Waldo Landaveri [WL]) and Torrez (descendants of Eustaquio Torrez [ET]). As can be discerned from figure 5, many of the houses are not permanently occupied and, normally, of each *sayañero* family, only one descendant and his/her household actually lives in the community, works the land and is full member of the *sindicato*. The part of the community where the

offspring of *peón* LA live, for example, consists of five houses, four of which are permanently unoccupied. One house is permanently occupied by Roberto Angola (a grandson of *sayañero* LA) and his family and one is occassionally used for visits by Roberto's nephew (ZS). Most extended families live under similar conditions. There are various houses that have been built in close proximity, of which only one is inhabited permanently, while the others serve for occasional visits or are abandoned.

Since the houses are dispersed and there is no central meeting place, *Cala Caleños* mostly socialize in the coca fields or meet on the way to their agricultural plots rather than gathering at a central square or visiting each other's houses. The house – and especially the interior – is considered private space and if there are visits, people normally gather on the patio in front of the house. People spend most of their time in the fields and only very limited amounts of time in their houses. Hence the preferred space of social interaction is the coca fields.

The spatial make-up and the location of the community occasionally plays a role when distinguishing Afrobolivian from Aymara households. I mentioned at the outset that Cala Cala was once an independent *estancia* and even after being integrated into the much bigger *hacienda Nogalani* and later the *comunidad* of the same name, it was still treated as a somewhat independent unit. This also meant that Cala Cala had its own *casa de hacienda (el Matuasi)*. The *estancia* Cala Cala was inhabited by a majority of Afrobolivian *peones* whose houses were concentrated around the *Matuasi*. Since Cala Cala's inhabitants of today are the direct offspring of these former *peones*, the history of the two *haciendas* and the fact that they were inhabited by Afrobolivians and Aymara respectively, is reflected in the location of their houses. The last house that is considered to be part of Cala Cala directly neighbors (literally wall to wall) a house that is said to belong to the more recent settlement of Bella Vista. For an outsider, the geographical boundary is therefore all but invisible; for *Cala Caleños*, however, it is by no means meaningless and it is widely known where 'their community' ends and where Bella Vista begins. In the same vein, none of Cala Cala's inhabitants considered an Aymara household that had built a house and wanted to establish a permanent residence within the geographical space associated with Cala Cala as part of the community. They were considered "people from Nogalani" even though they were intermittently living in Cala Cala (geographically) on a piece of land that nobody denied was rightfully theirs since many inhabitants of Nogalani have *cocales* and small plots of land in the hills around the houses of Cala Cala. When prompted to list the households considered to be part of Cala Cala, most people consistently singled out this Aymara household that they did not consider as much part of the community as the Afrobolivian households. In the same vein, people mentioned a single Afrobolivian household located geographically in Bella Vista as belonging to Cala Cala, although somewhat less integrated into the community due to its geographical location. The settlement patterns thus

reflect Cala Cala's history and are often invoked in narratives on Cala Cala's status as a separate 'Afrobolivian community.'

"The Afrobolivian grandfathers" *("los abuelos afros")*: From *peones* to *sayañeros*

In order to make sense of Cala Cala as a community, it is important to understand how the households and families there are related and how the collective they refer to as "*los Afros de Cala Cala*" can be traced back to the *sayañeros*, i.e. the former *peones* that received land entitlements through the process of the Agrarian Reform beginning in 1953. Additionally, my discussion takes into account the situation of Cala Cala in the years prior to the reform, when it was part of the *hacienda Nogalani*. This is rooted in the fact that although the Bolivian National Revolution of 1952 and the ensuing land reform that began in 1953 are generally considered among the most radical social and political shifts on the continent, various studies of ex-*hacienda* communities in the Yungas have emphasized that it is important to take into consideration that the *hacienda* – as an economic, social and political institution – can have a profound influence even on post-revolution *comunidades* (Heath 1972). What is more, the balance between pre-reform continuities and the changes brought about by the revolution varies significantly from case to case depending, among other factors, on the size of the *hacienda*, the amount of land available for distribution, the number of *peones*, as well as the relations between former *peones* and owners (Léons 1967).[9] It is also important to keep in mind that the land reform was not accomplished immediately on all *haciendas* and there are cases in the Yungas where as late as 1964 – over ten years after the Law of Agrarian Reform was issued – the process of distribution and titling had still not been completed (Léons 1967:695).

The *hacienda Nogalani* – and with it Cala Cala – was declared *latifundio* according to the Law of Agrarian Reform (Equipo CIPCA 1977:192).[10] This means that all the land of the *hacienda* was legally subject to expropriation.[11] From Cala Cala, six

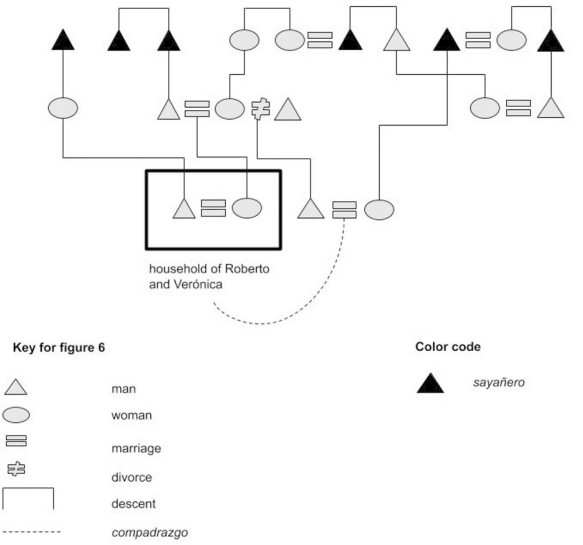
9 I limit my discussion here to Cala Cala and Nogalani, for further information, case studies and discussion see Kelley and Klein (1981); Malloy and Thorn (1971); McEwen (1975).

10 The law established different provisions for different kinds and sizes of properties, distinguishing between small holdings, medium holdings, agricultural enterprises and large holdings (*latifundio*). Only in the latter case, was the property subject to expropriation. The complicated process of deciding what category applied to a property involved the *sindicatos*, local Agrarian Tribunals, *hacienda* owners and the National Agrarian Reform Council (Léons 1967).

11 In practice, however, *hacienda* owners were often granted the plots of land that had been under cultivation for the *hacienda* (i.e. not cultivated in usufruct by *peones*) before the reform. This was also the case in Nogalani/Cala Cala. As the documents from the period following

households received *sayañas* and the heads of these households, the *sayañeros*, are considered the founding members of the "*comunidad Cala Cala*." Being related to a *sayañero* also has very practical consequences since it is the most effective way to access cultivable land in Cala Cala and is thus of great economic importance. Figure 6 below shows the relations of one particular household with the original six *sayañeros* of Cala Cala.

Figure 6: Household with ties to all of the six sayañero families.



In this particular household two grandchildren of *sayañeros* are married to each other, husband Roberto being the grandson of *sayañero* LA and his wife Verónica being the granddaughter of *sayañero* MB1. Mostly through affinal ties, the household of Roberto and Verónica is furthermore related to the four remaining *sayañeros*. MB2, another of the *sayañeros*, was Verónica's grandfather's brother. Verónica's maternal grandmother is *sayañero* NF's sister-in-law. Verónica's mother, in turn,

the issuing of the Law of Agrarian Reform suggest, Nogalani's owner Jorge Cusicanqui was awarded certain parts of the estate referred to as *cocales de hacienda* and the administrative documents detail agreements between Cuscanqui and the former *peones* whom he now paid to work on the *cocales de hacienda*. Eventually, however, Cusicanqui abandoned his efforts at retaining control of the land and, as many other *patrones*, issued no further claims to land.

has a son from an earlier relationship who is married to the daughter of WL, another *sayañero* from Cala Cala. WL's daughter and her husband (Verónica's half-brother) are furthermore linked to Roberto and Verónica by ritual kinship as *compadres* for being their *padrinos de matrimonio* (lit.: godparents of marriage). WL was married to the sister of ET, the last remaining *sayañero* from Cala Cala. So even though the proximity of the relationships varies and they span generations, what is clear is the profound entanglement of the people from Cala Cala through kinship. Similar connections can be established for each individual/household in Cala Cala. What is important for the purpose of my discussion is the fact that to a great extent, *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* are a group of families related through cognate and affinal ties, as well as through *compadrazgo.* Everybody in Cala Cala is aware of these connections and the various kinship ties link *Cala Caleños* very firmly and closely together. All adult inhabitants – even though they might not be able to reproduce the precise genealogy of all the families in Cala Cala – are able to point out their relations to other Afrobolivian inhabitants of the *comunidad* and the networks that link the households and families in the village. Roberto, for example, was able to produce a fairly detailed account of his ancestors in the Angola line and although he was not able to produce a full list of all the siblings of his grandfather – some of whom left Cala Cala a long time ago – he was still aware of the fact that he was somehow related to people since their parents are 'cousins' *(primos)* of his mother. Together with his wife, he was also able to compile many details on the Balliviáns, and since Verónica's half-brother is married to a descendant of WL, also many details on the Landaveri family. The same is true for other individuals who by naming their matri- and patrilineal ancestors and affinal kin in many cases encompass the whole community. Being related as kin also entails expectations and practices of solidarity and material support among *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* and thus creates spaces of interaction and exchange among *Cala Caleños* that differ from the ties established with the wider *comunidad* mostly in economic and political contexts (see chapter 4).

There is also a historical dimension to this and the ties I described above are invoked in many narratives concerning the history and origins of Cala Cala as an 'Afrobolivian community.' Various interlocutors from Cala Cala mentioned to me that "*los abuelos*" (lit. "the grandfathers," i.e. the Afrobolivian *peones* of Cala Cala) had little to do with the Aymara *peones* from Nogalani. Some people also mentioned that the owners and administrators of the *hacienda* discouraged close relationships between the Aymara *peones* of Nogalani and the Afrobolivian *peones* of Cala Cala. Judging from the records of the *hacienda* administration, it was also neatly documented and closely observed which *cocales* were associated with Cala Cala and Nogalani, and therefore cultivated by Afrobolivians or Aymara respectively. Closer relationships thus developed only when Afrobolivians and Aymara started cooperating in the *sindicato campesino*, their children started going to the same schools and some Aymara households from Nogalani obtained pieces of land within the ter-

ritory associated with Cala Cala in the wake of the revolution. A similar tendency for the Yungas as a region has been pointed out by Dwight Heath, who states that "campesinos on a particular ex-hacienda were often linked to each other only as distant neighbours and former co-workers" and "leadership and organization were minimal until the syndicates emerged as an effective institution" (Heath 1972:82). Given the geographical distances and the administrative boundary between the areas of settlement and coca cultivation in Nogalani and Cala Cala, it is therefore comprehensible that Cala Cala's *peones* had little to do with the *peones* from Nogalani. The entanglements were limited to specific contexts and only in the wake of the revolution and subsequent land reform, and most notably through the formation of a joint *sindicato campesino* in the 1950s, did relations between the former *peones* become more direct and gradually come to encompass more and more aspects of everyday interactions.

A further interesting aspect is the changing demography of Nogalani, as compared to the relative stability of Cala Cala. The number of households of what is now the *comunidad Nogalani* (including the former *hacienda Nogalani*, the former *estancia Cala Cala* and the new area of settlement in Bella Vista) has more than doubled from 65 households in the late 1940s to about 150 households nowadays. The growth of the community has occurred almost exclusively among the Aymara households of Nogalani and Bella Vista, however. The number of Afrobolivian households in Cala Cala – after rising from six in the 1940s to thirteen in 1976 (Equipo CIPCA 1977:193) – decreased to eleven in 2017.

Figure 7: Number of Afrobolivian and Aymara households in Cala Cala/Nogalani

	1940s	1976 (unofficial census by CIPCA investigators)	2017
Afrobolivian households	6	13	11
Aymara households	65	107	150 (estimate)

Nogalani's growth is attributed to the migration of Aymara families from the *altiplano* into the *comunidad*. This migration was in part possible because of unequal distribution of land between Nogalani's and Cala Cala's former *peones*. It is not unusual in the Yungas that *peones* of one single ex-*hacienda* would receive *sayañas* of different sizes. The households were usually granted the amount of land they cultivated at the time of the reform. The amount of land under cultivation by a *peón's* household in turn depended on the household's capacity to work the land and specific arrangements with the patron. It was common for people to increase

or reduce the amount of land under cultivation for the household – and with that also the number of days they had to work for the patron – depending on the specific circumstances of the household. So while a household consisting of a middle-aged couple with various unmarried children was able to cultivate a rather large share of land and still meet the work obligations for the patron, many people reduced the amount of land they had under cultivation as they grew older, as their children formed households of their own or as a consequence of the passing of one of the spouses, an injury, sickness or other imponderabilities. Consequently, if a *peón* household *"era de tres días"* at the time of the reform, i.e. working three days a week for the patron and accordingly farming a larger piece of land in usufruct than a household "*de dos días*," the *sayaña* this household received through the Agrarian Reform was bigger. Moreover, as far as people from Cala Cala are concerned, people from Nogalani *("los de arriba")* took advantage of the absence of the *patrones* after the land reform was declared and in addition to the plots of land granted to them through officially sanctioned proceedings (i.e. the decisions of Agrarian Tribunals), took matters into their own hands and seized additional plots of land. This is corroborated by the *hacienda* documents: In an undated document presumably from after the land reform was declared, the administrator of the *hacienda* alerts the owner Jorge Cusicanqui of the fact that certain individuals have taken over *cocales de hacienda ("se han apoderado de cocales de hacienda")*. Although the documents indicate that various Afrobolivians from Cala Cala were also among the *peones* that took over land illegally, people in Cala Cala share the impression that some Aymara families from Nogalani got the better share of them through such actions.[12] What is more, some Aymara households allegedly sold this excess land to migrants from the *altiplano* over the years, facilitating the rapid increase of Aymara households in Bella Vista and Nogalani.

There is thus an important difference between many Aymara households in Nogalani and Bella Vista and the Afrobolivian households in Cala Cala. Whereas the former are, at least in part, not related to *sayañeros* and former *peones* of the *hacienda*, the latter can trace back direct links to *sayañeros* and *peones*. For Afrobolivians in Cala Cala, this serves as a means to position themselves as the autochthonous inhabitants of the *comunidad* with deep roots within the territory. These Afrobolivian narratives reflect elements of "discourses of autochthony" as described by Geschiere and Nyamnjoh (2000), namely the focus on priority in time and the status as "first comers" in order to substantiate claims vis-à-vis more recent immigrants (cf. Pelican 2009). A similar logic can be observed all over the region in discourses about legitimate *Yungueños ("Yungueños legítimos")*. This term usually refers to people whose ancestors – as far as common knowledge in the community goes – have

12 According to the documentation of the administrator, about half of the seventy households took over land; among them are four of the six Afrobolivian households from Cala Cala.

'always' lived in the Yungas and are not first or second generation migrants (Spedding and Colque 2003). Thus in Cala Cala, being *Afroboliviano* can be employed to claim the status of *Yungueño legítimo,* an autochthonous inhabitant of the region. This is also reflected in a specific denomination *Cala Caleños* use for people from Nogalani. They call them "people from the *altiplano*" *("los del altiplano")*, thus highlighting their history of migration, as opposed to "*los Afros de Cala Cala*" who are represented as firmly rooted in the locality.

Kinship beyond Cala Cala: linking Afrobolivians throughout the Yungas

Besides linking households in Cala Cala with each other and establishing a link to the history of the community, kinship is also the basis for establishing connections with Afrobolivians in other Yungas *comunidades*. When I spoke with people about their families, they often mentioned where certain relatives were from, especially if they were from somewhere other than Cala Cala. Comparing the genealogical charts from Cala Cala with the glossary of families from neighboring Dorado Chico that has been compiled by Juan Angola Maconde (Angola Maconde 2008), it becomes clear that the Afrobolivian communities of the *municipio Coripata* (Cala Cala, Dorado Chico, Coscoma, Chillamani and the village of Coripata) are also closely linked through kinship and migratory movement between the communities. Although nowadays migratory flows tend to be directed towards the urban centers of the country, migration up to the 1970s was largely inter-community migration or, before 1952, migration between *haciendas*.

If we take Roberto's family for example, we see that his grandfather, LA, was married to a woman from Suapi, a *comunidad* in the municipality of Coroico. Coroico, the largest town and the capital of the Nor Yungas Province, is located about 30 kilometers away from Cala Cala. Although only a trip of about 45 minutes by car today, in the past this was a significant distance given the mountainous terrain and the lack of reliable transportation in the Yungas. His grandfather's brothers married and lived in the neighboring *comunidades* Dorado Chico and Coscoma respectively. His wife's grandfather (MB1) was married twice: first to a woman from the Torrez family from Cala Cala, then to a woman from Colpar, a *comunidad* with a small share of Afrobolivian population in the *municipio* of Chulumani in Sud Yungas. The intercommunity connections that can be observed in Roberto and Verónica's grandparents' generation are also present in their parents' generation. The spouses of Roberto's uncles and aunts are from Dorado Chico, Dorado Grande and Coscoma. Verónica's mother is from Dorado Chico and was married to a man from there before marrying Verónica's father. Her son from this first marriage (Verónica's older half-brother) is married to a woman from Cala Cala. One of the *peones* that would become a *sayañero* (NF) migrated to Cala Cala

from Dorado Chico before the Agrarian Reform. Thus, "*los Afros de Cala Cala*" are not only related among themselves, but also related to many Afrobolivian families in various Yungas *comunidades*. These ties are less direct and also less relevant in daily settings and in many cases are not remembered with much detail. Yet a basic understanding of having 'relatives' in other Yungas *comunidades* is an important part of how *Cala Caleños* conceptualize an Afrobolivian collectivity beyond Cala Cala. This situation and many of the descriptions from my interlocutors resonate quite well with what Barbara Léons reports from her fieldwork in the 1960s in the region around Arapata – a town very close to Cala Cala and Dorado Chico:

> "Negroes tend to know or know of other Negro families over considerable distances. Intermarriage between Indians and Negroes is relatively infrequent and, as Negro communities are sometimes small and scattered, elaborate intermarriage networks have grown up linking rather far-flung Negro enclaves. Couples who have never previously seen one another will agree to marry on the basis of exchanged verbal or written messages between their families." (Léons 1972:187; see also Léons 1966)

A tendency many people from Cala Cala repeatedly spoke of points in a similar direction. When I asked them if they remember how and why certain people left the community or came to Cala Cala, people explained by saying things like: *"Cala Cala trae mujeres de Dorado Chico, Coscoma lleva mujeres de Cala Cala"* ("Cala Cala brings women from Dorado Chico, Coscoma takes women from Cala Cala"). From all the statements and additional information in other sources (particularly Angola Maconde 2008), it is not possible to identify a clear pattern of either the direction of the exchange, or the gender of the people involved, despite what the above-mentioned statement suggests. What is important is the general tendency that was observed by Léons and confirmed by comparing my data with the information on Dorado Chico presented by Juan Angola Maconde (2008). In recent years, however, interethnic marriages have become more common than in the 1960s and 1970s and are in fact the norm nowadays, especially among younger generations.

Translocal kinship: Cala Cala's urban 'diaspora'

In the sections above, I have pointed out that kinship is important in linking the residents of Cala Cala to each other and furthermore in connecting them to other *comunidades* with Afrobolivian populations in the Yungas. I now turn to a dimension of kinship with an ever-growing importance, both in terms of numbers and with regard to the discursive construction of "*los Afros de Cala Cala*." When drawing up genealogical charts with people in the community, one thing became strikingly obvious: the largest part of the youngest generation (generally people born from the

1990s onward) and in most cases also the majority of the adult residents' siblings (i.e. people born during the 1970s and 1980s) nowadays do not live in Cala Cala, but reside in cities, mostly in La Paz or Santa Cruz, some in Cochabamba, in other Bolivian cities, in Brazil, Argentina and Spain. Taking as an example the descendants of the *sayañero* MB1, who has been married twice, and whose offspring (including children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren) add up to forty-two individuals, we encounter a distribution of residence that is quite typical for many Afrobolivian families. Of the forty-two individuals that make up MB1's offspring, only six live in Cala Cala (one of his children, four grandchildren and one great-grandchild), three are deceased and the rest live in La Paz or Santa Cruz, as well as in Spain or in Brazil. A similar situation applies to the descendants of LA, to cite just one other concrete example. Of his over thirty great-grandchildren, only two have remained in the community, along with one grandchild and one of his children. The majority of his descendants lives in Santa Cruz and they very rarely – if at all – return to Cala Cala. Some of the youngest generation have in many cases never even been to Cala Cala and do not relate to a Yungas lifestyle in any way. "*Ya son Cambas*" ("they are Cambas [people from Santa Cruz]") is an expression heard very often in Cala Cala. Yet, at least in some cases, Cala Cala's inhabitants consider those people to be part of the collective they refer to as "*los Afros de Cala Cala*," even though they were neither born in Cala Cala, nor reside there. This became clear, for example, when representatives of a cooperative housing project visited Cala Cala in late 2014 and proposed to found a cooperative that would build houses in Cala Cala. The inhabitants counted and listed the "community members" in need of a house. Roberto counted his three daughters as 'members of the community,' even though, at that time, two of them lived in La Paz and one in Santa Cruz, and none of the three had expressed a desire to return to Cala Cala – neither in conversations with me, nor in exchanges with their father, as Roberto told me many times. Yet for this purpose they were considered to be part of the 'Afrobolivian community' of Cala Cala. Thus, beyond the immediate and tangible geographical location and the approximately thirty people that continuously live there, Cala Cala is most importantly a translocal group of relatives that can be traced back to half a dozen Afrobolivian *peones* who inhabited the *estancia de Cala Cala* in the first half of the 20th century.

The understanding of Cala Cala as a community that transcends the locality also applies to migrants and individuals with relatives or ancestors in Cala Cala. They often conceive of themselves as "people from Cala Cala," even if they have spent most of their life somewhere else.

As can be observed in figure 8, many urban residents do express adherence to certain *comunidades* in *saya* performances, but also in interviews and during discussions with other members of urban organizations. The photograph shows a *saya* outfit with references to Cala Cala and the urban group the musician belongs to – in this case a group called "*Ubuntu*" from Cochabamba. Many urban Afrobolivians

Figure 8: A saya dancer (left) in Cochabamba with a saya shirt expressing his connection to Cala Cala (photograph by the author).

emphasize that they join organizations and participate actively in their activities mostly because it enables them to be with their family. More often than not, participating in urban organizations can also revive kinship ties, as cousins who did not know each other in person previously meet and end up establishing closer ties within the frameworks of urban Afrobolivian organizations.

The changing tides of *"lo Afro"* in and beyond Cala Cala

Being *Afroboliviano* in Cala Cala, as well as being an Afrobolivian from Cala Cala means, as we have seen, more than 'being tall or fat' (see Spedding 2013 quoted at the outset of this chapter). Beyond being a description of an individual's physical characteristics, being *Afroboliviano* means belonging to a group of people that shares specific geographical roots, ties of kinship and a particular perspective on local history, yet with individual variation in terms of how important and salient one or the other factor might be. It also means being drawn into the discourses and regimes of plurinational recognition and representation in specific ways and through specific means (see chapter 10). What is more, according to most of my interlocutors from Cala Cala, being *Afroboliviano* nowadays means something dif-

ferent from what it meant in the past. And finally, very clearly, it means something different for people of different ages living in different situations.

One of the oldest residents of Cala Cala is Gerardo Angola. I was therefore often referred to him when asking about Cala Cala's history or when people considered their knowledge "of how things were before" insufficient. I visited him at his house, which lies in the lower outskirts of the community, multiple times, and his life story as well as the ways he commented on it were very instructive in helping to understand the changing tides of "*lo Afro*" in Cala Cala. Gerardo was born in 1947 as the third child of Lorenzo Angola (born 1902). He was one of the first children from Cala Cala that was able to go to school starting in 1953 and part of the first generation of people from the Yungas to come of age in the post-*hacienda* period.

No longer tied to the *hacienda* as a *peón* like his parents' generation, vastly different horizons were available to him and his peers (cf. Heath 1972). The geographical, occupational and social mobility his generation enjoyed was far superior to that of his parents' generation, as he repeatedly stated during our conversations. During his life, he has lived in Santa Cruz, La Paz and the Yungas and has worked as a coca farmer, motorcycle taxi driver and as a miner. He has four children living in Santa Cruz, Argentina, Colopampa (a village in the Sud Yungas province) and Coripata, and over a dozen grandchildren. Together with his wife, who recently passed away, he converted to Pentecostal Christianity. He regularly participates in pilgrimages and undergoes fasting alongside the *hermanos* (brothers in faith). He frequently travels to Coripata on his motorcycle or even further away, to Santa Cruz or Bolivia's Amazonian lowlands, to visit family and friends. He has sold all his land in Cala Cala and only occasionally works as a *jornalero* (day wage laborer, see chapter 4) in other people's fields.

The first time I visited Gerardo at his house, he showed me a photograph (fig. 9) and explained that these were "*los abuelos*" (the grandfathers) and that the picture must have been taken in the 1920s. He told me that he had found it in the rubble of a demolished house and salvaged it from being thrown away. As far as he is aware, it is the only visual remnant of this era in Cala Cala. He was able to identify two of the people in the picture, the brothers MB1 and MB2 (far left and second from the right). The picture was most likely taken in the context of a *saya* performance of some sort, since various people are holding instruments. As far as Gerardo is concerned, the brothers MB1 and MB2 were very important for the organization of Cala Cala's *saya*.[13] He said that *los abuelos* used to play *saya* on special occasions, for example at Afrobolivian weddings and during the procession of San Benito, the patron saint of the community. He also recalled that as a child he joined Afrobolivian men on travels to other *comunidades* in order to borrow the bells *(cascabeles)*

13 This was confirmed to me by Martin Ballivián who told me that many people in the Yungas knew his grandfather MB1 since he used to travel "*con la saya*" (i.e. for *saya* performances).

needed for *saya* performances *("nos fletábamos los cascabeles")*. He had no further recollection of the *tiempo de hacienda* and in subsequent conversations we had, other topics became central.[14]

Figure 9: Picture of Afrobolivian peones and saya performers from Cala Cala (unknown photographer, estimated at 1920s, picture courtesy of Gerardo Angola).

When speaking of those other topics, he did so in a way that suggested that they were important to him personally. *Saya* and further related practices considered specifically Afrobolivian were something he always reported other people doing. "*Los abuelos bailaban saya*" ("the *abuelos* used to dance *saya*"), "*la gente de antes hacía…*" ("people before did…"). He hardly spoke about *saya* as something he and his age group or peers pursued with great vigor. Indeed, he specifically pointed out that his generation did not place too much importance on *saya*; he rather pointed out spatial and occupational mobility as the defining experiences of his life. He described migratory trajectories leading people to La Paz, Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, and thus out of the Yungas region. He explained this by pointing out the fact that the children and grandchildren of the *sayañeros* realized that the land parcels their parents had received were not going to be enough to support them all in the

14 His expectations that I must first and foremost be interested in *saya* and "how things were back in the day" is something very common and an expectation I have learned to live with.

future. Thus many left Cala Cala in order to look for other opportunities in other *comunidades* in the Yungas, in the zones of colonization in the lowlands and eventually in the urban centers. In this context, he said that interethnic marriages and unions became more frequent. As far as my research in Cala Cala, as well as the data presented in other sources, indicates, the rate of interethnic marriage was fairly low in the decades preceding the 1950s and 1960s (Angola Maconde 2008; Léons 1966; Léons 1972); it became much more frequent from the 1970s onward and William Léons reports from Chicaloma that it was even preferred among Afrobolivians there in order to make "the race disappear" *(hacer perder la raza)*. Roberto corroborated this information by quoting his mother (born 1942), who used to tell him that "black with black is not good" *("negro con negro, no está bien")* and that he should marry a non-black person.[15]

The mobility and the opportunities Gerardo described as being crucial for his and especially his children's generation, according to him, gave way to significant social and cultural changes: an increasing geographical dispersal of the Afrobolivian population, a fragmentation of the community and an increasing blurring of ethnoracial boundaries through interethnic unions, and the decreasing salience of cultural practices associated with Afrobolivians. Very importantly, Gerardo's narrative also reflects the resurgence of *saya* in the 1980s, which has become a central symbol of Afrobolivianity for younger generations and a fundamental pillar of contemporary Afrobolivian identity politics. Besides remembering how *"los abuelos"* used to play *saya*, Gerardo also remembered how, quite surprisingly for him, a young man from Coripata turned up and started to gather Afrobolivians with "coca, alcohol and cigarettes" *("con coca, alcohol y cigarro")*, in order to rehearse *saya*. Most likely, this happened in the context of a series of events that mark the first peak of Afrobolivian cultural revitalization and its entanglement with the Bolivian culture industry: the preparations for the *Festival Luz Mila Patiño*, a national folklore event in 1998 that placed Afrobolivian music center stage and included efforts to compile musical traditions later published in the nationally famous document *"El Tambor Mayor"* (Centro Pedagógico y Cultural "Simón I. Patiño" 1998a, see chapter 8). These efforts, however, were much more directed at the generation born in the 1970s and Gerardo did not personally relate to them.

Gerardo's narrative thus neatly mirrors the changing importance of *"lo Afro"* in Cala Cala. He was born during a time when Afrobolivian *peones* in Cala Cala were occasionally referred to as *"los morenos"* by the *hacienda* administration.[16] This

15 Roberto himself, on the other hand, repeatedly expressed the desire that his children marry other Afrobolivians. He fears that with the proliferation of interethnic unions and migration, 'Afrobolivian culture and identity' will be lost (see chapter 6).

16 *Moreno* (lit.: brown) was often used in the past to refer to Afrobolivians since it was considered more respectful than *negro*. In the *hacienda* documents I analyzed, there is on the one hand a note from the administrator that "the *moreno I.F.* is afraid of sleeping alone in the house,"

group of people maintained close ties to other Afrobolivian communities in the region and shared certain cultural practices like *saya*. Until the National Revolution and Agrarian Reform in the 1950s, interethnic marriage was rare among Afrobolivians and migration was common only between *haciendas* in the Yungas. Gerardo, born five years prior to the revolution, was part of a generation of Afrobolivians that grew up experiencing major social and political changes, both locally and nationally. Throughout these processes of change, being *Afroboliviano* temporarily lost much of its earlier significance. It was only some decades later in the 1980s and 1990s that *"lo Afro"* resurfaced, now in the shape of the ideas and discourses that migrants from urban settings brought to the Yungas. Their notion of what it meant to be *Afroboliviano* was shaped by their experiences in urban settings and subsequent mobilizations in multicultural politics. Being *Afroboliviano* resurfaced first in the realm of performance, music and folklore, and later as a way to claim recognition as a culturally defined collective (see chapters 7 and 8). According to Gerardo and others in Cala Cala, the idea that Afrobolivians should be considered different from the rest of society because of their 'culture' (more specifically because of their practice of *saya*) was not very common or salient from the 1950s onward. In Cala Cala's case, all inhabitants I spoke to agreed that it was only in the late 1990s, when they were prompted by urban residents who came to the community, that they started to play *saya* again. Even now, nobody in Cala Cala gave me the impression that *saya* (or 'culture' more generally) was a decisive feature when determining who belongs to *"los Afros de Cala Cala."* Being Afro in Cala Cala is mostly a matter of kinship and local genealogy. *Cala Caleños* do consider themselves different from *"los de arriba,"* whom they classify as *"los del altiplano," "los indígenas"* or *"los Aymaras,"* but they hardly frame this distinction in 'cultural' terms, referring to the *"elementos culturales"* that have become so important in urban discourse and in processes of recognition respectively.

From kinship ties to *"La Famiya Afro"*: kinship, ethnicity and collectivity

In Cala Cala, being *Afroboliviano* is a collective identification based primarily on kinship and local origins. Gerardo's narrative exemplifies that the salience of this identification has changed over time, becoming more relevant again since the 1990s. Additionally, however, a novel conceptualization of what it means to be *Afroboliviano* has become increasingly important as well. Beyond referring to kinship and

where he was supposed to take care of a shipment of coca. On the other hand, among the documents there is a transcription of a declaration in Coripata made by LA pertaining to a case of physical assault that happened in Cala Cala. LA declares that "G.G. wanted to hit the *moreno B*."

local origins as the fundamental aspects of *"los Afros de Cala Cala,"* ideas of *el pueblo Afroboliviano* as an ethnoracially and culturally defined collective on the national level have become increasingly important (see also chapter 9 on the political and legal implications of this term). One dimension of linking local perceptions of *"lo Afro"* with nationally circulating ideas of *el pueblo Afroboliviano* is highlighting *saya* as the 'cultural element' linking all Afrobolivians. Another dimension is the invocation of the term *"la famiya Afro"* (the Afro family). Recently, many Afrobolivian groups and individual activists have been deploying discourses of *"la famiya Afro"* as the basis for collective identification as Afrobolivians beyond the local level. The unusual spelling of *famiya* (as opposed to standard Spanish *familia*) is highly significant here. The intention is to signal that this concept originates in Afrobolivian society in the Yungas and *famiya* is thus spelled according to the rules of Afrobolivian Spanish *(la lengua Afro)*, a creole language associated with Afrobolivians in the Yungas.[17] Within those discourses, *el pueblo Afroboliviano* is metaphorically represented as a family, echoing constructivist interpretations arguing that ethnicity is based on ideas of metaphorical extended kinship (Eriksen 2010:87). Similarly, many interlocutors from Cala Cala stated that there is a special connection between Afrobolivians, positing that *'entre Afros'* (among Afros) there is a much higher level of tacit understanding and common goals than between Afrobolivians and non-Afrobolivians. Moreover, expressing adherence to the idea of *el pueblo Afroboliviano* in terms of belonging to a family gives this particular aspect of identification great emotional strength in the eyes of many individuals. On a conceptual level, it links notions of Afrobolivians as a political community and legal subjects with notions of kinship and family.

Representing *el pueblo Afroboliviano* as an overarching ethnoracial collective that encompasses all Afrobolivians nationally and as an extension of local and translocal kinship networks – *"la famiya Afro"* – relates to people's ideas of what fundamentally constitutes collective identity and belonging in the local context. Since kinship ties are highly relevant in matters of everyday importance like access to land in Cala Cala, they are much more important 'on the ground' than cultural differences *(saya)*. Thus, I argue, notions of translocal kinship and the modes of sociality that this encompasses are, in fact, a much more effective and affective link between strongly localized notions of community and the national context than the ubiquitous talk of 'Afrobolivian culture' (in particular *saya*) as a foundation for cohesion.

In many of the narratives I collected during my fieldwork, the fundamental role kinship plays for engaging practically with Afrobolivian collectivity was very obvious. Generally, people expressed that the most tangible way of engaging with the idea of *el pueblo Afroboliviano*, is through seeing it as an extension of kinship ties between families in the Yungas and nationally dispersed migrant communities.

17 See chapters 7 and 9 for details.

Similar notions were also repeatedly expressed in the narratives of migrants that founded the first Afrobolivian organizations in the cities, describing them as being rooted firmly in networks of kinship. It is important to note, however, that the *"famiya Afro"* discourse in recent mobilizations is characterized by an increasingly diffuse reference to kinship and occasionally also serves as a foundation for even wider discourses of Afrobolivian identity as part of a global Afro diaspora (see chapter 6). Whereas this diasporic approach appeals to ideas and discourses of collective belonging among certain sectors of the urban Afrobolivian population, it has little relevance in Cala Cala.

Kinship, in sum, is crucial to the construction and experience of Afrobolivianity in Cala Cala. It is a fundamental pillar of the efforts to secure access to land as the basis for peasant livelihood in the Yungas. It is furthermore deployed in Cala Cala as a way to substantiate local belonging via genealogy and history, shaping the very particular and localized notion of *"los Afros de Cala Cala."* It is important also as a dimension of translocal sociality – linking communities in the Yungas with each other and with the migrant communities in urban settings. Finally, kinship and the concept of *"la famiya Afro"* can become a mediating frame through which to relate local notions of what it means to be Afrobolivian with discourses of *el pueblo Afroboliviano* on a national scale.

Los "Afros de Cala Cala" in context: migration, intra-community conflict and cross-cutting ties

As much as ties of kinship are a source of cohesion and *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* are an important dimension of community in Cala Cala, it is crucial to contextualize and also point out the limits of this identification. Through overlapping identifications and cross-cutting ties (Schlee 1997; Schlee 2004), *"los Afros de Cala"* are embedded in social relationships beyond this particular collective identification in multiple ways. What is more, notions of community are not limited to the collective identification of *"los Afros de Cala Cala."* Individual *Cala Caleños*, as well as *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* as a whole, approach the topic of collective identity understood as "an activated category of perceived, felt and feigned likeness, distinction and solidarity among human actors" (Eidson et al. 2017:341) not only in terms of kinship, local origins or wider discourses on Afrobolivian identity, but also with reference to other categories, frames and discourses.

The migrant, non-resident members of *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* are a first example of this and Roberto's daughters are a case in point here. Even though they were born and raised in Cala Cala and only recently migrated to La Paz and Santa Cruz, Roberto's oldest daughter Sandra told me that she neither had close relationships with any of her kin in Santa Cruz nor participated in any of the Afrobolivian or-

ganizations in the city. Roberto laments the former very much, but from Sandra's perspective, neither her relatives nor the Afrobolivian community in Santa Cruz more generally *(la famiya Afro)* have immediate relevance in the setting of her everyday life. When I asked her why she didn't participate in any of the organizations, go to their meetings from time to time, or get in touch with her kin, she said: "They don't do anything anyhow" *("Igual no hacen nada")*. Interestingly, many urban Afrobolivians are equally short-spoken on the subject. They do not feel the need to further elaborate – and only do so when pressed by an anthropologist. When they do elaborate on the subject, they refer to the contexts of their everyday lives in the city, highlighting migration, struggles to make a living and desires to achieve upward social mobility. Sandra framed her belonging, personal aspirations and the obstacles she encountered without reference to *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* or Afrobolivianity. For her, being a migrant, a woman, and a working mother were more immediately relevant categorizations when describing her situation in Santa Cruz.

In Cala Cala, being related as kin is far from the only relevant collective affiliation and also not always a factor for cohesion. It regularly leads to conflict and to competing claims, especially with regard to land. The Agrarian Reform established the boundaries of the community both in terms of territory and in terms of people with legitimate claims to the territory. As the land controlled by the landlord was distributed to the *peones* that worked on the *hacienda* at the time of the reform, all claims to ownership of cultivable land must be made through reference to the original *sayañeros* and in many cases a large number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren lay claim to certain parts of the land originally allocated to their ancestors. It is important to note that in terms of land distribution, conflicts between close relatives claiming to be the legitimate heirs of certain parts of the land are much more frequent than quarrels between *Cala Caleños* and people from Nogalani or other 'outsiders.' These conflicts do exist to a certain extent – with the general tenor that Nogalani has gotten the better share of Cala Cala in terms of land rights – and are sometimes framed in ethnic terms (see chapter 5). But what far more frequently makes feelings run high is intrafamilial competition. There are no written documents, official measuring records or legal titles accessible to the people. The scarce records of the reform period are stored in some enigmatic archive at the *Instituto Nacional de la Reforma Agraria (INRA)*, and are beyond access. Thus most claims and counter-claims are based on the oral and customary transmission of inheritance procedures, agreements and boundaries, making the conflicts difficult to settle in a formal way, since beyond the family there is no register of the distribution of lands. In these instances, even though there might be a claim based on formal kinship relations with a *sayañero*, what determines one's ability to enforce certain claims against others is first and foremost an individual's or family's standing and alliances within the wider *comunidad*. The crucial point here is that in order to make claims and settle disputes, the *comunidad* that becomes relevant

is not limited to *"los Afros de Cala Cala,"* but encompasses Cala Cala as a *comunidad cocalera*. *"Lo Afro"* is not the only relevant horizon of community in Cala Cala, not in terms of identification, and even less in terms of actual social relations, politics or conflict resolution. For example, whatever an individual's standing among *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* might be, it is nearly impossible for anybody not living in the *comunidad* to enforce claims against residents that "serve a social function" *(cumplen función social)*. In the next chapter, I will therefore address a horizon and practices of community that transcend *"los Afros de Cala Cala"* and that have to do with far-reaching entanglements of economy, politics, religion and notions of shared 'tradition.'