Signs of the Time: Kallawaya Medical Expertise and Social Reproduction in 21st Century Bolivia

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Anthropology)
in the University of Michigan
2011

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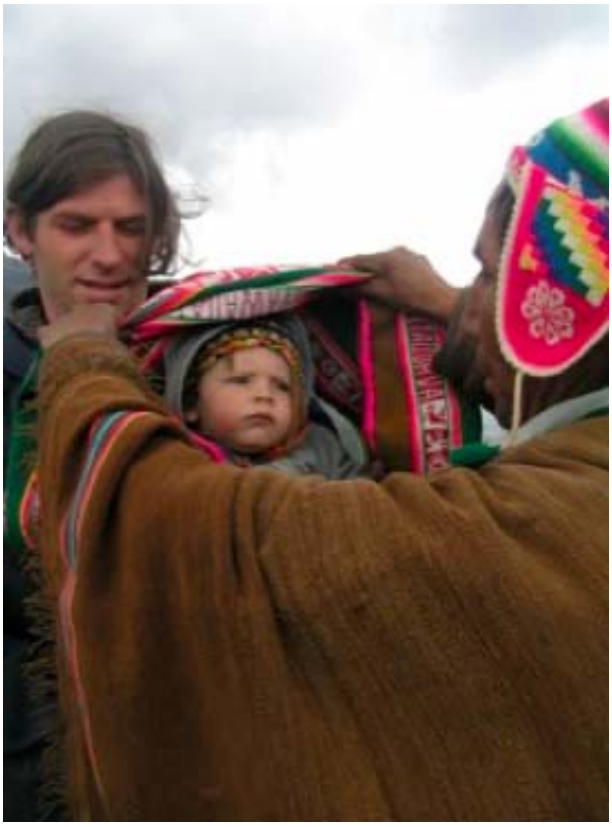

Dedicada a la comunidad de Curva (en su totalidad) y mis primeros amores,
Jorge y Luka.

Acknowledgements

There are many people without whom this dissertation would have never been conceived, let alone completed. I am indebted first and foremost to my mother, Lynda Lange, for bringing me into this world and imparting her passion for reading, politics, and people well before she managed to complete her bachelor's degree and then masters late into my own graduate studies. She has for as long as I can remember wished for me to achieve all that I could imagine and more, despite the limitations she faced in pursuing her own professional aspirations early in her adult life. Out of self-less love, and perhaps the hope of also living vicariously through my own adventures, she has persistently encouraged me to follow my heart even when it has delivered me into harms way and far from her protective embrace. I am eternally grateful for the freedom she has given me to pursue my dreams far from home and without judgment. Her encouragement and excitement about my own process of scholarly discovery have sustained me throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. She has also listened with a critical ear to innumerable reiterations of certain passages, always sharing my joy in bringing the characters and places in this story alive. I am equally grateful for the support I have received from the rest of my extended family, including my sister (Sarah Gross), brother (Mitch Gross), and two step-fathers (Wayne Gross and Gregory Lange). They too have listened to and read drafts of chapters in progress, offering feedback that has, hopefully, helped me to keep my story accessible and relevant to a non-specialist audience. My mother, step-father Gregory, and sister also managed to visit me in the field and share my experience first-hand, for which I will always be grateful.

My husband, Jorge Gallé, and our son, Luka Gallé-Callahan, endured the trials and tribulations of fieldwork full-time, which was no small feat, and the more grueling task of living with me while I was writing-up. No matter how much I love my work, they will always be my first loves. I will be forever grateful for their support in all that I am and pursue within and beyond the walls of the academy. But, I am especially grateful for their patience and encouragement during this particular journey and the individual sacrifices they have made on my behalf along the way. My work would be half as personally meaningful if I didn't have them to share it with. Their presence in my life brings me strength and inspiration, a desire to be my best and make the world a better place. I couldn't ask for more from either of them.

I also owe immense thanks to my committee members, whose commitment to my work and me has never wavered. The support of Judith Irvine and Bruce Mannheim deserve special mention. Their scholarship has been a constant source of inspiration throughout my graduate career and their feedback on everything leading up to the finished dissertation, as well as problems in the field have been invaluable. I am especially grateful to Bruce for turning me onto the Kallawaya literature early in my graduate studies and for sharing his contagious love of Quechua and the Andes, which

have been the source of many insightful conversations over the years. Judy's influence has been equally immeasurable. Her graduate seminars opened my eyes to the social and material world of language and her own work has been particularly illuminating in terms of the insights I have developed in this dissertation. I am also thankful for her pragmatic approach to getting things done, especially towards the end of this process when my energy was waning. My gratitude for her dedication, decisive input, and editorial assistance in the final push to bring this project to a close are beyond words. I have especially fond memories of the many dual advising sessions I shared with Judy and Bruce and feel fortunate to have worked with them both so closely. I am also grateful to Barbra Meek and Javier Sanjines who, despite their late addition to my committee, have always been tremendously gracious with their time and feedback. Their influence has seeped into the pages of this dissertation, as well.

I wish also to acknowledge the support, insight, and friendship of other colleagues who in different capacities and at different phases in this process have been invested in my research and professional development. Sabina MacCormack (history), Richard Ford (anthropology/biology), Larry Hirschfeld (anthropology/psychology), Leslie Milroy (linguistics), Susan Gelman (psychology), and Henry Wellman (psychology) are among those faculty members who have left lasting impressions upon me and, therefore, contributed importantly to the interdisciplinary perspective I bring to my research. I am also grateful for the collective support and substantive feedback I have received through my participation in several interdisciplinary campus groups, including the *Círculo Micaela Bastidas Phuyuqhawa—Andean Scholars Group, Linguistic Laboratory, Semiotics Working Group,* and the *Culture and Cognition Program*. Beyond the faculty and student participants in these groups, I owe thanks to my writing partners, Kairos Marquart and Karen Faulk, whose support and comments in the earliest, ugliest, and most frustrating stages of writing were critical in helping me tease out core arguments and give shape to the story line of the dissertation, although they have been there to offer support and advice from the beginning through the end. As fellow parents and scholars of Latin America, the collegial relationship I share with these women extends far beyond writing. Later, my writing benefited, as well, from the intellectual engagement and extensive feedback of fellows in the *Global Ethnic Literature Seminar* (Fall 2007) and *Mellon Dissertation Seminar* (Summer 2008).

I am also grateful for the circle of old friends that surrounded me when I returned to Ann Arbor and with whom I shared the highs and lows of fieldwork and the writing process, both on and off campus. They include, in addition to the members of my writing group: Eva Dubuisson, Monica Patterson, Karen Smid, John Thiels, Sonia Das, Laura Brown, Sudha Shah, Karen Herbert, Xochi Ruiz, Patricia Moonsamy, Randall Hicks, Cecilia Tomori, Kim Clum, Anna Babel, and Maria Gonzales among others. I also include Laurie Marx among this group, but in my book she occupies a class all her own. For those who have had the pleasure of working with Laurie, this statement needs no explanation; she is an administrative miracle worker, compassionate soul, and dear friend. Her humor made even the worst days bearable and good days even better. There were moments when her reassuring hugs were the only thing that kept me going. I owe her much for her assistance over the years, administrative and otherwise. The many favors she performed on my behalf always went beyond the call of duty.

In Bolivia, I was equally lucky to be surrounded by great friends and colleagues, many immersed in their own dissertation research or other creative endeavors. Among this group, I am especially grateful for the good times my family shared with our housemates and visitors to the Gringo Tambo during our periodic visits to La Paz: Stephen Scott, Kate McGurn-Centellas, Miguel Centellas, Alison Kohn, Clare Sammels, Chris Exner, Maria Bruno, Dado Galdieri, Erica Nelson, Laurence Cuelenaere, Kathryn Anderson, Kathryn Cook, Ben Smith, and Annie Murphy among others. For their passing company in the field and various levels of collaboration, I also wish to express my thanks to COBIMI, AECI, and CEDEC staff working in the Province of Bautista Saavedra. Dr. Jose Luis Baixeras, Dr. Gerardo Fernández Juárez, Susan Davis, Martha Mamani, and Samantha Wilson were especially helpful. I am equally grateful for the cooperation and support of numerous government offices in La Paz, including the Vice Ministry of Culture, Vice Ministry of Intangible Heritage, Vice Ministry of Traditional Medicine and Interculturality and the Direction of Traditional Medicine. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity to have interviewed and received numerous materials from Jaime Zalles, the newly appointed Vice Minister of Traditional Medicine and Interculturality, who passed away shortly after I left the field.

Of course, no research gets done without financial assistance and I was fortunate to have had generous research and write-up grants, without which this dissertation would not have been possible. The pre-dissertation phases of this research were funded by grants from IIE Fulbright, the Department of Anthropology, and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. My dissertation fieldwork was supported with grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) program through the U.S. Department of Education, and supplemental funds from the Department of Anthropology. Additional grants from Rackham, the Culture and Cognition Program and the Center for the Education of Women (CEW) covered the expense of follow-up fieldwork in Curva and research assistance with the transcription of interviews and other recorded events. While writing-up, I benefited from the financial support of Rackham, the Department of Anthropology, the Global Ethnic Literature Seminar (GELS) fellowship, the Mellon Dissertation Seminar fellowship, and the LACS Gutierrez Dissertation Award.

For their assistance with the transcription of field recordings, I owe thanks to Baird Campbell, Alex Balino, and Grahm Hannah. I am also thankful for the research assistance I received from Rolando Torrico in La Paz during the early stages of my research. In the push to produce the final written product, I am also grateful for the formatting assistance of Jason Sudak and the moral support of Geri Markel, who was there for me through think and thin. I am also indebted to my sister-in-law, Cecilia Gallé-Heitz, who provided countless hours of childcare throughout the writing process, without pay and at a moment's notice.

Of course, it is to the people of Curva, however, that I owe my greatest acknowledgement since without them there would be no story to tell. I have intentionally saved their recognition for last, since I wish to acknowledge many of them independently. It is they, especially those healers who, often against their better judgment and in the face of others' criticism, invited my family to live and study among them, opening their communities, homes, meetings, and individual lives to me. For their trust, compassion, patience, inclusion, and tolerance, I will be forever grateful. The following

list of individuals who agreed to be interviewed, often multiple times, deserve special thanks. The community listed on the left within the parentheses reflects the community of origin for each collaborator, while the community on the right is where they travel to practice medicine. I have bolded the community where they spend the majority of their time throughout the year:

Lugareños
Eduardo Salazar (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Jhonny Tejerina Salazar (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Eduardo Tejerina (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Rosales Fernández Salazar (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Miguel Tejerina (**Curva**, La Paz)
Andres Parrillo (**Curva**, La Paz)
Joaquín (**Curva**, retired)
Armando Tudela Cajchaya (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Sabino Fernández Quispe (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Juliano Tejerina Humana (**Curva**, retired)
Daniel Lizarraga (**Curva**, retired)
Mariano Mendoza Challco (**Curva**)
Andres Quilca (Curva, **Santa Cruz**)
Jaime Tejerina Chisuco (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Natalio Lizarraga Magnani (Curva, **Potosí**)
Maximo Paye (**Curva,** La Paz)
Jaime Chaca Sea (Curva, **La Paz**)
Candelaria Bustillos Chaca (**Curva,** La Paz)
Norah Lizarraga (**Curva**)
Policarpio Chaca (**Curva**)
Felix Alvarez Mayhua (**Curva**)
Victor Llaves Quispe (**Curva**)
Felix Lizarraga (**Curva**)
Vitalio Paye Salazar (**Curva**)
Santiago Quina (**Curva**)
Florentino Mayhua Mamani **(Curva**)
Felix Mamani (Canizaya)
Maruja Chaca Salazar (**Curva**)
Salvador Bravo (**Curva**)
Mercedes Bustillos (**Curva**)
Albina Tejerina (**Curva**)
Alcira Quina (**Curva**)
Renee Chizuco (**Curva**)
Bernardo Cusuhue (**Curva**)
Ricardo Terejina (**Curva**)
Ruth Tejerina (**Curva**)
Roberto Cañuma (**Curva**)
Jhonny Quispe (**Lagunillas**)

Residentes
Edgar Pacheco Salazar (Curva, **La Paz**)
Mary Quina (Curva, **La Paz**)
Ramon Quispe (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Luis Walter Quispe Lizarraga (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Victor Quina (Curva, **La Paz**)
Luis Adolfo Nayhua (Caalaya, **La Paz**)
Fermina Paye de Nayhua (Caalaya, **La Paz**)
Mario Vargas (Lagunillas, **La Paz**)
Rolando Magnani (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Maritza Magnani (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Dionisio Llavez (Curva, **Cochabamba**)
Sergio Suxo (Chajaya, **La Paz**)
Miguel Zambrana (**Curva**, La Paz)
Justiano Rios (Ñino Corin, **La Paz**)
Walter Alvarez (Kanlaya, **La Paz**)
Max Chura (Chari, **La Paz**)

Notable omissions from this list who I, nonetheless, regularly interacted with throughout my fieldwork and who contributed significantly to my understanding of life in Curva and what it means to be Kallawaya include: Antenor Chaca Sea (Curva, **Santa Cruz**), Rosario Mayhua (Curva, **Santa Cruz**), Angel Terejina (Curva, **Cochabamba**), Walter Tejerina (Curva, **Cochabamba**), Daniel Quispe Llaves (Curva, **Cochabamba**), Jesus Gomez (Curva, **Cochabamba**), Valentina Pacheco (**Curva**, La Paz), Petrona Salazar Challampa (**Curva**), Senobia Paye (**Curva**), Felicidad Salazar (**Curva**), Eloy Llanos (Lagunillas, **La Paz**), David Llanos (Lagunillas, **La Paz**), Fabian Llaves (Lagunillas, **La Paz**), and Mario Vargas (Lagunillas, **La Paz**). I owe thanks, as well, to the many Kallawaya organizations with whom I had the pleasure of working and to whom I am especially grateful for granting me permission to attend the meetings documented in this dissertation, as well as others. These include AMKOC, SBIDCMEK, COBOLCMEK, and SOBOMETRA.

Finally, I am also grateful for the friendship of Doña Sophia (**Charazani**), without whom I can not imagine surviving two and half of years of fieldwork in the Bautista Saavedra area, especially while pregnant and later with a young child. She was like the eye of the ethnographic storm I was constantly caught up in, providing a safe haven where I was always welcomed with good food, a warm bed, and comforting conversation.

Table of Contents

List of Transcripts

List of Figures

Abstract

Signs of the Time: Kallawaya Medical Expertise and Social Reproduction in 21st Century Bolivia

By

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Chair: Judith T. Irvine

My dissertation examines representational struggles over the legitimacy and practice of Kallawaya medical expertise following their UNESCO recognition as an "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity." I show how conflicting ideologies of Kallawaya expertise spurred by the new title draw different community factions into high-stakes competition for symbolic recognition and economic rewards at local, national, and international levels. My analysis, which couples socially-informed linguistic analysis with a semiotic approach to political economy, focuses on the relationship between micro-level interactions through which this expertise is discursively negotiated and macro-level outcomes related to the dynamic reproduction of Kallawaya specialist knowledge and communities. Contrary to the egalitarian cultural profile depicted by UNESCO, I show that locally-constructed representations of Kallawaya expertise highlight intra-cultural distinctions that characterize "authentic" medical specialists as highly knowledgeable, "globally

conscious," autonomous stewards of their medicinal heritage, who are committed to the protection of intellectual property in the face of perceived global encroachment. I argue that membership in this expert community is being locally redefined relative to these representational efforts and is embedded in discursive opposition to foreign investigation more generally. This view not only offers a novel account of Kallawaya medical expertise that contributes to our understanding of how social difference is fashioned from local experience and interests, but does so in a way that advances theoretical debates on the constitutive role of language in social and material life.

Chapter 1

"Heritage Trouble" and the Shifting Terrain of Kallawaya Expertise

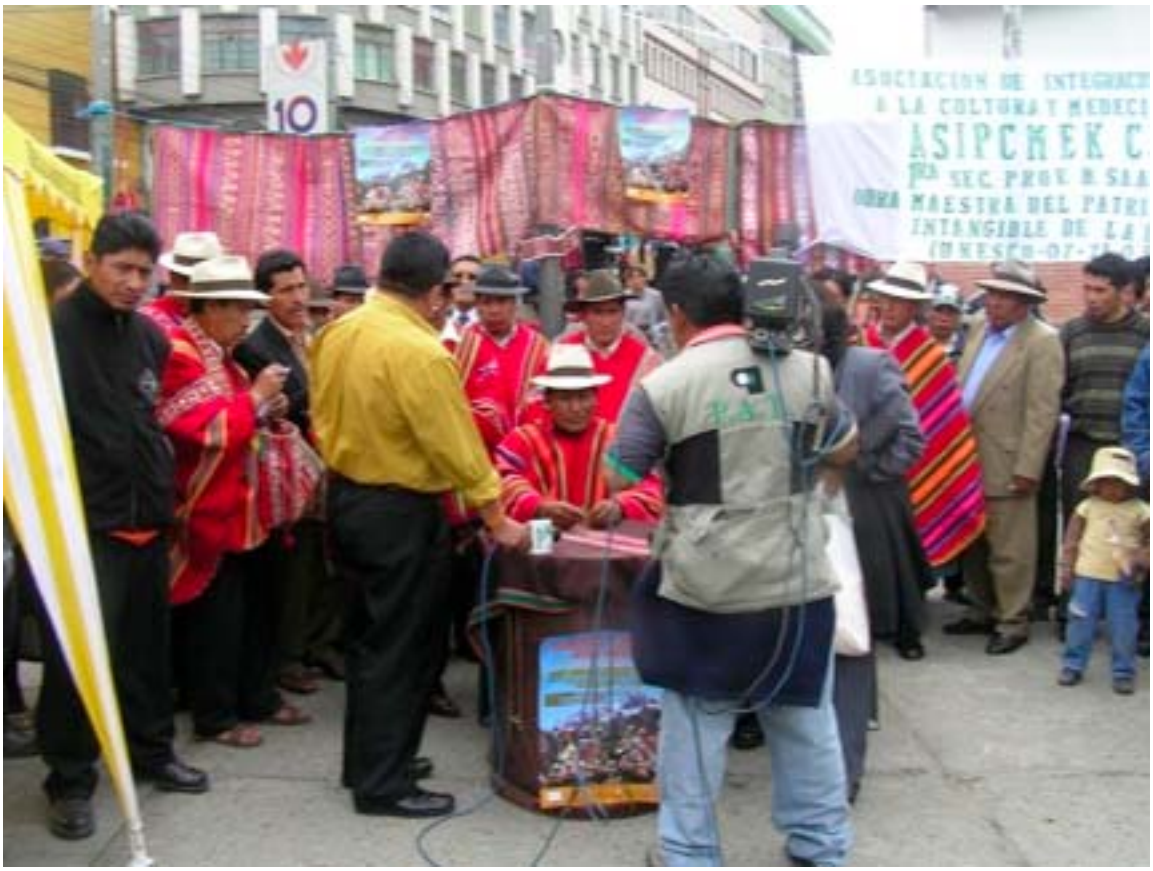

Figure 1: Kallawayas enjoy national media coverage during UNESCO anniversary events, November 2005.

1.1 Introduction

In November 2003, UNESCO named the "Kallawaya Culture" of Bolivia, famed for the number and skill of its traditional healers, an "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity." Overnight, Kallawaya medicine went from being viewed by many as a species of *brujeria* (witchery) without effect to a globally valued and scientifically

legitimate cultural tradition. In the wake of this international acknowledgment, Kallawaya identity and medical practice have blossomed into arenas of intense political contestation as community members labor to delimit the boundaries of their expertise in the service of personal and collective agendas, which reflect competing desires to profit from and safeguard the knowledge and medicinal plants that have earned them global recognition. As foreign research and corporate interest in their culture has increased following the UNESCO recognition, local debates over the definition of Kallawaya expertise and its "authentic" expression have become embroiled in conflict concerning the participation of Kallawaya healers in foreign development projects based on their medicinal practices.

For better or worse, I found myself attempting to study Kallawaya medical expertise right in the middle of one such conflict, a thorny predicament to say the least. During the course of my dissertation fieldwork, fears over global encroachment and anxieties about the movement of Kallawaya specialist knowledge became discursively entangled with questions of authentic expert identity in local debates over the activities of an NGO project titled, "Management, Transformation, and Commercialization of Medicinal Plants in the Agroforest Ecosystems of the Kallawaya Culture." Like UNESCO, the project assumed that what remnants of Kallawaya practices that did exist were evenly distributed in the region. It sought to resuscitate this dying tradition through sustainable economic incentives that would motivate locals to conserve medicinal plants and knowledge through large-scale propagation, processing, and marketing of natural products. Controversy over the project centered precisely on the participation of non-experts, the project's focus on medicinal knowledge and plants, and the role of a foreign

funding agency called PUMA: Fundación Protección y Uso Sostenible del Medio Ambiente.

Tensions over the PUMA medicinal plant project escalated rapidly over a period of several months. During this time meetings at local, regional, and national levels were organized by key Kallawaya organizations protesting the project. Curva, the community where I spent the greater half of 2.5 years, was the physical locus of this conflict. However, its scope extended deep into the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Potosí via social networks linking healers from the Province of Bautista Saavedra to urban centers where they worked. The conflict engaged not only local social relations but also national and international ones, because resistance to the PUMA project, from its inception, was couched in terms of broader opposition to foreign interests.

This dissertation focuses on the debates that took place at events involved in the conflict over the PUMA project. The debates provide concrete illustrations of how local ideologies of expertise – here, expertise concerning knowledge of medicine and medicinal plants, the distribution of that knowledge, as well as commitments to protect such resources– are produced and reproduced in the context of face-to-face interaction. Focusing on linguistic links within and across these events, the dissertation shows how discursive practices play a constitutive role in redefining Kallawaya expertise and its social distribution. That is, the discursive practices that are employed in these contexts not only reflect changes in how Kallawaya expertise is conceived and expressed, but are, in fact, the fundamental means by which the whole social field is reconfigured through the generation, uptake, and reproduction of discursive routines that signify an oppositional stance to the PUMA project and foreign research more generally.

This chapter situates that conflict and situates my research in relation to it, both with respect to earlier Kallawaya studies and the broader political context during which the conflict and my fieldwork unfolded. In tracing the arc of the conflict, I document the response of Kallawaya communities to this rise of foreign interest in their medical culture following the UNESCO recognition, and I seek to explain how Kallawaya expertise as a professional culture is transformed in the process. As the discussion will show, conflicting ideologies of Kallawaya medical expertise bring different factions within this community into high-stakes competition for symbolic recognition and economic rewards. My analysis, which couples socially informed discourse analysis with a semiotic approach to political economy, focuses on the relationship between micro-level interactions through which this expertise is negotiated and macro-level outcomes related to the dynamic reproduction of Kallawaya specialist communities.

UNESCO depicted Kallawaya communities as homogeneous and egalitarian. Contrary to that picture, my analysis shows that locally-constructed representations of Kallawaya expertise highlight intra-cultural distinctions that oppose "authentic" medical specialists to others, and thus depict an inequality based on differential expertise. "Authentic" medical specialists are characterized as highly knowledgeable, "globally conscious," autonomous stewards of their medicinal heritage, who are collectively committed to withholding intellectual secrets in the face of perceived global encroachment. I argue that the discursive and other semiotic practices that mobilize such images of Kallawaya expertise serve to re-establish local hierarchies within and between Kallawaya communities that have been leveled in the UNESCO formulation. My dissertation thus provides a novel account of Kallawaya expertise that contributes to our

understanding of how social difference is fashioned from local experience and interests, while advancing theoretical debates on the constitutive role of language in social and material life.

Kallawaya commitment to withholding intellectual secrets raises another set of questions. Why don't the Kallawayas want to share information? What role does silence and secrecy play for them? Has it been important in their past – or in past representations of them – and does the resistance to the PUMA project lead to a new narration about silence and secrecy? How should that narrative be read, and why should we care? As I will show, a reputation as secretive is part of a broader Kallawaya pattern. To a certain extent this reputation is an artifact of outsiders' exoticized representations of their ways of speaking and their ritual practices. More importantly, however, it is a reaction to a history of exploitation, in which Kallawaya have seen outside researchers as people who have misrepresented them and who, in the search for new drugs for foreign markets, have appropriated Kallawaya knowledge without sharing the profit. At least, this is how Kallawaya have interpreted past relations with researchers. But, as I will argue, the interpretation also feeds into a contemporary national narrative about foreign extraction, exploitation, and a legacy of unequal benefits. This aspect of Kallawaya resistance to the PUMA project is part of a much broader social movement, locally and nationally.

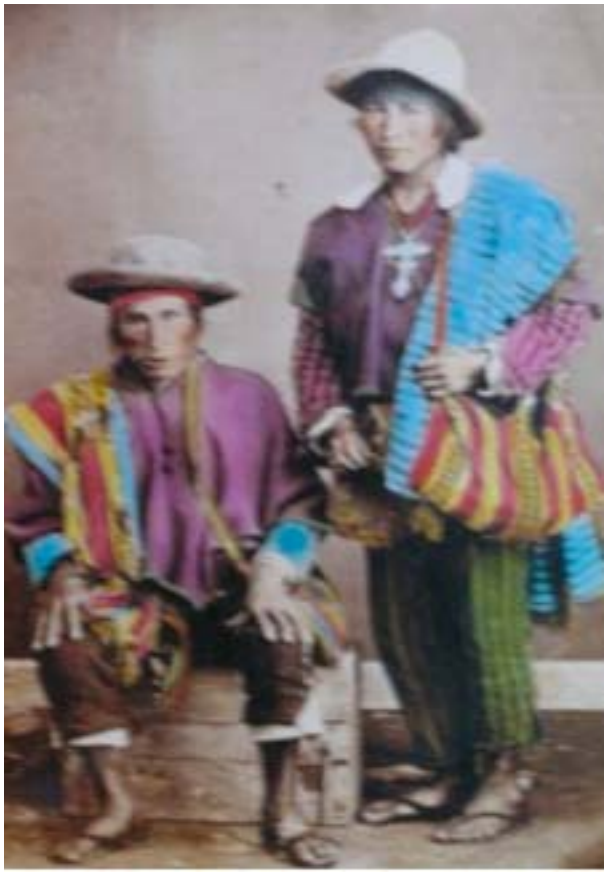

Figure 2: 16th century depiction of Kallawaya healer and apprentice, *National Geographic Society.*

1.2 ¿Quienes Son Los Kallawayas? Representations and researchers

As the UNESCO award clearly attests, Kallawaya healers are no ordinary healers. They hold a privileged place in Andean ethnography. Accounts of Kallawaya healers date back as far as the sixteenth century and consistently draw attention to a cluster of distinctive features that constitute the basis of Kallawaya fame. The most notable feature is the sheer number of such healers. While in most Andean communities there are a select few people whose designated role is to respond to local health needs, Kallawaya communities are unusual in that roughly 80% of the local population is reported to practice medicine professionally. That is, over half the local population either self-identifies or is identified by others as healers, many working outside their own

community. In addition, they are characterized as itinerant, roaming from one place to another providing medical services, but also assimilating medicinal knowledge and resources from the people and environments that they come into contact with. As illustrated in Figure 2 above, healers are often depicted as traveling in pairs, where a master healer is coupled with an apprentice. Through their travels and their direct access to the diverse ecological resources within their territory, they are also known for the superiority and breadth of their medicinal knowledge, which integrates highland and lowland resources and techniques. While they are largely recognized for their botanical acumen, Andeans also revere them for their equally proficient skills in ritual healing and divination. Finally, they are noted for their use of *Machaj Juyay* (or *Sejo Juyay,* as it is more commonly referred to in Curva), which is a "secret" linguistic variety used exclusively among healers. Unlike Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish, which are also spoken in the region associated with these healers, Sejo/Machaj Juyay is no one's mother tongue. Instead, it is reportedly acquired in the context of Kallawaya medical apprenticeships and used for the expressed purpose of coordinating ritual activity and signifying one's insider status.

Despite numerous inconsistencies in the ethnographic record that collectively paint a more complex and less romantic cultural scene, these are the categories through which Kallawaya expertise continues to be talked about and understood. And, because these domains of traditional Kallawaya expertise happen to map nicely onto Western disciplinary specialties (botany, psychology, linguistics, and cultural anthropology), the study of Kallawaya medicine has been and continues to be pursued in a piecemeal fashion. These domain-specific treatments of Kallawaya expertise have had the

unfortunate effect of reifying the cultural products of what in practice are overlapping skill sets that interpenetrate one another at every turn. Not surprisingly, it is also on the basis of this cultural characterization that these healers were recognized by UNESCO as an "Intangible Heritage of Humanity."

In the Province of Bautista Saavedra in particular, there is a long history of anthropological and other research, given the distinctive quality of the Kallawaya tradition in the area and the high proportion of the population who make a living from the practice of itinerant medicine. These studies have led to an impressive body of published work, including the identification and use of medicinal plants (Oblitas 1969; Bastien 1982, 1983, 1987; Girault 1987; Jannis and Bastien 2004), linguistic descriptions of Sejo/Machaj Juyay speech forms (Soria Lens 1954; Oblitas 1968; Stark 1972; Torero 1987; Girault 1989; Muysken 1997), textiles (Girault 1969; Gisbert et al. 1984) detailed analyses of ritual performances (Bolton 1974; Bastien 1978; Rösing 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 2008). Fewer studies have attended specifically to urban Kallawaya healers and their relationship to biomedicine and biomedical practitioners (Bastien 1992; Fernández Juárez 1999). Nonetheless, their extensive presence and national fame outside the Bautista Saavedra area has led to their appearance in numerous Andean ethnographies focused on other topics and people (Bolton 1974; Crandon-Malamud 1991; Abercrombie 1998; Sikkink 2010). (For more general treatments of Kallawaya history and cultural practices see La Barre 1948; Teran-Gomez 1955; Otero 1991[1954]; Bastien 1978; Saignes 1983; Schoop 1984; Fernández Juárez 1998; Schulte 1999; Loza 2004; ARAUCARIA 2004). Of these works, Bastien's books, *Mountain of the Condor* (1978) and *Healers of the Andes* (1987), have been especially consequential because they are

based on ethnographic field research in the Bautista Saavedra region and are among the few and most exhaustive publications about Kallawayas in English.[1]

There are problems, however, with all this published work. First, researchers have assumed they already knew what Kallawaya expertise consisted of. This assumption led them to formulate only certain kinds of questions and interact with certain kinds of people, presumed to be healers. It also led them to describe Kallawaya practices in terms of these traditional representational categories. Most importantly, as the data from my research suggests, their published descriptions created tensions, because what the researchers believed was cultural documentation and preservation was perceived by many Kallawaya as extraction, exploitation, or misrepresentation; at least, whether or not it was initially perceived as exploitation, the researchers' work has been reinterpreted in that light, with some authors being subject to more criticism than others. The identification and use of medicinal plants, the specifics of ritual practice, and the Sejo/Machaj Juyay linguistic variety are topics understood by Kallawaya as proprietary information – the secret knowledge of medical experts, and the basis of their livelihood. As a result, there is widespread concern over these publications, including their accuracy, the uses to which they are put, and whether local participation has been sufficiently compensated. Concern over these matters spans the rural-urban Kallawaya spectrum.

[1] It should be noted, however, that Bastien's ethnography is based largely on his experience living and working with Kallawayas in Kaata, a community that does not have a regional reputation for healers in scholarly literature other than his own. In addition, during my own two and a half years of fieldwork in the region (concentrated in Curva and Chari), I never once heard someone associate Kallawaya medicine with Kaata in casual conversation or during an almost exhaustive set of semi-structured interviews I conducted myself with Curva residents (including both experts and lay community members). To the contrary, when asked directly about the status of Kaata or Kaata residents in association with the practice of Kallawaya medicine, people from Curva and Chari emphatically denied the link, focusing instead on their reputation as Kallawaya musicians, which bore out ethnographically, as I witnessed musicians from Kaata being contracted throughout the region to perform at different community festivals. Finally, in my dealings with high-profile Kallawaya organizations on regional and national levels, I never heard Kaata included in the list of affiliated Kallawaya communities nor did I meet organization members from Kaata.

From the perspective of contemporary anthropology, too, these published accounts are largely oversimplified, romanticized, out-of-date, and decidedly apolitical (but see Loza 2004). They offer no account of interactions between healers, and no account of the social or intellectual division of labor in which healers participate. There is little attention to women – one would scarcely know that women could be healers – or to the important role of Kallawaya organizations and the role of healers as cultural brokers. The consideration of language is limited to its referential function, in spite of the important role of Sejo/Machaj Juyay in ritual practices and in indexing a healer's knowledgeability. Finally, the majority of these accounts are divorced from any serious consideration of a broader national context or global dynamics.

In addition, according to people in Curva, these researchers did not have community permission or deep engagement with the communities where they conducted their investigations. With the exception of Bastien (1978), the researchers were people who lived elsewhere and made regular excursions to various communities; they forged research relationships with individual healers, not with communities. Making comparisons among individuals across communities, without understanding what the relationships between these individuals and communities are, led them to produce generic descriptions of Kallawayaness for the most part, rather than situated accounts that could take differences within and between communities into consideration.

I embarked on fieldwork with many of the same academic questions that previous researchers had, with perhaps two exceptions. I did not assume I knew what Kallawaya expertise was about; instead, I opened up this question for empirical investigation, using contradictions in the literature as a guide. Also, I intended to explore the many functions

of language, not just the referential. At least as important, however, in leading me to reformulate questions about language, ethnobotany, and culture in relation to questions of Kallawaya identity and practice were the fortuitous circumstances I encountered in the field. Those circumstances concern the intensifying reaction of Kallawaya to their experiences with researchers, a reaction that came to a head with the conflict over the PUMA project. In consequence, rather than taking command of a mission of cultural preservation, I could for the most part only appear as a witness, sometimes barely tolerated, of a local scene in which Kallawaya healers were orchestrating the ethnography (and taking control of cultural preservation for themselves). In this regard my project departs from most existing research on the practices of indigenous medical healers in general, and Andean healers in particular.

Although I appreciate the areas of strength, and they are many, in the studies preceding my own – and I build upon them – an important contribution I seek to make in this dissertation is to dismantle the stereotyped conception of Kallawayaness on the premise that it is both romanticized and incompatible with present-day Kallawaya life and social action.

1.3 Romanticized Past Versus Contemporary Present

While the stereotyped profile of Kallawaya expertise remains an important point of reference for healers today, it is an image that hardly encapsulates the diversity of contemporary Kallawaya practices. Today's Kallawaya experts are locally, regionally, and nationally integrated into highly visible, coordinated social networks that unite Kallawayas who are physically dispersed throughout the country. Most of these networks

take the form of professional organizations of traditional healers, which serve the dual function of cultural interest groups and exclusive expert fraternities. In their capacity as interest groups they lobby in defense of cultural rights and mediate contact between their communities and outsiders, including the Bolivian government, foreign and national investigators, and NGOs. As professional fraternities, they serve to regiment the dissemination of Kallawaya expert knowledge and medical practice through educational activities and the issuing of professional certificates, work licenses, and identification cards. Most of these groups are identifiable by name, such as AMKOC (Asociación de Medicos Kallawayas Originarios de Curva) or SBIDCMEK (Sociedad Boliviana de Invetigación y Defense de la Cultura y Medicina Kallawaya), and have already obtained or are in the process of obtaining legal status.

Most of the individuals who are members of these institutionalized professional groups now reside permanently in major cities or, following persistent patterns of itinerant medical practice, spend at least half the year outside their home communities. As members of exclusive professional organizations they have also been involved in sustained political efforts to acquire recognition and legitimacy in the eyes of the Bolivian state and beyond. Among those pursuits, these organizations' assistance with the UNESCO application that led to their nomination as an "Intangible Heritage of Humanity" is only one recent example.

1.4 UNESCO: A Mixed Blessing

The majority of healers I worked with viewed the UNESCO award as a mixed blessing. While the prestige and international reach associated with the declaration

represented the ultimate source of legitimacy and exposure for them, it also had unintended consequences that undermined their authority and exclusivity. First, in characterizing the Kallawaya "worldview" as a coherent set of beliefs and values manifested primarily through the practice of "ancestral medical techniques," the award effectively erased the inherent diversity of present-day healers. This homogeneous image was then indiscriminately and officially mapped onto the Province of Bautista Saavedra as a whole, where it had never been completely or evenly distributed in practice. As a result, recognition was extended to individuals and communities previously unassociated with Kallawaya medicine. This in turn provided a legitimate means for any area resident to claim and profit from this cultural heritage, either through directly marketing their services as a healer or through participation in local development projects.

Second, by defining Kallawaya medical practices as "endangered," UNESCO endorsed safeguarding measures to preserve their culture through "the compilation of inventories of their intangible heritage." These inventories basically amount to laundry lists that, for instance, correlate specific plants with local medicinal uses and methods of preparation. As I have noted earlier in relation to botanical and ethnographic researchers, efforts to document this knowledge of plants and their uses are complicated by the fact that these practices constitute domains of expertise that form the basis of highly marked intra-cultural variation and to which established healers have a vested interest in restricting access.

Not surprisingly, claims to Kallawaya expert status have risen sharply in the wake of the UNESCO award, due largely to the rapid influx of development funds in the Province of Bautista Saavedra. Meanwhile, the largest contingent of healers – those

whose professional activities are concentrated in urban centers – have been marginalized, since they are not present to participate in or oversee projects taking place in the countryside.

In response to this situation, healers' concerns over the circulation and appropriation of knowledge have taken on new global dimensions. Healers are no longer just worried about the erasure of distinctions between expert and non-expert, but have become at least as anxious about threats of biopiracy – the unauthorized, uncompensated use of their medicinal knowledge if leaked to foreign sources. To the extent that experts and non-experts are invited to participate in these development projects on equal footing, the possibility exists for expert knowledge to pass freely within, across, and beyond community boundaries at local, regional, and global levels. And it is here, at the intersection of new claims to expert identity, foreign research, and loosening control over the flow of expert knowledge, that we see the political dimensions of "authenticity" debates surrounding Kallawaya expertise come into play.

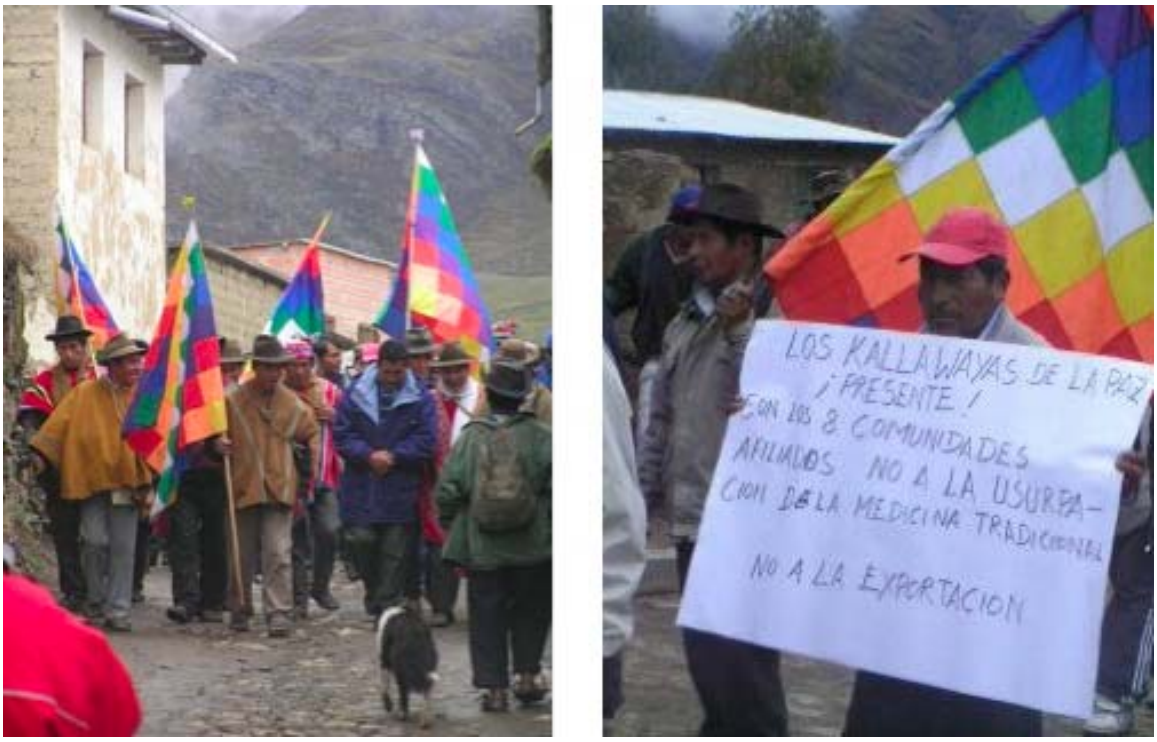

Figure 3: Kallawayas protest PUMA project in Curva.

1.5 Signs of Trouble and Change: The PUMA Conflict

On November 20, 2005, at the height of the PUMA conflict, some one hundred Kallawaya healers marched along a narrow dirt road leading into Curva's main plaza. They waved four large *wiphala* flags and set off fireworks to announce their arrival. The signs they carried read: "No to the Usurpation of Traditional Medicine, No to Exportation, Kallawayas Present, Always United." The protesters represented eight indigenous communities throughout the Province of Bautista Saavedra, residents of four major cities, and four Kallawaya organizations, including COBOLCMEK, the newly instituted national "Bolivian Confederation of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine." As the procession wound silently through the plaza, waves of locals joined the protestors, taking up the entire width of its four streets.

The protest was in opposition to the PUMA project, which (as I have indicated) was a five-year, $70,000, foreign-funded medicinal plant project with a very threatening title: "Management, Transformation, and Commercialization of Medicinal Plants in the Agro-Forest ecosystems of the Kallawaya Culture." Critics charged that the project was an elaborate plot to wrestle Kallawaya medicinal knowledge and plants out of their hands for pharmaceutical investigation, development, and sale. They worried the project would only provide a few short-term benefits, and in the end would serve exclusively foreign, transnational interests. In a worst case scenario, the protestors argued, the project might even lead to foreign patents on Kallawaya intellectual and genetic property, leaving their rightful owners marginalized in the drug discovery process, and excluded from the distribution of economic profits. Given the likelihood of such dire consequences for all Kallawayas, the protestors demanded that any decision to approve or reject the project should be made collectively, not by the subset of healers and community residents directly involved in the project.

While the protest was triggered by concrete activities the PUMA project personnel were undertaking in the region, and is clearly a response to them, the messages scrawled on the protesters' signs point to broader concerns. In fact, no sign or chant targeted the project directly. Although the protesters had earlier admitted that they had no material basis for their claims, their references to usurpation and exportation suggest that they saw foreign interests in the privatization of their knowledge and resources lying just beyond the horizon. Their messages reflect widespread anxieties about the consequences of global encroachment.

Importantly, the anti-foreign stance that COBOLCMEK, SBIDCMEK, and other

Kallawayas adopted towards the PUMA project, especially as concerns fears over the inequitable division of benefits, was not a response to the actual plans described in the project application. Rather, it was reflective of the inherent risks perceived to exist between locals and outsiders whenever investigations of their cultural and medicinal heritage were at issue. Yet, Foundation PUMA, it turns out, is nothing more than a financing agency, a collaborative foundation between the US and Bolivian governments that supports "the conservation, protection, and administration of Bolivia's natural resources and biodiversity as part of a debt-for-nature swap." The project itself was solicited and was actually being carried out by locals in Curva. Thus, the only "foreign presence" involved in the project was the contracted assistance of Bolivian engineers. While SBIDCMEK and affiliate organizations explicitly acknowledged this, their discursive opposition to the project echoed national unease with foreign involvement in Bolivia's resource management.

Equally telling were the protesters' assertions that Kallawaya healers were united in their opposition to the project and that the healers' very presence in Curva was coterminous with the physical demonstration. Yet, the very fact that there is a protest at all should draw our attention to the contested nature of such claims, both in relation to the project and what it means to be a Kallawaya expert. Aside from the participants and myself, the only other witnesses to this spectacle were my husband, our one-year-old son, and the swarm of community members who had come to Curva from the municipality's outermost perimeter to attend the Provincial Assembly that would follow. In an important respect, therefore, this was not a protest aimed at external forces believed to be "usurping" or "exporting" their medicine, but rather directed towards their fellow

"community" members whose support for the project was taken as evidence of their ignorance, both of the global threat before them and Kallawaya behavioral norms regarding the protection of expert knowledge. Under the guise of mobilized resistance to the PUMA project, the protest served an equally, if not more important purpose: to create a powerful and public display of social contrasts within the community. Those healers who walked in solidarity with the protesters under the banner of "Kallawayas Present, Always United" were signaling a great deal more than their opposition to the PUMA project—they were drawing a highly visible distinction between themselves as "authentic" medical practitioners and the "inauthentic" others who sought to join their ranks by claiming Kallawaya status as participants in the PUMA project. As the ethnography and discourse analyses presented in this dissertation will show, the boundaries between insider and outsider, "authentic" expert and "inauthentic" *poseur*, and the relationships of all of these to medical practice, are at once complicated and increasingly fraught.

1.6 "Heritage Trouble" and Trends Toward Secrecy

The complex predicament I have been describing is a prototypical example of what Michael Brown (2005:42) calls "heritage trouble," a state of "diffuse global anxiety about the movement of information among different cultures." On the one hand, growing concern in the Western world about the ease with which traditional knowledge and cultural practices can be appropriated has led UNESCO to adopt the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH). In addition to preventing culture loss, its purpose is to reduce the likelihood that indigenous knowledge can be extracted

and used for profit elsewhere, by documenting its "originary" connection to specific people and contexts of use. In theory this effort makes sense. But in practice, documentation procedures sever ties between the intangible heritage they purport to protect and their sources of production. The act of recording introduces precisely the kinds of risks and vulnerabilities associated with cultural appropriation by publicizing and thereby making accessible what was previously regarded as private information. As Brown notes (2005:48): "One of the ironies of the CSICH is that the language and administrative strategies are patterned on the very Information Society practices they are ostensibly trying to counter."

The UNESCO recognition of Kallawaya as an "Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" is a case in point. As has occurred in other cases too, global preoccupations with the movement of intangible heritage have overshadowed local concerns about that movement, concerns that have to do with the movement of "heritage" knowledge within, community borders as well as beyond them. It is in the context of this local-global disjuncture that the PUMA project stirred up so much controversy. Notice that the Kallawayas' actions in response to the PUMA project did not just focus upon their medical knowledge itself, some of which –having already been published – was actually no longer secret. Instead, it also focused upon the principle of having secrets – what Paul Johnson (2002:3) has called "secretism": "the active milling, polishing, and promotion of the reputation of secrets" apart from their actual existence. As Johnson argues, and (as we will see) the Kallawaya case illustrates, the idea of secrecy can arise as a defensive response and serve as an important tool for social differentiation.

1.7 Theoretical Orientations

This project is inspired by recent work in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, which calls attention to the ideologically mediated nature of linguistic variation and the semiotic processes through which social differentiation is achieved in a community (Irvine and Gal 2000; Eckert 2000; Irvine 2001; Eckert and Rickford 2001). Consistent with this body of research, I assume that language is both intimately linked to the material contexts in which it is used and inherently multifunctional, serving a variety of social purposes beyond referential communication. These include the interactional management of speech, the stylistic construction of social personas, and quite possibly, contributions to the conceptual organization of thought (Jakobson 1960; Goffman 1981; Irvine 1989; Gelman and Coley 1991; Silverstein 1995; Clark 1996; Irvine 2001). Because language is the principal means through which expert knowledge is conveyed, learned, and demonstrated in everyday contexts (Putnam 1975; Cicourel 1999) it is an ideal lens through which to examine the relationship between knowledge and practice in ways that capture its socio-cultural and cognitive complexity.

The literature on language and political economy, in particular, is central to the conceptual approach I adopt towards Kallawaya linguistic practices. In addition to sharing a common concern with the role of language in the maintenance of power and inequality, these works demonstrate that language has material, as well as symbolic worth (Bourdieu 1991; Irvine 1989; Gal 1989; Friedrich 1989; Keane 1997). Because, as Irvine (1989:255) points out, "verbal skills and performances are among the resources and activities forming a socioeconomic activity, and the relevant knowledge, talents, and use-rights are not evenly, randomly or fortuitously distributed in a community," their

economic benefits are likewise unevenly distributed. In my own research, I consider what linguistic skills are deemed crucial to the effective expression of Kallawaya expertise and why, as well as how access to such resources and their knowledgeable employment are socially regimented.

The "ideologies of language" literature, which concerns how the complex of taken-for-granted ideas informing social actors' perceptions of linguistic structures, their uses, and their association with people, places, and activities mediate social experience (Silverstein 1979; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; Kroskrity 2000; Agha 1998) is another relevant framework for this project. This body of research has effectively shown that in addition to informing individual linguistic behavior, ideologized frames of reference also provide the evaluative basis by which the linguistic practices of others are judged. The social and cognitive potency of these frames and beliefs derive, in part, from their ability to naturalize arbitrary and/or historically contingent relationships between linguistic and social facts. Those relationships can then be used to rationalize social behavior in the service of diverse and competing political interests (Parmentier 1994; Agha 1998; Irvine and Gal 2000; Hill 2008). Ideologized accounts thus propose to explain the causes of linguistic and social variation. What such accounts share is a tendency to cite "linguistic phenomena as part of and evidence for what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed" (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). When essentialist theories and ideologies help "fix" natural variation within and between categories of speech, speakers, and speech events, they have the effect of drawing attention as much to salient contrasts between categories, as to consistencies between them (Agha 1998; Irvine and

Gal 2000). In my own research, these insights have enabled me to critically approach the relationship between language and Kallawaya expert activities, as well as to avoid the wide-spread tendency to conflate *beliefs* about Kallawaya speech with the actual linguistic *behavior* of these healers.

Likewise, new conceptions of "style" in studies of linguistic variation have turned attention to the semiotic processes through which linguistic difference is constructed and acquires social value in wider social fields (Eckert 2000; Eckert and Rickford 2001; Irvine 2001; Hill 2008). While these studies continue to share, along with older analyses, an explicit concern with the systematicity and social meaning of linguistic diversity, they overcome some of the older work's problematic assumptions. For example, we need no longer assume that criteria for evaluating speech are homogeneously shared. Moreover, new approaches make it easier to see how speakers actively participate in the construction of sociolinguistic variability, rather than limiting the account to how individuals might merely model their speech with respect to existing variation. Studies of talk in face-to-face interaction support these findings and, where concerned with the talk of "experts," have contributed significantly to our understanding of the ways in which language functions both as an index of expert identity and as a means of negotiating expert/layperson boundaries (Clark 1996; Barton 1996, 1999; Heath 1992; Heritage and Sefi 1992; Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998). Two recent review articles, E. Summerson Carr's (2010) "Enactments of Expertise" and James M. Wilce's (2009) "Medical Discourse," have compiled and extended this work, drawing much needed attention to the myriad ways that medical expertise is verbally assumed and challenged in the context of discursive histories that extend beyond any face-to-face encounter and evolve over time.

Consequently, they also serve to denaturalize expertise as something that people possess "in the head" by focusing on the interactional dimensions of what experts do and how their behavior is the complex result of learning how to communicate one's specialized familiarity with a cultural domain in context-appropriate ways.

Meanwhile, researchers such as Lave and Wenger have shown that knowledge acquisition is structured by group dynamics and "participation frameworks" that situate people, knowledge, and skills in graded relation to cultural ideas of expertise. Consequently, "changing locations and perspectives are part of actors' learning trajectories, developing identities and forms of membership" (Lave and Wenger 1991:36). For those reasons Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) adapted Lave and Wenger's concept of "community of practice" to the sociolinguistic study of gender, and their work (see also Eckert 2000 and other works) has inspired others in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology to adopt the same construct. Importantly, such views locate the study of cognition within a socio-political matrix, and thus extend its study beyond specific cognitive processes and conceptual structures. Recently, a debate in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (Davies 2005; Eckert and Wenger 2005; Gee 2005; Meyerhoff 2005) focused on the politics of "communities of practice" in the narrow sense, that is, groups whose shared activities and projects are the basis of their acquisition of knowledge. The role of leadership, the differences among members' access and expertise, and the policing of boundaries that can characterize such groups – topics discussed in this debate –are especially relevant to my work, which contributes to this theoretical picture in two ways. In addition to providing an extended cultural case study of the politics of expertise, my research focuses analytic attention on the boundary practices themselves, and the

emergence of stylistic speech patterns as defining the status of "authentic" Kallawaya expert.

This dissertation is also influenced by recent literature on dialogicality (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995), enregisterment (Agha 2007 and other works), and interdiscursivity (see, for example, Agha and Wortham 2005). For a few decades now, work in the various disciplines concerned with language in interaction have explored the ways in which a person's utterances in conversation can be consequential, for example, in sparking uptake (or shutting it down), or in providing a model toward which other utterances converge, or in providing someone else with an allied conversational effort (or a contestation). Most of this work focused on what takes place within a single conversation – sometimes on principle, as in some varieties of Conversation Analysis. The recent work on register formation and interdiscursivity, however, provides analytical approaches for exploring such relationships among utterances, or among stretches of discourse, across and between events of talk, not just within them. John Haviland's (2005) article on "The intertextual construction of enemies and selves" links closely to my work because it traces the history of a dispute, the changing alignments of personnel, and the consequences of talk in Zinacanteco discourse over many years (see also Haviland 2010 for a similar Zinacanteco case). The interdiscursive links I trace bear some similarity to these, but the events I discuss took place in different venues and engage personnel and issues ranging far beyond the local community.

Finally, along with Wortham (2005:95) I see socialization – into roles and the styles of speaking that index and constitute them – as taking place intertextually, across events. I also share with Wortham (2006) and others (Collins 1996; Mertz 1996;

Kroskrity 2000; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Silverstein 2003; Agha 2005, 2007; Meek 2007) the related concern with how social identity emerges in educational settings (both formal and informal) where actors are socialized to interact with linguistic resources and one another in ideologized ways. This work builds on an earlier body of language socialization research, which has attended both to how children and other cultural novices are socialized in and through specific kinds of language use (Ochs and Schiefflin 1986; Schiefflin and Ochs 1986; Ochs 1993). Collectively, this work shows that trajectories of discourse are inevitably also trajectories of socialization; the social and linguistic impact of the circulating discourse and its accompanying semiotic expressions grow in direct proportion to the degree of regimented exposure and cultural value attributed to the discourse as it moves across individual encounters. In the process, linguistic practices and the ideological frameworks that inform them are subject to transformation as they are negotiated and (re)produced with varying degrees of faith. The socialization to which my research pertains, however, is of adults, not children. I am also concerned largely with the socialization of expertise that occurs in non-institutionalized settings, whereas much of the socialization literature focuses on learning in institutional contexts such as the classroom or formal apprenticeship activities. My analyses show how increasing numbers of Kallawaya healers were socialized into the role of "authentic Kallawaya expert" by acquiring the speech styles that index authoritative Kallawaya expertise, not only Sejo/Machaj Juyay but also the patterns of discourse that came to express expertise in the context of the PUMA dispute.

1.8 Fieldwork Conditions and Ethnographic Access

Given the nature of the arguments contained within these pages and the politicized conditions under which I conducted my fieldwork, the question naturally arises as to how I was ultimately granted permission to conduct my research. In this section, I describe the means and limits to my ethnographic access. I offer this information in order not just to provide the reader with the basic context necessary to evaluate my claims as an ethnographer, but also in recognition of the fact that fieldwork, like all cultural encounters is a dialogic production (Mannheim and Tedlock 1995).

The research on which this dissertation is based was carried out over a period of twenty-eight months in Bolivia between July 2000 and September 2006. The two largest stints of fieldwork took place in Chari, for eleven months, between March 2003 and November 2005, and in Curva, for a total of fourteen months, between February 2005 and April 2006. I conducted an additional two months of follow-up research in Curva during July and August of 2006.

In Chari, I began work with the intention of doing a "community" study that would focus on the acquisition of Kallawaya medical expertise and its articulation with linguistic practice. However, due to various intra-community conflicts in Chari – conflicts that were not entirely unrelated, as it turned out, to the problems I ultimately encountered in Curva – I decided to jump ship after determining that it would be impossible to conduct a "community" study. In Chari I could only have worked exclusively with a single healer due not to a lack of healers, but political strife within the community itself.

Problems in Chari stemmed most obviously from my living arrangements there, although I realized long afterwards that those were not the only issues. At any rate, after establishing my living quarters in a local Chari household, I learned the hard way that, while living with a family has its ethnographic advantages like twenty-four-hour access to cultural dynamics, the associated costs of that relationship can outweigh the benefits, depending on that family's standing within the community. The choice to live with a family is thus inherently risky since there is no way to know prior to one's own immersion within a sociocultural "field" what interpersonal repercussions might be entailed in such an arrangement. It was partly because of problems in Chari, therefore, but also because so much of Kallawaya activity seemed to be focused in Curva, that I decided to move there and to live in a household of my own, not within that of a local family. Moreover, while my decision to live independently in Curva was motivated by a conscious attempt to avoid those interfamilial kinds of local politics, it also served the changing needs of my own family with the recent arrival of our son, Luka, who was born just before I switched field sites.

Upon moving to Curva, however, I was confronted with a reality that contrasted sharply with the "ideal situation" I expected to find there based on my initial interactions with the community. The shock was immediate and complexly layered. It began with a sobering conversation with the municipal governor, who, while escorting us to an unoccupied residence tucked away on the outskirts of town instead of the centrally-located room in the administrative complex that we had previously been promised, explained that my research project had still not been officially approved. He attributed the

hold-up to a small group of influential individuals who were "misinformed" and were convinced that I had come to "steal" their culture (*sacar la cultura*).

As the mayor introduced us to these temporary living quarters, he assured us that everything would be fine, as the majority had supported the project; but he asked that we wait there while he sorted things out. Then, he left, taking care to close the battered blue metal door to the courtyard tightly behind him.

Ironically, the house we were placed in belonged to a high-profile healer who also maintained a permanent residence in La Paz. For the next several hours, we sat patiently, contemplating our predicament amidst mounds of dried medicinal plants that took up the length of an undressed twin bed. The reality was that despite my best efforts to make my family's entrance into the community as smooth and as transparent as possible, we were now being "hidden" from public view behind four tall stone walls. I hadn't even started working in the community and there were already problems. Despite eight months of negotiations – including informal conversations with key members of the municipal government and AMKOC (Association of Indigenous Kallawaya Healers from Curva), official letters requesting permission to pursue my research in Curva, as well as a verbal presentation of my research proposal to the community in November, and two additional meetings where I was told the project was deliberated in my absence – the acceptance I thought I had gained was still very much in question.

When Edgar, the mayor, returned he informed us that we would need to have a new meeting with the *secretario general*, the community's representative. In addition to concerns over the terms of the proposed research expressed by individual community members, there were logistical complications: the acceptance process had dragged on for

so long that a new *secretario general* had been elected during the time we were in Argentina awaiting the birth of our son. So, now, the new community official would have to re-approve the project, but he could only do so in the context of yet another public meeting, in which I would present my research proposal again and would need to receive a majority vote from the assembled members of the community.

Edgar explained all this as he walked me three doors down to the house of the new *secretario general.* Even though the conversation was technically supposed to be between the authority, and me Edgar did most of the talking. He spent a great deal of time clarifying that I was not a medical doctor, but an anthropologist, a social scientist interested in "culture," not "medicine." I held back the urge to clarify. Next, I was asked to clear up some vague rumors: had I been living in Curva without permission? Had I previously worked in other areas of the Province? The answer to the first question was no. With respect to the second question, I responded honestly about the trouble I had experienced in Chari. After those details were cleared up, I was escorted directly to the plaza for the meeting, which I was told would have to take place that night because the mayor was returning to La Paz. As if it were an after thought, but knowing full-well it would be the point on which approval of my project would hinge, he whispered just before our arrival at the meeting entrance: "it will be fine, just don't say anything about medicine or plants."

The problem, of course, was that my original project WAS about medicine (albeit broadly conceived). And, my interest in Curva, like other visitors to the region, including researchers, was related to the prominence of healers and presumed uniqueness of Kallawaya medical activities that distinguished their community from others within and

beyond the Province of Bautista Saavedra. More importantly, I had already stated as much in writing and verbally on numerous previous occasions.[2] The community, of course, already knew this, which is why suspicions were circulating about my work in the first place.

When we entered the meeting, people were already gathered. After a brief re-introduction, I was asked to restate the terms of my project. Following Edgar's advice, I proposed a community-based study of Kallawaya "culture" focusing on the everyday experiences (*la vida quotidiana*) of the families who lived there, including the relationship of local medical practices to those experiences. I explained further that in order to carry out the study I planned to live in Curva full-time, along with my husband and baby boy, and that we wished to participate, as any other community member might, in the communal activities, both mundane and special, that make their lives meaningful. My goal was to understand what it means to be a member of a community that is reputed for the quality and quantity of its medical healers. As part of this process, I would ask for voluntary assistance in the form of interviews.

Objections from meeting participants were immediate and aggressive toward me and toward one another. The problem wasn't with the project I proposed, as much as it was with the *difference* between the way in which I had originally introduced my research plans and the manner in which I was now describing my work. According to the previous *secretario general*, because I had originally expressed an interest in working

[2] In fact, a "convenio" (formal contract) with the alcaldia had already been signed on the basis of these communications outlining the terms and conditions of my work in Curva: in exchange for approving the project and providing us with a modest room to live in, I would make significant renovations to the property, including the installation of solar panels, which would remain in the community as permanent material investments for the benefit of the community. In addition, I would voluntarily teach English and computer classes for the alcaldia, as well as be expected to assist with other "reasonable" financial, technical, or social needs that may arise during the course of my stay.

specifically with healers, that was what I was there to do – and like every other researcher before me it could only mean one thing: that I had come to collect medicinal plants and knowledge about them, with the purpose of profiting personally.

My initial response was defensive: I tried explaining that my intentions were purely academic and motivated by an interest in understanding and documenting their cultural experience, which was shaped in important ways by the prominence of Kallawaya medicine and healers in their community (as acknowledged by UNESCO). But, when meeting participants continued to object on the grounds that this is what every other researcher to the area had said, I was forced to make a quick decision: give up or adapt. I chose to adapt and threw my plans to the wind as they explained in no uncertain terms that the project I had originally conceived was not permissible. Regardless of what I planned to do with the information, medicinal plants and knowledge of their use was strictly off-limits.

While I happily agreed to comply with such restrictions, I also made it clear that it would be impossible to live long-term in Curva and understand what life there was like without acknowledging the impact that the practice of medicine has on the lives of local healers, as well as the rest of the community. To do so, I argued, would grossly distort the reality of local experience by systematically eliminating over half the population from my research, as well as the consequences of medical knowledge and practice for people across the social spectrum. I added that it would also be unrealistic to think that if I was granted permission to live there and carry out research, I would never come across a sick individual in need of treatment or a healer called upon for help. How could I live there and not be exposed to something so intrinsic to this place? Weren't healers also parents,

agriculturalists, spouses, in-laws and political leaders? Hadn't the exclusive focus on healers and medicine (reduced to plants, an esoteric linguistic register, and ritual practices) resulted in an equally distorted view of life in Curva? What impact did the long-term absence of healers have on the community? And, what benefits did non-healers reap from access to a rich medicinal flora and to competent healers versed in a variety of medicinal substances and techniques? What would happen in the event that a member of my own family fell ill? I assured the community that these were the kinds of questions that I was interested in, not some abstract laundry list of disembodied medicinal knowledge and plants. Surely, all of this was relevant to the quotidian experience of people in Curva, wasn't it, I asked – as well as reflective of the important connections between the community, its resources, and its inhabitants to cities beyond the Province of Bautista Saavedra? With this line of questioning, the hostility appeared to subside. To disagree would be to deny a fundamental part of Kallawaya identity and community life. And this was precisely the point I was trying to make.

At the same time, I continued, it was impossible for me to prove that, in fact, I meant what I said without being extended the opportunity to live there and demonstrate through action that I would remain true to my word. That proof would only come with time, mutual trust, and open communication, a journey only they could decide was worth taking. I had already pledged my commitment to abide by the limitations they sought to impose on my research. And, if granted permission to conduct research in Curva, I warned further, I would surely make mistakes along the way because I was there to learn to see things from their perspective, something I could heretofore know about only superficially, since all I had to go on was the written sources about Kallawaya practices.

Consequently, I would be dependent on them, in their role as teachers, to call attention to misunderstandings and clarify boundaries, including unrecognized breaches in my own conduct.

The shock at witnessing myself take such a bold and honest stand, with so much at stake for me and in the context of such pointed skepticism and anger, left me somewhat oblivious to the details of exactly how the community's subsequent decision to receive me came to pass. At any rate, following these objections I was warmly welcomed into the community that night, along with my family. The community agreed to my modified research proposal on the condition that they retained the right to terminate the project and my presence in the community at any time, for any reason. My willingness to extend them this power was the first and most important step I took to build the trust necessary to carry out my dissertation research. It meant that both they and I stood to lose and gain equally.

I presume that there were several things that tempered negative images: that I was a student, that I was married and had a baby and that my husband and son were both Argentine citizens. We had also arrived in Bolivia from Argentina and returned there briefly following my fieldwork, despite my own identity as a US citizen and affiliation with a North American University. All of this somehow served to shelter me a bit from the negativity associated with my national and professional identity.

I spent the next year living up to my promise, integrating myself into the community. I attended community meetings and workshops, spoke Quechua, helped with agricultural and household chores, participated in numerous ritual events at both the community and family level, spent time hanging out in stores, homes, the local hospital,

the cemetery, and roamed the streets following the action wherever it led me. I interacted with community members of all ages, genders, and social classes and with people whose reputation for possessing medical knowledge and whose activities associated with the practice of Kallawaya medicine varied greatly. I developed strong relationships with many households and laughed and cried with dear friends over coca and alcohol on many occasions. I even helped deliver a child and mourned the loss of many more deaths. I also watched the deathly ill be treated by Kallawaya healers with varying levels of success. But where these experiences brought me into contact with concrete medicinal knowledge I have chosen to withhold the substantive details, as that is not my story to tell.

Over time, my actions must have instilled a collective sense of confidence in my research activities. This confidence waxed and waned as political tides shifted frequently from calm to civil unrest throughout the country and Curva's leadership was called to action in the national arena. During that year I lived in Curva, the only activities I did not engage in directly were closed PUMA project workshops and meetings. As social conflict around the project evolved, however, it became a primary preoccupation for the community at large. As a result, it also eventually became the most important thread in Curva's story, and the one I can tell.

1.9 Plan of the dissertation

The rest of the dissertation proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 describes Curva, its relationship to other communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra, its demography, and the kinds of institutions and activities that take place there. While Curva is a physical locus for Kallawaya medicine, the surprising fact is that a great many of the most

renowned healers are absent most of the time. Exploring the reasons for their absence, and the ways they maintain relationships with people resident in Curva, the chapter lays out the various sets of people involved in medical practice who claim connection with the community. Kallawaya expertise is graded in complex and patterned ways. A distinction between *residentes* (Kallawayas who come from Curva or the nearby town of Lagunillas but live permanently elsewhere, in the cities where they practice medicine) and *lugareños* (Kallawayas who live most of the time in or near Curva) is important but is not the only distinction along which medical expertise is patterned. I group Kallawaya roughly into six categories, according to the nature and extent of their medical practice. I also trace the various trajectories of medical professionalization.

Following on that background, Chapter 3 begins the saga of the PUMA conflict, as I witnessed it. I start with a two-hour private meeting, initially focused on my own case but then largely devoted to the potential threat this particular group – key members of SBIDCMEK (the professional association entitled "The Bolivian Society for the Investigation and Defense of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine") – saw in the PUMA project. The chapter describes and analyzes the complex of interpretative processes and power dynamics in the meeting, as urban elites transmitted their oppositional stance toward the project. Presenting excerpts of my transcript of the meeting, I argue that the discursive means by which those elites presented their stance offered a model of "professional" ways of speaking that seemed to reinforce, but ultimately superseded, more traditional ways of demonstrating expertise.

Chapter 4 continues to follow the conflict over the PUMA project, in the context of the discourse in a large public meeting that occurred in the main plaza the day after the

more private meeting described in Chapter 3. Although the urban elite healers had planned to use this public gathering as an occasion for unifying all Kallawaya in opposition to the PUMA project, the meeting did not turn out that way. By focusing initially on the differences between themselves (as the most authoritative experts) and the more local healers, the urban SBIDCMEK professionals drove a wedge between those Kallawaya who could most readily identify with them and those who could not. Speakers' performances at the meeting reveal different models of expertise; some Kallawaya took up the model discussed in chapter 3, while others expressed themselves quite differently. In the end, the social divisions and hierarchical relations that emerged at this meeting differ from traditional ways of associating medical expertise with particular kinds of individuals and communities. The meeting broke up without resolution.

Chapter 5 follows the PUMA conflict to a subsequent meeting in the capital city of La Paz, a national meeting to which all Kallawaya healers were ostensibly to attend but which in fact was almost exclusively attended by urban Kallawaya. The performances of speakers at this meeting crystallized a discursive style of the "authentic" Kallawaya expert, a style that reproduced in a heightened way the discourse patterns that had been performed by the SBIDCMEK speakers at the Curva meetings earlier. In the very act of reproducing such discursive routines, drawing on particular kinds of lexical resources, metaphors, and analogies to represent the PUMA project as a global threat, the speakers at this urban meeting aligned themselves with one another and enacted a new model of Kallawaya expertise. The chapter outlines subsequent developments: the urban Kallawayas' successful pressure on the PUMA foundation and on many other healers, so that eventually any rural supporters of the project were few, isolated, and not easily seen

as “authentic” experts. I conclude with comparisons between the Kallawaya resistance to the PUMA project and other social movements in Bolivia and beyond.

1.10 A Note on Transcription

Despite the fact that Quechua is the dominant language spoken on a day-to-day basis both in Curva and throughout the Province of Bautista Saavedra, the meetings I analyze here were held exclusively or predominantly in Spanish. There are several reasons for this departure from everyday custom in Curva. First, the majority of healers, regardless of their physical residence, are either dominant Spanish-speakers or equally fluent in Quechua and Spanish. Their Spanish fluency is tied to their greater access to formal education in Spanish (at primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels), as well as their ambulatory medical practice in the city, where Spanish is the most prevalent language spoken. As a result, the use of Spanish between Kallawaya healers often confers upon them a degree of elite distinction that borrows from the cultural superiority of Spanish over Quechua that has existed throughout the Andes since the time of the European invasion (Mannheim 1991). Because these meetings were attended exclusively or heavily by healers and concerned the PUMA project controversy and the related issue of whom exactly the designation of healer legitimately applied, Spanish was used during the meetings as a way to assert one’s expert status relative to others (in both rural and urban settings). In addition, many of the key players in these meetings, most of whom represented urban Kallawaya organizations or migrants to Curva, had limited fluency in Quechua and, therefore, fought to maintain the discussion in Spanish, where they could dominate the conversation relative to other, less-fluent participants. During the Provincial

Assembly meeting analyzed in Chapter 3, the default use of Spanish during the meeting was also related to the fact that there were Aymara speakers present, whose limited fluency in Quechua meant that Spanish was encouraged as a *lingua franca* because it was the most common language between all those present.

Since all three meetings I analyze were conducted in Spanish, all of my transcripts are presented in Spanish, the language in which they were originally recorded. All English translations are my own and are provided to the right of the original Spanish for the purpose of comparison. The transcript for each chapter is broken down into excerpts that are individually numbered. Longer excerpts are broken down further into numbered stanzas, which are blocks of transcript within a given excerpt. I reference transcripts in the narrative text by numbered excerpt and stanza (where relevant) as follows: "Excerpt 5, stanza 2."

Chapter 2

Curva: Cuna de la Medicina Traditional

"Landscapes can be deceptive. Sometimes a landscape seems to be less a setting for the life of its inhabitants than a curtain behind which their struggles, achievements, and accidents take place. For those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtain, landmarks are no longer only geographic but also biographical and personal."

-- John Berger and Jean Mohr, *A Fortunate Man*.

2.1 Introduction

On the afternoon of July 16, 2005, a well-known acquaintance working for IPADE[3] stopped to join me, while I sought refuge from the scorching sun on a shade-covered bench in Curva's main plaza. The place looked like a ghost town. Everyone in the community had passed through in one crazy bustle hours ago. The children had gone to school and the adults, looking tired and bored, with animals, babies, and tools in tow headed in the direction of their *chakras* (agricultural plots) where a day of hard manual labor awaited them. Storefronts were locked tight and silence lingered heavily in the air. The conspicuous absence of people at this time of day ensured a degree of privacy unusual for such a public space.

After our usual exchange of greetings and updates, she cut to the chase and asked pointedly, "Would you be willing to write a short article on Kallawaya medicine for a

[3] Instituto de Promoción y Apoyo al Desarrollo (Institute of Promotion and Support for Development) is a Spanish NGO dedicated to reducing poverty and preserving the environment through sustainable development.

friend's magazine in La Paz?" She continued without waiting for a response: "The thing is, they asked me to write it because I have been working in the area so long, but the truth is, after all these years I haven't really had much contact with healers. Curva is supposed to be the center of Kallawaya activity and yet I don't see anything. There are no healers around."

We laughed in unison. It was a serious statement, but she sensed that I knew exactly what she meant. I did and the irony made it funny. She wasn't merely soliciting a job from me. She wanted confirmation from the anthropologist. Had she missed something? Or, was it all a big façade? Did I know something she and other visitors to the region didn't? Where were all the Kallawayas? At the time, I was still struggling to answer these questions myself, despite the fact that I had been living in Curva for three months, and before that had lived for almost a year in Chari, another well-known Kallawaya community on the outskirts of Charazani, the provincial capital and neighboring municipality.

My friend's simultaneously puzzled and frustrated state about the apparent lack of Kallawaya healers present in Curva was not unique. There were moments when I harbored a similar mix of confusion and disappointment about my field site and had witnessed the same dissatisfaction in other visitors, who had made the arduous all-day trip out to Curva from La Paz, but would have to leave before they made contact with the famed Kallawaya healers they had read about online, in books and tourist guides.

In this chapter, I address the paradox of Curva's fame as the "Cuna de la Cultura and Medicina Kallawaya" and the apparent lack of healers present in the community, by which many visitors are taken aback. I do so by way of drawing attention to historical

and current political dynamics that made Curva an especially ideal place for my dissertation research despite and also because of the apparent absence of healers, including those exceptional aspects of the community related to Kallawaya medical practice and the more mundane dimensions of everyday life reminiscent of other rural Andean communities. Its purpose is two-fold: 1) to ground my discussion of Kallawaya medical expertise in the ethnographic minutiae of the community where I conducted the bulk of my fieldwork and 2) to provide the social and material context necessary to understand how and why conflict over the PUMA project arose and is tied to competing claims about the "authentic" practice of Kallawaya medicine.

2.2 Ethnographic Setting

Curva's main plaza marks the dead end of a single road that, while only 177 miles from La Paz, takes roughly ten hours to traverse by bus (longer if you attempt to arrive in the wet season). The trip leading there follows the well-worn path north from the vender-packed intersection of Calle Reyes Cordona and Avenida Kollasuyo in the cemetery district. Beyond the congested streets of El Alto, the road winds its way around the eastern shores of lake Titicaca to the place where the infamous Aymara town of Achacachi and the turn off for Copacabana meet.[4] Past Achacachi, the paved road turns

[4] Achacachi is the municipal capital for the Omasuyos Province, Department of La Paz, and is a historically important stronghold of Aymara indigenous resistance. It is where Túpac Katari, the 18th century Aymara rebel (who took his name from Túpac Amaru and Tomas Katari, who fought for the liberation of native Andeans before him), was captured and beheaded by the Spanish. This area also gave birth to the Katarista-Indianista movement that reawakened the anti-colonial spirit of these earlier uprisings within indigenous-campesino unions across the country during the 1970s (Rivera Cusicanqui 2006). Today, Achacachi's reputation for resistance to colonial domination within and beyond the Bolivian State lives through the image and actions of Felipe Quispe Huanca (El Mallku), an Achacachi native of Aymara descent, whose long-standing political and cultural leadership continues to be felt through his prominent ties to the CSUTCB (Confederation of Bolivian Campesino Workers), Bolivia's oldest and most important indigenous-campesino organization, as well as the political party, MIP (Pachakuti Indigenous Movement).

to gravel. Then, continues north along the Peruvian border, where it stretches for five long hours across the mostly desolate high-altiplano. Every few hours, the visual monotony of rugged mountains and flat farmland gives way to clusters of urban-like highland sprawl that punctuate the brown and barren landscape with cube-shaped adobe constructions bathed in peeling pastel paint. The concrete slabs delimiting community plazas and political propaganda scrawled across waist-high adobe walls impart a city-like feel to these places that are in fact far from the urban centers, in whose image they were created.

The scenes one observes in and about these small towns are similar to what one eventually finds in Curva. Depending on the time of day, day of week, and season, the passer-by is likely to encounter a flurry of social activity—women sunbathing along side freshly laundered skirts laid out to dry like colored pinwheels, an elderly man in a tattered suit walking cautiously from one corner of town to the other, children entertaining themselves with make-shift toys fashioned from discarded plastic bags or tin cans, men lost in conversation, each with a hand sifting carefully through a bag of coca, a busy Sunday market, religious processions in full-swing solemnly circling the streets, a rowdy string of dancers weaving their way across the plaza, ant-like figures working the land in the distance and children escorting herds of animals to and from unknown destinations. The inquisitive gaze of transient outsiders is met with equally diverse reactions, ranging from complete neglect and silent tolerance to outward distain and direct confrontation.

The membership of both of these organizations were highly active in the national civil revolts that took place in response to the privatization of Cochabamba's water system in 2000 and during the Gas War of 2005.

The invisible border that separates the Province of Bautista Saavedra and the southern provinces of the Department of La Paz marks a sharp climatological shift from arid highland *puna* to the warmer and wetter transAndean valleys. As the road makes its steep zigzag descent into the heart of the province the landscape grows increasingly green and lush. In the valleys below, the famed Kallawaya communities begin to make their

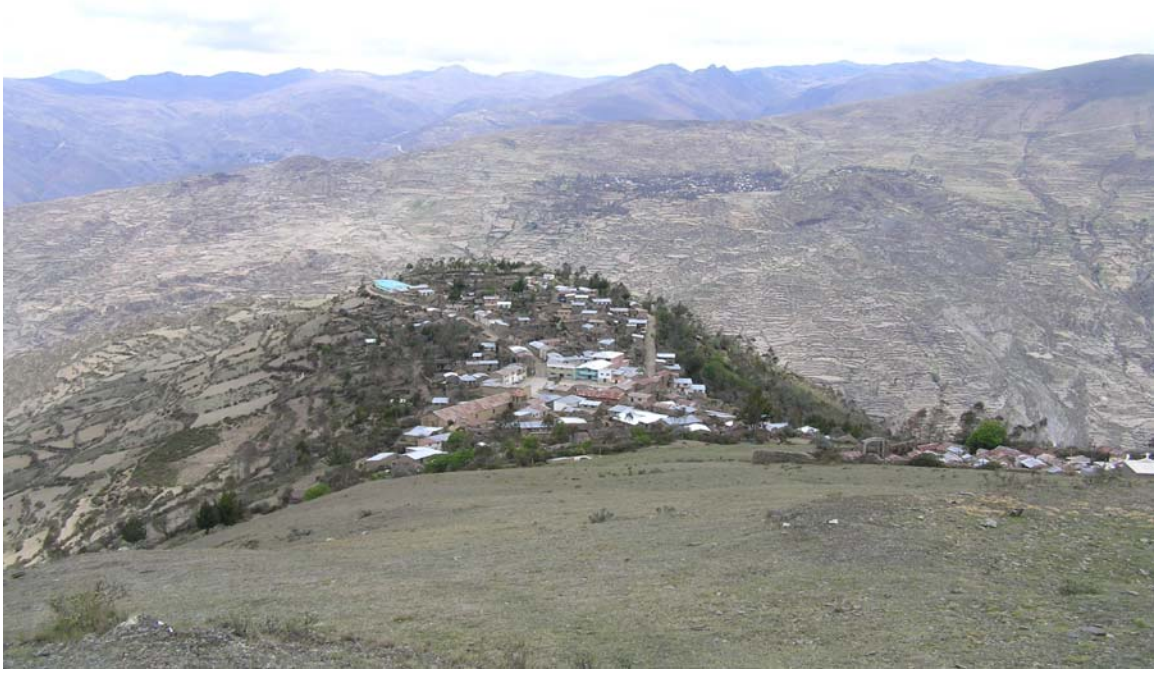

Figure 4: An aerial view of Curva.

appearance. They pass in and out of sight as the road switchbacks down and around the Eastern slopes of the Cordillera Apolobamba, narrowing one's field of vision to the pockets of civilization that inhabitant the region. First, Chajaya. Then, Charazani. Then, Kaata. Each community is surrounded by Inca-era terracing that extends as far as the eye can see. In the distance, bright red and pink begonias stand out amidst dense stands of eucalyptus trees and camouflaged community structures. Houses alternate between old

stone constructions with *paja* (straw) thatched roofs and adobe buildings topped with rusting corrugated tin.

It isn't until one begins the slow two-hour ascent towards the northwest corner of the province that Curva reveals itself beneath the towering presence of Akamani, the second tallest and most revered mountain in the region. Perched at an altitude of 3800 meters, Curva sits high above a series of deep canyons on a plateau that juts out precariously from a rugged landmass in the shape of a soft backward C**.** It is the last stop on a thin secondary roadway that straddles the municipal border separating the two provincial *secciones* (sections) and links Curva in chain-like fashion to Caalaya and Upinhuaya before reaching Kaata. From its tip, one bears witness to a breath-taking, bird's-eye view of the entire valley, with its winding rivers, pervasive terracing, snow-capped peaks, and scattered communities nestled in mountainous folds extending backwards in the direction of Charazani. The panoramic glory of such a sight coupled with the fact that the road drops off here leaves foreigners with the distinct impression that they have arrived at the end of something—a feeling eerily reminiscent of Shel Silverstein's *Where the Sidewalk Ends*, only in the midst of some of the most beautiful terrain the Andes has to offer (1974).

But, for the people who live here, the landscape tells a different story, one that speaks to beginnings and secures Curva's place at the pinnacle of a regional symbolic hierarchy based on the number and quality of Kallawaya healers associated with a mere subset of communities under the jurisdiction of the province's fifteen *cantones* (cantons—in this case, regional zones within a municipality). It is their presumed primordial status within this symbolic order to which the self-proclaimed title, "Cuna de

la Cultura y Medicina Kallawaya," meaning birthplace or cradle of Kallawaya culture and medicine, refers.

2.3 Why Curva?

My initial motivations for pursuing fieldwork in Curva were not altogether different from those that bring other visitors here. They can be summarized succinctly as follows:

1. There is a strong symbolic association between Curva and Kallawaya medicine.
2. There is a strong physical association between Curva and Kallawaya medicine.
3. Curva is the administrative capital of the second municipality of the Province of Bautista Saavedra and, therefore, an important locus of inter-community contact, especially among healers.

In this section I provide evidence in support of these statements and their relevance to the present study. I also offer explanations as to why Kallawaya healers and their practices are so elusive to outsiders in spite of strong physical indicators to the contrary. I argue that the problem is largely one of perspective. Our idealized expectations about what the practice of Kallawaya medicine looks like, which are based on and reinforced through media representations and local ideologies of expertise, capture at best one part of a more variegated system of social distinction and medical practice. Setting aside these preconceived notions and juxtaposing abstract metacultural statements about what Kallawaya healers look like and do with observations of how medical knowledge and labor is socially distributed and collaboratively achieved allow us to see a more complete picture, one consistent with contemporary practice. Adjusting our vision to accommodate

the breadth of this social variation not only resolves the paradox, but also enriches our understanding of Kallawaya expertise and the PUMA conflict through and around which it eventually took on its most explicit expression. Far from the impression that "real" Kallawaya medicine is somehow absent, dead, or has disappeared—that what remains, is a watered down version of something more real and "authentic" that existed in the past, we see that the culture of Kallawaya medicine is alive and well in the present, and in the midst of paving a path for its future. It simply looks different from that which we have been led to search for.

2.4 Curva as Symbolic Center of Kallawaya Medicine

Curva's reputation as a site *par excellence* for Kallawaya healers, expert knowledge, and medicinal plants relative to other communities in the Bautista Saavedra region has earned it a privileged status within academic circles, as well as the regional, national, and international imagination. While published sources and local opinions vary slightly as to the number and names of the communities versed in Kallawaya medical practice, Curva/Lagunillas consistently tops the list.[5] Chajaya and Chari run a close bid for second and a string of smaller and less well-known communities, including Inca, Huata-Huata, and Sajanajón follow suit. Attempts to quantify the number of healers associated with these communities, while problematic, affirm the symbolic superiority of

[5] Lagunillas, or Tilinhuaya as it is also locally referred to, is a small village with a day-to-day population of 32 individuals (270 if one includes city migrants), according to local informants, and is located less than a ten-minute walk from Curva. Despite its official status as an independent community, it functions largely as an extension of Curva due to the close physical proximity, high incidence of intermarriage, and tight social connection between the two communities. Like Curva, the majority of Lagunilla's population is engaged in the professional practice of Kallawaya medicine and constitutes part of an extended network of healers who share a collective presence in cities like La Paz and Cochabamba.

Curva.[6] Schoop (1982), for instance, documents 44 healers in Curva, compared with 22 in Chajaya and a mere 13 healers on average affiliated with the six other communities included in the census (Khanlaya, Charazani, Chari, Inca Roca, Huata-Huata, and Lagunillas, also known a Tilinguaya). If one combines the number of healers documented for Curva and Lagunillas, the disparity between Curva/Lagunillas and the rest of the Province grows sharper still. As a result of these differences, Curva stands in a class all its own—it is *the* Kallawaya community, according to both local and scholarly consensus.

Curva's elevated symbolic status within the Province of Bautista Saavedra, and by extension those healers with physical and genealogical ties to Curva, is bolstered further by the privileged position of the Province as a whole to the rest of the nation given its association with Kallawaya medicine. Thus, just as healers from Curva are held in higher esteem than those from other Kallawaya communities, Kallawaya healers in general (that is, as a collective social community) are accorded greater respect than other classes of traditional healers in Bolivia, such as *yatiris* (Aymara ritual specialists), naturistas, massage therapists, and bonesetters. Presumed connections between Kallawaya medicine and Inca royalty, as well as the complex of medical practices associated with the Tiawanaku Empire, have led many to assert that the superiority of Kallawaya medicine

[6] See Girault 1987, Schoop 1982, and Bastien 1987 for reports on the number of healers associated with select Kallawaya communities. Note, however, that these figures are hard to make sense of given the lack of contextual information the authors provide. In all three cases, the criteria on which the estimates are based are unclear, as is the source of the designation. We don't know, for instance, whether these numbers reflect self-reports of one's status as a healer or third-person assessments by local community members or the authors themselves. The degree to which *residentes* (community members residing permanently outside their community of origin) who practice medicine are included in these figures is also unclear in most cases. In addition, these numerical estimates reflect another widespread problem in the Kallawaya literature: authors are not clear in their writing as to whether they or their informants, when using names like Chajaya, Chari, and Curva are referring to those communities proper or using the names in their more inclusive sense, in which case they would encompass smaller communities subsumed within their jurisdiction as municipalities or cantons. This makes it difficult to assess the geographical range to which these statistics apply.

applies throughout Latin America, if not globally. Consequently, the privileged status of Kallawaya medicine owing to regional contrasts intra-nationally is extended inter-nationally, so that Bolivia is regarded as a privileged locus of traditional medicine relative to other Latin American countries.

The most explicit expressions of these recursive hierarchies are reflected in official titles that locate Kallawaya practices at the epicenter of this symbolic terrain, while mapping them geographically. In 1987, after years of political pressure from SOBOMETRA (The Bolivian Society for Traditional Medicine), the Bolivian government named the Province of Bautista Saavedra the "Capital of Bolivian Traditional Medicine," thereby legitimating wide-spread claims that Kallawaya healers represent the most ancient, elaborate, and "authentic" source of traditional medicine in the country.[7] However, Curva's regional reputation as the "Birthplace of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine," anchors the symbolic weight of the Province as a whole within the confines of a single community. Finally, the UNESCO award, proclaiming "The Andean Cosmovision of the Kallawaya Culture" a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity," adds to the clout of both Curva and the Province by elevating the symbolic status of Kallawaya healers, medical practices, and their territories of origin, world-wide.

The images of superiority embodied in these titles are reinforced through their circulation, materially and discursively. Such phrases are reproduced on the business cards of healers from Curva, rubber stamps used by community *sindicatos* and professional associations of Kallawaya healers, as well as municipal letterhead.

[7] Law of April 9, 1987 (cited in UNESCO application, Ministerio de Educación, Cultures y Deportes, Viceministerio de Cultura, Bolivia—August 2002).

Likewise, it is common for healers to use these phrases in speech as a means of situating themselves and their communities within these hierarchies. These practices enable individuals and communities to capitalize on the symbolic worth (Bourdieu 1991) of these statements by harnessing and transforming their inherent prestige into economic gain. Such individual possibilities are themselves facilitated by the collective imagery of Kallawaya healers and practices that are picked up and circulated in the popular media via tourist guides, TV programming, news articles, websites, and academic writing about the region.

During the course of fieldwork, I was bombarded with unsolicited evidence in support of Curva's privileged status. These included regional narratives of miraculous cures performed by healers from Curva, the extraordinary travels and professional success of deceased ancestors and living elders within and beyond national borders, and strong consensus as to the superior quality of healers from Curva. Additionally, myths were recounted to justify the privileged place of Curva in local and regional hierarchies. Two stand out in particular, both because of the frequency and consistency with which they are told.

The first myth is an account of how Curva got its name. With only slight variations from one informant to another the story goes as follows: Curva is a bastardized version of the Quechua word *Khurua* imposed by the Spanish. When the first Spanish arrived in the community, they were suffering from severe respiratory problems and at the mercy of those living there to care for them. Local healers enacted powerful cures utilizing a local worm (*khurua*) with medicinal properties. Having regained their health, they left and began spreading the word about their miraculous recovery and the

unparalleled knowledge and skill of the Kallawaya healers who had treated them. Subsequent travelers to the region reported similar recoveries at the hands of local healers and their reputation as healers grew in direct proportion to the stories that circulated about them. In recounting these events, the Spanish continuously mispronounced *Khurua* as Curva and the latter name stuck, as did the rightful association of their community with the superiority of their healing tradition.[8]

The second myth refers to a more distant time and accounts for how and why residents from Curva are versed in the practice of medicine in the first place. Contrary to most published scholarship, which suggests Kallawaya healers were chosen to serve as exclusive medical attendants for Inca Royalty on the basis of their own knowledge and medical skill, most locals maintain that the traditions were introduced by the Incas, then elaborated and maintained over time, giving their trade its unique characteristics today. The story begins with the infamous struggle for control of the Inca Empire between the two brothers Huascar and Atahuallpa. Upon his defeat, Huascar was relegated to the Eastern edge of imperial expansion, which eventually placed him in what is present day Bolivia northeast of Lake Titicaca. When he arrived with his entourage he encountered the inhabitants living in this area and doled out separate responsibilities to each of the *ayllus* (family-based ethnic units). Curva was charged with the care and use of medicinal plants. Kaata was given the task of growing wheat, Upinhuaya and Caalaya were to devote themselves to the distribution of coca, and Amarete would supply the region with ceramics. Curveños maintain that Inca trails that were built during this time laid the foundation for Inter-Andean trade that facilitated the movement of medicinal knowledge,

[8] While some residents also mention the physical curvature of the landscape they inhabit as bearing some relation to the name Curva, most acknowledge the parallel as mere coincidence or of secondary importance.

plants and other resources between high, low, and intermediate ecological zones. Successive waves of territorial modifications and political administrative divisions have helped contribute to the diffusion and diversification of Kallawaya medicine throughout other areas of the Province. Curveños acknowledge other recognized sites of Kallawaya expertise, such as Chajaya or Chari, as evidence of this outward movement, but are staunch in their conviction that Curva is where it all began.

Both myths, while serving primarily as origin stories, provide justifications for regional divisions of labor and Curva's reputation as the most authentic and knowledgeable source of Kallawaya medicine. They not only position Kallawayas from Curva as the rightful and exclusive heirs to a millennial medical tradition, but also validate their elevated social standing as the most knowledgeable healers in a provincial-wide social hierarchy. As will become increasingly apparent in subsequent chapters, this seemingly simple phrase, "Cuna de la Cultura y Medicina Kallawaya," in its assertion of primacy already alludes to a broader social field, within which it competes for first place on multiple levels.

2.5 Curva as Physical Locus of Kallawaya Medicine

At first glance, Curva appears to live up to its symbolic reputation. Markers of a lively medical tradition confirming Curva's privileged status as the heart of "authentic" Kallawaya medical practice permeate the natural and constructed landscape. The sight, sounds, tastes, and smells of Kallawaya medicinal culture assault the senses at every turn.

Curva's strategic position between the high altiplano to the north and the fertile tropical valleys to the south provides easy access to a diverse range of medicinal plants

growing across a step ecological gradient. Healers and scholars alike claim that it is this unique geographical property that is responsible for the exceptional potency of medicinal plants in and around Curva compared with other communities, and hence the superior botanical acumen of its residents. During the wet season, the pungent odor of medicinal plants hangs in the air, signaling an abundance of local medicinal species. At the same time, local knowledge and exploitation of these botanical resources is on constant visual display. People of all ages traffic plants in plain view from their sites of growth to their sites of use as needed and all locally prepared beverages are touted for their curative effects. However, the most conspicuous display of local medicinal plants is captured in a well-tended ethnobotanical garden outside the community health post that serves double-duty as a tourist attraction and a convenient collection site for healers working at the clinic. Accompanying each plant is a sign announcing its local name. In addition, some healers manage smaller medicinal gardens in the privacy of their homes.

Explicit signage throughout the community not only declares a connection between Curva and Kallawaya medicinal culture, but also points visitors to evidence in support of that link. A banner at the community entrance orients visitors to their expected destination: “Bienvenidos a Curva: Cuna de la Cultura y Medicina Kallawaya” (Welcome to Curva: Birthplace of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine). The same phrase is also inscribed on a commissioned painting hanging in the mayor’s office along side other potent symbols of Curva’s link to Kallawaya healers, such as the *alforja* (Kallawaya medicine bag), medicinal plants, and the towering image of Akhamani. In the plaza, a metal plaque calling attention to their recent UNESCO recognition rests under the downward hanging bell-shaped red and yellow blooms of a small, but striking Datura

tree, a hallucinogenic plant whose past use among Kallawaya healers is well-documented (Loza 2004). At the opposite end of the community, about a five-minute walk from the plaza, down a dirt road just wide enough for a vehicle to pass and hidden behind a maze of narrow foot paths connecting living quarters in varying states of decrepitude lies the health post, Hospital Kallawaya "Shoquena Husi" de Curva, translated as "House of Curing" in Machaj Juyay, the reportedly secret language of Kallawaya healers.

The hospital, officially opened in 2001, honors local healers in name and is intended to function as a rural integrative health clinic offering traditional and biomedical services side-by-side. The Kallawaya Consultorio, where local healers work, rivals the conventional medical clinic in size and amenities. Its contents include: a medical examination table, privacy curtain, desk, four-burner gas stove, complete with oven, and a state-of-the-art self-contained cedar sauna. The right-hand wall is covered from floor to ceiling with large metal shelves displaying an impressive array of dried medicinal substances stored neatly in large Tupperware containers. Some of the medicines are already pre-packaged in small clear bags set aside for use or sale. On the left wall, near the desk, hangs Xerox copied pages from books depicting Kallawaya healers from the turn of the century, complete with annotated descriptions of cultural practices.

Outside the office door is yet another sign that reads "Turno Kallawaya" (Kallawaya Shifts) at the top of a large, hand-written schedule noting three attending healers for each day of the week. There are a total of twenty-two names on the list, including five women. Like other curious visitors, I was told that these individuals represent the core membership of AMKOC, Asociación de Médicos Kallawayas Originarias de Curva (Association of Indigenous Kallawaya Healers from Curva). The

organization was established in 2001, in part, as a basis for organizing and implementing plans for the new integrative medical health post. However, since its inception, it has broadened the scope of its activities in the collective interest of strengthening the identity and medicinal knowledge of local healers. Towards these ends, members of AMKOC hold regular meetings (the fifth of every month) to discuss matters pertaining to their interests and activities as healers, especially opportunities for professional development and participation in projects with direct community benefits.

Figure 5: AMKOC members.

2.6 Curva: The Administrative Capital

The third reason Curva was an ideal site for this study is related to its status as the administrative capital for the smaller of the Province's two municipal districts. Both

municipalities bear the same name as their capitals. Curva, roughly one-fourth the size of its neighboring municipality, Charazani, is comprised of the following eight cantons: Curva, Lagunillas, Camsaya, Kapna, Puli, Kaalaya, Cañuma, and Upinhuaya. With the exception of Lagunillas, which is only a ten-minute walk from Curva, the majority of these places take several hours to reach by foot and three are still inaccessible by bus. Some cantons are further sub-divided into a number of smaller settlements. Like satellite communities on the perimeter of Charazani's municipal border, these communities function as autonomous social units, with their own indigenous political structures. However, they maintain complex ties to Curva for social, political, and economic reasons.

The relevance of Curva's administrative status is two-fold. On the one hand, it meant that Curva functioned as the municipal center of gravity, drawing people and resources throughout the region inward. This socio-economic dynamism was something that distinguished Curva from other communities in the area and gave me a unique perspective on interpersonal encounters within and beyond Curva's immediate borders, especially concerning interaction between healers. On the other hand, because of Curva's remote location and smaller, more disperse population the feel of the place was more akin to peripheral communities in the neighboring municipality than the other administrative capital. Thus while Curva was larger and more metropolitan than either Chajaya or Chari, community members' everyday experiences of "modernity" were impeded to a greater degree by its distance from Charazani, the Provincial center of gravity and gateway to urban migration.

As is the case with most administrative centers, the pull towards Curva is related largely to opportunities available there, but not elsewhere in the municipality. In addition to housing the only secondary school for the municipality, it was the only location to buy bus tickets and, for the large majority of communities situated off the main road, was one of the only places to actually catch a bus. It was also the only community in the Province other than Charazani, where one could use a solar-powered telephone (during the dry season), seek care in a medical clinic, or purchase basic supplies in a store (its limited and outdated selection notwithstanding). More importantly, it was the only municipal location where administrative matters like voting, registering births, marriages, and baptisms (on the rare occasions a priest visited) could take place.

Curva was also the site of a regional Sunday market, which drew sellers and buyers from outlying communities. Here, one could look forward to the purchase of locally produced white and wheat bread, mandarins (in certain seasons), as well as some clothing, artificially dyed yarns, cheap children's toys, school supplies, coca, aluminum cooking ware and other novelties. However, the market's commercial function was largely overshadowed by its social function. Vendors often complained about low sales and prospective buyers were often unable to locate the goods they were looking to purchase or unwilling to pay the asking price. More often than not, people simply milled about in shared company, using the market as an excuse to socialize and space to gather. Young kids chased each other and played foosball, while women and men gravitated towards segregated spaces—men towards benches located in the middle of the plaza and women along the curbside and under storefront awnings, facing the men.

All communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra celebrate a series of social and ritual events throughout the year. However, those in Curva are among the most highly financed, elaborate, and well-attended events in the municipality. For instance, during La fiesta de San Pedro, which is the community's annual Patron Saint festival and is coupled with a regional soccer tournament in Lagunillas that takes place at the end of June, the local population swells to more than ten times its normal size. In addition to urban migrants from Curva/Lagunillas who reside permanently in lowland and highland cities throughout Bolivia, as well as in Argentina and Perú, participants at these events include individuals from both municipalities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra and a few visitors from the neighboring Province of Franz Tamayo. Although the official day designated for the fiesta is June 29, the social activity tied to the celebration begins around the 20th and lasts in earnest through the first week of July. At its peak, the plaza is dimly illuminated by rented lights run on generators, while a mix of *huaynos* and other urban tunes are blasted from rented speakers at a sea of bodies waving flickering papier-mâché lanterns, while swaying to the beat. Meanwhile, chains of inebriated dancers shake and swirl to the rhythms of local musical groups steering them down dark dirt paths towards the homes of the hosts, where newcomers are welcomed with more alcohol, confetti, and food. The fiesta culminates in a spectacular display of spinning and shooting fireworks attached to large hand-held bamboo figures carried amidst the mesmerized crowd.

While not nearly as large, costly, or decadent as la fiesta de San Pedro, there are two other social events, where the size of Curva's population increases substantially due to the presence of visitors from outlying communities and local healers who would

otherwise be practicing medicine in the city. The first event is the Corrida de Toros (bull fight), which takes place on August 8. However, it is preceded and followed by days of smaller gatherings not unlike those associated with la fiesta de San Pedro barring their reduced scale. These include a Church service and public procession in which prayers are recited as a statue of the Virgen de Nieves is solemnly paraded around the plaza, as well as smaller rituals conducted at various sites throughout the community. Night after night, the sound of drums, flutes, and panpipes fills the night air as groups of musicians and dancers make their familiar way through the streets. Breaks are few and far between and, like all such events, entail visits to different houses where fiesta sponsors receive guests with food, alcohol, and music.

Carnival is the third major social event in Curva that draws participants and spectators from across the municipality. Visitors from other communities arrive early, but usually only stay for the principle attraction: the parade of masqueraders hurling water balloons and spraying foam at unsuspecting onlookers that takes place on February 26. However, for local residents, the festivities start with Chakra Qoqoy, a series of rituals to insure plentiful harvests that take place at various sites throughout the community between February 22nd and the 24th. As with the other events, the excitement and social activity surrounding Carnival never ends abruptly. Instead, it fizzles out slowly as the most committed participants, who continue to socialize publicly in more intimate groups of friends and relatives, resume their normal routines.

If one were only to focus on Curva's administrative status in terms of the resources and services it offers in comparison to communities within its jurisdiction that have less, it would be easy to exaggerate the benefits they afford local residents. For even

in relation to Charazani, which is by no means a thriving metropolis, it is clear that in material terms, Curva is no better off than most of Charazani's satellite communities.[9] The Province of Bautista Saavedra as a whole is one of the poorest Provinces in the entire country. As of 2001, Curva's infant mortality rate was 91 (for every 1000 births) and 98.5% of the population was living in extreme poverty (INE 2005). The same study reported that 100% of the population was dissatisfied with the access and quality of biomedical care in the region. Thus, in reality, Curva remains extremely rural, poor, and continues to lack many basic services.

Economic disparities between the municipalities of Charazani and Curva are largely the consequence of reduced budgets that correspond directly with the smaller and more disperse populations in Curva. And, they are evident in every aspect of community life, from technology to infrastructure. Unlike in Charazani, radio reception in Curva is sporadic and difficult to maintain. There were no TVs, except for one at the hospital, which was only used periodically to show educational videos. Cell phones, to the frustration of many healers who like to be at the disposition of clients in the city, were useless. Likewise, there was no electricity, the water supply was intermittent, and with few exceptions, supplied through sporadic public faucets, rather than those on personal property.[10]

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[9]In fact, until recently, Curva *was* only a satellite community of Charazani. Curva only emerged as an independent municipality in 1987 and still fights fiercely to maintain its administrative status, which is largely dependent on population statistics. Consequently, there is strong pressure among *lugareños* and *residentes* alike to return to Curva for the census.

[10] Water in Curva, as throughout the rest of the Province and the majority of rural Bolivia, is not deemed drinkable according to conventional testing standards. In addition to the risk of bacterial, viral, and parasitic infections associated with the local water supply, high mineral content and mercury contamination were additional problems due to wide spread mining activity in the area. At the time of my research, Curva was involved in a project sponsored by IPADE to build the infrastructure necessary to channel glacial runoff flowing through the community of Canizaya to the Northwest into reservoirs reserved for local use. However, ongoing conflicts with Canizaya over municipal funds to build a more direct roadway between

Even the quality of the road leading from Charazani to Curva is notably inferior. Curva's road is filled with potholes, jagged rocks, and piles of rubble falling from eroding cliffs, rather than the hard packed dirt resulting from more frequent travel and professional rolling. It is also half the width of the road leading to Charazani, making it impossible for two vehicles to pass in all but a few tight locations. These problems are compounded by flooding and land slides during the wet season, making it extremely dangerous and hard to reach Curva. These difficulties account for some of the reasons why bus travel to and from Curva is markedly less frequent. While traffic passes daily between La Paz and Charazani, transportation between Charazani and Curva (under the best of circumstances) is only available two to three times a week.

One of the greatest obstacles Curva still faces is limited access to Western medical care. Curva's "Hospital Kallawaya" is technically only a Centro de Salud (health center). As a primary health care facility, its resources and staff are insufficient to meet the immediate needs of local residents, let alone the approximately 2000 municipal inhabitants they must also serve. The biomedical team consists of one doctor, two nurses, and a dental intern. However, between weekly excursions to outlying communities, mandatory workshops in Charazani, and monthly trips to La Paz to cash paychecks and stock up on supplies, they are often unavailable when they are needed most. Yet, even when they are present to see patients, they have little to offer in terms of immediate care, especially when the illness or injury is serious. For instance, they can take samples to test for specific infections, but do not have the laboratory equipment necessary to run the

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the two communities and structural problems with the pipe system resulted in the water often being completely off or available only before 7am. Consequently, people continued to rely heavily on water supplied from small, but naturally functioning springs, which were transported in recycled cooking oil containers across long distances.

actual tests. And, the ability to get samples out for testing in a timely manner, let alone patients, is complicated by transportation issues. The economic situation is so dire, in fact, that I witnessed time and time again staff making choices about whether a single *garafa* (propane gas tank) should be used to run the autoclave in order to sterilize equipment or the refrigerator so that vaccines did not spoil.

During the nine years prior to the construction of the hospital, the only biomedical services available in the entire municipality were administered by a single nurse managing a small *posta sanitaria* (health post). And, before that, Kallawaya healers attended exclusively to the medical needs of residents throughout the municipality. Today, community members continue to rely heavily on themselves and local healers for healthcare. This care, moreover, is generally sought and administered in the privacy of individual homes or sacred sites, rather than at the Kallawaya Clinic. Between December 2002 and August 2006, there were a total of 34 registered visits to the Kallawaya Clinic with an average of 11 visits per year between 2003 and 2005. More than half of these visits were from foreign tourists and only two were from individuals living in Curva. The remaining entries were split equally between Paceños (residents of La Paz) and patients from outlying communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra. While the patient registry for the Biomedical Clinic documents an average of 35 visits per month, these numbers include care provided to visitors from outlying communities, as well as off-site care administered throughout the municipality. As a result, they are not a reliable indicator of the extent to which local residents seek care at the "hospital." Biomedical staff reports that their services are drastically underutilized in comparison both with similar clinics in the same Province and other rural areas. Furthermore, local residents

and hospital staff share the opinion that this under-use is related to the prevalence of traditional medicine and unusually high number of healers in Curva. Thus, despite the presence of an intercultural medical facility, with opportunities for biomedical, traditional, and integrative care, locals generally opt to use Kallawaya treatments outside the hospital in all but the most extreme circumstances.[11]

Wide-spread poverty, combined with Curva's reputation as a center of Kallawaya expertise and its status as an administrative center also meant that the region drew in a great deal of outside attention in the form of infrastructure development, research, tourism, and health care programs. Curva's landscape is peppered with the material investments of foreign research and NGO support in the area. While there is a long history of anthropological research in the Province as a whole, Curva's remote location has sheltered it from being a focus of foreign attention until relatively recently. Territorial modifications in the late eighties resulting in the emergence of Curva as an independent municipality followed by the expansion of the roadway leading from Charazani in the early nineties ushered in the first serious waves of development. However, it is really only since the initiation of El Proyecto Integral Apolobamba (PIA) in 1999 and the UNESCO recognition in 2003 that foreign activity in Curva has reached unprecedented proportions. Since 2001, in addition to the Kallawaya Hospital, development in the vicinity of Curva/Lagunillas has included: a cultural museum, tourist lodge, center for the display and sell of textiles, adult education programs, a "computer center," selective installation of solar panels and ceramic toilets (without a water system!), an eco-trek

[11] See Callahan 2006 for a more thorough discussion of problems with Curva's "Hospital Kallawaya" and the medical preferences of local residents.

between Curva and Pelechuco along an active Inca trail, as well as large-scale conservation projects focusing on native plant and animal species.[12]

At the time of my research, Kallawaya organizations claimed that there were over twenty-three NGOs currently working in the Province of Bautista Saavedra. In addition to the sixteen institutions affiliated with El Proyecto Integral Apolobamba (PIA), I was able to confirm at least seven other organizations with direct or indirect ties to projects in the municipality of Curva. The names of these institutions are provided in Figure 6.

NGO Presence in the Municipality of Curva
AECI (Agencia Española Cooperación Internacional)
IPADE (Instituto de Promoción y Apoyo al Desarollo/Institute of Promotion and Support for Development)
CEDEC (Centro de la Defensa de la Cultura/Center for Cultural Defense)
CI-Bolivia (Conservation International-Bolivia)
PUMA (Fundación Protección y Uso Sostenible del Medio Ambiente/Foundation for the Protection and Sustainable Use of the Environment)
COBIMI (Conservación de la Biodiversidad para un Manejo Integrado/Biodiversity Conservation Through Integrated Management)
Medicus Mundi España (Spanish branch of international network of NGOs working to improve global public health)

Figure 6: NGO Presence in the Municipality of Curva.

[12]These activities form part of an integrated development plan known as El Programa Araucaria, designed and executed by La Agencia de Cooperación Espanola Internaciónal (AECI) in conjunction with numerous local, regional, national, and international institutions/organizations. In response to global priorities established in 1992 at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (commonly known as the "Earth Summit"), the program is intended to conserve biodiversity and promote sustainable human development in ways that both strengthen and adhere to local indigenous customs. The program began in 1999 in what was then La Reserva Naciónal de Fauna de Ulla Ulla (RNFU), just before the boundaries of this protected area were redrawn to encompass a larger area, which was subsequently renamed Area de Manejo Integrado Naciónal Apolobamba (ADMIN-A) in 2000. ADMIN-A, which subsumes the entire Province of Bautista Saavedra, as well as the Pelechuco district of the neighboring Province, Franz Tamayo, was chosen as a site for this project precisely because of its immense biological and cultural diversity. See ARAUCARIA (2004) for a detailed overview of the Araucaria Program and its outcomes.

Not surprisingly, the majority of these projects, especially those initiated after 2003, are related in one way or another to Kallawaya medicine given the increased publicity of these communities following their UNESCO recognition.

People from Curva feel mixed about the changes taking place around them. While the influx of development and research activities point to the prominence of healing practices in Curva and, in this sense, are a major source of local pride, they also serve as a constant reminder that they possess knowledge, skills, and resources that are of value and interest to outsiders. This in turn has led to fears over cultural theft, while at the same time suggesting the possibility that their medicinal heritage may just be what delivers them from a life of poverty and hardship. Such hopes, however, are difficult to maintain in the face of negative experiences with previous researchers and a longer history of colonial abuse and exploitation. As foreign traffic around Curva continues to rise, healers are growing increasingly wary of the motivations behind local development and research interests. The cumulative effect of these local-global dynamics amounts to contradictory experiences of global encroachment.

2.7 The Paradox Explained: An Insider's View

During a series of brief visits to Curva between August and November 2004, based on the facts and experiences described above, I began preparing to relocate to Curva. Given what I had initially seen and heard, I was convinced that I would be working among a lively community of healers, whose activity would not only be highly visible, but also who as a group were well organized and collectively committed to the pursuit of professional activities. However, I presumed, incorrectly, that if I were granted

permission to work there, access to these healers and their activities would follow naturally.

It wasn't long before the ideal research situation I imagined began unraveling. Within the first month of my stay, I made several startling discoveries:

- The Kallawaya Clinic was constantly closed.
- No one was forthcoming about the identity of local healers.
- The few healers I did know were strapped with agricultural labor and other non-medical tasks and had little time to talk with me.
- Then, one day I awoke to realize that the majority of men were gone. Without warning, the local population had shrunk to half the size it was when I moved there and those remaining were mostly women.

As much as I tried not to let it bother me, I found the inconsistency between what I expected to find here based on my earliest visits to Curva and the reality I eventually encountered while living there extremely unsettling. This was the paradox of Curva being reputed as the Capital of Kallawaya Medicine and yet its social manifestation being completely elusive to outsiders, despite strong physical evidence to the contrary. It would take a year and a half of fieldwork in Curva to understand how this apparent absence of healers and medical activity was in fact evidence in support of its existence. It simply required me to step back and take a radically different look at things. Once I did, four patterns stood out that not only accounted for the local "invisibility" of Kallawaya healers, but were also defining characteristics on which a deeper understanding of Kallawaya medical practice and its social distribution began to emerge:

1. **Secrecy.** Healers work hard to hide who they are and what they know.
2. **Itinerancy**. The majority of healers travel often and for extended periods of time.
3. **Multiple Social Roles**. Healers fulfill many roles and responsibilities within the community, which on a day-to-basis may overshadow their work as healers.
4. **Ubiquity**. The practice of medicine is everywhere, but in different degrees. When AMKOC meetings took place they looked as big as the community meetings. All the same people were present.

In what remains of this chapter, I flesh out these findings through a more detailed discussion of local social dynamics, including who is present, as well as who is not and how these patterns relate to the practice of Kallawaya medicine and the identification of healers.

2.8 Local Population

Curva's social dynamics are extremely complex and tied directly to Curva's position as a symbolic and administrative center. First, roughly 80% of the local population is directly involved with the professional practice of Kallawaya medicine. That is, at least three-fourths of local inhabitants self-identify or are identified by others as healers, who are called upon to provide medical advice and services. Second, well over half of these individuals move in and out of the community at regular intervals due to the ambulatory nature of Kallawaya practice, a phenomenon that constantly and drastically distorts the gender distribution and size of the local population. This movement occurs

alongside, but is distinct from, other seasonal employment that takes men, women, and children into the city, just as it does in other parts of Bolivia and Perú (Collins 1988). Third, waves of rural-urban migration have led to the establishment of permanent colonies in major cities, where descendents from Curva enter into tight-knit social networks with other migrants from the Province of Bautista Saavedra. These families reside permanently in the city. However, they maintain material connections to Curva through physical property, such as houses, agricultural plots, and animals, left in the care of extended relatives and/or ritual kin via ties of *compadrazgo*. The periodic return of these city migrants to Curva, along with their long-distance financial support for community projects and annual fiestas add another layer of complexity to local social dynamics. At the same time, an increasing proportion of families actually living in Curva are themselves first- and second-generation migrants, who have moved there from smaller more distant communities on the north-west outskirts of the municipality to take advantage of opportunities not available in the higher altitude settlements where they or their parents were born.

For short-term visitors to Curva, the cyclic ebb and flow of these movements go undetected. But for people who live there or are from Curva, these patterns of mobility hold great significance. They index occupation, including one's status as a healer, socio-economic circumstance, place of origin, primary residence, and in the case of Kallawaya healers are largely predicative of ideological orientations towards expertise.

2.9 Curveños, Lugareños, and Residentes

The words *Curveño, Lugareño* (used interchangeably with *comunario*), and *Residente* constitute the basic vocabulary used by community members to talk about these differences. *Curveño* is the catchall term used to identify anyone with genealogical ties to Curva, regardless of where he or she lives or their status as a healer; it simply means someone from Curva. *Curveño* thus subsumes the categories of *lugareño* and *residente*, which by contrast refer to one's permanent place of residence. *Lugareños* reside along with their immediate family "en el lugar" or within the physical bounds of Curva. *Residentes*, on the other hand, are those *Curveños* who have moved permanently outside the community and thus live full-time in the city, while (ideally) maintaining their community affiliation from afar. Although the distinction between *lugareño* and *residente* is sharp, the movement of people between Curva and urban sites is itself fluid and variable in terms of frequency and duration throughout the year, as well as across the lifespan. For instance, it is common for *lugareños* to spend two to five years living and working outside their home communities in early adulthood, giving the false impression that they are *residentes*. Similarly, *residentes* who under normal circumstances only return to Curva once per year to attend la fiesta de San Pedro, are likely to make longer and more frequent visits to Curva if a relative living there is ill, has died, problems arise over property left in someone else's care or they are elected to fulfill a position of leadership, such as *alcalde* (mayor) or *secretario general* (general secretary). As Schoop (1984:45) and others (ARAUCARIA 2004) have pointed out, these patterns of mobility can make it difficult to distinguish between temporary, social or work-related visits to the city and permanent relocations.

2.10 Los Kallawayas

To complicate things yet further, distinctions between Kallawaya experts and non-experts crosscut the categories of *lugareño* and *residente*. While some healers and their families live in Curva, others are based in urban centers. However, because of the itinerant dimension of Kallawaya medical practice and the dependence of all healers on local medicinal resources, travel between the city and countryside is common within both groups. The result is a supra-geographical community of Kallawaya medical specialists that spans rural-urban space, making it especially difficult to distinguish between *lugareños* and *residentes* in the case of healers. The boundaries of this community are consolidated to varying degrees through overlapping membership in professional associations of traditional healers at local, regional, and national levels. Thus, like *Curveño*, the term Kallawaya, when used to refer to an exclusive professional community that exists above and beyond a specific geographical locale, includes individuals who aside from their status as experts may be recognized distinctly as *lugareños* and *residentes*. However, unlike *Curveño*, the term Kallawaya, when applied narrowly to medical expertise is always referencing a broader social sphere that includes only that subset of *lugareños* and *residentes* from across the Province of Bautista Saavedra whose distinction as healers set them apart from everyone else in the region and, at the same time, other kinds of healers. One's status as Kallawaya, then, reflects meaningful social divisions within, across, and between communities, simultaneously.

The similarities implied among healers by this shared membership, however, are often overstated. Medical beliefs, practices, and skills converge and diverge in direct

proportion to the social networks in which community members participate. I detail these intra-cultural differences and their relationship to divergent trajectories of professionalization later in this chapter.

2.11 Others: Migrants, Tourists, Researchers, and Prospectors

Despite Curva's distance from La Paz and the provincial capital of Charazani, social interaction in Curva is hardly restricted to *Curveños*. As noted previously, visitors from other communities near and far are regularly present. While visits from the farthest reaches of the municipality tend to cluster around Curva's annual fiestas, people from Lagunillas mingle daily with local residents, as do rotating cohorts of teachers and biomedical staff on assignment from La Paz.

Permanent migrants to the area add another dimension to Curva's mixed social composition. Although local concerns over this social influx focus on contemporary resettlements in Curva, a significant number of *lugareños* born in Curva, including those whose status as Kallawaya experts are largely uncontested, trace one or more sets of parents and/or grandparents to communities on the outskirts of Curva's municipal borders, and the neighboring Province of Franz Tamayo.[13] Frequent inter-community marriage, especially between *Curveños* and people from Lagunillas account for much of this inward migration. However, many families move to Curva for the expressed purpose

[13] The majority of migrants in Curva are from Sanachi, Cañuma, and Pelechuco. However, many older community members whose fathers' were healers reported that their mothers (the majority of whom are now deceased) were brought to Curva from distant locations where their fathers had traveled while practicing medicine, such as Argentina, Perú, Chilé and La Paz. One well-respected healer also reported that his mother and great grandfather were orphans who had been brought to Curva by local healers, while they were abroad. The extent and nature of these migration patterns is a fascinating dimension of Kallawaya familial dynamics that to my knowledge has not been reported elsewhere and certainly warrants further investigation.

of taking advantage of business, agricultural, and educational opportunities unavailable in their communities of origin. At present, first-generation migrants from Cañuma and Caalaya own two of Curva's five kiosks. A family that continues to live in Lagunillas owns and runs a third kiosk.

Tourists, researchers, NGO staff, and prospectors constitute yet another layer of "foreign" presence. Tourist activity in the region is concentrated in June and July and is usually motivated by a combined interest in consultations with local healers and the Curva-Pelechuco eco-trek. In addition, the transient arrival of independent researchers and representatives from national and international organizations seeking to initiate new projects in the region are commonplace. During my time in Curva, I witnessed a steady stream of such visitors, including anthropologists from Argentina and Spain, documentary filmmakers, a photographer from National Geographic, a mining company, tour companies, and several thesis students working in the area of public health and biological conservation.

The Adventist Church is also present in the area. While the Church's following is the strongest in Upinhuaya, Curva has its own registered congregation, whose members attended services there periodically, in addition to holding weekly meetings of their own. In general, people are openly accepting of religious differences within the community. However, particularly fervent members of the church were privately criticized for not maintaining local customs, such as drinking alcohol and participating in ritual events, as well as their efforts to recruit new members. For those followers who were also members of AMKOC, such criticism was especially harsh since, for most residents, such behavior posed a direct conflict with the professional duties of healers.

2.12 Kallawaya Identity and Practice: One Dimension of Community Life

Day-to-day experience in Curva is driven not by the practice of medicine or even one's identity as a healer, but by those activities necessary to make ends meet. In this respect, daily activities in Curva are not unlike those described for most Andean communities. First, and foremost, local residents, including healers, are agriculturalists. The majority of their time is devoted to the physically grueling and time-consuming labor involved in working the land.

When healers are present in the community their non-medical work predominates. In addition to engaging in agricultural labor, they are busy fulfilling their duties as parents, siblings, in-laws, husbands, and cycling through their local positions of leadership. Healers spend most of their downtime in the community socializing with family and friends who they may not have seen for weeks, months, or years. The longer the absence, the more there is to tell, to listen to, and to do. This time is also spent preparing for the next trip back to the city. They are collecting plants, drying them, preparing tinctures and pomadas to be taken back to the city with them. A minority of healers also work in the hospital. Their "medical activities" predominate at certain times of the year, when community rituals and festivals take place. In other words, their medical activity punctuates the mundane rhythms of community life, the daily grind it takes to just get by, to make a living.

2.13 Kallawaya Expertise on the Ground: Groups and Networks

People with connections to Curva almost always describe Kallawaya expertise in binary terms as a difference between "los que son practicantes y los que no son practicantes" (those who are practitioners of medicine and those who are not). In addition, healers and members of the lay population alike are prone to characterize "practicantes" (practitioners) in highly romanticized terms that recapitulate popular images of Kallawaya experts as mystical nomads who travel far and wide effecting miraculous cures, while speaking in an exclusive tongue intelligible only to the initiated. The language they speak (Sejo/Machaj Juyay) and the specialized knowledge and skills that comprise their medical tool kit are considered highly unique and part of a millennial tradition passed down from father to son in the context of lengthy off-site apprenticeships.

The reality of Kallawaya medicine, however, diverges significantly from this nice and tidy picture. In practice, Kallawaya expertise is graded in highly patterned ways. All community members, starting at an extremely young age, identify, collect, prepare, and administer medicinal plants to themselves and others. In this sense, everyone in Curva "practices" medicine. However, they do so to different degrees, with different levels of success, and on the basis of highly diverse and gendered socialization experiences. More importantly, only some of these educational paths entail formal one-on-one apprenticeships. And of those, only a handful fit the stereotypical pairing of father and son.

Local evaluations of expertise are highly subjective because of this graded intra-cultural variation and have more to do with the kind and level of medicinal knowledge

one possesses, how that knowledge is acquired, the contexts in which it is being applied, and the extent to which one is paid/consulted for their medical services compared with other kinds of work. But, where people mark the contrast between expert and non-expert, of course, depends on whom you talk to and where they themselves fit in relation to these social categories.

In what follows, I provide a preliminary sketch of the distinct social groups across which contemporary Kallawaya expertise is distributed and some comments on their relationship to one another. The data presented here are based on ethnographic observations, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews with *lugareños* and *residentes* from Curva.

2.14 Categories of Expertise: Spectrums of knowledge and complementary practices

When people from Curva say that the majority, or 80%, of the population are Kallawaya experts, they are referring to a large and diverse group that while male-dominated, includes women. This collectivity breaks down into six distinct social categories. None of these groups fit the idealized image of expertise they describe exactly. Rather, they represent different configurations of expertise in which dimensions, such as itinerancy, Sejo/Machaj Juyay (and other kinds of language fluency), mobile apprenticeship/practitioner experience, and ritual, botanical, and other medicinal knowledge and skills are present in relative proportions. These differences, moreover, are the result of distinct professional trajectories leading to one's status as a healer. More importantly, neither the categories nor their membership is stable; they co-exist and fluctuate in composition as healers move from one phase of their careers to another, but

not necessarily in the same developmental sequence. Finally, while community members acknowledge these differences and are, in fact, quite astute at calling attention to them, the categories themselves are my own analytic invention. As such, they are meant to serve as heuristics for thinking about intra-cultural variation as it relates to Kallawaya medical expertise in and beyond Curva, rather than a literal depiction of how community members represent that diversity to themselves. For now, I will simply refer to them as Groups A-F.

2.15 Group A

Members of Group A are the least experienced with Kallawaya medicine, but collectively aspire to become professional healers through their membership in AMKOC. The majority of people in this category are technically migrants to Curva, even if they arrived as children and have lived there for a long time (15-30 years). They do not come from a strong family of healers and, therefore, were not presented with opportunities to learn Kallawaya medicine from their parents or accompany older healers as apprentices. The few members of this group who trace their ancestry to Curva proper, despite earlier exposure as children, initially chose to pursue other career paths because they lacked interest in medicine. In both cases, the UNESCO recognition and related activities, such as the Kallawaya Hospital and AMKOC, have played an important role in the decisions of these individuals to become healers through the current revalorization of Kallawaya medicine. Through their membership in AMKOC, they are both eligible and encouraged to participate in the medical culture of Curva and by extension local and foreign community health projects. However, their "practice" is confined not only to the

community, but rarely extends beyond their closest circle of family and friends. Since they are not consulted or paid for their medicinal services, they rely on other employment for their limited income, in addition to being full-time agriculturists.

2.16 Group B

Members of Group B, like those of Group A, are affiliated with AMKOC and share a newfound interest in the professional practice of Kallawaya medicine. What sets them apart is their distinctive history. These are Curveños who not only grew up in families whose immediate and extended members are Kallawaya healers (including grandfathers, fathers, uncles, and male siblings), but who to varying depths pursued that path themselves at some earlier point in time. That is, they served the customary role of child assistant to an older adult male who traveled as a Kallawaya, then, as a young adult, made the decision to continue serving as an apprentice to multiple healers over a period of several years. During this time, they moved back and forth between Curva and urban sites of medical practice. Eventually, most of these individuals branched out on their own to serve an independent clientele in the city and may have even worked with assistants of their own. Ultimately, however, they all gave up the urban practice of medicine, returning to Curva to resume their agricultural, community, and familial obligations full-time. Nonetheless, they possess extensive specialist knowledge and skill, including some ability to speak and comprehend Sejo/Machaj Juyay. On the surface, then, these individuals are indistinguishable from members of group A. However, they and others recognize the depth and breadth of their medical expertise as above average. Thus, while these individuals don't officially "work" anymore as healers in the city, they are in a

better position to provide for their families' medical needs and are still consulted within the community on a less formal basis, especially if someone with superior knowledge is unavailable. If their expertise is particularly specialized, healers in Groups C and D, who continue to practice medicine beyond Curva's borders, may also consult them. However, they "earn" their living on the basis of other employment and often consider themselves "rusty" (fuera de practica) in the domain of medicine.

2.17 Group C

Everything that has been said about Group B also applies to Group C, with a few notable exceptions. First, and, foremost, these individuals never completely gave up the professional practice of medicine, although they made similar decisions about pulling back from the urban-based practice that is most typical of male healers (and for similar reasons). As a result, their personal and public identity as healers has remained intact, but they use their medical knowledge and skill largely to serve the local and regional community, rather than clients outside the Province of Bautista Saavedra.

These are the healers who receive and treat tourists, maintain the few shifts that are kept in the Kallawaya Clinic, and are among the first to be called for assistance when community members are ill. They also mediate official contact between local healers and outsiders (both in the case of independent scholars and institutions). This is because they constitute the core membership of AMKOC, as well as dominate the organization's leadership. While their opinions on matters pertinent to the organization are never 100% decisive they are deeply influential.

In addition to the prominent role these healers play within Curva, they continue to make periodic excursions to the city on medically related business. However, in comparison to healers from group D, these visits are markedly shorter and less frequent. This travel is concentrated during the months of August, January, and February when national demand for their services is greatest. Each trip lasts from two weeks to a month. The majority of these visits entail meeting with individual clients. But, they also include their collective participation in intercultural health workshops, where government agencies and foreign NGOs have solicited their expertise as Kallawayas. Opportunities such as the latter are relatively new and tied to the positive publicity Kallawaya medicine has received from their UNESCO award, as well as nation-wide public healthcare reforms that seek to integrate biomedical and traditional approaches. While healers in this group are paid for most of their medical services, the income they generate is not sufficient to provide for all of their family's needs. It is, therefore, common for these healers to continue supplementing their earnings as healers with other employment.

2.18 Group D

Individuals who fall within Group D are among the community's most widely esteemed healers, especially those over the age of 50. In general, they are also the most prototypical Kallawaya healers. They come from families steeped deeply in the practice of medicine and continue to make regular and lengthy trips to designated urban sites, after having passed through an extensive apprenticeship period with one or more healers. Furthermore, these individuals both proclaim and are presumed by others to know more (in terms of medicinal knowledge and Sejo/Machaj Juyay), as well as be more successful.

Other common aspects of their experience as healers indirectly support such statements. For instance, they have a wider and, often, wealthier client base that enables them to dedicate their professional lives exclusively to the practice of medicine. While technically *lugareños,* whose families live in Curva year round and remain dependent on local agricultural production, they themselves spend well over half the year in the city, peddling their medical services in the streets, out of collectively run Kallawaya clinics, or from a second private residence (which they all rent). The ability of these healers to pay for a second residence, costing an average of 150-200 bolivianos per month, plus utilities, is itself a significant marker of success, as is their ability to afford a university education for their children. Even within Curva's borders their superior wealth is evident in the quality of their clothing, frequent haircuts, dental work, amount of property they own, and the number of times they have assumed financial sponsorship for community events, relative to other community members. Finally, in private, they are also prone to draw attention to differences between their own knowledge and ways of doing things and those of others, which, by contrast, are cast as incorrect, less thorough, or otherwise inferior.

Just as movement into the city for healers from Group C is concentrated at specific points during the annual cycle, so too, the return of Group D healers to Curva predictably clusters around certain activities and events. And, both groups' movements are similarly fleeting. For instance, they return for periods of intense agricultural labor, such as planting and harvesting, select community rituals and fiestas, major construction projects and around the time medicinal plants are flowering and ready for collection. However, these visits rarely last longer than one to two weeks. As a result, their arrival and departure to and from Curva transpires in collective spurts, rather than staggered

succession. Because they orchestrate these trips to maximize overlap between competing obligations, healers from this group are usually strapped with excessive demands and commitments when present in Curva.

While all of these healers now work independently or take their own male children as assistants on occasion, this group has the greatest overlap between blood relatives and other healers who have worked together as equals, as well as in the hierarchical context of master and apprentice. There is thus is a tighter link between the professional trajectories of healers within this group than for other groups. Those healers who continue to work in the same urban areas also maintain more regular contact with one another than with other *lugareños* due to their long absences from the community. The majority of these healers work in Cochabamba and/or Santa Cruz. Significantly smaller numbers work in La Paz, Potosí, and Oruro. Here, they also frequently cross paths with Kallawaya healers who are *residentes* from Curva and other communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra that live and work in these same cities.

While few of the healers in Group D officially belong to urban-based Kallawaya organizations, such as SBIDCMEK or COBOLCMEK (whose leadership and membership is dominated by *residentes*), they sometimes participate in professional development opportunities and public cultural events sponsored by these organizations. Most of them do, however, have expired memberships in SOBOMETRA, Bolivia's oldest professional association of traditional healers, which is something that also sets them apart from the majority of healers in Group C. What they do share with other *lugareños* who practice medicine is membership in AMKOC. Yet, they are only peripherally active in the organizations' day-to-day activities. They do not work in the

Kallawaya clinic, nor are they generally involved in community health projects. This and the fact that they are only occasionally consulted for medical services in Curva, has more to do with the urban-orientation of their practice and frequent absence from the community than their reputation as experienced/effective healers.[14]

2.19 Group E

Group E represents a more radical break with the other groups described so far. First, this group consists solely of *residentes* who are Kallawayas from Curva and Lagunillas, but live permanently in the cities where they work. The majority of these individuals are concentrated in Cochabamba and La Paz, but can be found in any major city, where there is a history of itinerant Kallawaya medical practice and permanent migration, including Santa Cruz, Potosí, Oruro, Sucre, Tarija, as well as various sites in Argentina and Perú. In addition to maintaining their independent practice, they work together with healers from other communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra out of Kallawaya clinics that are run by urban-based Kallawaya organizations, such as SBIDCMEK (Cochabamba), Asociación Boliviana de Cultura Milenaria y Medicina Kallawaya—La Paz (Bolivian Association of Millennial Culture and Kallawaya Medicine—La Paz) and others. Consequently, their day-to-day medical work tends to be more stationary than that of Group D. While SBIDCMEK is by far the oldest, as well as most culturally and politically active of these organizations, Andean scholars are most

[14] As *lugareños*, however, they are still responsible for passing through elected cargo positions associated with the community *sindicato*. During years in which they are holding such positions, their travel to the city is severely reduced in order to meet their obligations within the community. As a result, their day-to-day lives may temporarily appear to fit patterns characteristic of Group C. The extended absence of healers in the city also regularly interfered with the ability of AMKOC to make collective decisions, since in order to do so they needed a majority vote from the membership.

familiar with the healers who are affiliated with the Kallawaya association of La Paz due to their presence on Sagarnaga Street (between Linares and Murillo), where they await their customers amidst the city's most heavily trafficked tourist area and from there escort them to secluded offices to carry out business in private.

Second, all of these healers are what I call official "card carrying" Kallawayas, whose membership in these organizations entitle them to photo identification cards like those featured in Figure 7 below, among other benefits**.** These organizations essentially function as exclusive clubs, whose membership the card verifies, thereby legitimizing their authentic status as Kallawaya healers and connection to the Province of Bautista

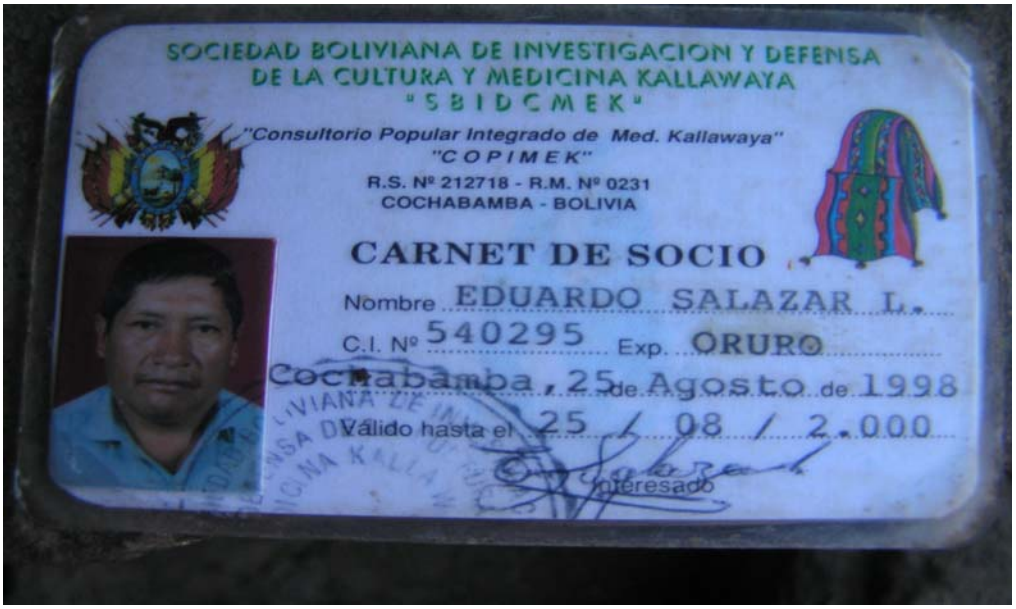

Figure 7: SBIDCMEK membership card.

Saavedra. In exchange for monthly membership dues and residency quotas, their membership provides them with legal protection to market their services and medicines in association with the organization. They also provide members with privileged access to mentorship opportunities via the organization's social network. Senior members train younger members and guide their practice in the context of formal classes, as well as

informal, opportunistic settings. The oldest and most experienced of these senior members constitute "Consejos de Ancianos" (Councils of Elders) who are called upon to offer advice in difficult medical cases or over collective cultural concerns, such as the UNESCO award. While the majority of healers in Group E share long-term mobile apprenticeship experiences characteristic of healers in Group D, their continual training and participation in cultural events sponsored by these organizations means their medicinal knowledge and practices (including knowledge of Sejo/Machaj Juyay) tend to be more standardized and hence generally more authoritative than that of other Kallawaya healers.[15]

Perhaps, not surprisingly, healers in Group E are also quick to draw distinctions between themselves and *los lugareños* who practice medicine, characterizing their own knowledge and skills as more "theoretical" (de teoría) than "practical" (de practica). The distinction is based on the somewhat factual, if largely overstated, premise that the medical practice of *los lugareños* is developed through a process of trial and error with medicinal substances that has been passed down across generations or gleaned through direct somatic experimentation, whereas their own expertise supplements that knowledge with "scientific" understandings learned from books, biomedical training, and experience

[15] In at least some of these organizations, members report taking tests in Sejo/Machaj Juyay and in specific domains of medicinal knowledge and skill. However, healers affiliated with different Kallawaya organizations reported using different published texts to study for these exams. The La Paz group refers to Girault's (1989) publication, while the Cochabamba group utilizes Oblitas Poblete's (1968) book. The extent to which healers in these and other Kallawaya organizations rely on published sources to learn Sejo/Machaj Juyay, rather than or in addition to linguistic knowledge imparted by contemporary healers is still unclear to me. However, a female member of Caalaya's association of healers, AMKOCA (Asociación de la Medicina Kallawaya Originaria Caalaya/Association of Caalaya Indigenous Kallawaya Medicine), claimed that they work with numerous materials produced and left to them by Hilarión Suxo, a highly esteemed healer from Chajaya, who passed away while I was in the field. According to this informant, AMKOCA members worked with him directly prior to his death and credit him with generating the need and motivation to organize as a community of healers.

with other alternative medical traditions. As a result, they often claim to understand *why* a particular medicine or technique is effective, rather than the simple fact that it *is* effective, the difference in knowledge marking the perceived distinction between themselves and *los lugareños*.

The healers in Group E stand out in a number of more obvious ways, as well, all of which are related to their status as *residentes*. In general, they have more formal education—a product of their parents' and/or grandparents' migration to the city and their ability to pay for college given their own success as healers. Many members of this group hold professional degrees in fields such as law, medicine, education, engineering, chemistry, communication, and pharmaceutical science. They use these skills to advance the interests of their respective organizations, part of which includes serving as cultural brokers. As a result, they are often the ones who end up representing "Kallawaya Culture" writ large to national, as well as international institutions and researchers. The UNESCO application process, for instance, was coordinated directly through the leadership of these organizations, who in turn worked with their respective members and communities of origin to ensure collective cooperation in the effort. However, it was through their own interviews and direction that the researchers and government agencies involved in submitting their nomination for the UNESCO award determined the content of the application. These same individuals also play a major role in coordinating the UNESCO award anniversary events and thus continue to shape the way Kallawaya expertise is presented in public forums *to* outsiders.

Finally, the majority of healers in this group are married to women from the cities where they live and work, a pattern of out-group exogamy that has, over time, facilitated

their growing distance from Curva/Lagunillas. They return to the community with their families once a year for the expressed purpose of attending the San Pedro fiesta and retrieving the local medicinal plants on which their work as a Kallawaya in the city depends. While they are there, the best of the best often accommodate requests for assistance in resolving ongoing medical problems or social conflicts within the community. They treat the sick, offer counsel to newlyweds whose marital problems have gotten out of hand, and confront hospital and educational staff from La Paz on behalf of the community. They also do a fair amount of complaining about the way things look and are run in the community in their absence. However, they are not members of AMKOC and are otherwise divorced from the day-to-day struggles of *Curveños* living there, sending financial support to pay for supplies or someone else's labor in lieu of contributing their own time to communal projects.

2.20 Group F

This group is a residual category composed of two kinds of healers, both *lugareños*, who do not fit well into the social groups described above: 1) older male retirees and 2) women. The case of older healers is relatively straightforward. These are individuals who, after pursuing life-long careers as itinerant Kallawayas, have returned to Curva to spend their final days. Their past experiences as healers fit largely with the profile associated with group D, with the exception that their medical excursions cycled in one to three year increments and spanned greater distances. The majority of these men spent most of their adult lives in Argentina and Perú, where, in addition to offering their medical services, they sold or exchanged medicinal plants and mules for foreign goods.

Material evidence of these long-distance transactions, such as foreign currency and furniture, continues to be proudly displayed in their homes.

Within Curva, these men remain highly respected and are regarded as possessing the most extensive expert knowledge across medicinal, ritual, and linguistic domains. The healers who started as their apprentices and continue to practice Kallawaya medicine professionally fall into groups D and E. However, because of their age and, in some cases, poor health, healers in group F no longer play a central role in community affairs or exercise their medical skills beyond attending to their own health and that of their immediate family. They are not members of AMKOC, do not work in the Kallawaya Clinic or participate in community-based health projects. Their involvement in other public social activity is similarly limited. For instance, they rarely participate in *sindicato* meetings, ritual events, or community fiestas.

The case of women is significantly more complex and applies primarily to women whose husbands and/or fathers are/were healers. This is because they play two distinct roles in the delivery of health care that may or may not intersect in any given case. First, they are healers in their own right, who are directly responsible not only for attending to their own and their children's medical needs while their husbands are practicing medicine in the city, but may also be called upon to offer medical advice or services to sick community members. Therefore, they tend to specialize in the treatment of illnesses that disproportionately affect women and children. As might be expected, they are especially versed in midwifery, the knowledge and skills pertaining to childbirth, as well as pre- and postpartum care.

The second role women play in the practice of Kallawaya medicine is indirect and involves coordinated efforts with men. Beyond their own areas of expertise, women contribute to the medical practice of men in two principal ways: 1) through the identification, collection and preparation of medicinal plants, which are then independently administered by men in the context of their own medical practice and 2) through the production of textiles that are central to the medical practice of men. In the latter case, these include their poncho, capacho, alforja, and coca bag. In both cases, these services are generally provided exclusively for one's husband. However, *residentes* and other healers whose wives are unable to carry out these tasks may contract other women to complete this work on their behalf. For widows and older women who have never married and continue to live in Curva such arrangements often provide their only source of income.[16]

With time and practice, women's medical expertise grows more expansive and may eventually overlap with that of men as their reputation for success grows. As it does, their practice shifts from something offered informally and without pay to something whose value to others generates a communal demand enabling her to maintain a paying clientele. Like male healers in Group C, these women are consulted at home by *lugareños*, as well as visitors from outlying communities. Eventually, they may also extend their medical services into the urban arena. However, very few women reach this level and those who do tend to travel less frequently and at a much later age than healers

[16] Some older women also produce textiles for relatives to sell in the city, although this is not a widespread practice, especially among younger women, due to the immense time constraints women are faced with and the fact that not all women are equally skilled or interested in weaving. Because of the declining number of women in Curva who are capable of producing quality textiles, those who continue to weave are held in particularly high regard both by their husbands and other women. The inability to produce the textiles necessary for one's family, especially if one's husband is a healer, is a source of embarrassment and criticism within the community.

in Group D.[17] This is largely because the majority of women in Curva are married to healers and overburdened with childcare, agricultural duties, and other work while their husbands are away. In addition, their own medical practice is considered secondary and private in relation to that of their husbands. Thus, the only women in a position to take such liberties are widows, whose children are already grown, and older women who never married. But, they must also have the Spanish skills to serve an urban clientele and this is often a barrier for older women. Ironically, it is the consistent absence of male healers in Curva that both facilitates and constrains female opportunities to exercise Kallawaya medicine.

2.21 Trajectories of Professionalization by Gender and Age

Where one falls with respect to these categories of expertise is tied to highly gendered educational paths along which individuals acquire medicinal knowledge. Though there is tremendous variability in the precise trajectory followed by any one healer, all healers pass through a series of stages in which they are presented with different opportunities for developing their medicinal knowledge and skills, as well as applying their expertise. While these occasions, like all social opportunities, are shaped by familial circumstance, they are also subject to a good deal of personal choice and, many healers would add, "suerte" (luck or fate).

[17]As a result of these and other differences between men and women's experiences healing in the city, it would be inaccurate to assume that somehow women eventually "reach" a level equal to men simply because their practice takes on an itinerant dimension. Instead, it is better to think of men and women's experiences as running along independent tracks that cross in specific times and places, while maintaining their distinctive characteristics. As I explain in the next section, women's professional trajectories are unique in terms of what they learn about medicine, as well as where and from whom they acquire such knowledge.

Gendered trajectories of professionalization start in early childhood. However, the experiences of boys and girls are relatively similar until the age of 9 or 10. During this period, children acquire medicinal knowledge almost exclusively from older women, usually from their mothers and grandmothers (but, even older female siblings take an active role in the instruction of younger children). This knowledge is acquired informally in the context of practical tasks, such as being asked to assist with the preparation of simple medicinal teas, identifying and collecting medicinal plants, and asking for or offering medicinal advice to and from other adults at the request of a parent. But, because female children are expected to stay closer to home and assist with domestic tasks, such as food preparation and laundry, they are called upon with greater frequency to carry out such chores. With time and practice the knowledge and skill necessary to perform these tasks improves and becomes increasingly intuitive for members of both sex.

Around the age of 9 or 10 (give or take a few years) boys may begin to periodically accompany their father or older male relatives on routine visits to the city where they work as healers. During these visits, boys are immersed in the professional medical culture of male adults. While back in Curva, they would be expected to fulfill a number of obligations that would physically separate them from the activities of adult males, such as attending school, collecting wood, or herding sheep, in the city they are a constant participant in the social world of male healers, including the network of Kallawaya healers with whom their father or other male relative regularly interacts. Their presence in these settings is not only a source of constant exposure to medicinal knowledge and appropriate codes of conduct, but provides unique opportunities for explicit learning that may not be available in Curva. It is here, for instance, that boys

begin to regularly and systematically overhear the use of Sejo/Machaj Juyay in the context of patient-healer interaction, as well as in the exclusive company of male healers. They are also presented with opportunities to observe and assist in the preparation of compound medicines and the treatment of patients, following the commands of the master Kallawaya with whom they are working. Learning in these contexts is both passive and active. Apprentices acquire medicinal knowledge through watching, emulating, and engaging with the adult healers they are around, while at the same time being presented with opportunities to ask about the meaning and performance of specific tasks. These experiences build on and reinforce the medicinal knowledge from their youth and may continue through adolescence.

Meanwhile, in Curva, a parallel process is taking place for girls. In between being instructed to pick up the slack for their male siblings, while their mothers do the same for their absent husbands, their own medicinal knowledge continues to develop, but in a direction of specialization distinct from boys. One way they must learn to compensate is by taking greater personal responsibility for their own health and that of younger siblings who their mothers may leave in their care in order to work. At the same time, as they get older they are increasingly exposed to medical conditions and therapies that are specific to women. It is common, for instance, for daughters to witness their mothers give birth to siblings. Their repeated participation in these events and the talk that surrounds them provide girls with important learning opportunities for understanding what is "normal" and how to handle complications, including when, why, and what medical interventions should be pursued in a given case. The settings in which girls acquire medical expertise, however, differ significantly from those of boys in that they are confined to Curva, do not

involve the use of Sejo/Machaj Juyay, or entail interactions with strangers. Nonetheless, the two experiences are similar in that they are not necessarily motivated by any personal desire—as children, boys and girls learn medicine by default through their inclusion in activities their parents choose for them to participate in. They are simply doing what kids do in this community.

During their early to mid-twenties, the professional trajectories of women and men take another turn. At age 19, all men must complete one year of mandatory military service, after which they are faced with critical life choices about their futures. Some go to college. Others pursue trades, such as carpentry, tailoring, bricklaying, and plumbing. Still, others choose to pursue professional careers as healers. These decisions are rarely mutually exclusive, enabling men to develop diverse skill sets, while drawing income through a variety of means. For those men who choose the path of a healer, these new experiences depart from any previous medical training they may have in three fundamental ways. First, they involve more extended apprenticeships in which they are instructed in the preparation and administration of increasingly complex kinds of medicines, diagnostic techniques, and ritual procedures depending on the particular specialties of the master Kallawaya. Learning how to combine plants is a critical component of learning at this stage. Second, it is common for apprentices at this stage of their training to accompany numerous healers for varying lengths of time, and, therefore, familiarize themselves with the practice of Kallawaya medicine in multiple urban settings. Third, and most importantly, these experiences are dictated by personal choice and mark their active induction into the supra-geographical professional community.

During the same time frame, healers start their own families. These relationships introduce new and significant dynamics into the professional trajectories through which men and women acquire their expertise. For all women, the birth of children represents a new stage in their medicinal education because of their personal experience with pregnancy, birth, and the necessity of responding to the medical needs of one's children, in addition to one's self. At this point, they are inundated with medicinal knowledge and practical advice from their mother-in-laws (with whom they move in after the relationship has been consummated) and childbearing peers, as well as their older female relatives.

Those women who are married to healers, however, also begin to receive medical guidance from their husbands. While this pattern of knowledge transfer starts as a survival strategy to help women care for themselves and their children during their husbands' extended absences, it often provides the foundation upon which women launch their own professional medical practice later in life. This extra instruction also enables women to collect and prepare medicinal substances for their husband's use in the city. Here, it is important to acknowledge that although it is rare for medicinal knowledge to pass directly from father to daughter, young girls inherit some of their father's expertise indirectly through their mother's instruction. Thus, intra-marital exchanges of medicinal knowledge, while never complete, draws the domains of male and female medical expertise into close proximity.

Marital unions also have an impact on the development of men's medicinal knowledge. While male healers rarely deliver the children of other women in Curva, the majority of male healers do facilitate the birth of their own children (at least when they

are present in the community) and often without the assistance of female healers. Such opportunities introduce them to a new set of medical experiences and techniques that would otherwise be off limits. Similarly, while the care of female healers tends to focus on other women and children within the community, in the context of their homes they are also expected to use their expertise to heal their husbands.[18] Through these experiences, men broaden their medicinal repertoire beyond the confines of traditional male apprenticeships with guidance from their wives, while women are given opportunities to develop their practice outside the usual channels of knowledge exchange between women. Thus, the expertise of men and women is not only complimentary, but, in fact, overlaps.

For all healers in Curva, the acquisition of Kallawaya expertise is a life-long project. The last phase of their professional trajectories is, therefore, indefinite. For the same reason, it is also the most variable. For men, this transition occurs when they branch out on their own and begin to maintain an independent clientele. For most healers this is a gradual process that unfolds over the course of several years, during which they may continue to travel with other healers, but as "colleagues" more than apprentices. Under these circumstances, the healers are roughly the same age and have similar levels of experience. Although exchanges of medicinal knowledge and skill are still taking place, if only passively through their co-participation in medical activities, the nature of these transactions differ substantively from previous arrangements in that the costs and benefits are more balanced. Instead of knowledge flowing one way from master to apprentice in

[18] In Curva, as well as in Chari, I commonly heard male healers boast about the ability of their wives to nurse them back to health when faced with a serious illness, while women who failed to heal their husbands were subject to harsh criticism and blame. Women from both communities expressed similar sentiments with respect to their own abilities, as well as that of other women.

exchange for the latter's assistance, the two healers now take turns playing these roles as they work collectively to serve their own developing clienteles. This shift in power dynamics is also reflected in the way financial expenses and gains are divided during these trips. At this stage, the costs and income tied to their medical work are divided equally, whereas apprentices who work with master Kallawayas are likely to receive only tips or one-fourth the total payment, the exact contract being left to the discretion of the master healer. Eventually, these pairings dissolve as an individual's personal life circumstances steer them in different directions, leading to the variability reflected in the categories of expertise described earlier.

Because female healers do not undergo formal apprenticeships and their practice is largely sedentary and rural, compared with that of male healers, the last phase of their trajectories is less structured. Nonetheless, they evolve in tandem with that of men as they are presented with opportunities to exercise and improve their craft locally. The medicinal knowledge and skill of some women will bring them fame and success equal to that of male healers, but at a much slower pace. This is because the time women have available to develop their medical expertise is limited in direct proportion to the amount of time their husbands dedicate to their own professional trajectories (since it is their wives who must then assume full responsibility for everything related to the household). Thus it is generally only when a woman is relieved of these obligations either because she never had children, her children are grown, or because she was widowed that she has the freedom to pursue medicine as a legitimate career path. When this happens, female professional trajectories may veer towards the city. Male healers who worry about the financial security of their family following their death often facilitate this process by

explicitly preparing both their wives and urban patients for his widow to replace him. In anticipation of this transition, older couples may work together publicly in the delivery of Kallawaya medicine, pulling the professional trajectories of male and female healers into even tighter alignment.

2.22 Language Dynamics

People from Curva proper identify strongly as Quechua, linguistically and ethnically, although the majority of the population is competent in multiple languages, including Spanish, Aymara, and Sejo/Machaj Juyay. However, competency in each language, if relevant at all, is highly variable and patterned in relation to age, gender, community of origin versus community of residence, as well as professional experience, especially as a healer. While Kallawaya healers and the Province of Bautista Saavedra, in general, have long been characterized as multilingual, the subtleties of this linguistic diversity and its social organization are poorly understood (largely, because it has not been systematically studied). It is, therefore, important to clarify some of the more salient linguistic dynamics in Curva and their relationship to regional and trans-regional social dynamics, as well as their connection to healers.

According to census data from 2001, almost 40% of people living in the municipality of Curva report their most commonly spoken language to be a combination of Quechua-Spanish (25%) or Quechua-Spanish-Aymara (14%), a number roughly equal to those who claim to speak either Quechua (28%) or Aymara (10%) predominantly (INE 2005).

Within Curva, Quechua remains the primary means of day-to-day communication. It is the first language children acquire, is what is spoken in the home, and is also the language most often spoken in public, including in the context of monthly *sindicato* meetings. Still, most members of the community are bilingual in Spanish and regularly exhibit those skills when interacting with teachers, staff at the hospital, tourists, NGO personnel, researchers, and government representatives. All men, school-age and older, are able to hold lengthy conversations in Spanish, demonstrating strong verbal and auditory skills, even if their speech is considered imperfect/non-standard/accented in comparison to mainstream Bolivian Spanish spoken in urban centers. And, while fewer women (especially those over the age of 40) speak Spanish or speak as fluently as men, a significant number do handle the language considerably well and most are at least able to comprehend spoken Spanish. As in most rural Andean communities, the weaker Spanish skills of women are tied directly to their limited access to educational opportunities and less frequent travel to the city.

In stark contrast to Spanish, relatively few people in Curva speak Aymara.[19] Those who do speak Aymara include a handful of native speakers who moved to Curva from Cañuma and those who have had prolonged contact with Aymara speakers outside

[19] A major misconception about Kallawaya healers is that they identify ethnically as Aymara and are native Aymara speakers. This is due most likely to Tschopik's (1946) early identification of Kallawayas as a special subclass of Aymara healers in *The Handbook of American Indians* and Bastien's perpetuation of this idea in his widely cited ethnography based on fieldwork with diviners in Kaata (1978:xvi). Unfortunately, this inaccurate depiction still circulates widely as evidenced in a recent anthropology text on Latin America and the Caribbean in which Sanabria (2007: 233) characterizes the medical beliefs of "the Aymara-speaking Qollahuaya of highland Bolivia" drawing on Bastein's work. While there are a handful of Aymara-speaking communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra that identify ethnically as Kallawaya, none of these communities appear to have ever been locally associated with the complex of medical practices linked to Kallawaya healers. Furthermore, I have only ever heard Kallawaya healers identify themselves ethnically as Quechua both within Curva, as well as in regional and national forums, such as the UNESCO celebration events and COLBOLCMEK meetings. The ability of some healers to speak Aymara is generally the result of contact with Aymara speakers in La Paz and others areas of the country. And, while multilingualism is valued among healers, the ability to speak Aymara, in particular, does not seems to carry any special significance.

the Province of Bautista Saavedra (usually in the Sur Yungas or El Alto due to seasonal work that is not medically related). With the exception of the former group, these individuals qualify claims about their Aymara proficiency by stating that their aural comprehension exceeds their speaking ability or that their speech is "not perfect" (Q. mana allinmi).

One reason for the relatively small number of Aymara speakers is because within the municipality, Quechua-speaking communities outnumber Aymara-speaking communities 6 to 2. As a result, Aymara speakers are expected to accommodate Quechua speakers when they come in contact. This holds both in informal conversational settings, as well as in collective public forums, such as provincial and municipal meetings. Thus, while many native Aymara speakers in the area are bilingual in Quechua, the inverse is often not true. Sometimes, when a native Aymara speaker's Quechua is weak, he/she will use Spanish as a lingua franca, if possible. Or, if the passive competence of each speaker is sufficient to comprehend the other's native tongue, the interaction will transpire in both languages.

What is not reflected in these statistics, however, is the notable variation in Quechua spoken in the region. While my own ability to discern these subtles differences was limited, people from Curva were especially attentive to phonological differences in the Quechua and Aymara spoken across communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra, which they described generically as "acentos" (accents). They elaborated that the Quechua spoken between communities was mutually intelligible, but "sounded" different and, therefore, marked the individual's community of origin.

In addition to the speech differences between communities, there were ample differences in the Quechua spoken within Curva. This variation had numerous sources, but again, was often difficult for my own ears to track. Some of the differences locals noted related to the accented Quechua of migrants to the community, whose first language was Aymara, Spanish, or a variety of Quechua spoken elsewhere. People were also sensitive to the way the Quechua of community members who spent significant time in the cities was tinged with influences from Spanish and varieties of Quechua from outside the Province, such as Cochabamba. Finally, fluent and regular speakers of Quechua from Curva aged 25 and under often complained that they were unable to comprehend the Quechua of community elders, perhaps signaling language change across generations.

The last dimension of linguistic variation worthy of mention, which is also not included in the INE census, is the distribution and use of Machaj Juyay. As discussed in the Introduction, this is the presumably secret linguistic code, acquired and spoken exclusively by males in the context of Kallawaya apprenticeships and used primarily in the context of ritual activity. The most authoritative conclusion on the linguistic status of Machaj Juyay at present is that of Louisa Stark (1972), who questions its integrity as a complete language, arguing instead that it is a linguistic hybrid consisting of Pukina vocabulary and a mix of Cuzceño and Ayacuchano Quechua syntax and phonology. More recent studies also characterize the code as a linguistic composite and note possible linkages with Arawac, a lowland language found in the Beni (Torero 1987; Muysken 1997). However, all of these linguistic analyses rely exclusively on the work of Enrique Oblitas Poblete (1968) and Louis Girault (1989), both of which consist largely of

vocabulary lists with a few sentence fragments and provide only basic grammatical sketches. Even more problematic is the fact that both authors relied on informants who were Spanish-dominant bilingual speakers (in Spanish and Quechua), making claims about the extent to which Quechua grammar has been modified in Machaj Juyay hard to evaluate since the changes may be a product of Spanish influence. In 2007, David Harrison and Gregory Anderson, a team of North American linguists on a global quest to save the world's endangered languages, showed up in the Province of Bautista Saavedra looking for speakers of Machaj Juyay. Their film, *The Linguists* (2008), documents their experience with residents of Chari in the context of this international project.[20]

What is sorely lacking with respect to our understanding of this linguistic code is a sociological assessment of its use and cultural functions. To date, there is not a single work that has attempted to study its use in context. One reason for this oversight is the shroud of secrecy with which use of the code is enmeshed, making access to it extremely difficult. However, access to the code is also practically limited since its use among healers is concentrated during periods of travel outside their home communities in contexts to which researchers have never been permitted access.[21] Another impediment to

[20] So far, it looks like their study has proceeded in exactly the same manner as those who have preceded them. Although they have worked with contemporary speakers in the region, we know very little about the broader speech patterns of these individuals or their relationship to regional and national Kallawaya networks. To my knowledge none of the people they are working with have connections to Curva. More importantly, the linguistic data that has been collected is based on individual elicitation techniques that divorce linguistic knowledge from the social contexts in which they are meaningfully embedded.

[21] However, see Bolton (1974) for the only documented account of a Kallawaya healer's services provided in a rural community outside the Province of Bautista Saavedra. Bolton studied among the Inkawatana from 1968-1970, who he characterizes as a Quechua-speaking Qolla community located in the Lake Titicaca region of Perú. During this time, a Kallawaya healer and his apprentice fortuitously showed up at in the community when a local woman who had been the victim of a serious theft was planning to travel to Bolivia to seek the services of a Kallawaya. He reports that during their stay the healers sold and administered various herbal remedies to local residents and performed a joint sorcery ceremony intended to inflict harm against the individuals responsible for the two instances of local theft, which he was able to document. According to Bolton, while the ritual was conducted primarily in Quechua, "with occasional parts in Spanish, Aymara, and even Latin," certain prayers were spoken in a language, which only the

our understanding is the almost exclusive academic emphasis on the use of Machaj Juyay as a means of referential communication. This prejudice is evident in the translation of Machaj Juyay vocabulary and concern with Kallawayas' efforts to guard their specialized knowledge from outsiders (Bolton 1974; Bastien 1978, 1987; Girault 1987; Rösing 1990; Fernández Juarez 1998). These orientations to Machaj Juyay reduce its communicative function to the transmission of medical information, while overlooking its role in the construction and maintenance of social boundaries within and beyond the Province of Bautista Saavedra.

Contrary to these generalizations, careful review of the existing literature suggests that these assumptions about Kallawaya speech are unwarranted. First, more than one ethnographic source notes that Machaj Juyay speech is integral to Kallawaya apprenticeship activities and medical excursions during which non-experts are absent. This fact undermines, although doesn't necessarily contradict, the argument that these speech forms serve *exclusively*, or even primarily, to maintain professional secrecy by hiding their referential content from non-experts since there is no one present in these contexts from whom such knowledge is being withheld (Bastien 1987; Girault 1987). More importantly, it suggests that distinctive linguistic skills constitute *part of* the professional knowledge of these healers, the acquisition of which is equally important and embedded within a cultural logic of appropriate use that is imparted along with whatever other knowledge it encodes. Second, Machaj Juyay vocabulary has been reportedly used among these healers to greet one another, as well as discuss non-medically related topics, including family and agriculture (Saignes 1983; Bastien 1987,

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sorcerer and his assistant could understand (ibid:207). The author identifies this language as Puquina, although it was more than likely Sejo/Machaj Juyay.

Girault 1989; Albó 1989). Thus, neither the semantic potential nor the social function of their speech is restricted to the communication of medical information. Third, while it is claimed that Machaj Juyay is spoken exclusively by males, Kallawaya practitioners from different communities are known to specialize in distinct facets of medicine, including divination and midwifery, both of which are practiced predominately by women (Bastien 1978, 1987; Rösing 1990). This discrepancy raises the issue of whether such distinctive speech patterns are applicable to all varieties of Kallawaya medical practice or whether they serve, in part, to distinguish some types of medical practice (and practitioners) from others, according to gender, regional, or sub-medical specialization. Finally, Girault (1987) notes (without ethnographic or linguistic elaboration) that there are discernible "dialectical" and stylistic differences among Kallawaya practitioners that preserve the semantic and syntactic integrity of Machaj Juyay. This documented variation problematizes attempts to treat these linguistic forms as a single, homogenous phenomenon divorced from local social factors, as well as strengthens the likelihood that the linguistic behavior of these healers serves simultaneously to mark social identities and types of knowledge on multiple levels.

My own observations and discussions with Kallawaya healers in Curva support many of these possibilities. While much recent scholarship, including Ina Rösing's voluminous works on Kallawaya rituals, has drawn attention to the virtual disappearance of this code among practicing Kallawayas today, I found knowledge and use of Sejo/Machaj Juyay to be widely-distributed among healers, even if one's individual competence was relatively shallow. In Curva, healers and non-healers alike attested to its ubiquitous circulation in present-day speech between Kallawaya experts within and

beyond Curva's territorial limits. *Lugareños* consistently estimated the percentage of current speakers within Curva around 60%, which corresponds closely to the combined percentage of healers I would classify as falling in Groups B, C, and D.[22] There was also consensus in their confirmation that Kallawaya healers from other communities within the Province also speak the code, but with subtle differences in accent, expression, vocabulary, and grammar, comparing such variation to regional differences in Quechua in that they are mutually intelligible, but, nonetheless distinct. I strongly suspect that this comparison is not coincidental and that the noted variation in Sejo/Machaj Juyay correlates with regional variation in Quechua, most of the variation in the former deriving *from* the latter.[23]

The majority of healers I had contact with received great pleasure from using Sejo/Machaj Juyay vocabulary in my presence since it was not only a sure demonstration of their expertise and linguistic ability, but brought into clear and public relief the limits of my own knowledge and ethnographic access. I was also witness to lengthy verbal exchanges in the code between local healers during fiestas and other occasions of drunkenness when defenses were down and people were eager to impress the observing anthropologist. Several Kallawaya healers from Curva were also willing and able to

[22] It should be noted that the competence of individual healers in Sejo/Machaj Juyay within and across these groups would be expected to vary in direct proportion to the degree of their past and present integration in urban Kallawaya networks because of the contexts in which the code is predominately learned and used. Thus, there is generalized agreement that healers in group D are the most competent speakers, while healers in group C know more than healers in group B. Such patterns were confirmed in my own observations and conversations with healers. In addition, because this 60% estimate is in direct reference to healers who are *lugareños* it does not speak to the linguistic competence of *residentes* who practice Kallawaya medicine, although that competence is universally assumed due to their apprenticeship history and close association with other urban healers. According to both *lugareños* and *residentes*, Sejo/Machaj Juyay is used publicly in Curva among healers who return to Curva temporarily and may unexpectedly cross paths. Such displays are most common, however, during local fiestas, which draw large numbers of healers scattered throughout the country back to Curva at the same time.

[23] I take the fact that the majority of *Curveños* refer to this set of professional linguistic skills by a different name (Sejo Juyay) than is reported in the literature (Machaj Juyay), while recognizing the second label and acknowledging that it refers to the same linguistic phenomenon, as evidence in support of this possibility.

produce sentence-length examples in the code during interviews, in which I asked about how “Sejo/Machaj Juyay” sounded. It is significant that the examples they produced tended to address non-medical topics like afternoon plans, greetings, or questions about family.

As for its use beyond these settings, where the utterances were produced to varying degrees for my benefit, locals and residents from Curva both maintain that it is primarily used when Kallawayas travel and work together outside their native territory. It is for this reason that Sejo/Machaj Juyay is most often learned while accompanying established Kallawayas on their medical excursions and why women, who may be recognized as Kallawaya in their capacity as healers (but generally don’t travel), are also considered unable to speak or understand the code. However, a number of highly esteemed male healers attested to the ability of some older female healers to speak and comprehend the code, who had presumably learned it from their husbands. Female healers confirmed the veracity of such claims verbally (although I never witnessed a woman use the code), adding that women comprehend more than men think they do and that their understanding can be exposed in public to humorous and/or sarcastic effect. For instance, one female healer told me that this may happen when men use the code to make derogatory comments about their wives or other women in their presence and a woman responds appropriately to the comment in another language. By demonstrating her comprehension of something she wasn’t supposed to hear, she puts the man back in his place by reminding him that his “secret” code is not is not as secret as he would like to think.

When pushed to explain why and under what circumstances Kallawayas use "Sejo/Machaj Juyay," informants agreed that its primary functions are social and practical, not esoteric. Older healers told lengthy stories about the dangerous conditions under which they traveled throughout Bolivia and the interior of Argentina, Chile, and Perú, where talking with their travel partners in the code enabled them to discuss suspicious people and situations, as well as escape plans in private. While this implies a kind of secrecy, it is distinct from the kind of secrecy that shields specialist knowledge from outsiders. They also discussed its importance in identifying and forging social alliances with other Kallawayas away from home, whom they could rely on to share food and shelter in uncertain environments. In the context of their medical work, Kallawaya healers emphasized its importance in terms of coordinating tasks with their assistants, such as the preparation of *mesas* (ritual "tables" of offerings) or administration of herbal preparations, without exposing the rationale or logistical underpinnings of these activities to clients. Healers varying widely in age and working in both rural and urban contexts claimed that the use of Sejo/Machaj Juyay is not necessary to communicate with the extra-human entities whose assistance in matters of health, luck, and love they call upon and denied its use in ritual speech. This conviction bore out over the course of my fieldwork, during which I participated in numerous rituals (mostly in Curva), all of which were conducted exclusively in Spanish, Quechua, or a mix of the two languages.

Considered together, these data suggest that the range of past and contemporary uses to which Sejo/Machaj Juyay is put well exceeds the limited ways in which the code has been thought and written about thus far. They also suggest that Sejo/Machaj Juyay is not taken as essential to the job performance of a Kallawaya healer. That is, its use is

neither necessary nor sufficient to effect a cure, perform a rite, etc. even though its use is highly valued. For this reason, Kallawayas and patients alike concur that a healer's ability to speak Sejo/Machaj Juyay is of little to no importance to those who seek their services. And, yet, there is practically unanimous agreement among healers that it is important for them to understand/speak Sejo/Machaj Juyay and that it is a critical aspect of their professional identity and a language in which all healers aspire to gain proficiency.

Its persistence within Kallawaya professional circles and use outside the context of medical practice attest to the strength of the semiotic link between Kallawaya healers and Sejo/Machaj Juyay and its continued importance as a local index of one´s social position and access to specialized cultural knowledge. To the extent that one can demonstrate or at least convincingly claim to possess such linguistic ability, one can exploit this semiotic relationship to locate oneself within a cultural and socio-political matrix of Kallawaya medical experts within and beyond Curva.

Regardless of the degree to which individuals buy the idea that mastery of Sejo/Machaj Juyay is a prerequisite to one's official status *as* Kallawaya, the linguistic skills subsumed under this name remain a point of universal reference within this community. Exploitation of this sign relation serves to consolidate existing networks while at the same time working to exclude certain individuals from sanctioned membership in this exclusive group. Given Sejo/Machaj Juyay's exceptionally long history of use among healers, it should not be surprising that language behavior continues to be an important means for policing the boundaries of Kallawaya expertise even as the content and form of those discursive practices have fluctuated over time. The emergence of oppositional discourse to the PUMA project and foreign research, more generally, as a

sign of Kallawaya expertise is a prime example of how conventionalized speech patterns simultaneously construct and reflect social distinctions in relation to medical expertise. In the final section of this chapter, I turn to the intra- and inter-community tensions out of which debates over expertise emerged in the context of the PUMA project controversy.

2.23 The PUMA Conflict: A Reflection of Intra- and Inter-community Tensions

Conflict within the Kallawaya community over the PUMA medicinal plant project did not begin or end with the public protest that took place in Curva described in the Introduction. Locally, it was preceded by accusations of personal interest and corruption on the part of project organizers, as well as suspicions about Bolivian engineers affiliated with the primary funding institution, PUMA. People were particularly bothered that project engineers had been observed walking alone in areas heavily populated by medicinal species and talking about plants with women and children, two sectors of the population considered especially vulnerable to "outside" manipulation. The distribution of coca and cigarettes by PUMA staff in compliance with local customs of reciprocity were interpreted as calculated efforts "to buy support" within the community. Similarly, PUMA workshops involving "intercultural exchanges of information" were approached with high levels of mistrust, such that even voluntary participants revealed only the most basic, generalized aspects of their knowledge out of fear that their medicinal know-how would be robbed and the project and the material investments it promised would never come to fruition.

The perpetual absence of Kallawaya healers who, owing to traditional patterns of itinerant medical practice, spend over half the year outside the community only fueled

local uncertainties since they were not present to observe project activities or participate in discussions about the project contract. In addition, these healers questioned why, if the project was ostensibly about the manufacture and commercialization of Kallawaya medicinal products, participation was open to the general population and included other communities not recognized as having medicinal plants or healers. These problems were compounded by rumors that local authorities had been bribed to approve the project and that Miguel Zambrana and Santiago Quina, the two community members in charge of the of the project, refused to disclose the PUMA office address. As mundane intra-community conflicts over these issues escalated into heated regional debates, Jaime Terejina, the provincial authority and a local resident, called on Kallawaya organizations in the city for assistance, as well as organized a provincial-wide assembly in Curva to publicly clarify circulating accusations.

News of these events spread like wild fire through rural-urban social networks linking Kallawaya organizations at regional and national levels. In Cochabamba, SBIDCMEK, The Bolivian Society for the Investigation and Defense of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine, responded by calling a 24-hour emergency meeting. They researched Foundation PUMA on-line, dissected the project proposal and disseminated their unfavorable conclusions and application materials to other organizations, urging them to take action. They also expressed their opposition directly to the PUMA foundation, demanding explanations as to who had authorized its entry into the Kallawaya region, as well as detailed activity and expenditure reports. Finally, they chartered buses to transport some 100 *residentes* throughout the country from La Paz to Curva to enact the public protest I described in the Introduction and express their

concerns at the Provincial Assembly that same morning.

By the time the *residentes* arrived, those of us in Curva were well informed about the oppositional movement they were generating in the broader Kallawaya community via the same channels of communication that news of the PUMA project had left the Province: the large contingent of ambulatory healers who move back and forth between the city and the countryside in staggered intervals. These were individuals who had conflicting allegiances to the community of Curva, where their families lived, and the professional community of healers to which they belonged at a suprageographical level. To my knowledge, all healers who were *residentes* opposed the PUMA project. I never encountered a single supporter for the project who identified as a *residente* and in both private and public forums *los lugareños* and *los residentes* alike generalized the stance of *los residentes* towards the project as one of disapproval. *Lugareños,* on the other hand, fell into both camps and some even took contradictory stances depending on the situation and those present. The diversity of opinions among *lugareños* about the project was a direct consequence of the greater variability in their own medical expertise and integration into Kallawaya urban networks. In general, the more committed a healer was to the practice of medicine outside Curva, the greater their resistance to the activity of the PUMA project within Curva. Conversely, individuals with the most limited opportunities for studying or practicing medicine outside the community tended to show the greatest support for the PUMA project.

Ever since Bernardo, Curva's *secretario general*, had announced the date of the Provincial Assembly the previous month, I, along with many others, had been anxiously awaiting the *residentes'* arrival (but for radically different reasons). These were

individuals who enjoyed a ghostly stature in Curva, people whose absence was itself a constant presence felt in the abandoned houses and fields left behind when they migrated to the cities and in the additional burden locals carried when *residentes* refused to accept their turn in the mandatory cycle of *cargos* (positions of leadership and responsibility) through which each community member must pass. While their technical skills, education, success as healers, and elevated standard of living in the city were hallmarks to which many *lugareños* aspired, they were also the collective source of much local ridicule. In casual conversation, as well as interviews, people complained that despite the improved ability of *residentes* to help with community problems in terms of financial sponsorship and technical assistance, they frequently failed to "give back" to the community in the way of service *or* finances.

Ongoing tensions between the two groups were also reflected in more overt struggles related to the representation and practice of Kallawaya medicine. Healers in Curva regularly criticized the efforts of urban-based professional organizations like SBIDCMEK for "monopolizing" the culture through the imposition of monetary and other requirements from members, which most healers with strong ties in Curva had difficulty meeting, such as fees and residency quotas. Consequently, they claimed, they were relegated a peripheral position on the urban scene and remained vulnerable to attack and discrimination without such affiliations.

Lugareños' negative feelings about these issues were exacerbated by their perception that the success of *residentes* practicing medicine in the cities was directly linked to their symbolic and material dependence on Curva.[24] According to *lugareños*, it

[24] Locals cited the fact of Curva's venerable status as the birthplace of Kallawaya medicine and source of the country's most potent medicinal plants as evidence for such claims, noting that *residentes* living in

was they who took responsibility for keeping the pueblo alive through timely performances of calendrical rites and the maintenance of agricultural fields, houses, and public buildings. They also cared for local medicinal plants, access to which the professional success of urban practitioners depended upon. Many *residentes*, eager to ensure their visit to the annual San Pedro festival was as quick and efficient as possible, even hired locals to collect and dry medicinal plants for them in exchange for a modest fee.[25] As a result, many community members felt their own poverty and isolation was implicated in the relatively "easy" lives *residentes* enjoyed in the cities, where they benefited from greater access to educational and other opportunities, including increased demand for their medical services and a wealthier client base. On multiple occasions, *lugareños* reminded me that in order for Curva to retain its symbolic and material value beyond the community people must continue to live there. They used this logic to explain further that their own impoverished lives in *el campo* (the countryside) were thus integral to the success of urban healers whose reference to and physical reliance on Curva afforded them certain privileges in the city.[26]

As an anthropologist and resident of Curva, I was a tireless ear to the individual and collective woes of my neighbors, which often revolved around these and other deep-seated and emerging dramas played out between rural and urban factions of this diasporic

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Cochabamba and La Paz regularly used the name Curva on professional business cards. Residents and locals alike claimed that their ability to claim that they were *from* Curva, "Cuna de la Medicina Tradicional" distinguished them as "authentic" and especially knowledgeable Kallawaya healers, which translated into both symbolic and economic benefits.

[25] Earlier in this chapter I explained that most healers with *residente* status only return to Curva once a year to collect medicinal plants and attend the annual community festival of San Pedro at the end of June. The time of the festival immediately follows the time period during which the majority of medicinal plants are flowering and being collected, making it a convenient opportunity for healers to replenish their supply of medicinal plants, while attending the festival.

[26] Throughout my fieldwork, I heard people in Curva threaten to start taxing *residentes* to remove medicinal plants from the community in order to use them in urban-based medicinal practices. Some individuals even suggested that the PUMA project offered one means for ensuring such compensation: *residentes* would have to purchase raw plant material directly from them.

community.[27] For *lugareños*, the fall-out from these dynamics was of continuous relevance and they deemed explanations of such events fundamental to my understanding of their lives. But, since *los residentes* lived permanently outside the community, I had only had limited contact with a handful of them. Consequently, most of what I knew about their lives and relationship to Curva was filtered through the accounts of *lugareños*.

The opportunity to finally socialize with *los residentes*, many of whom I had never met, was a chance to elicit their own stories and perspectives, and in conjunction with my own observations, flesh out a broader picture of the social field in which both factions operated. That opportunity came when in the midst of predictably avoiding a firm date for his own interview several weeks earlier (which he'd been promising me for months), Don Eduardo, a prominent healer, offered an unsolicited suggestion: "Why don't you wait until *los residentes* arrive for the Provincial Assembly, and you can interview us all together. That first night there will be a social gathering at Don Daniel's house. I will introduce you to everyone and you can make arrangements to conduct your interview."

Don Eduardo was a core member of SBIDCMEK and yet still a bona fide *lugareño*, whose second wife and three youngest children lived in Curva year round. While he spent the majority of his time in Cochabamba working as a healer and participating in other activities affiliated with the SBIDCMEK office, his visits back to the community were frequent, if brief, compared to healers in similar circumstances. Despite his drawn-out reluctance to be formally interviewed, we enjoyed a unique friendship. He was always eager to offer explanations of local events, especially those that he was in a privileged position to comment on as a healer, including rituals, my

[27] See James Clifford (2007) on the relevance of *diaspora* to Indigenous populations.

family's rollercoaster of health conditions, community holidays, etc. He lived diagonally from us, facing the plaza, and (when he was in town) we often sat together chewing coca and chatting on a cement block outside his front door. The view was spectacular and provided the perfect place to catch the last rays of Andean sun before the cold dark night cloaked the town. It was sitting there together watching the buses roll in and out of the plaza, while kids played soccer with balls made from knotted up plastic bags and adults dragged their tired bodies, firewood fastened to their backs, across this familiar scene day in and day out, that our friendship took hold and deepened over the course of my fieldwork. For all these reasons, Don Eduardo was *the* ideal person to facilitate my first large-scale interaction with the SBIDCMEK group, something I knew by now to be a risky business for foreigners. What I didn't know was that my participation in this event would change the course and focus of my fieldwork by pulling me into the eye of a cultural storm over the very nature of Kallawaya expertise, the individuals and communities to which it applies, and the rights and obligations that adhere to those who are recognized as healers.

2.24 Conclusion: Intra-community Tensions and the Politics of Kallawaya Identity

This chapter has served two main purposes: to shed light on Curva's paradoxical status as the symbolic and physical apex of Kallawaya medicine and to flesh out the social dynamics and background necessary to understand the PUMA conflict. In relation to the first aim, I offered a detailed overview of how Kallawaya knowledge and practices are distributed within a social field that extends beyond Curva's geographical borders and is linked to distinct trajectories of professionalization, which yield a spectrum of

expertise that is locally recognized, but differentially valued. These paths, which are shaped by age, gender, family history, as well as a variety of socio-economic and political factors, ultimately enable some healers to focus their medical care in urban areas, while relegating the medical activities of others to local social spheres. Many of the ethnographic details I have provided in support of my claims, especially as concerns the expertise of women, challenge mainstream assumptions about Kallawaya healers in both the academic and popular literature, while adding breadth and complexity to our understanding of local social dynamics and their relationship to the division (and recognition) of medical labor.

With respect to the second aim, we observed that this intra-cultural variation in medical knowledge/practice based on differential access to rural versus urban contexts of medical learning/application is a direct source of community tension within Curva and beyond. These tensions are felt most intensely between healers who are *residentes* versus those who are *lugareños* (including migrants to Curva from outlying communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra). But, they are also felt between healers with *lugareño* status whose association with distinct categories of expertise (and thus degree of travel) shape their ideological orientations to medicine, the physical community, and to one another in ways that reproduce distinctions between *lugareños* and *residentes* within the category of *lugareño* itself. These intra- and intercommunity tensions are based, in large part, on disagreements about equitable access to and responsibility for local resources, which provide the material basis for the practice of Kallawaya medicine, and the uneven symbolic and economic benefits that result from the use of these resources outside Curva. The reservations of many healers towards the PUMA project concerned the potential flow

of these genetic resources and medicinal knowledge about them beyond the circulatory channels controlled by healers with strong footholds in the urban scene.

Understanding the graded nature of contemporary Kallawaya expertise is thus important for several reasons. First, it helps us understand the paradox: there are lots of healers in Curva, although the ones we have been conditioned to "see" are regularly absent or "disguised" as they carry out other social roles within the community, while those individuals whose capacity as healers have been systematically neglected are ubiquitously present. Second, it moves us away from thinking about Kallawaya expertise as a set of necessary and sufficient conditions, which one either has or does not have, towards a more relational concept in which processes of social differentiation work to create the illusion of essentialized identities in the form of recursive contrasts between experts and non-experts within and beyond Curva. This approach also provides a more diachronic perspective that allows us to see how expertise develops over time and is connected to inclusionary and exclusionary practices along the way. We have also seen that the development of Kallawaya expertise hardly follows a straight and narrow path—diversions, setbacks, and comebacks are the norm. Finally, it helps us understand the PUMA conflict. While healers' medical practices and ideological orientations differ, as you move from those categorized in Group A to those categorized in Group D, these patterns do not add up to one single profile of expertise. It is this intra-cultural variation that makes debates over the definition and rights of healers not only possible, but a frequent occurrence rippling beneath the surface of amicable relations in routine daily interaction as much as during heightened conflict when such disagreements are called to our attention by potential ruptures in the social fabric. These dynamics are key to

understanding conflict over the PUMA project that we turn to in the remaining chapters and how its evolution is inextricably linked to the emergence and spread of discursive opposition to "foreign" access to expert knowledge and genetic resources.

Chapter 3

On the Defensive: Translating PUMA, Modeling Expertise

"…the [PUMA] project is not going to say 'the investigation of active principles'…But, behind this, there is *always* the intention and objective of the transnational pharmaceutical [companies] to acquire these kinds of medicinal plants in order to investigate their active principles and from there talk about patenting [them]…Global movements have been produced in India because [they] wanted to patent the active principles of a plant they used…We have to be defenders of the heritage we have received. How is it possible that for a few pesos or the ambition of one, two, or three self-interested people, we are going to sell all that has been guarded so jealously until now."

--Maritza Magnani, Vice President, The Bolivian Society for the Investigation and Defense of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine (SBIDCMEK).

3.1 Introduction

The excerpt above is a condensed version of a monologue that was delivered at the conclusion of a private meeting organized by key members of SBIDCMEK the night before the Provincial Assembly scheduled for the following day.[28] The purpose of the meeting was two-fold: to scrutinize a coveted copy of the PUMA project application and strategize how to confront the organizers and participating communities in a way that

[28] Here, I use "private" to highlight the limited knowledge of and access to this event even among residents of Curva (i.e. *lugareños*). I am thus using the term as a relative designation that reflects the public/private contrast as it operates *within* the Kallawaya community to separate insiders (who presumably possess specialist knowledge and are concerned about its "public" circulation beyond this circumscribed group) from outsiders (within Curva and the surrounding area) who seek access to this knowledge and/or are being accused of facilitating its movement beyond its intended sphere of use. The overwhelming majority of meeting participants were healers with *residente* status who lived in Cochabamba and La Paz and had traveled to Curva for the expressed purpose of publicly objecting to the PUMA project. Those *lugareños* who were present had been personally invited to the meeting and either shared uneasy feelings about the motives behind the project or had already been involved in direct confrontations with project participants. See Gal (2002, 2005) for a fuller discussion of the ideological basis of this public/private contrast and its potential for recursive differentiation between social groups, spaces, and their associated activities, at recursive levels.

would effectively unite Kallawaya healers against the project. Through a close examination of "the facts" presented in the application, Maritza and other SBIDCMEK members sought to rally support for the organization's official position that the project should be expelled from the region. Maritza's remarks are interesting in this context precisely because of their radical departure from the referential content of the application, which she and others had been at pains to clarify for the preceding two hours—nowhere in the application is pharmaceutical development or the involvement of foreign corporations and investigators mentioned. So, why if SBIDCMEK and affiliate organizations explicitly acknowledge this, does a meeting devoted to clarifying "the facts" based on a close reading of the PUMA application, conclude by drawing direct parallels between Kallawaya resistance to the PUMA project and the resistance of native East Indians to transnational pharmaceutical companies trying to patent plants used in Ayurveda medicine? The answer, I contend, is related to the widely held belief among Kallawaya healers that they are increasingly vulnerable to the globalized threat of foreign appropriation and privatization of their medicinal heritage *and* that such interests are never transparent, necessitating a critical awareness of such threats and a collective commitment to maintain intellectual secrecy.

Even in abbreviated form, Maritza's speech powerfully exemplifies two emergent and inter-related tendencies I witnessed over the course of my fieldwork. The first was for opposition to the PUMA project to be verbally articulated in the form of more general opposition to foreign access to medicinal plants and knowledge of their use. The second was for both kinds of discursive opposition to the PUMA project to function as signs of authentic Kallawaya expertise, bolstered by, but also trumping more traditional markers

of specialist status, including medicinal knowledge, skill, linguistic code, genealogical ties to prominent healers, and residence. Both tendencies escalated in tandem with growing conflict over the PUMA project and subsequently increased tensions between *los residentes* concentrated in urban centers and *los lugareños* occupying the rural areas where the project was taking place.

In this chapter, I focus on the interpretive processes through which verbal opposition to the project is constructed in relation to Kallawaya expert identity. That is, I explore how and by whom the project was "translated" as a threat and how that understanding was semiotically regimented so that expressed opposition to the project, verbal and otherwise, ultimately became linked to the idea of "authentic expertise." I show that opposition to the PUMA project involves both a deeper and more general opposition to "foreigners" where access to their cultural resources are concerned, as well as an obligation to maintain such intellectual secrets in the face of perceived global encroachment.

3.2 A Surprise Awaits Me

The meeting took place on the outskirts of Curva at the home of Daniel Quispe, one of SBIDCMEK's oldest and most revered members and a long-time resident of Cochabamba. When I arrived at the door of Don Daniel's house it was immediately apparent that I had grossly miscalculated the tenor of the evening's event and my role in the social dynamic. Although I was warmly welcomed with a chorus of greetings and invitations to join the gathering, this was not the party I expected as I stood there bearing the weight of eight 24-ounce glass beer bottles and a large bag of coca I had just

purchased for the occasion that (thankfully) were still stashed in my backpack. Though I hadn't quite figured out was going on yet, I was sure that beer was inappropriate. The tone was serious and the majority of guests were male, most of whom I didn't know. More importantly, the men were seated on thin wooden benches lining the inner periphery of the room's four walls as if an official meeting were about to take place. The lopsided peopling of the room opposite an empty table waiting patiently for someone to take center stage leant credence to my impression. At about this moment a slot on the bench that had been cleared for me drew my gaze. As I made a beeline towards my seat, my ears adjusted to the new environment unleashing the familiar buzz of PUMA gossip circulating in the room. Taking my place on the bench, I clung to the security of eye contact and conversation with my familiars, while removing the coca from my bag, careful not to expose the beer, and passing it counterclockwise in a gesture of solidarity, a custom I had by this time internalized as second nature.

Within minutes of my arrival, Don Eduardo introduced me as promised, but not in the informal context of the "social gathering" I anticipated. Suddenly, it was abundantly clear I *was* the event, at least initially. Like a deer in headlights, nervous and caught completely off guard, I sat facing my inquisitors. The interrogation began: who was I, how long had I been there, what was I studying, of what benefit was the study to them, what association did I have with previous anthropologists to the region, how did I arrive in Bautista Saavedra, alone or with contacts, was I writing life histories, would my research lead to a book beyond the thesis and so on. Reminiscent of the uncomfortable experience I had endured eight months earlier at the hands of *los lugareños* during a community meeting to decide the fate of my research, the tables, at this point, had clearly

been turned. What began as an offer for me to interview SBIDCMEK's membership had morphed into an opportunity for them to interview me (or, more than likely, had always been the plan).

As the nature of the questions I was bombarded with and the tone of their delivery suggest, suspicion concerning my presence in Curva, especially among people who I was meeting for the first time (but who had most certainly heard about me just as I had heard about them), wasn't about me per se, but about the history of interaction between healers and outsiders that I had come to embody. These sentiments were well entrenched before my arrival. However, the surge of foreigners and development activity in the region following the UNESCO award, which I had inadvertently become swept up in, certainly exacerbated these feelings. Outsiders who express interest in the *study* of Kallawaya culture and medicine, as opposed to their medical *services,* are uniformly subject to a great deal of scrutiny, especially when that individual is a foreign researcher. Not surprisingly, it was precisely these feelings of insecurity and mistrust that brought these individuals together in the context of the PUMA project controversy.

I learned early on that people in Curva draw a clear distinction between "estudios" (research studies) and "proyectos" (projects) in the region. The former, generally associated with anthropologists and other researchers, are perceived as extractive and profitable (financially and otherwise) only to outsiders, while the latter are (are at least in theory) intended to serve community interests by giving, rather than taking. The questions I was being asked were designed to ascertain where I stood in relation to these understandings and thus the degree of threat my own work represented.

These individuals were not simply curious about what I was doing in the region, but concerned about the outcome of my activities with respect to their own lives.

Eventually, however, I was pleased to learn there were more pressing concerns on the evening agenda. Just as I began to feel backed into a corner, my responses seemingly less and less satisfactory, I was interrupted by a slow wave of important figures, who, between strained breaths, reported that they had just come from a meeting in Lagunillas, where they had briefed the community on the latest developments with the PUMA project.

While they took their places behind the table on the empty side of the room, I graciously concluded my final comments and quickly conceded the floor to the newcomers. As if my last words had been a hiccup, rather than the end of a sustained forty-five minute confrontation, Martiza Magnani, author of the lengthy quote cited above, took the reins and announced the following:

Transcript 1, excerpt 1

	37:30 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	Paisanos, muy buenas noches. Eh van a disculpar el retraso pero estuvimos en otra reunion aylla en Lagunillas tambien eh dando a conocer leer un poco lo que es eh este proyecto para que podemos eh socializar, interiorizarnos a cerca de lo que esta occuriendo tambien a la interior de las communides.	Fellow countrymen, very good evening. (Eh) you will excuse the delay, but we were in another meeting there in Lagunillas also familiarizing them a little with what this project is so that we can socialize and internalize what is also happening within the communities.

Relieved that my own case had now officially been put aside, I retreated, to the extent possible, to my ethnographic fly-on-a-wall-perspective amidst the rest of the audience.[29] Clearly, if I was perceived as a potential threat, it was only in the shadow of the

[29] This, of course, in no way implies that my presence was unimportant or had no hand in shaping the subsequent interaction.

impending doom the PUMA project represented. And, the lesser of the two evils was abundantly clear. Why waste precious time worrying about a one-woman doctoral thesis, when there was an army of villains, both local and global, implicated in the PUMA project? After all, many assumed the project to be covering-up a corporate transnational invasion intent on usurping their plants and medicinal knowledge. I, on the other hand, had proved to be little more than a nuisance and cause for a good laugh, while offering the possibility of taking their plight international.[30]

For the remaining two hours of the meeting, key representatives from SBIDCMEK and other important Kallawaya organizations took shifts clarifying events related to the PUMA project. They devoted the majority of this time to reading directly from the project application and selectively "translating" this material for consumption among the attendant masses. *Selective* is the key word here, and highlights both the unequally distributed authority that enabled speech participants to define the meaning of words in the application and the entextualizing strategies by which the inherent biases loaded in their interpretations were communicatively channeled within and beyond the present moment.[31] Since the application was written in Spanish, the same language in which the meeting was held, my use of the term "translation" here refers not to the translation of words from one language into another, but, rather to what Silverstein (2003) labels *transduction*: the "translation" of ideas and the semiotic webs of meanings

[30] See Irvine 1996 for an alternative account of how the way collaborators in the field envision our ethnographic projects and their channels of circulation can shape the discursive practices we document and, in so doing, become caught up in the dialogic webs connected to the speech we collect.
[31] See Silverstein and Urban (1996) for a diverse treatment of entextualization staregies in other ethnographic contexts, as well as the more recent (and related) discussions of interdiscursivity developed in the June, 2005 issue of the Journal of Linguistic Anthropology.

within which words are enmeshed from one cultural/linguistic framework to another.[32] For the participants in charge of this interpretive task the purpose was the same: to extract meaning from a written text that took into consideration not only what was said, but how and by whom. As it turns out, they deemed equally relevant to the meaning of a project introduced by outsiders those things presumably left unsaid and/or stated incorrectly in the application.[33] This kind of "translation" was thus about uncovering truth with respect to the project and their objective took them well beyond the confines of the written document in their possession.

As might be expected, however, the process of "translation," was not clear-cut. It involved collective negotiation, whereby particular "readings" of the text were contested or corroborated as the contributions of powerfully positioned participants added to and colored previous dialogue in particular ways.[34] Correspondingly, my analysis emphasizes the social and discursive maneuvering involved in this process in the form of paraphrasing, contextual framing, and other "spin" tactics. Maritza's reframing of the PUMA project in terms of ever-present transnational pharmaceutical interests intent on mining Kallawaya intellectual property and patenting the active constituents of local medicinal plants represents one such framing, which forces a reconsideration of local events in global terms by embedding them in larger contextual frames. But other readings

[32] Silverstein's examples of transduction also involve translation in the denotational sense. Indeed, one of his primary arguments is that strict linguistic translation always entails transduction; it is *part* of the translation process. I certainly agree with this statement, but would argue that the inverse isn't always the case. Transduction can and does transpire in the absence of translation between languages.

[33]The notion of outsider in this context connotes the foreign authorship of the application and, hence, the intentions of people with no residential or cultural connection to communities within the Province of Bautista Saavedra and, thus, with Kallawaya medicine. Here, again, we observe the recursive construction of the outsider/insider contrast projecting intra-community social differences onto intra- and –international ones. The "outsiders" in this referential context are two and three times removed from the contrast as it plays out between Kallawaya experts and non-experts within and between communities in the Province of Bautista Saavedra.

[34] For accounts of social collusion in meaning making see McDermont and Tylbor 1992 and other contributions to *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture.*

were offered, as well, that spoke to the competing relevance of alternative claims that were more narrowly focused. These included the mission of SBIDCMEK to protect Kallawaya medicine from appropriation by local communities and individuals with no previous association to expert knowledge and resources, the activities of corrupt community officials who were believed to be pocketing project funds, and the less incriminating claim that the content of the project was basically good, but its justifications and execution problematic.

As these examples suggest, "translation" of the PUMA project application did not occur in a social vacuum, but within a differentially distributed cultural logic refracting the various interests, viewpoints, and experiences of participants engaged in its interpretation. Equally important is the fact that not all participants engaged in the interaction shared the same authority to make their opinions on the matter count. This is partly because, as we saw in Chapter Two, not all Kallawayas are considered equally knowledgeable/capable, despite their own generalizations to the contrary.[35] As a result,

[35] Public discourse about Kallawaya expertise, whether in the context of UNESCO celebration events geared towards displaying Kallawaya "Culture" to the national and international community or that which I encountered in Curva, are conspicuously egalitarian. Healers ranging widely in skill sets, travel patterns, age, and other relevant dimensions related to the distinctive categories of expertise I outlined in Chapter 2 uniformly make claims that all "recognized" healers are the same, often even with respect to differences between men and women. Such statements are expressed in phrases, such as "somos/son iguales" (we/they are the same) or "paykuna qari hina" (they [female healers] are like men). Comments along these lines are sometimes also made in regard to the relationship between rural and urban practitioners. However, once the conversation moves to details, as they did in my interviews and later in casual discussion (as my own insider/outsider status blurred with time in the field), all kinds of differences are acknowledged reflecting a more fine-grained system of social classification. For instance, when I would respond to claims that male and female healers in Curva were the same by restating the presumed parallels, like travel and the ability to speak Sejo/Machaj Juyay, it would be clarified that these were, in fact, points of generalized difference, although some women shared these characteristics with men. Conversations about distinctive dimensions within and across other categories like *lugareños/residentes,* followed similar patterns. As my relationships and trust with healers deepened, however, I also received unsolicited clarifications from individuals that placed them in relation to these axes of differentiation, pointing both to qualitative and quantitative differences between healers that fit into a nested hierarchical understanding of Kallawaya expertise that shed light on my own empirical observations. Interestingly, as these conversations grew increasingly complex and brought out empirical facts that were inconsistent with ideological binaries, healers were equally likely to admit their personal inferiority, as much as their superiority relative to others healers.

those in power were better positioned to define Kallawaya expertise with respect to the PUMA application, enabling them to reassert their own primacy in the process. The "masses" to whom such interpretations were aimed included those currently present, as well as those anticipated listeners who would attend the Provincial Assembly the following day, since part of the professed objective of the evening's meeting was to develop a rhetorical strategy that would unify opposition to the project across the rural-urban divide.

In what follows, I trace the evolution of this speech event attending to the ways in which the PUMA project application is read, deciphered and ultimately consensus achieved regarding project activities and, in the process, the content and expression of Kallawaya expertise. My analysis moves across the event chronologically in four parts. In Part I, SBIDCMEK leaders set the agenda for the meeting, constraining orientations to the "translation" exercise. Part II documents the reading and "translation" of the PUMA application text. Part III illustrates how successful performances of Kallawaya expertise are tied to the allocation of blame and oppositional stance-taking towards the PUMA project. Finally, Part IV documents an interpretive breach in relation to the PUMA project that elicits overt criticism and an exemplary performance of Kallawaya expertise consistent with the oppositional stances modeled earlier.

3.3 Part I: Setting the Agenda

Maritza's entry into Don Daniel's cramped room with the two men accompanying her, Justiano Rios and Mario Vargas, marked a shift in the evening agenda and unspoken participatory dynamics, which lasted throughout the night. Their presence alone lent a

different, more serious air to the room and tilted the focus unanimously in their direction. Side-conversations stopped abruptly as those of us already gathered there settled in for what, following Maritza's brief introduction, we rightly expected would be a long and juicy meeting. It was these and other social subtleties that cued their high-ranking status within the nested organizational hierarchies of urban Kallawaya associations, even before the official speaking began. These were the big-wigs, individuals whose status as Kallawaya healers was largely unquestioned, and who apart from their leadership roles in the cities, served as cultural brokers, whose words about their culture I quickly learned carried weight and commanded attention.

Picking up right where she left off, Maritza announced that the objective of the present meeting and the previous one in Lagunillas were one and the same: to discern the nature of the PUMA project and the activities they were realizing in the region. In a hurry to get started, Maritza suggested they turn directly to the content of the PUMA project application. But, Don Justiano Rios, sitting to her left, quickly interjected, "No, no, no." In muffled voices, the two engaged in a rapid verbal exchange as they tried to sort out how best to proceed. Maritza wanted the application to be read aloud, so that they could explain its content to the group "punto por punto" (point by point) exactly as they had done in Lagunillas. Jesus, the same young, well-dressed man who had been questioning me about my research nodded in agreement and clarified, "the fundamental threads: the beneficiaries and the justifications. We don't want to put ourselves to sleep either." But, no sooner had Maritza asked Jesus to read from the application beginning with the justifications as he suggested, Don Justiano (JR in the transcription) interrupted again, this time widening his gaze and addressing the crowd more generally:

Transcript 1, excerpt 2

	40:01 Justiano Rios:	**JR:**
1	Perdon. Yo quiseria primero que Doña Maritza nos puede conversar las razones tal vez, no. Siempre es necessario que Rolando, el presidente de la organizacion nacional, esta presente, no. ¿Cuales son las recommendaciones?...	Forgive me. I would like that Doña Maritza maybe converse with us first about the reasons, no? It is always necessary that Rolando, president of the national organization is present, no? What are the recommendations?…
2	El punto central es este proyecto que estan realizando…Esto es el objectivo de esta renunion creo y tambien el objectivo central del ampliado de manana, no?...Que partes importantes, porque el proyecto es 200-300 hojas. Solamente necessitan saber la idea, las causas, los fines y objectivos…quienes han hecho, si es con la consencia del pueblo o ha nacido por la communidad. Porque todo proyecto nacen en base de una idea y de una nececidad, no cierto.	The central point is the [PUMA] project that they are realizing…This is the objective of this meeting I think and also the central objective of the meeting tomorrow, no?...What [are the] important parts because the project is 200-300 pages. They only need to know the idea, the causes, the outcomes and objectives…who has created [it], if it is with the consent of the community or if it originated for the community. Because all projects originate on the basis of an idea, of a necessity, is it not certain?

Maritza jumped at the opportunity to respond to Justiano's concerns about the significance of Rolando's absence, as she shifted her focus to the anxious attendees. In addition to serving as President for COBOLCMEK, the national Kallawaya organization, Rolando also held the position of President for SBIDCMEK, the Kallawaya organization in Cochabamba.

Transcript 1, excerpt 3

	40:29 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	Yeah, yeah, yeah. Antes que nada…en relacion a Rolando. Lamentablemente, el no ha podido asistir a esto que es muy importante para todas de aquellas personas que siempre hemos estado digamos en esta post de difundir y de ver todo lo que es la cultura kallawaya. Para el lo es mucho mas porque realmente se	Yeah, yeah, yeah. First of all…in relation to Rolando: Regrettably, he has not been able to assist with this [meeting], which is very important for all those persons that have always been in the position, let's say, of spreading and overseeing all that is Kallawaya culture. For him it is much more because really he was left very

	quedo muy apenado, no.	saddened.
2	Sin embargo hemos venido con algunas recommendaciones. Como Cochabamba nosotros tenemos una posicion ya se ha tomado en cuenta todo eso en un officio. …La preocupación para todos los Kallawayas es grande en cuantos esta hablando de los recursos naturales y particularmente (en) las plantes medicinales.	Nonetheless, we have come with some recommendations. As Cochabamba we have already taken a position with respect to all of this in an official note…The preoccupation for all Kallawayas is huge with respect to natural resources, and medicinal plants, in particular**.**

She went on to explain that SBIDCMEK's knowledge of the PUMA project began with a series of unverified reports from community members in La Paz, eventually culminating in a disturbing letter from Don Victor Bustillos asking them to intervene in the situation.

Don Victor was a *residente* from Curva living in La Paz, whose reputation as a prominent urban healer and status as President for the regional Kallawaya association representing the Province of Bautista Saavedra, made it unnecessary to clarify his identity further. Everyone, including me, already knew who he was, at least by name, if not personally. It was equally likely that those present also knew he was a staunch opponent of the PUMA project given his hot-tempered personality and circulating gossip about personal confrontations in which *los residentes* had expressed outright disapproval of the project to local supporters. While Victor Bustillos was an oft-cited informant in the publications of previous anthropologists working in the region, he was conspicuously cold when it came to interacting with me, although tolerated my presence on the rare occasions we found ourselves in the same place. Coincidently, his only two daughters remaining in Curva, Mercedes and Candelaria, were among my closest allies. Since they were already grown with children of their own and he was strapped with the demands of clients and organizational business in La Paz, he hardly ever returned to the community.

While he was deeply criticized for his lengthy absences, especially as his wife, also still living in Curva, grew deathly ill, many acknowledged, if implicitly, that he was part of another social league, whose actions, while frustrating, were justified by the degree of luck and skill he and his associates possessed as healers; they simply did what they had to do. Many, in fact, would have jumped at the opportunity to trade places with this man, accepting the costs that come with his degree of financial security, prestige, influence, and professional acumen.

According to Maritza, it was Don Victor's correspondence that compelled SBIDCMEK to initiate action against the PUMA project:

Transcript 1, excerpt 4

	41:16 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	Inmediatamente nos hemos mobilizado y lo primero que hicimos a ver hemos buscado fundación PUMA en el internet y de esa manera nosotros hemos accedido esta documentacion.	Immediately we mobilized and the first thing we did was look up Foundation PUMA on the Internet and in this manner accessed the [PUMA application] document.
2	A nostoros nos ha causado mucho pena inicialmente de la manera como estan enfocando este projecto y en este sendido se ha convocado en Cochabamba una reunion de emergencia con cuarenta-ocho horas.	Initially, the way in which they are approaching this project caused us much sadness. And, in this sense, we summoned an emergency meeting [in Cochabamba] with forty-eight hours [notice].
3	Hemos tenido que hacer que venga la mayoria. Hemos socializado el proyecto. Hemos tenido a otra reunion antes de venir aca. Y producto de esas discussions y esos discurso se ha sacado un…	We had to make the majority come. We socialized the project. We had another meeting before coming here. And, as a result of these discussions and discourses…[Rolando] has produced a paper we approved, where all the points, we as Cochabamaba, would like taken into consideration are expressed.

Maritza's recounting of the events leading up to the present meeting placed her squarely within the organizations' agenda as a key player in the actions she described. Her

comments about Rolando, in particular, are deeply significant. In responding to Justiano's prompt about the importance of Rolando's opinion on the PUMA project, she participated in a strategic effort to set up an authoritative frame of reference against which the PUMA application should be read and interpreted. As Rolando's biological daughter and Vice President of SBIDCMEK, background information to which the audience was also privy, Maritza was in a privileged position to reaffirm that while her father could not be present at the meeting, he was the person most committed to preserving Kallawaya culture and medicine. This is turn was a legitimate basis from which to then argue he was acting in their collective interest.[36] By aligning herself with Rolando in this way, she simultaneously aligned herself with his position towards the PUMA project, which had the auxiliary effect of subsequently inflecting her own words about the project with his authority and collective concern. In this way, despite Rolando's physical absence, Maritza and Rolando's perspectives served to mutually reinforce one another, ultimately enabling her to represent *his* unified vision of SBIDCMEK and COLBOLCMEK's position on the PUMA project to meeting participants.

Maritza's account of the process by which they accessed the PUMA application in Cochabamba served an equally important function. Clarifying that the application was obtained directly from the PUMA website conferred legitimate status to the document as a factual representation of the proposed project plans and beneficiaries, which could be objectively evaluated. It functioned simultaneously as a demonstration of her access to technology, as well as related knowledge/skill and hence wealth. In addition, by reporting

[36]The Magnani family holds great influence over Kallawaya affairs through their leadership in these urban-based professional organizations. In addition to the high-level administrative posts Rolando and Maritza occupy in these organizations, Aurelio Magnani, Rolando's brother, is a member of SBIDCMEK's Consejo de Ancianos (Elder's Council), an exclusive group of Kallawaya elders who teach and advise the larger membership on issues related to Kallawaya medicine.

the individual events leading up to the present meeting, she situated her own and related perspectives and actions within a hierarchical chain of command, which served to justify their conclusions. In narrating the evolution of these events, she shows that today what is SBIDCMEK's official "stance" on the project began as rumors based on hearsay. First, they heard unsubstantiated claims about the project being made by people in La Paz. Eventually, they received a letter from Don Victor Bustillos, an important and reputable source, explicitly asking for their help. This led them to investigate the matter independently, including researching Foundation PUMA online and securing an original copy of the project application. The "facts" contained in the application were sufficiently problematic in the opinion of SBIDCMEK's leadership that they called an emergency meeting in Cochabamba, where they met with more than half of SBIDCMEK's members to "socialize" the project (i.e. familiarize themselves with the project in a social context) and discuss an appropriate plan of action. Eventually, this led them to delineate a set of "recommendations" in light of the collective concerns of the organization. Finally, they traveled to Curva to communicate their findings and concerns in at least two smaller meetings, before confronting the project participants directly in the Provincial Assembly scheduled the following day. Characterizing the situation as an "emergency," moreover, highlighted the severity of the problem and the importance for all Kallawayas to be made aware of what, in their view, was transpiring "en las comunidades" (in the communities). Through her recounting of these events, Maritza is ultimately able to situate the views of Rolando, herself, and other key members of SBIDCMEK towards the project in a context that enables them to be read explicitly "as a result" of careful deliberation of the "facts" in consultation with important "others."

It was at precisely this moment in the event when, shuffling through the piles of paper before her, Maritza prepared to read directly from Rolando's letter, whose content she previously stated reflected the collective opinion of SBIDCMEK's membership. But despite this earlier qualification, once the appropriate paper was finally in hand, it was Rolando's authorship and hence support for the views expressed in the letter she foregrounded. Doing so not only leant authorial weight to the group's position, but provided her with an important opportunity to represent him as the "ultimate expert":

Transcript 1, excerpt 5

	43:22 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	….dentro todo eso es Rolando lo que pide es que primero: se acuerden de que la cultura kallawaya no es propriedad de nadie. Es una cultura que pertenece a todos y cada uno de los comunarios, los depositios y como ha ido preservándose esa cultura atráves de los tiempos	…among all this, what Rolando asks is that: first, it is agreed that the Kallawaya culture is not the property of anyone. It is a culture that pertains to every single community member, the depositories that have been preserving this culture throughout time
2	tomar en cuenta hacer conciencia de la importancia y la labor que cumple el medico kallawaya como sido como medico itinerante	take note and become conscious of the importance and work that the Kallawaya healer fulfills as an itinerant healer
3	como, que proceso ha sido para que hoy día esta cultura .....ha han sido declarado obra de patrimonia oral intangible de la humanidad por la UNESCO	what process it has taken so that today this culture has been declared a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO
4	que valor le damos los practicantes y los kallawayas en general a las plantas medicinales	what value [Kallawaya] practitioners and Kallawayas in general give to medicinal plants
5	el ecosistema (eh) en la zona Kallawayas es un reservorio que sirve a los kallawayas (estoy hablando de modo general) como una fuente de alimentación, una fuente donde puede recoger sus plantas medicinales, una fuente donde puede recoger los alimentos	the ecosystem in the Kallawaya region is a reservoir that serves Kallawayas (interrupts to clarify: I'm talking in general) as a source of nutrition, a source where one can collect medicinal plants, a source where one can collect resources that serve for construction and other uses.

que los sirven para la construcción y otros
usos mas

At this point, Maritza broke from her role as animator for Rolando to explicitly contextualize his words as the frame against which the PUMA application should be read. In doing so, she resumed independent responsibility for the remainder of what she had to say:

Transcript 1, excerpt 6

	44:02 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	En este sentido el mensaje de Rolando es que en función de todos estos elementos podamos tomar la decisión adecuada la mas aconsejable en esto momento.	In this respect, Rolando's message serves to reinforce all those elements so that we can come to the most adequate decision, the most advisable [decision] in this moment.
2	Porque lo otra es también ver de que manera se ha ido perfilando este proyecto. ¿Quienes han participado realmente? ¿Hay esos beneficiaros que dice este proyecto? ¿O, es que solamente esta en los papeles? ¿O, es que esta falta de información también esta generando esa desconfianza entre todos los residentes y el desconocimiento de muchos comunarios? Eso es la mas llamativo, no. Entonces por eso yo quisiera que Jesus lea las partes importantes de esto proyecto.	Because the other [route] is also to see in what manner this project has proceeded. Who has really participated? Are they those beneficiaries that the project says? Or, is it that they are only on the papers? Or, is it that this lack of information is also generating this distrust between all the residents and the ignorance of many community members? That is the most striking, no? For that [reason], then, I would like that Jesus read the important parts of the application**.**

Maritza's reading of Rolando's "recommendaciónes" (recommendations) provided an authoritative and distilled account of those points the audience should keep in mind as the event proceeded and, in her words, they "come to the most adequate decision" regarding the PUMA project. In accordance with this agenda, Rolando's concerns address the people, culture, and landscape that stand to be affected by the project. The list begins by calling attention to the collective status of Kallawaya culture

and the processes by which it has been preserved and transmitted over time. Rolando identifies community members as "depositories," individual agents who ensure collective cultural survival, while at the same time acknowledging that Kallawaya healers as itinerant medical practitioners play an especially important role in this process. He asks the community to recognize that it is precisely these processes of cultural preservation that have led UNESCO to declare their culture an Intangible Heritage of Humanity in the first place. He also clarifies that local medicinal plants are of value to healers, as well as the population in general. Finally, he highlights the fact that access to local natural resources is necessary to ensure everyone's material survival because such resources include, but are not limited to medicinal plants. In short, Rolando's recommendations make explicit the relevance of the PUMA project to the Kallawaya community at large, since it is precisely access to their natural and cultural resources that is at issue, while at the same time asking the community whether granting such access is consistent with the collective values he has outlined.

While Rolando's letter repetitively emphasizes the applicability of these issues to Kallawayas "in general," versus the narrower category of Kallawaya healers, the distinction itself as an important axis of differentiation gets highlighted in the process. These authoritative metacultural statements underscore the stakes of participation in the PUMA project and encourage reflection on what it means to be Kallawaya, including the inherent duty of healers to protect their heritage. By acknowledging the utility of their environment beyond its medicinal properties, he recruits—even obliges—non-experts (i.e. Kallawayas "in general") to uphold this protective agenda, even though it primarily

serves the interests of experts by confining the movement of medicinal resources and related knowledge within specific social circles.

Maritza's follow-up commentary, in addition to reinforcing the importance of Rolando's "message" as the basis upon which they should take a stance towards the project, also proposes an alterative set of issues to be considered: How exactly has the project taken shape? Who is *really* benefiting? Is there a gap between what the application says and what is actually happening on the ground? And, finally, can the present lack of answers to these questions account for the level of "distrust" among *los residentes* and the "ignorance" of *los lugareños*? Maritza suggests that attending to selective portions of the project application will enable them to find out.

But, as the night unfolds, it becomes increasingly clear that for Maritza and the other high-ranking individuals leading the meeting there is nothing new to discover, or at least nothing that will alter the team's current position. Despite framing the evening agenda as an opportunity to discern the motivations behind the project and take stock of the project activities they are actually realizing in the region, what subsequently takes place is the strategic delivery of a ready-made stance toward the project. And, this stance depends on a particular interpretation of the project, which is already well established and backed by the institutional authority of SBIDCMEK and other urban Kallawaya organizations as confirmed by Maritza's earlier recounting of the events that precipitated their arrival in Curva. Previous readings of the application in other contexts and in other company have already led them to conclude that the project stands in contradistinction to the interests of the group and violates the pacts of secrecy that have not only maintained

their culture throughout time, but have enabled their culture to achieve the international honor of being recognized by UNESCO as an Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

All of Maritza's statements thus far serve to narrow the realm of interpretative possibility within which the application can be read. Rolando's recommendations achieve this by simultaneously calling for collective acknowledgment of the "processes" responsible for the preservation of their culture over time and the value of Kallawaya healers, medical knowledge, and local natural resources to the group as a whole. Only in light of these cultural values are the attendees then asked to consider whether participation in the PUMA project, as presented in the application, will serve the community. Maritza adds to this request by asking attendees to determine the truth-value of the PUMA application (Excerpt 6). Her questions regarding the stated beneficiaries and project activities implore attendees to verify, rather than simply accept the stated claims of the project application. In effect, she advocates the need to "read" between the lines. By sowing the seeds of doubt with respect to the transparency of the project, she reveals her own doubts in this area and foreshadows her explicit warning against literal "translation," which comes out later.

Together, these interpretive guidelines provide the audience with a powerful and narrow orientation to Kallawaya culture, to the PUMA project, and, by extension, a model for how Kallawayas should approach the project application. These are precisely the orientations, moreover, that were established in previous speech events concerning the PUMA project controversy that Maritza reported took place among SBIDCMEK members in Cochabamba and in Lagunillas, just before the present meeting. Thus, despite claims to the contrary, selectively reading the application again in the present

context is less a means of revealing new information, than of steering broader public opinion in the direction of previously established conclusions. The "translation" of the PUMA application that follows is not a neutral recounting, then, but one geared towards specific and interested ends: generating and disseminating an oppositional stance towards the PUMA project. Setting the agenda for the meeting establishes the foundation upon which such an interpretation can be delivered, but it is through the work of reading and "translating" directly from the PUMA project text that real interpretive control is manifest.

3.4 Part II: Translating the PUMA Application

With the purpose of the meeting and relevant background officially established, Maritza nodded in the direction of Jesus Gomez, the only man who had spoken up to this point besides Justiano, indicating that it was his turn to resume talking. He responded on cue and moved to the bench just beyond the edge of the table, where Maritza and Justiano sat sandwiched between other important looking people. Jesus' addition to the tight row of bodies sent a caterpillar-like movement rippling across the front of the room as each person inched their way over to accommodate his presence. After taking hold of the PUMA application, the incriminating text-artifact, which by now had taken on something of a cult status, he introduced himself as "Coordinator of all Residents."[37] Then, with the force of mounting suspense, his speech burst into the room with the fervor of a preacher's sermon:

[37] It is customary in the Andes for individuals to preface their speech with a statement of their official title in the context of such meetings. This practice helps locate public verbal claims in the realm of structural authority, as opposed to personal opinion and interest.

Transcript 1, excerpt 7

	45:06 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Vamos a leer lectura…de muchos conocen y que muchos no conocen sobre este proyecto…Vamos a dar lecturas de las cosas mas relevantes porque no eso bueno leer cosas que no van a poder entender y tampoco que van a poder retenerlo	We are going to read some things… about which many know and many do not know about this project…We are going to give summaries of the most relevant things because it is not good to read the things [they] are not able to understand and also that [they] are unable to retain.[38]

The moment that everyone had been waiting for had finally arrived. Jesus began poring systemically over the content of the PUMA application. He began with word-by-word renderings of basic project information, moving in spitfire succession from the title and participants to the increasingly more contentious parts, such as the justifications and beneficiaries. Initially, he took great care with his footing, making clearly marked shifts between his animation of the application text and his own authorship in the form of summaries and interpretive reiterations of the actual wording. Direct quotes rolled off his tongue in slow deliberate sentences as his eyes shifted rhythmically back and forth between the paper and his interlocutors as he repeated key words and phrases in abbreviated form, often multiple times in the same turn of talk. His discursive emphasis rang like an echo from the original, drowning out all but what he referred to as the "relevant things," those that could be understood and retained. In the transcripts below, I have highlighted this process by **bolding** the portions read directly from the text (based on a comparison with my own hard copy of the PUMA application) while *italicizing* the structural parallelisms resulting from Jesus' subsequent repetition.

[38] "They" in this statement refers to the anticipated attendants of the provincial assembly to whom they will be presenting their case. The assumption is that the audience will be comprised of poor, uneducated, rural indigenous communities unable to comprehend the situation in its full complexity.

Transcript 1, excerpt 8

	45:22 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	El titilo del proyecto es: ***Manejo, Transformación, y Commercialización*** **de Los Recursos Medicinales en Los Ecosistemas Agroforestales de La Cultura Kallawaya Obra Maestra Oral y Intangible de la Humanidad.**	The title of the project is: ***Management, Transformation, and Commercialization*** **of the Medicinal Resources of the Agroforest Ecosystems of the Kallawaya Culture, Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.**
2	Tal vez vamos a retener aqui el titilo. El titlo dice**: "manejo y transformación y commericilization de la medicina que tenemos aquí."** Eso es el titilo que podemos resumir. Manejo, transformacion, y comercilizacion.	Maybe we are going to retain the title here. The title says: *management, transformation, and commercialization* of the medicine we have here**.** That is the title that we can summarize: *management, transformation, commercialization*.
3	Ahora, el nombre de la organización o comunidad beneficaria. Ahí tal vez de una forma un poco nos estamos enfocando, no, los del proyecto: **Dice Ayllu Orginario: Upinhuaya. Comunidades: 5, Familias: 203. Dice que son los beneficarias.**	Now, the *name of the organization and benefiting community*, maybe in some form we are focusing a little on the project. It says **Indigenous Ayllu: Upinhuaya. Communities: 5. Families: 203.** It says *those are the beneficiaries*.
4	**Nombre de la institución ejectora: Servicio Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente—SEDEMA**	Name of the **Executing Institution: Development and Environment Service (Servicio Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente)—SEDEMA**
5	Ahora cual es el problema que ellos han detectado para organizar este proyecto, para lograr este proyecto: P**roblema: aprovechamenta inadecuado de los recursos no maderables de los ecosistemas del bosque nativo andino en los tres pisos ecologicos del municipio de Curva.**	Now, *what is the problem* that they have detected in order to organize this project, to achieve this project*?* ***Problem: inadequate use of available resources from the ecosystem of the native Andean forest in the ecological floors of the Municipality of Curva.***
6	Yo creo que los antecedentes no vamos a dar lectura porque es larga. Tal vez un poco [unintelligible] capture el problema. Ellos dicen que el problema es. O sea, estamos mal manejando nuestros recursos economicos o nuestros recursos	I think that we are not going to read the antecedents because it is long. They say *the problem is*, in other words, *we are managing our resources poorly, our economic resources or our available resources…our plants, our herbs we are*

	maderables.....nuestras plantas, nuestras [someone interjects: 'hierbas'] nuestras hierbas, estamos manejando mal, según ellos, porque eso es el problema. Porque estamos mal manejando nuestras plantas, nuestras hierbas, es que han elaborado este proyecto	*managing poorly*, according to them, because *that is the problem*, because *we are managing our plants and herbs poorly* they have elaborated this project.
7	¿Y, como los justifican? ¿O sea porque se han elaborado este proyecto?	And, how do they justify it? In other words, how have the elaborated this project?

Jesus' momentum ground to a halt as he inadvertently lost his place in the text. Maritza used the unanticipated pause as an opportunity to return to the topic of antecedents that had been skipped earlier. She interjected agitatedly that this portion of the application included a list of Kallawaya medicinal plants that have a long history of use. She recalled a few: payco, munay, kallawala. Other participants, including Jesus Gomez, who quickly reinserted himself in the primary conversation, added probable names to the list in demonstration of their own medicinal plant knowledge and in a collaborative effort to reconstruct the content of the list. Jesus and Maritza repeated those contributions deemed most important, drawing unequal attention to those who had offered input. Then, as abruptly as he had departed from the application text and offering no apologies, Jesus resumed his role as reader/translator.

Transcript 1, excerpt 9

	49:01 Jesus Gomez:	**49:01 JG:**
1	**Entre las causas conducentes al inadecuado aprovechamiento de los recursos no maderables de los ecosistemas del bosque nativo andino en los tres pisos ecologicos del Municipio del Curva se encuentra en el uso alfonativo de estos recursos por un ganaderia de carácter extensivo, con**	**Among the causes leading to the inadequate use of resources not suitable for lumber in the ecosystems of the native Andean forests spanning the three ecological zones in the Municipality of Curva we find the extensive use of these resources by livestock, indicated by high rates of**

altos indices sobre carga animal. Un poco para no reiterar este parte dice que estan pastoreando mucho. O sea, estan pastoreando mucho, hay sobre pastoreo. Creo que estan pensando que las vacas y los ovejas estan comiendo las plantas medicinales.

animal impact. A little so that we don't reiterate this part it says that *they are shepherding a lot*. In other words, *they are grazing a lot, there is too much shepherding*. I believe they are thinking that *the cows and sheep are eating the medicinal plants*.

2 **....El cambio de uso de la tierra con fines agrícola y forrajero a través de quemas y chaqueos**. Según ellos, estamos quemando y estamos haciendo chaceo para hacer cultivos y que no siguen creciendo las plantas medicinales.

….The change in land use for agricultural purposes and fodder following burns and farming. According to them, *we are burning and we are farming to cultivate and so that medicinal plants do not continue to grow.*

3 **……El uso de especies arbóreas y arbustivas con fines energéticos**. Eso quiere decir que estamos haciendo leña con nuestras plantas. (some laughter)..estamos hacienda mas leña que otra cosa.

….The use of arboreal and shrub species for energy purposes. That is to say, *we are making firewood with our plants (some collective laughter). We are making more firewood [with our plants] than any other thing*.

4 **…..y una desmesurada extracción selectiva de especies medicinales por parte de los kallawayas**. Eso quiere decir que estamos sacando mucho. O sea, no estamos llevando por quintal, supuestamente.

….and an immeasurable selective extraction of medicinal species by Kallawayas. That is to say, *we are extracting a lot*. In other words, *we are not collecting by the quintal* (46 kg unit), supposedly.

5 **Los effectos que se generan por el inadecuado aprovechamiento de los recursos no maderables, se expresan en la desaparición de ciertas especies del bosque.** O sea, por tanto sacar plantas, algunas plantas dice que ya no hay. O sea, algunas especies ya han desaparecido.

….The effects that are generated by the inappropriate use of resources not suitable for lumber are expressed in the disappearance of certain forest species. In other words, *because of over collecting plants*, it says that *some plants no longer exist*. In other words, *some plants have already disappeared*. (mixed sighs of surprise and exasperation follow from Maritza and others).

6 **….su desvalorización como fuente de recursos genéticos, el abandono de ciertas practicas homeopáticas**. Esto se seria [unintelligible] de alguna forma tal vez de que muchos paisanos ya están olvidando de los que son las practicas

….the devaluation [of these same species] as a source of genetic resources, the abandonment of certain homeopathic practices. This would be in one form or another maybe that *many paisanos are already forgetting*

	kallawayas, en especial la medicina, no.	*Kallawaya practices, medicine in particular, no*?
7	**…..y la erosión de la cultura y medicina kallawaya**. Dicen nos estamos perdiendo los kallawayas. O sea, ya no somos kallawayas, ya somos……	**…..and the erosion of Kallawaya culture and medicine.** They say *we are losing the Kallawayas*. In other words, *we are not Kallawayas anymore,* we are already…..
8	**Unidentified Participant:** practicantes? **JG:** No, no se. Nietos?	**UP:** [medical] practitioners? **JG:** No, I don't know. Grandchildren?

Heated discussion ensued as members of the gathering tried to guess what the authors could have possibly meant by such an absurd claim. There was no resolution. They failed to offer a satisfactory explanation and shrugged at one another in bewilderment as they looked back at Jesus to continue reading from the application. But, Jesus had already reached the end of the text and offered the last line unenthusiastically, leaving the audience underwhelmed:

Transcript 1, excerpt 10

1	**50:50 Jesus Gomez:** **….con las consecuentes perdidas culturales y económicas que ello significa**. Hasta ahí no mas.	**50:50 JG:** **….with the resulting cultural and economic losses that [all] that signifies.** Up to there only.

As reflected in the transcript, Jesus employs a rhetorical strategy in his reading of the PUMA application that involves more than repetition; selective "translation" is taking place on multiple levels. At the broadest level, only certain portions of the application are deemed important enough to communicate. Among those select passages that are actually read only certain ideas and phrases are deemed worthy of being repeated. And among those portions that are repeated, only in a few instances is the original wording preserved.

It is more commonly the case that Jesus replaces lengthy, jargon-laden passages with personalized lay-term terminology in subsequent reiterations. This process consistently involves a simplification in sentence structure highlighted through a combination of repetition, intonational stress, and substitution, whereby the original content is stripped of "extraneous information" and further transformed so as to make explicit that what is being depicted in the application is in direct reference to meeting participants and their resources.

In addition, the act of "translation" under the guise of reported speech enables Jesus to recast neutral scientific descriptions of Kallawaya practices and resources into value-laden assessments. As a result, the translations Jesus offers are both more specific and locally meaningful. In Excerpt 8 (stanzas 1 and 2), for example, the first half of the project title "Management, transformation, and commercialization" is repeated word for word three times while the latter half, "Medicinal Resources of the Agroforest Ecosystems of the Kallawaya Culture, Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" is reduced to "the medicine we have here" before dropping out altogether in the third reiteration. Similarly, in Excerpt 8 (stanzas 5-7), the research problem is restated four times with slight modifications following his rhetorical introduction of the problem as the basis on which the project was "organized" or "achieved." First, he reads the problem as originally stated in the application, which includes passive reference to the inefficient use of municipal resources. In all three subsequent reiterations of the problem, Jesus introduces those present as the presumed collective agents of this activity. In addition, his substitution of an active voice for the passive voice in the application is accompanied by other semantic and syntactic alterations. He translates inefficiency as

"poor management" and redefines municipal "resources" in increasingly precise terms as "our resources," "our economic resources," "our available resources," "our plants and herbs," until finally he offers: "*that is the problem*, because *we are managing our plants and herbs poorly* they have elaborated this project." Jesus' use of the personal and possessive pronouns "we" and "our" are particularly important here since, in stark contrast to the application language, they recast local resources as communal property belonging to them, as well as introduce their own agency.[39]

More importantly, over the course of reciting portions of the application what began as clearly marked distinctions between directly and indirectly reported speech slowly drop off, making it increasingly difficult for the audience to decipher whether what is being said reflects the word for word text from the application, an unmarked indirect summary, the collective opinion of *los residentes*, or the personal opinion of the speaker at that moment. This is significant not because the participants are overly concerned with the exact wording of the application, but because the physical text as the ultimate source of actual information about the project and the assumed parallelism between the text and Jesus' talk fosters the impression of truth. As a result, his "lecturas" (lectures) or summaries are offered as evidence of wrong-doing, truthful information extracted from the PUMA application that validate his and others' interpretation that the project is exploitative and motivated on the basis of false claims. His reference to the actual wording of the PUMA application through alternating turns of direct and indirect

[39] The idea of Kallawaya knowledge and plants as cultural property open to theft and appropriation by outsiders in the context of the PUMA Project and other perceived "foreign" threats is an important reoccurring theme developed later in this chapter and in subsequent ones. Note that this sense of ownership is not tied to physical residence given the fact that the majority of those attending the meeting are *residentes* living in urban areas.

reported speech establishes a contextual framework in which the original and his "translations" are presented as "the same."

As Jakobson (1981) and others have noted, establishing semantic equivalencies across different paraphrased speech segments is a common poetic device of syntactic parallelism that depends on grammatical substitutions. In this case, semantic equivalency between the multiple reiterations of the PUMA-text Jesus provides is implied through precisely this kind of replacement, in which his translations are presented as simplified "summaries" of the original that despite lexical and other surface-level alterations are presumed to preserve the semantic integrity of each sentence or section.

Aside from Jesus' own metapragmatic admission that he is merely "summarizing" the application text, we find linguistic evidence for this claim in the transcripts, as well. After reading each line from the PUMA application, his summary is preceded by shifts in footing that key his role as author of the re-wording, but clearly deny authorship of the content. In other words, they frame his subsequent speech as a summary of the original. In many places (see Excerpt 8, stanzas 2, 3, and 6 and Excerpt 9, stanza 1 and 7), this is accomplished through markers of direct reported speech, such as, "it says," or "they say," (referring to the text or its authors respectively). These phrases key the summaries by indexing the source of the reported information outside the speaker. Elsewhere in the transcript (see Excerpt 8, stanza 6, and Excerpt 9, stanzas 3-7), this is achieved through indirect means. The most salient example is the idiomatic expression "o sea" (literally "or it is"), which I have translated as "in other words" to highlight its discursive function here and in most conversation, which is to offer an alternate and potentially more accurate phrasing of an idea or previous statement. However, "according to them" (Excerpt 9,

stanza 2) and “that is to say” (Excerpt 9, stanzas 3 and 4) also appear frequently and serve a similar purpose.

There are only two cases in which Jesus breaks from this pattern to indicate that his summary might overstate the intended meaning of the authors. In Excerpt 9 (end of stanza 1), he expresses the following interpretative leap of faith after reading abstract language about inefficient resource use and the ecological impact of animals: “I believe they are thinking that the cows and sheep are eating the medicinal plants.” But, this is only after he has confidently “translated” the original passage as referring to over-grazing and shepherding. Similarly, in Excerpt 9 (stanza 6), we observe an explicit expression of doubt that qualifies the accuracy of his translation regarding the claim that local species are not valued as sources of genetic diversity and that homeopathic practices are being abandoned: **“**This would be in one form or another maybe that many *paisanos* are already forgetting Kallawaya practices, medicine in particular, no?” In this case, the reference to the value placed on plants as genetic resources is left out all together.

Admission of interpretive license in these two instances, however, underestimates the degree to which Jesus crimps and colors information contained in the PUMA application to conform to his own and other Kallawaya organization members’ pre-formulated reading of the project. Here, it is important to recall Maritza’s earlier admission (Excerpt 3, stanza 2) that those from Cochabamba have already “taken a position” with respect to PUMA project activities. Looking at this stretch of transcript as a whole it is clear that Jesus becomes increasingly liberal with his “translations” as he progresses from start to finish. While each line consistently begins with his animating the authoritative language of the original by reading the exact text aloud, his reiterations over

the course of the transcript become increasingly loose, both in terms of "what" is being reported and "how." In Voloshinov's terminology (1973 [1930]), this pattern represents a shift from a linear to a pictorial reporting style, in which the intertextual relationship between reported and reporting speech is characterized by escalating individualization through the progressive dissolution of boundaries between the two texts. This process is facilitated by the aforementioned mixing of direct and indirect reported speech forms, lexical substitutions, and selective deletions and additions, which enable Jesus to creatively inject the reported speech with his own political retort and commentary, while leaving its exact source ambiguous to listeners. Jesus' repetition of key words and phrases across reiterations steers the audience's attention towards reoccurring problematic themes at the same time it functions mnemonically. Consequently, listeners are encouraged to selectively retain information that conforms to his particular reading of the project, but associate his words with the application, rather than his animation/translation of the application text. This strategy helps him maintain his image of objectivity that is necessary to win the support of meeting participants.

We see this process unfolding recursively, then, at three levels in this section of the transcript. First, within each stanza, Jesus' reports of the application shift from forms that maximally maintain the grammatical and stylistic contours of the reported message towards those that minimally replicate those boundaries. In effect, later reiterations become summaries of early reiterations, rather than of the original application text and reflect a corresponding truncation in content. Second, this trend holds across stanzas, so that Jesus' most conservative translations appear in the earliest parts of the transcript, while his most individuated summaries surface towards the end (compare, for example,

Excerpt 8, stanza 2-6 with Excerpt 9, stanzas 3-7). Finally, after reading the last line of the application text, Jesus offers a meta-analysis of everything he has said thus far. This constitutes a third-order translation, in which the entire transcript is collapsed into a series of bulleted one-liners, paraphrasing the semantic essence of the document as a whole:

Transcript 1, excerpt 11

	50:54 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Ellos dicen para justificar la elaboración del proyecto es que estamos [pause**] hay mucho sobre pastoreo.** Tenemos muchas **vacas o muchas ovejas que están comiendo las plantas medicinales.**	To justify the elaboration of this project they say that we are…[pause] **there is too much shepherding**. We have many **cows or sheep that are eating the medicinal plants**.
2	Así mismo, **estamos chaqueando, quemando a nuestros terrenos.**	At the same time, **we are burning our lands**.
3	Después de **que estamos recogiendo muchas plantas**, o sea, yo creo **que están sacando desde la raiz y estan perdiendo algunas especies de plantas medicinales**	Next, that **we are collecting many plants** or, I believe, that **they are extracting plants from the roots and** that **many species of medicinal plants are being lost**
4	Y muchos del los **Kallawayas estan olvidando ya de la practica medicina Kallawaya**	And, many **Kallawayas are already forgetting the practice of Kallawaya medicine**.

The relationship of this final summary to the reported speech provided in the transcript mirrors the intertextual relationship both within and between stanzas to the PUMA application. But, here we see the most radical translation yet, with only lexical traces of the original application text filtered through Jesus' already diluted summaries. The sentence structure and the discursive content of Jesus' last summary not only bears a closer resemblance to Jesus' reiterations of the individual lines in the application text, but in Excerpt 11, stanza 3, is further embellished. The application reference to "an immeasurable selective extraction of medicinal plants" has been elaborated to include

concern over a specific collection technique: extraction "from the root." Consistent with the recurrent denial of his authorship observed throughout the transcript, Jesus concludes by emphasizing:

Transcript 1, excerpt 12

	51:00 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Son los aspectos que ellos han puesto ya en escrito para elaborar este proyecto	These are those aspects that they have already put in writing in order to elaborate this project.

Concluding on this note is powerful because it occludes Jesus' mediating role as animator/translator behind the authorial status of the application text. As Lamont Lindstrom has effectively argued, "estrangement from self-meaning and self-intention" is critical during public pronouncements of events and their meaning, and is best achieved through rhetorical strategies that frame meaning as a collective and interactive accomplishment (1992:113). By citing the text and its author(s) as the ultimate source of reported information, Jesus helps eliminate suspicion that he and other opponents of the project are simply making uneducated guesses about PUMA's motivations or activities in the region. This is particularly important in the present context given deep-seated intra-cultural conflicts revolving around real and imputed corruption, jealousy, and discrimination both within and beyond the community of Curva**.** Furthermore, in shirking authorship for the message he delivers, Jesus evades responsibility for its accuracy, while simultaneously presenting his words as truthful representations of the PUMA project that could be verified by the written text. As Lindstrom's analysis of Vanuata debate illustrates, it is precisely for these reasons that opportunities to "manipulate a reported

statement's form, meaning, and truth value" increases in direct proportion to the use of indirect reported speech (ibid:113).[40]

Following his final summary of the PUMA application, Jesus turned to the problem of how this information should be effectively presented in the assembly. Referencing the text again, he noted with concern that the project timeline was important. The project was scheduled to begin in June of 2004 and last five years, through 2009. He suggested they begin there and assess the extent of the project's progress. The change in topic accompanied another shift in footing. Jesus' demeanor towards the content of the document shifted from one of a sober, if agitated, mouthpiece for the text to an angry and violated subject of analysis. The transformation was dramatic. With a voice several octaves higher than he had previously been speaking, Jesus launched into another long-winded tirade. He began with an escalating intonational inversion that reframed authoritative claims about Kallawaya mismanagement of resources as empirical questions, suggesting that the PUMA project was in fact inflicting more harm on natural resources than were local practices:

Transcript 1, excerpt 13

	51: 48 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Lo que si tenemos que un poco hollar de información es de hasta que punto y estamos hablando de un año y medio y mas tal vez, que avances ha habido?	What information we do need to collect a little is until what point and we are talking about a year and a half, maybe more, what advances have there been?

[40] In practice, however, the possibility of verification did not exist for the majority of those present since they possessed only basic literary skills and were largely unfamiliar with the register of Spanish in which the application was written. They also lacked the requisite computer skills to access the application on-line and were not provided with hard copies. Access to internet-wired computers for those living in the countryside was also limited by a combination of physical distance, time, and economic constraints. One would have to sacrifice a total of two days travel to La Paz and be able to afford the round-trip bus ticket and hourly rate for the Internet in the city. Translation of the PUMA application was thus a necessity that forced many Kallawayas and lay-members of the community to formulate their own opinions about the project on the basis of interpretations of others like Jesus, Maritza, and Justiano who were more educated, assumed to know more and, consequently, in positions of power, which gave their accounts more validity.

2	Si están cumpliendo o no sus metas, porque ellos han (delegado?) metas, no se si han capacitado como han capacitados, hay viveros o no hay viveros,	If they are completing their milestones or not?…if they have trained (like they say). Are there greenhouses or not?
3	Si han sacados plantas medicinales y como que ya han sacado están reponiendo, están haciendo cultivos o están haciendo como ellos dicen que están sacando excesivamente y están haciendo perder especies.	If they have removed medicinal plants and since they have already removed them, are they replenishing them? Are they cultivating [them]? Or, like *they say,* excessively harvesting them, resulting in the loss of local species?
4	Yo creo que estos aspectos los que tenemos tocar y después a (quotar?) algunas (apareciones/) mas para no marear el tema central. El tema central es o sea el justificativo de este proyecto: estamos quemando [switch in intonation marks shift from declarative statements to questions] hay sobre pastoreo? estamos perdiendo ya la practica Kallawaya? yo creo que esos son mentiras y creo que en baso a mentiras ha elaborado este proyecto. Y además se nota que el proyecto fue hecho en un escritorio. No han hecho trabajo de campo para poder elaborar este proyecto.	I believe that these are the aspects [of the project] we need to touch on and later quote a few more points so we don't confuse the central theme. The central theme is, in other words, the justification of this project. Are we burning [our lands]? Is there over grazing? Are we already losing the practice of Kallawaya [medicine]? I believe those are lies and that on the basis of lies they have elaborated this project. In addition, you can tell the project was conceived from a desk. They did not do fieldwork in order to elaborate this project.
5	Ya si mismo mi preocupación es de quienes, que personas (someone says "eso" in agreement), han autorizado el ingreso de esto proyecto. Partiremos de este punto y si hay alguna pregunta sobre el proyecto aclaramos para que no se pierde un poco porque si vamos a tocar de todos partes nos vamos a perder y no vamos a poder reunir una idea conjunta de todos.	Similarly, my concern is who, what persons, authorized the entry of this project [in the region]. We'll depart from this point and if there is a question about the project we will clarify so that we don't get lost because if we try to touch on every point we'll lose ourselves [in the details] and we will not be able to achieve a united idea with everyone.

The persuasiveness of Jesus' argument had a visible effect on the audience. "Ooohs" and "awes" poured from their mouths in overlapping turns, while more outspoken members shouted affirmations regarding the inaccuracy of the information contained in the PUMA

application and the evident arm-chair nature of the project's origins. But, the time unofficially devoted to these reactions was short-lived. Without acknowledging any of the audience's contributions, Maritza added another layer of complexity to the problems already on the table:

Transcript 1, excerpt 14

	54:00 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	Bien, complimentando ya la informacion que ha leido en los beneficiarios donde hay el Departmento dice La Paz. Esta bien ahi. Provencia: Bautista Saavedra. Municipio: No se si es un error de typo o que ha pasado pero aqui dice San Javier San Javier y al final dice Curva. Eso es, no?	Right. Complementing the information that has already been read, in the beneficiaries [section] where [it reads] Department it says La Paz. There it is ok. Province: Bautista Saavedra. Municipality…I don't know if it is a typographical error or what has happened, but here it says: San Javier, San Javier and at the end it says Curva. That's it, no?

Maritza motioned to Jesus to confirm the exact wording. His head folded downward to read the pages:

Transcript 1, excerpt 15

	54:26 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Dice **Departamento La Paz, Provincia Bautista Saavedra, Municipio: San Javier.**	It says **Department: La Paz, Province: Bautista Saavedra, Municipality: San Javier.**

Then, taking the matter into his own hands, he solicited broader input:

Transcript 1, excerpt 16

	54:31 Jesus Gomez:	**JG:**
1	Donde esta San Javier? Conoce San Javier?	Where is San Javier? [Does anyone] know San Javier?

The response was unanimous: a resounding no that rang forth in a flutter of head shakes and vocal negatives, some quick and sharp, others soft and drawn out. Maritza's eyes scanned the room for signs of dissent before publicly concluding that San Javier must

exist elsewhere, outside the Province of Bautista Saavedra. This was taken as further proof that the ultimate beneficiaries of *their* knowledge and resources lay well beyond the circumscribed group entitled to such benefits. No one ventured to upset the logical path leading to this conclusion by mentioning the obvious similarity between San Javier and Curva's official name, San Pedro, or the fact that the names of participating communities in the application all pertained to the municipality of Curva. The possibility of a typo was simply outweighed by the more threatening potential of an already bad situation getting worse.

3.5 Part III: Buscando Culpables and Performing Expertise

The lull in conversation following the enigma of San Javier in the application didn't last long. Mario Vargas' words broke the silence, steering the dialogue down a different path. Until now, he had been standing quietly next to the door where he had rooted himself upon entering the room with Maritza. Exuding the confidence of someone versed in public speaking, he stepped forward abruptly and began a charismatic act replete with hand-gestures acknowledging the presence and honorable needs of Jaime Tejerina, the Provincial authority from Curva who originally informed the residents about the PUMA project and was seated in the audience before him:

Transcript 1, excerpt 17

	55:04 Mario Vargas:	**MV:**
1	**…[**A]gradecer al paisano, aquí al compañero, hermano kallawaya, tal vez el como paisano se ha preocupado y se ha mandando esta noticia a La Paz y tal vez para que le pasa a otros departamentos también.	…[T]hank the *paisano*, here, our friend, Kallawaya brother, maybe he as a *paisano* had worried and had sent this news to La Paz and maybe so that it also passed to other departments [throughout the country].

2	Yo valoro tanto esta preocupación porque estas cosas se debe que conocer queridos hermanos y queridos paisanos, no? Hermano Jaime este nota ha mandando a La Paz y de la cual sabemos esta situación. Todos nosotros somos concientes. Debemos que agradecer esta situación.	I greatly value this [show of] concern because one must familiarize oneself with these things dear brothers, dear *paisanos,* no? Brother Jaime sent this note to La Paz and as a result we know of this situation. All of us are conscious [of what is going on]. We must thank this situation.
3	De la misma manera a nombre de mi personario me felicito al hermano jaime porque realmente así tenemos el un hijo de un kallawaya porque creo de que el esta en la justa razón de poder reclamar nuestros legítimos derechos de aprovechar de esta cultura compañeros, hermanos kallawayas. el ha sido un hijo de kallawayas. sus hermanos practica. la familia mismo esta dentro de esa practica de la cultura kallawaya.	Similarly, I personally congratulate brother Jaime because, like that, in fact we have the son of a Kallawaya. Because I believe that he is justified to claim our legitimate rights to employ this culture, friends, Kallawaya brothers. He has been the son of a Kallawaya, his brothers practice [medicine], the same family is involved in the practice of Kallawaya culture.

Without pause, Mario proceeded to recount the details. The news from Jaime Terejina had arrived in a letter. Later, he and Justiano Rios went to the Foundation PUMA office in La Paz, where they "forced" PUMA staff to accept the note and demanded answers to the accusations in the form of an "interview." While the representative initially reported that they did not need authorization to execute the project, she eventually conceded that the mayor had approved the project. Harking back to Jesus' expressed concern regarding the guilty persons responsible for permitting the project in the region, his talk turned a sharp discursive corner:

Transcript 1, excerpt 18

	57:00 Mario Vargas:	**MV:**
1	Entonces, lo que claramente nosotros hemos podido recabar información es de que la licenciada dice trabajamos con un grupo de personas y hemos hecho contratos dice. Lo que el compañero, lo	So, from the information we were clearly able to obtain, the representative [at the PUMA office] says we work with a group of persons and we have made contracts [with them].

2	Que el Jesús dice, el hermano dice, aquí hay que buscar culpables, porque claramente este proyecto es un daño para nuestra cultura no de esta manera porque aquí están indicando que nosotros, los paisanos ya no estamos practicando.	What our friend, what Jesus says, the brother says, here we must look for guilty persons, because clearly this project is damaging to our culture. Not this way because here they are indicating that we, *los paisanos*, we are not practicing [medicine] anymore.
3	Y ahora si nosotros entramos en el fondo, ellos como un proyecto que cosas están haciendo, no están haciendo absolutamente nada. acaso, si ellos hacen crecer las plantas medicinales digamos en un vivero lo que hacen eso ya no es algo legitimo porque recuerden uds. algunas plantas, algunas especies (tomate, todas esas cosas,) cuando hacen producir en un vivero ya no es lo mismo ya no hay efectividad digamos de una planta. entonces, esto es chemicamente ya podría hacer. Eso alta (with long emphasis on allllta) legitimad nos va a quitar a los paisanos porque ya no va a hacer efectivo…	And now if we get behind [this], as a project, what things are they doing? They are doing absolutely nothing. If they make medicinal plants grow in a greenhouse, let's say, what they do is no longer something legitimate because remember you all, some plants, some species, tomato and all those things, when they are produced in a greenhouse it is no longer the same, there is no longer efficaciousness of a plant, let's say. So, this would have to already be done chemically. This *high* legitimacy they are going to take from us, from *los paisanos*, because [the plants] are no longer going to be effective…
4	Hay no mas malas intenciones de algunos *paisanos*…seguramente nos van a ratificar estas cosas y los culpables creo que ya están volados. Así. Claro, porque el alcalde ya no esta. Otra persona que sabemos de información tampoco ya no esta para mañana.	There are only bad intentions among some *paisanos*…they are surely going to ratify those things for us and I believe the guilty persons are already gone. Like that. It's clear because the mayor is no longer here. The other person we know [about] from information is not here for tomorrow either.
5	Vamos a informar. Vamos a aclarar... Porque? Porque nos van a hacer un gran daño a los paisanos porque nosotros acaso de esto proyecto todos los hermanos paisanos van a vivir, no, no ve. Entonces, los hijos estamos haciendo obligación de reclamar y expulsar este directamente, porque nosotros no estamos con la intención de dejarlos que produzcan y mucho menos que avanza esto proyecto. Porque? porque es un daño para los paisanos.	We are going to inform. We are going to clarify…Why? Because they are going to do us, *los paisanos*, great harm because on the basis of this project all our brothers are going to live…So, we, the children, are *obligated* to complain and expel this [project] directly, because we have no intention of allowing them to produce [medicinal plants], much less advance with this project. Why? Because it is a harm to *los paisanos!*

Mario's monologue is noteworthy in several respects. While his speech superficially functions to further contextualize the PUMA-project controversy, it does so in a way that allows him to explicitly showcase the knowledge, behavior, and emotional dispositions of a true Kallawaya expert on the basis of both traditional and new criteria. He begins by lavishly praising Jaime Tejerina's response to the project: he worried, expressed concern, and informed organizational authorities in La Paz with the likely intention that the news would spread to other Kallawaya organizations throughout the country (Excerpt 17, stanza 1). Then, he explains why this is laudable: because Kallawayas are "conscious" and must familiarize themselves with "these things" (Excerpt 17, stanza 2). Mario, in his capacity *as* a high-standing Kallawaya, not only expressly congratulates Jaime *as* a Kallawaya, but also asks the same of his interlocutors. Justifications for Jaime's recognition as a Kallawaya expert follow: thanks to Jaime's actions, healers have been made aware of the situation and now stand in a collective position to claim their rights to practice their culture (Excerpt 17, stanza 3). But, more importantly, he notes that Jaime not only has strong genealogical ties to the practice of Kallawaya medicine (i.e. his biological father, brother, and other family members practice medicine), *but he has embodied the moral character of an expert in actively opposing the project, he has acted as the son of a Kallawaya.* That Jaime is publicly identified as a Kallawaya expert primarily on the basis of his stance towards the project, despite the well-known fact that he himself does not practice medicine professionally, is strong evidence that expressions of one's opposition to the PUMA project (and foreign access to Kallawaya knowledge and resources, more generally) can, within the group,

trump other markers of expertise, such as the quality and kind of medicinal knowledge/skill one possesses or where one "practices"—in the city or the countryside.

During the part of Mario's speech I have summarized between Excerpts 17 and 18, we see a shift in focus from Jaime's admirable deeds to a description of Mario's own response to the PUMA project. Again, while these details help flesh out a broader picture of the events leading up to the present moment, they also serve an important social function. Having already made explicit what was admirable about Jaime's actions, describing his own role in opposing the PUMA project is similarly a personal display of his expertise. The shift in footing creates a social alliance between them, as well as with the other "big figures" whose actions have also been recounted during the meeting. These individuals include Rolando and Maritza Magnani, Victor Bustillos, Justiano Rios, Jesus Gomez, and the Kallawaya organizations they represent. The commonality being emphasized between them is their collective stance towards the PUMA project and similar "threats" as expressed verbally throughout this meeting and in the acts of resistance, including past speech, being recounted. Collectively, these expressions constitute a normative model of Kallawaya expertise that is being both explicitly and implicitly instilled in the community. According to this model, Kallawayas must be informed, show concern for the protection of their culture and act to protect it and the livelihoods of the community of healers who depend on exclusive access to and use of specialist knowledge and local resources.

In the present context, Mario is both conforming to and actively contributing to this model of Kallawaya expertise by acting in accordance with these principles. Publicly commending Jaime as an exemplary Kallawaya given his stance towards the PUMA

project and then proceeding to present his own actions in a similar light brings them into the same frame of reference. He and Justiano not only engaged in a direct face-to-face confrontation with representatives at the PUMA foundation, "forcing" them to accept Jaime's letter and answer their questions, but their actions also led to the discovery of important information: the mayor authorized the project**.** Thus, it is not necessary for Mario to relate his own reaction to the project in terms of expertise. This is already implied in and through other kinds of language use that align his and Justiano's behavior with that of Jaime and by extension identify them as part of the same social group. In opposing the PUMA-project they have all complied with a model of Kallawaya expertise that encourages secrecy, sovereign ownership of knowledge and resources, cultural preservation, and resistance to exploitative foreign interest in their medicinal culture.

The semiotic effect achieved through this social alignment is enhanced by the common knowledge participants already share about Mario's expert status as reflected in broader arenas of his life. He is a high-profile member of the Kallawaya community locally, regionally, and nationally. He is from Lagunillas and a respected practitioner of medicine there and in La Paz, where he works on Sagarnaga Street and meets with clients in a private office tucked away behind a complex of pricey tourist shops. He also serves as President for the Kallawaya Organization of La Paz and is the elected treasurer for COBOLCMEK, the national Kallawaya organization. Like the Magnani family and Walter Alvarez from SOBOMETRA, Mario is a permanent fixture in the Kallawaya social landscape, someone who commands local power and acts as a cultural broker. These aspects of his person endow his words with extra weight. It is precisely because of his social standing within the Kallawaya professional community that Mario's opinion as

to the merits of Jaime's actions is so effective. For the same reason, his opinion regarding the appropriate stance a Kallawaya expert should adopt towards the PUMA project was particularly influential.

Nonetheless, at the end of his monologue, Mario foregrounds the medicinal dimensions of his expertise, which adds validity to his own oppositional stance towards the PUMA project and qualifications as an expert. He begins by reaffirming Jesus' concern with identifying the guilty persons: the PUMA foundation made contracts with specific individuals, whose conspicuous absence as things heat up is taken as obvious evidence of their guilt. They are guilty, he explains, because they support the PUMA project, which is damaging to their culture. In this sense, project participants are cast as traitors. Echoing Jesus' earlier criticisms, he elaborates that the project falsely claims they are no longer practicing medicine and combined with the project's plan to harvest plants in a manner that will render their medicinal properties ineffective will tarnish their reputation. Drawing the group's attention to the collective specialist knowledge that regional plants in fact derive their efficacy from their native place of growth, where ecological conditions affect plant potency (Excerpt 18, stanza 3) directly challenges these claims at the same time it highlights Mario's own medicinal expertise. In verbally articulating this piece of specialist knowledge Mario not only enacts a *living* tradition, demonstrating that Kallawayas continue to possess and utilize medicinal knowledge, but suggests the project's plan to propagate medicinal plants in greenhouses would defeat the very purpose of selling them later as medicine (Excerpt 18, end of stanza 3), thus robbing them of their "*high* legitimacy" (emphasis in original).

Finally, in his concluding remarks, Mario recaps what is at stake for Kallawayas healers if the project continues to progress and advocates a specific plan of action to protect their cultural interests. First, in reference to their role in the Provincial Assembly (and, perhaps, in other anticipated settings) they are going to "inform" and "clarify" for the communities why the project is damaging to their culture (Excerpt 18, stanza 5). In order to accomplish this, La Paz and Cochabamba will hold a unified position of resistance. Finally, he states that they, as "children" of great Kallawayas, are "*obligated* to complain and expel [this] project directly" (Excerpt 18, end of stanza 5)). Mario's tone and the conviction with which he executed his speech left little interpretive latitude. His message ricocheted loud and clear against the cracked adobe walls whose fractured pattern was so pervasive it had the appearance of wall-paper: the PUMA-project was bad, damaging to their culture, and "real" Kallawayas *must* protest vocally and physically. This was the same message Jesus ultimately delivered after his lengthy translation of the project application and the one foreshadowed in the earlier statements of Maritza and Justiano. Their oppositional stance(s) toward the project in turn mirrored the messages delivered in Don Victor and Don Jaime's letters, whose content had been absorbed in their own narratives. One-by-one the momentum of these voices snowballed, each message wrapped into the language of the other, until consensus on the matter outweighed the project of "objectively" weighing the facts.

At this point, to suggest otherwise by participating in the project or voicing a contrary position, could easily be taken as an expression of inauthenticity, outright ignorance or worse, indicative of ulterior motives driven by financial greed and personal interest. The mayor and the other unnamed individual who were currently under attack

for their involvement in the project were a testament to that fact and thus a clear warning to those who had not yet taken a strong stance against the project to step on board. By this point, conflict over the PUMA-project had become so polarized that even silence on the matter could be read negatively as a modest show of support. If there had previously been a middle ground, it was quickly shrinking in the face of "facts" that had been stockpiled and presented during the meeting and in numerous less official channels during the preceding months.

It was not surprising, then, that Jaime Terejina, the same Don Jaime whose actions had been on the receiving end of Mario's earlier praise, chose to speak up at precisely this moment, addressing Don Mario's concerns in a way that both leant support to his accusations and added heroic detail to his own role in the project's impending demise:

Transcript 1, excerpt 19

	58:18 Jaime Terejina:	**58:18 JT:**
1	La palabra Senor Presidente...al nombre de Ejecutivo Provincial que he sido nombrado en la Provincia Bautista Saavedra en la primera sección Charazani, 10 de Abril de presente ano…	The word Mr. Presidente...in my capacity as Executive Provincial authority, which I was elected in the Province of Bautista Saavedra in the first section Charazani, April 10 of the present year…
2	He sido dañado a algunas persona por nuestra conservación de recursos naturales de medicina natural. Quería intervenir en muchos momentos y he han dado sin comer, a veces presentándome de los paisanos.	I have been harmed by some persons for our conservation of medicinal natural resources. I wanted to intervene at many moments and I have given [of myself] without eating, at times being given [food] by *los paisanos*.
3	El error que he tenido ahora es: Yo se que esta causa el primer enemigo es el señor Santiago que me esta sirviendo para totalmente que me esta denigrando y mellando a mi autoridad no cual… entonces, yo claramente con el hermano	The problem that I have had now is: I know that the first enemy of this cause is Mr. Santiago who is serving me by totally denigrating me and pissing on my authority…so, clearly, with brother Adolfo Mayhua-- you all are already

	Adolfo Mayhua. Uds. ya conocen una organización pequeña el lo tiene. Justamente, he tenido que resolver para convocar una en Kanizaya.	familiar with a little organization he has. I just had to call a meeting in Kanizaya.
4	Hemos resuelto con una resolución en Kanizaya de que las comunidades han puesto celosas, que nos quieren engañar a un promotor a un líder con 400bs. Para que? Para que le ayuda el señor Santiago Quina y las mismas de las comunidades viniera.	We resolved it with a resolution in Kanizaya over which the communities became jealous that they want to take advantage of us with a promoter [for the project] paying a leader 400bs. For what? So that he helps Mr. Santiago Quina and that the same communities would come [to support him].
5	Entonces, ya yo en baso de esto yo preparé una resolución para investigar. Entonces, el señor Miguel Zambrana ni por nada no queria darme la dirección de Fundación PUMA…Ni por nada!	So, on the basis of that I prepared a resolution to investigate. Then, Mr. Miguel Zambrana, under no circumstances, wanted to give me the address of Foundation PUMA…Not for anything!
6	Entonces, al final de cuentas, ya estábamos los últimos y la paciencia ya nos esta acabando y de tal manera ya hemos podido encontrar con el hermano este Adolfo. Incluso el ha ido a investigar donde se encuentra, no? Entonces eso es lo que ha pasado…y hemos visto la investigación por internet también.	So, all told, we are already the last ones and our patience is running out and in this manner we were already able to meet with this brother Aldolfo. He has even went to investigate where [the Foundation] is located, no?...[T]hat is what has happened…and we have also seen the project over the internet.
7	Aquí están haciendo ya un daño fuerte!... Y yo creo que mañana creo que van a andar ese. El proyecto que contenido tiene?	Here they are already doing great harm! …I believe that tomorrow, I believe they are going to leave. The project, what content does it have?
8	Pero así verbalmente el inginero nos ha dado un breve, este, un informe verbal donde dice para cinco gestiones esta financiado un $1,000,000US. Ya, así verbalmente, durante cinco gestiones. Después, ya con su beca como director de médicos kallawayas a Estados Unidos.	But, like that, verbally, the engineer has given us a brief, this, a verbal report where he says [the project] is funded at one million US dollars over five years. Already, like that, during five years! After, like Director of Kallawaya Doctors immediately to the United States with his scholarship.
9	Entonces, yo me puse muy celoso ya de este parte. Yo soy como un nieto y a	So, I became very jealous over this part. I am like a grandson. At times I provoke

	veces me hago provocar con el hermano Santiago. No es que no. Actualmente, estoy viendo como un este. Como un chileno, no?...	brother Santiago. It's not that I don't. At the moment, I'm seeing him like a, like a Chilean, no?...
10	Una persona beneficiando, dos personas y los promotores engañando de 400bs. Y habían sacado 10,000US actualmente ya lo tiene. Ya entonces según no hay ninguna actividad. Creo que han comprado un moto y sobre esto gasta que gasta en combustible…Ya, ese es el fragante que vemos la discusión del proyecto.	…One person, two people benefiting and the promoters deceiving [people] with four hundred bolivanos. And, they have taken out ten thousand US dollars. Right now, they already have it…there is no activity. I believe they have bought a motorcycle and on top of that spend what they spend in gas…Right now, this is the flagrant [guilty person] that we see in the discussion of the project…

Jaime's account was punctuated with sighs of disgust and disbelief from the audience, especially at those crucial moments when numbers were mentioned: a leader's support purchased for 400bs, one-million dollars worth of project funds and thousands apparently siphoned into the pockets of project organizers. His references to scholarships, travel to the United States, and the promoters' outright refusal to respect his authority elicited equally charged reactions. The gruesome details were shuffled amidst affirmations of his and others' opposition to the project, as well as confirmation of the reputed harm the project was causing (Excerpt 19, stanza 7).

Importantly, the format in which Jaime's narrative unfolds also mimics the example set by the string of speakers that had preceded him, in places resonating word for word with their own speech. Like Jesus, Mario, and Maritza, Jaime made passionate claims about his identity as a Kallawaya and then tied those claims to his concern over the project and his attempts to intervene (Excerpt 19, stanza 2). He also corroborated Mario's attack on the guilty persons, voicing the individual names of the previous mayor and the project engineer and elaborating the reasons their behavior was so despicable.

Similarly, he expressed Mario's confidence that justice will prevail and the project is worthless: "I believe that tomorrow…they are going to leave. This project, what content does it have?" (Excerpt 19, stanza 7). In short, Jaime's speech is a direct response to Mario's demand that Kallawayas "are obligated to complain and expel the project" (Excerpt 18, stanza 5). In decrying the project and the actions of its supporters, Jaime heeds this call, displaying his expertise by re-enacting precisely those idealized ways that Kallawaya healers are being encouraged to speak and act with respect to the PUMA project. Jaime's performance was successful, like that of the previous speakers, because of its consistency with the model of Kallawaya expertise equating opposition to the project through verbal objections and/or actions designed to halt project activities.

3.6 Part IV: Justiano's Breach: The Exception that Proved the Rule

Thus far I have been talking about how a particular model of Kallawaya expertise—one that relies on continuity with ancestors (parents, grandparents, and beyond) whose commitment to withholding specialized knowledge from public circulation ensured their survival and prestige—is constructed and emulated in the form of expressed opposition to the PUMA project. We have seen that this model relies on a semiotic ideology that associates expressed opposition to the PUMA project, verbally and otherwise, with one's authentic status as a healer. Parts I through III provide positive evidence for this claim in demonstrating how translating the PUMA text as a threat sets up the parameters by which one's status as a Kallawaya expert is ultimately evaluated through the expression of disgust, concern, and/or actions designed to impede the project's progress and otherwise protect their medicinal knowledge and resources and, by

extension, their position as healers. In Part IV, I provide negative evidence in support of this argument by focusing on a violation of the model, which, like all breaches, exposes the implicit cultural assumptions behind the model (see Schieffelin 1990; Goffman 1974; Turner 1957; and Jacobs-Huey 2006).

The breach was made by an unlikely candidate: Justiano Rios, who serves as secretary for COBOLCMEK, the national Kallawaya organization, and was also an important spokesperson on matters relating to Kallawaya "Culture." He was among the most formally educated of Kallawaya *residentes*, with a bachelor's degree in economics and post-graduate studies in community development. As a result he, like Rolando Magnani, played a central role in organizing and overseeing important cultural activities, such as the UNESCO anniversary events. His father, like Rolando and Maritza's father, was recognized as one of the last great Kallawaya healers. He had also played an instrumental role in organizing the return of *los residentes* to Curva for the Provincial Assembly and sat between Jesus and Maritza at the front of the room.

Justiano's interjection in the conversation was prompted by the vast discrepancy between Jaime's report of the PUMA project circulating in the countryside and the description provided in the PUMA application text. Sensing that the crowd's imagination had begun to run wild with the increasingly scandalous details that had been revealed over the course of the meeting, Justiano stepped in to quell the group's mounting anxiety. He began with a lengthy reminder that before the present moment no one even knew the real name of the project. Instead, people just communicated their distinct versions prior to seeing the actual project application and analyzing its content. This, he claimed, led everyone to talk about the PUMA project as if the institution itself was the agent of

deception, entering into the region unauthorized and conducting the objectionable activities under discussion. In order to be taken seriously, he argued, they must distinguish between the corrupt individuals managing the project on the ground, the actual project, and the funding source. Then, taking each topic in turn, he set out to disentangle the presumed confusion:

Transcript 1, excerpt 20

	1:06:17 Justiano Rios:	**1:06:17 JR:**
1	Que es la Fundación PUMA? En realidad, en este proyecto esta Fundación PUMA solamente interviene como financiadora.	What is Foundation PUMA? In reality, in this project this Foundation PUMA only intervenes as a financer.
2	Y el informe que tenemos nosotros es el proyecto. Y que es el proyecto? El proyecto en realidad hace mas de un ano han elaborado en base a una documentación.	And, the report that we have is the project. And, what is the project? The project, in reality, was elaborated more than a year ago on the basis of this documentation.
3	Eso hay que investigar y si es real aceptación de las comunidades o no. Porque un proyecto no realiza así. Un proyecto hace un rato estaba diciendo nace un base a una idea. Y una idea es en base a una necesidad.	We must investigate that and if the acceptance [of the project] by the communities is real or not. Because a project is not realized like this. A project, I have been saying for a while now, is born on the basis of an idea. And, an idea is based on a need.

Justiano further clarified that administrative procedure for assessing community needs vary depending on whether projects are related to Kallawaya culture or other aspects of community development:

Transcript 1, excerpt 21

	1:09:29 Justiano Rios:	**1:109:29 JR:**
1	…Pero cual quiere otro proyecto digamos de infrastructura, que se yo, de terrazas, mejores cultivos normales…pueden directamente en todas provincias en comunidades puede hacer.	…whatever kind of other project, let's say, infrastructure, terraces, I don't know, better normal crops…in all provinces, communities can directly do [them].

2	Pero cuando es un proyecto que esta relacionado con la cultura, directamente con la cultura y la medicina Kallawaya que es un patrimonio entonces en esto no solo la comunidad beneficiaria…si no las autoridades principalmente, las organizaciones, los dirigentes, y sobre todo las organizaciones que están relacionados con la cultura y la medicina Kallawaya. Del lo contrario estaríamos cometiendo un error.	But, when it is a project that is connected with the culture, directly with the culture and Kallawaya medicine, that is a heritage, then in this case not only the benefiting community [must be consulted]…but the authorities, basically the organizations, the leaders, and above all the organizations related to Kallawaya culture and medicine. We would be committing an error to do otherwise…

In Justiano's view, the problem was twofold. First, the regional and national Kallawaya organizations with which they were affiliated had never been consulted and certainly never approved the PUMA project. Second, it was unclear whether local authorities and the communities they represented had approved the project either. Drawing the group's attention back to the PUMA application text and other "reliable" sources, including his own "technical conversation" with PUMA Foundation staff, he reminded them that the project was designed by SEDEMA (Development and Environment Service), an NGO that later abandoned the project. This left Miguel Zambrana, a young *residente* from La Paz currently living in Curva, to co-opt the project and administer it on his own with assistance from Santiago Quina, the previous mayor and prominent *lugareño*. His concern was how and under what circumstances this occurred since, according to Foundation PUMA, strict protocols had to be followed in order for them to release funds. Importantly, one of these requirements was precisely the kind of collective social approval Justiano had advocated earlier.

Transcript 1, excerpt 22

	1:17:09 Justiano Rios:	**1:17:09 JR:**
1	[C]ada trimeste tiene que rinder un informe del advance technico, un informe	[E]very trimester they have to produce a summary of technical advances, a

	technico y financiero. Pero, hay una palabrita que dice que es muy importante…Acta de Validad Social. Sin eso no hay.	technical and financial report. But, there is a little word that it says is very important...Act of Social Validity. Without that there is [no project].
2	En este caso, el habido informar ya dos periodos. Que advancas objectivamente y eso tienen que firmar las seis cominidades de la Segunda Seccion…La comunidades son Caalaya, Curva mismo, Sanachi, Puli, Pajan, y Cañuma. Son seis comunidades.	In this case, he had already informed [them] of two periods. What advances objectively [have been made] and that has to be signed by the six communities of the Second Section…The communities are Caalaya, Curva itself, Sanachi, Puli, Pajan, and Cañuma…
3	**Unkown Participant:** Puli? Pero, que saben de la medicina?	**UP:** Puli? But, what do they know about medicine?
4	**JR:** Si, pero esta asi. Eso esta consolidado con seis comunidades…La informacion que ellos han presentado es real y legal con esa acta validacion social, o sea, firmado por las autoridades orginarias de las seis communidades.	**JR:** Yes, but it is there. This is consolidated with six communities…The information that they have presented is real and legal with that act of social validation. In other words, signed by the indigenous authorities of the six communities.
5	O sea, Uds. Han visto que han sacado 10,000 $US cada tres meses, no se $20,000, $30 cuanto será. Uds. han visto. Dicen que ha probado en que ha gastado en la parte technica. ¿Que han hecho? ¿Que advance ha hecho por porcentaje? Tambien en el parte financiero. Como han gastado [referes to unintelligible amount] en el libro de actas…Entonces las seis comunidades tenian que decir tambien si realamente ha monstrado el monto	In other words, you all have seen that $10,000 has been withdrawn every three months. I don't know, $20,000, $30,000, how much would it be. They say that what has been spent in technical expenses has been proved--what they have done, what advances have been made by percentage. Also, in the financial part, how they have spent [it] is documented in the book of minutes…So, the six communities also have to say if he has shown the amount.
6	Entonces eso es el tema. Ya creo que han tomado en cuenta que en realidad este es el proyecto que ha hecho SEDEMA. Yo no conozco [unintelligible]…Es un ONG que yo no conozco personalmente pero derepente se ha entrado con buena intencion. Pero Zambrana intervenio…se ha ido SEDEMA, ha dejado el proyecto, se ha apropriado y ha venido…	So, that is the issue. I believe that you all have already taken note that in reality this is the project that SEDEMA has made…It's an NGO that I don't know personally, but suddenly entered with good intentions. But, Zambrana intervened…SEDEMA had gone, had left the project, he had appropriated it and had come…

7	**MM:** ¿Quien? ¿Zambrana?	**MM:** Who? Zambrana?
8	**JR:** Los dos. Zambrana y Quina…sin validad social. Es como si por instrucciones de esta seis communidades ellos serian como represantes para ejectuar todo este proyecto y el financiamento manejar ellos tambien…	**JR:** Both. Zambrana and Quina…without social validity. It's as if with instructions from the six communities they would be like representatives in order to execute the entire project and also manage the financing…
9	Por eso Fundacion PUMA esta muy preocupada. ¿Necisitan un informe real, no?...La carta que he enviado como recien el dia Martes ya han respondido. Yo voy a leerlo.	That is why Foundation PUMA is very worried. They need a real report, no,…They have already responded to the letter that I just sent on Tuesday. I am going to read it.
10	Y bien, otra cosa ellos tienen toda la parte de contestar, digamos, como financiadora simplemente. No son ejecutores, ni quiseria administradores. Tienen los recursos que se desembolsen nada mas…Es bien grave esta sitacion, no?	And another thing: they have full responsibility for responding, let's say, simply as financers. [They] are not executors [of the project], not even administrators. They have the resources that they only pay out…This situation is very serious, no?

In stark contrast to previous speakers, Justiano's contribution sought to separate the negative characterization of the two locals accused of corruption and the two institutions tied to the PUMA project. In doing so, he effectively asked the community to relieve both SEDEMA and the PUMA Foundation from responsibility for local conflicts over the medicinal plant project. While he admitted that SEDEMA had designed the project, he argued they entered with "good intentions" and were no longer even involved (Excerpt 21, stanza 6). In a sense, they, like the communities, were painted as innocent victims of local corruption: their project had been "stolen." Similarly, though less explicitly, he went to great lengths to vindicate the PUMA Foundation on the basis that their only connection to the project was that of financer (Excerpt 20, stanza 1 and Excerpt

22, stanza 10). As a result, they could neither control nor speak to what was happening in the communities (Excerpt 22, stanza 10). As far as Foundation PUMA was concerned, Miguel Zambrana and Santiago Quina had fully cooperated; they had submitted all the necessary paperwork justifying the project expenditures and the requisite "act of social validation" guaranteeing local support for the project (Excerpt 22, stanza 5). This was why Justiano was so intent on determining whether such proof was legitimate or not (Excerpt 20, stanza 3). In places, there is even the subtle suggestion that in getting to the bottom of things they might prove to the PUMA Foundation that support for the project had not been secured through the proper channels, thus forcing them to hold back funds and then renegotiate the terms of the project with the Kallawaya organizations, of which they were members (see Excerpt 21, stanza 2 and Excerpt 22, stanza 9).

By the time Justiano reached this point in the dialogue, Maritza who was seated directly to his right, had begun to show visible signs of discomfort with what he was saying. Her brow furrowed and she started to lean away from him, subtly gesturing her disapproval. Completely oblivious to her apprehension, he continued talking confidently as though he had everyone's full support, this time turning his attention to the letter from Foundation PUMA, which he had previously mentioned. In it, they responded to Justiano's inquiries regarding the meaning of the three key words in the project title that had been the focus of so much speculation and controversy: management, transformation, and commercialization. To Maritza's dismay, Justiano showed complete support for their position that the terms and the activities to which they referred had been misunderstood and that in reality there was no legitimate basis for concern:

Transcript 1, excerpt 23

	1:16:07 Justiano Rios:	**JR:**
1	Entonces, aclaramos asi los puntos mas importantes simplimente: Al nombre…. [unintelleigible] en base hay transformacion…Dicen no hay ninguna transformacion. Transformacion es recogo, ha secado, claro, se transforman, no, se dishidrata…[unintelligible]…Pero, sabes, cual es la actividad puntual.	So, let's clarify simply the most important points. Regarding the name…basically, there is transformation. They say *there is no transformation*. Transformation is to collect. [It] has dried. Clearly, it changes, it dehydrates…But, you know, what is the precise activity?
2	**JG:** Comercializacion!	**JG:** Commercialization!
3	**JR:** Eso es que la gente dice. Se acuerden la informacion que genera la comunidad, no?...Van a decir que los scientificos van a ir a los Estados Unidos con medicos.	**JR:** That is what the people say. According to the information the community generates, no…They are going to say that the scientists are going to go to the United States with the healers.
4	No es asi. Por eso no dice ahi, no. No es el proyecto. No es para eso. Si, no es recogo, secado y comercializacion [unintelligible]…la verdad. Pero la materia prima simplemente.	It's not like that. That's why it doesn't say it there, no. That is not the project. It's not for that. Yes, it is collect, dry, and market...it's true. But, simply the raw material.
5	Es como cosechar, aguarer la cosecha, empaquetar y mandar…Eso van a vender, digamos, al comercialzador en materia prima. No es tan transformando, digamos, no. Diez dolares para los laboratorios seria, cien dolares, que se yo, y retorna después con algunas pastillas, no?	It's like harvesting, collecting the harvest, packaging [it] and sending [it]…This they are going to sell, let's say, to the dealer as raw material. This is not really transforming, let's say, no? It would be ten dollars for the laboratories, one-hundred dollars, I don't know, and return later with some pills.
6	Parece cono eso es el projecto, no. Pero este proyecto simplemente es recoger, recoger, hacer secar, embolsar y venderlos. Pero, ahora no se de la sostenablidad.	It appears that this is the project, no? But, *this* project is simply collect—collect, dry, package, and sell. But, now, I don't know about the sustainability.

No sooner had the last syllables rolled off his tongue, than Maritza appropriated the floor intent on reprimanding him indirectly for accepting their word at face value. Clearly flustered, she prepared to set the record straight, not just for Justiano, but for everyone in the room. Her response, quoted in abbreviated form at the start of this chapter, brought discussion of the PUMA project full circle in that it refocused attention on the cultural values highlighted in Rolando's "recommendations," while simultaneously putting the situation in global perspective:

Transcript 1, excerpt 24

	1:18:03 Maritza Magnani:	**MM:**
1	…De todas maneras, evidentemente hasta ahí, hasta donde nosotros conocimos el proyecto, obviamente no va a decir 'la investigación de los activos principios.' Eso no puede decir. Pero de atrás de esto esta siempre las intencionalidad y el objetivo de los transnacionales farmacéuticas de conseguir este tipo de plantas medicinales para investigar los principios activos y ahí ya se hace habla de la patentación, no cierto.	**…**In any case, obviously up to there, as far as we know from the project, **obviously the [PUMA] project is not going to say 'the investigation of active principles.' That cannot be said. But, behind this, there is *always* the intention and objective of the transnational pharmaceutical [companies] to acquire these kinds of medicinal plants in order to investigate their active principles and from there talk about patenting [them], no?**
2	Entonces, naturalmente, un órgano vivo como la planta no se puede patentar ningún órgano vivo. Pero, si se puede patentar los principios activos de esas plantas medicinales.	Now, naturally, a living organ like a plant cannot be patented. **No living organ can be patented. But, one *can* patent the active principles of these medicinal plants.**
3	Y aquí ya se tiene que tomar en cuenta paisanos el conocimiento colectivo de todos y cada uno de los que están acá actualmente y de nuestro pasado. Acá esos conocimientos colectivos no sabe ni de los libros.	And, here, **it's time to take into account, *paisanos*, the collective knowledge of each and every one of those who are presently here and those of our past. That collective knowledge the books don't even know.**
4	Acá el conocimiento colectivo no nos ha	Here the collective knowledge did not

	caído del cielo. No es así. Eso ha sido transmitido generación en generación de los abuelos de los machulas que han ido a caminar. Esas personas se que han encargado de mantener el secreto de todo lo que hace de tratamiento y lo de que era la medicina y la cultura kallawaya.	fall to us from the sky. It's not like that**. That [knowledge] has been transmitted from one generation to the next from the elders and wise men who traveled on foot. Those people were responsible for keeping secret** everything from which cures were made and all that was **Kallawaya medicine and culture.**
5	Entonces, no es posible, digamos que nosotros vayamos a hablar solamente de la comercialización…No es así paisanos. El proyecto va acabar cuando esto salga afuera del país y se practica esa investigación de esos principios activos.	It is not possible, then, let's say, that we are only going to speak about commercialization…It's not like that, *paisanos*. **The project will end when this [knowledge] leaves the country and they undertake the investigation of those active principles.**
6	Cuanto nos quisiéramos que estos laboratorios estén acá en la zona y que eso salga como principio activo y producto del conocimiento colectivo de los kallawayas. Eso seria la justo. Pero eso no va a proceder así porque las transnacionales nunca van a pensar en los conocimientos culturales de modo general.	How many of us want that those laboratories are here in the region and that this [knowledge] leaves [the country] as the active principle and collective product of los Kallawayas. That would be just. But it's not going to proceed like that because the **transnationals are never going to think about cultural knowledge in general**.
7	Se ha producido movimientos al nivel mundial en la India por querían patentar los principios activos de una planta que ellos utilizaban.	**Global movements have been produced in India because [they] wanted to patent the active principles of a plant they used.**
8	Entonces, al final de cuentas, los kallawayas en Cochabamba, los hijos fundamentalmente, estamos orientando a esa situación. Si no se toma cartas en el asunto, si no tomamos conciencia al nivel a todas las comunidades, la otra vía que nos queda es denunciar a las organizaciones para indicando que están saciando las recursos naturales vegetales de la zona kallawaya. Y eso no puede ser.	All told, then, **los Kallawayas in Cochabamba, we, the children fundamentally, are orienting [ourselves] to this situation. If we do not take note, if we are not aware at the level of all the communities, the option we are left with is to report that they are pillaging plants from the Kallawaya region. And this cannot be.**

9	Nosotros tenemos que ser defensores de la heredad que nosotros hemos recibido. Como es posible que nosotros por unos pesos o por la ambición de una, dos, de tres personas vivas vamos a vender todo lo que ha sido guardado tan celosamente hasta estos días	**We have to be defenders of the heritage we have received. How is it possible that** for a few pesos or the ambition of one, two, or three self-interested people, **we are going to sell all that has been guarded so jealously until now.**

The content of Maritza's response, which I have reproduced here in full to retain the narrative integrity of her delivery, flows seamlessly back and forth between criticisms of the PUMA project couched explicitly in terms of posited transnational pharmaceutical interests in Kallawaya medicine and the obligation of healers to "defend their heritage" through secrecy and non-involvement. While she tethers foreign interests to the inevitable development of patents on medicinal "active constituents" that would rob Kallawayas of rightful acknowledgment and compensation (Excerpt 24, stanzas 2 and 5), her discussion of secrecy takes the form of a plea on behalf of previous generations whose own commitments to secrecy are responsible for the collective transmission of this knowledge across subsequent generations, as well as its protection from such appropriation through the present (Excerpt 24, stanzas 3 and 4). Maritza's repetitive use of the plural first-person pronoun "we" serves to underscore her own inclusion and all those present in the community of experts to whom she is referring, whether as vulnerable objects of corporate exploitation or bearers of a millennial tradition, the future of which she argues is in their hands. The relative emphasis placed on each of these threads (artificially marked in the transcript by my own spacing between shifts in thematic focus) is strikingly balanced. But, perhaps, more interesting is the way her strategic use of the deictic markers "then" and "here," pulls the two claims into causal relation, forcing her audience to make the connection between cultural theft at the hands of foreign

pharmaceutical companies and the power of Kallawayas to mitigate that fate through maintaining intellectual secrecy in the face of such pressures. She cautions her audience that the intention to patent and otherwise exploit indigenous knowledge often "can not be said," but is nonetheless a pervasive reality, lurking on the horizon as a threat to healers whose livelihood and cultural identity depend on those resources (Excerpt 24, stanzas 1). On the coattails of this imagery, she delivers a powerful conclusion: protecting expert knowledge through secrecy and refusal to participate in the PUMA project is not a choice (Excerpt 24, stanza 8). It is an obligation: "We *have* to be defenders of the heritage we have received…that has been guarded so jealously until now" (Excerpt 24, stanza 9).

While important in its own right, Maritza's message takes much of its significance in this context from its contrast with Justiano's previous passage. They are both talking about the PUMA project, the activities taking place in the communities, and the level of threat such activities represent. Yet, they hold diametrically opposed positions. Justiano's position suggests rather explicitly that the rumors have gotten out of hand and that Kallawaya experts are more paranoid than justified in their claims that the project is inflicting harm on them or their environment. Despite the presence of trigger words in the project title, he argues that things are, in fact, more innocuous than they appear. Management simply refers to plant collection. Transformation *really* means drying. And, commercialization signifies in practice the local sale of raw plant material, not the production and distribution of "pills" in the United States (Excerpt 23, stanzas 1 and 4). In likening the project to the local, familiar, non-specialist and "innocent" act of farming (Excerpt 23, stanza 5), Justiano recontextualizes the discussion in depoliticized and "accessible" terms. This is made possible, in part, by his complete dismissal of the

role of specialized medicinal knowledge and its circulation in relation to the project. Justiano substantiates his claims by focusing on the referential content of the PUMA project application and direct correspondence with PUMA Foundation staff—if it is not stated in the application or confirmed by representatives from the PUMA Foundation then it cannot be true (Excerpt 23, stanzas 1 and 4). Since the application does not mention pharmaceutical investigation or foreign travel and the staff emphatically denies that the project involves such activity, he suggests their worries may be unwarranted.

Maritza agrees with Justiano that things are not as they appear, but argues, in contrast, that they are worse—much worse; behind the project application's and Foundation staff's seemingly innocuous words are the ever present motives of foreign pharmaceutical companies to patent their medicinal plants and knowledge. Steering the conversational focus 180 degrees away from where Justiano had left the discussion, she implores Kallawayas to acknowledge *and* recognize that the threat of foreign exploitation is *always* there whether or not it can be directly detected (Excerpt 24, stanza 1). Consequently, Kallawayas must learn to "read" such projects in a different light. While Justiano's analysis narrowed the analytical lens through which the PUMA project is evaluated, Maritza's entextualization strategy moves outward in time and space so as to historicize, globalize, and politicize the context within which they should make sense of the PUMA project (and, by extension, themselves).

This is accomplished by means of three implicit, but powerful analogies. In the first analogy, she draws parallels between those present at the meeting and the medicinal knowledge they possess and Kallawaya healers of the past and their expert knowledge (lExcerpt 24, stanza 4). The subsequent emphasis on the cross-generational dissemination

of medicinal knowledge and the "responsibility" of Kallawaya ancestors to keep such knowledge secret is thus extended to those in the present. This is followed by a second analogy in which the trajectory and presumed destination of the PUMA project (Excerpt 24, stanzas 5-6) is equated with transnational pharmaceutical companies wanting to patent the chemical constituents of a medicinal plant in India (Excerpt 24, stanza 7). In this scenario, global mobilized resistance to the patent in India is presented as analogous to the oppositional stance they are taking towards the PUMA project. But, in her third and concluding analogy, Maritza resumes a local focus by equating their defensive orientation to the PUMA project to that of Kallawaya ancestors who have entrusted them with a collective heritage that must be defended through the same jealous guardianship that has preserved their medicinal secrets through the present (Excerpt 24, stanzas 8-9). The comparison allows her to equate their own refusal to participate in the project or otherwise support its presence and continuation with the discretionary practices of healers who came before them. These connections direct the attention of participants in the present event to discursive, moral, and affective affinities between themselves and idolized ancestors as exemplary models of expertise, thus laying the semiotic foundation for recognizing contemporary resistance (in its full range of semiotic expression) as a sign of Kallawaya expertise. The discursive contrast between the performances of Maritza and Justiano thus yields a diagrammatic icon of the social distinction between expert and non-expert status within this ideological framework.

Importantly, Maritza's emphasis on secrecy, the defense of medicinal resources and knowledge, Kallawaya identity, local harm, and collective protest in the context of opposition to the PUMA project mirrors recurrent themes in the speech of all meeting

participants with the exception of Justiano. But, it is unique in that it explicitly situates local conflict over the medicinal plant project in global perspective, where the exploitive and privatizing interests of transnational pharmaceutical companies are seen as a threat to the sovereign ownership and profit rights of traditional knowledge by indigenous populations the world over. The global thread in her analogy between the PUMA project and the patenting of Indian medicine sharpens the cosmopolitan edge of Kallawaya expertise by framing their current predicament as a unitary and local manifestation of a much broader and prevalent problem they must confront: the ulterior motives of foreigners who seek to extract, control, and profit from their medicinal heritage through laboratory investigation and legal patenting. The same analogy also provides a solution: mobilized opposition to cultural theft. What Maritza's contribution does, then, is explicitly clarify that awareness and recognition of such threats is essential to Kallawaya expertise in today's world, as is the appropriate response: secrecy and resistance. Thus, her monologue becomes an authoritative model of Kallawaya expertise that entails instructions for how Kallawayas should talk and otherwise act to signal such global, cosmopolitan "consciousness." In doing so, she not only draws attention to the similarities between her own speech and that of the other participants who spoke before Justiano, but to the semiotic function of the oppositional stance assumed in and through their oppositional speech as signs of expertise.

The public clarification serves simultaneously as a reprimand in that it exposes Justiano's naivety of the presumed motivating logic behind oppositional discourse/action to the PUMA project—that the intent of foreigners to steal and patent expert knowledge is "always" present, regardless of statements to the contrary and that secrecy and

resistance are thus the only acceptable response. Justiano's failure to act in accordance with the model was presented to the group as a failed performance of expertise, inducing Maritza's lengthy and formulaic repair. However, the indirectness of her response, helped him "save face" (Goffman 1955) in this situation by generously imparting this information as something that is not self-evident, but should, nonetheless, be known. This is a favor, as we will see in the next chapter, not necessarily extended to those whose expert status is already questionable for other reasons.

At the same time, Maritza's articulation of this position functions as a display of Kallawaya expertise itself since it makes her personal knowledge of these facts explicit. And, as in the case of other such displays during the meeting, the effectiveness of her oppositional remarks as a sign of expertise is bolstered by her administrative status in SBIDCMEK, genealogical ties to other prominent healers, and her presumed possession of other relevant expert knowledge.

When Maritza finished her pronouncement, the room was enveloped in silence. Not even Justiano offered a counter interpretation or justification for his earlier response. As she let the "truth" sink in, looks of astonishment gave way to understanding. The meeting was adjourned shortly thereafter with the only conversation left concerning the logistical details of where and when the group would meet the following day and how they would rally collective support during the Provincial Assembly for their plans to oust the project. The group departed that evening with a strong air of confidence, fashioning themselves "heroes" who had arrived to save the day. They were sure that once the *real* "facts," were laid out publicly, much as they had been during the present meeting, that community opinion would automatically tilt in their favor (against the project).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the multi-layered complex of interpretive processes and power dynamics involved in "translating" the PUMA project as a threat to Kallawaya professional interests and their proprietary ownership of intellectual and genetic medicinal resources. While the event was framed as an opportunity to distinguish fact from fiction with reference to a hardcopy of the PUMA project application, I have shown that what actually transpired was the highly regimented transmission of a ready-made oppositional stance towards the project by urban elites on the basis of a cultural logic that was radically at odds with the application's referential content. Thus, despite the obvious absence of pharmaceutical or NGO involvement in the project, opposition to local participation in it was ultimately premised on the notion that all such projects serve as portals through which "foreign" access to specialist knowledge and plants is facilitated to the detriment of healers. In the process, oppositional stances to the PUMA project became embedded within oppositional stances to "foreign" access to Kallawaya medicine, more generally. Such understandings were tied to cosmopolitan understandings of these "facts" via historical and global contextual frames that situated the particulars of the PUMA case within broader patterns of indigenous exploitation. More importantly, I have argued that both forms of resistance were framed as "authentic" expressions (i.e. signs) of Kallawaya expert status in ways that reinforce, but ultimately supersede, more traditional markers of expertise, such as knowledge of medicinal plants and/or genealogical ties to prominent healers.

In support of these claims, I offered a detailed account of the rountized manner in which the speakers in this event negotiate their own status as experts by aligning and re-aligning their stances towards the PUMA project in tandem with the social positioning of other participants and their corresponding rhetoric. In addition, I have shown that these alignments extend backward and forward in space-time as speakers recount past and future events whose contextual relevance strengthen their own oppositional commitments to the project in the present by pointing to similarities between the people, events, and activities, including speech, recounted in their narratives. While my own analysis focuses largely on the discursive articulation of Kallawaya expertise in accordance with these oppositional stances, the actors themselves make plentiful reference to non-linguistic acts of resistance to the PUMA project (in the form of letters, in-person complaints, confrontations with project participants, and other forms of physical protest) that are clearly used and evaluated according to the same ideological framework.

In conclusion, I have suggested that collectively this set of semiotic activities constitute a metapragmatic model of Kallawaya expertise that is generated in and an emergent product of the semiotic activity in which it manifests itself. Awareness of the model among meeting participants is afforded implicitly through its material instantiation in communicative acts, as well as encouraged through the explicit metapragmatic commentary of Kallawaya leaders that draws positive attention to exemplary displays *as* demonstrations of one's expert status, while simulatenously typifying such displays as obligatory for experts.

Chapter 4

"Yo Soy Kallawaya": Delimiting the Bounds of Expertise and Community Membership Through Cultural Performance

"All acts of linguistic representation are scenes in a drama of social relations. Utterances play out our parts. They are costumed in symbols. They gesture through deixis. In the middle of this drama, the role played by deixis in acts of representation eludes social actors, more concerned as they are with their parts than with the props through which they are played out."

-- Asif Agha, *Language and Social Relations*

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the saga of the PUMA project conflict continues. This time, it is in the context of another speech event: the Provincial Assembly held in Curva the day after the private meeting analyzed in the previous chapter. As outlined earlier, the meeting had been called specifically to address growing concern among healers within and beyond Curva's borders regarding the project's approval, purpose, and participants. I show that while the content of these discussions are ostensibly about the goals and outcomes of the project, they simultaneously motivate conflicting projections about the changing professional identity, rights, and moral obligations of Kallawaya experts. These projections are established in and through speech as different participants in the interaction perform expertise by asserting their community membership according to different criteria. Assertions of expertise among those participating in the PUMA project or otherwise in support of its activity are tied first and foremost to their physical

residence within the Province of Bautista Saavedra. The authenticity of such claims derives directly from the UNESCO award, which not only generically recognizes all area inhabitants as Kallawaya experts, but as descendents of a "millennial tradition" equally entitles them to opportunities like the PUMA project that serve to revive and sustain Kallawaya medical practices in a "modern" world. Opposition to the project, on the other hand, is couched in terms of cultural norms differentiating Kallawaya experts from non-experts on the basis of medical and linguistic competencies, ratified membership in professional organizations, and commitments to protect medicinal knowledge and resources through vows of secrecy much as had been done during the previous evening.

As healers opposing the PUMA project confront local supporters for the project and explicitly call into question their status as experts by virtue of their participation in the project, we see that verbal and other forms of expressed opposition to the PUMA project become semiotically linked to Kallawaya expert identity once again, drawing the relationship between the model of expertise referred to in the previous event and its uptake here into sharper focus for participants, while simultaneously introducing it into a broader social arena. As in the previous chapter, I argue that the fundamental components of social reproduction—modeling, performance, and socialization—are simultaneously at work here, but focus on the performative aspect of this process and its role in the discursive negotiation of social boundaries within the Kallawaya community.

Consequently, this chapter provides a glimpse of the social life and transformative potential of this oppositional stance towards the project as a sign of Kallawaya expertise as it unfolds across events, as well as the contested social space in which it is traveling. The uneven uptake and recognition of the oppositional discourse to the project as a sign

of "authentic" expertise attests to the fact that the semiotic ideology modeled in the previous event is still in the early stages of its development and dissemination. The transcripts are analyzed in three segments: Segment I: Miguel's Presentation of the Project on Behalf of the Community, Segment II: The Response from *Los Residentes* on Behalf of the Healers, and Segment III: *Los Residentes* Attempt to Achieve Unity.

4.2 Ethnographic Context

This meeting differed from the previous one in a number of important ways. First, it was public, rather than private.[41] In addition to being advertised broadly as a provincial meeting with relevance to the Kallawaya community at large, it was held in a central location that was visually and audibly accessible from the main plaza. Second, and relatedly, participation in the event was both wider and more diverse. While the previous meeting was organized by the leadership of Kallawaya organizations in the city and consisted almost exclusively of healers, who regardless of their status as *residentes* or *lugareños* were either already dubious of or directly opposed to the project, the provincial authority had convened the present assembly. As a result, it was both larger and more inclusive, which also meant that views towards the PUMA project, as well as the presumed status of individuals as Kallawaya healers were mixed in the gathering. While this diversity of opinion and status posed a greater challenge for *residentes* who sought to

[41] Again, this is a relative distinction based on the present meeting's contrast with the social and physical scope of the previous meeting and the way insider and outsider status is viewed in relation to one's status as a healer. However, from the point of view of Kallawayas, in general, the meeting is still private in that it concerns problems relevant to the community as a whole and was conducted similarly to the way *sindicato* meetings are run. Thus, it was still a closed (hence private) event in the sense that participation was limited to those individuals living in or genealogically affiliated with communities located in the Province of Bautista Saavedra and took place behind a locked metal gate. My presence was an anomaly and the result of my complicated status as resident anthropologist and, hence, temporary community member. No regular tourist or even Bolivian "outsiders" affiliated with the Kallawaya Hospital would have been permitted access to the meeting because it concerned "insider" business relevant to the cultural community.

control the flow and interpretation of information during the meeting, it also provided important opportunities for them to recruit new support for their cause among locals and, consequently, expand their domain of influence.

The attendees included the entire population of Curva, indigenous authorities, as well as community members from throughout the province. However, those communities directly participating in the project and thus pertaining to the municipality of Curva were among the most strongly represented groups. There was also a conspicuous absence: Curva's *alcalde* (mayor), who in the previous night's meeting had been held partly responsible for approving the project, was apparently tied up with business in the city. In addition to his administrative role, the alcalde's status as a *residente,* living and practicing medicine in La Paz, made both the accusation and his failure to appear at the meeting especially significant.

The meeting took place in an enclosed courtyard in front of the community SEDE immediately following the protest I described in the introductory chapter. The protesters were among the first to enter and passed single-file through the narrow metal gate leading from the plaza. Bodies spilled into the limited seating that had been set-up for the event. *Residentes* and local healers who had participated in the protest held their signs high proclaiming Kallawaya unity in opposition to the exportation and usurpation of traditional medicine as they arranged themselves on benches to the left. Representatives arriving from other communities sat directly across from them on benches to the right. Those *lugareños* participating in the project or who otherwise supported its activities were among the last to arrive and sheepishly stepped one-by-one into the allotted space they had been designated by default—a cramped area against the courtyard entrance

facing a stern panel of local authorities and representatives from SBIDCMEK who sat together behind two long tables. The women followed suite and huddled inconspicuously on the ground amidst piles of construction materials for renovations to the new *alcaldia* (municipal building), which had been postponed for one reason or another for months now. The only exception to this seating arrangement was the presence of Maritza Magnani at the head table. Defying traditional gender roles, she sat in jeans and a non-descript jacket sandwiched between Jaime Terejina, the provincial authority who had convened the Provincial Assembly and been extensively praised during the previous meeting for his anti-PUMA stance, and three senior healers from SBIDCMEK's Consejo de Ancianos (Council of Elders).

With the last bodies in place, a human border had formed around an empty rectangular space, which mapped socioeconomic differences and political alliances within and between the communities present in striking detail. Consequently, the reunion presented a rare opportunity to observe collective face-to-face interactions between *los lugareños* and *los residentes* since the latter are only likely to return to Curva once a year for the community festival of San Pedro, and even then they would mingle and socialize differently in that context. Here, the sharp segregation of the groups in a cramped public space brought the socio-economic gulf between them into sharp visual relief. The differences were apparent from head to toe beginning with the residents' crisp, clean camel colored hats in contrast to the sun-scorched discoloration of the darker brown and grey hats donned by locals. Most *residentes* still possessed their own teeth and those who didn't easily hid the fact with dentures and gold fillings they had purchased in the city. By contrast, the toothless faces and coca-stained lips of the *lugareños* had become

integral parts of their personalities long ago and stood out as another salient axis of differentiation. Most of the *residentes* wore newish slacks and collared shirts. Some of the men even wore suits. Locals, on the other hand, wore pants with missing buttons and zippers held closed with rope, whose unraveling seams and other imperfections were clearly noticeable. But most striking of all were the distinctions visible on the ground: rows of polished black dress shoes dominated the area where the *residentes* were sitting, while callused and soil-stained feet protruding from outgrown *ajotas* (tire sandals) marked the places where *lugareños* from Curva and visitors from outlying communities were seated. Those details corresponding to the appearance of *los lugareños* were social facts I had already begun to take for granted in my day-to-day life in Curva, but now stood out to confirm the extreme socio-economic discrepancies *lugareños* so often complained about.

This seating arrangement put the majority of healers from Curva in Group D (who were technically *lugareños*, but maintained extensive networks in the city) in the difficult position of having to pick sides, in some cases pitting friends, neighbors, and relatives against one another. In an ingenious attempt to avoid this predicament by literally being forced to take a public stand for or against the project, many of these healers carefully monitored their placement during the meeting by pacing nervously back and forth between factions along the perimeter of the crowd. Socially and physically, these individuals represented the "grey" territory in a conflict that was increasingly cast as black and white, all or nothing. As a result, they were also potential "alignables" whose support, if won, could tip the scales of the debate over the PUMA project in either direction.

Yet, for these individuals, the stakes of taking a public stand one way or the other were higher and they stood to loose more. If they sided with locals, they risked irreparable damage with the membership of organizations like SBIDCMEK that were largely responsible for their success in the cities and upon whom they often depended during their extensive stays there. As *lugareños*, however, who despite their long absences from the community while practicing medicine in the cities did not qualify as *residentes* given their regular, if brief return to the community to visit their families, were under intense pressure to side with Curva. To do otherwise would have resulted in severe social criticism and possible exclusion from the socioeconomic benefits of the project if it indeed proceeded as planned. Consequently, even those who I had heard repeatedly support the activities of PUMA and/or directly participate in the project remained publicly silent on the issue now. Similarly, those who frequently offered unsolicited criticism of the project in the privacy of their own homes or in the company of like-minded neighbors tried hard to maintain a publicly neutral position on the issue. Even those healers, whose families lived in Curva and were brave enough to join the protest or sit in solidarity with the *residentes* who staunchly opposed the project, let others do the verbal fighting for them while they sat in supportive silence.

The talk pertaining to the PUMA project lasted roughly an hour, following several hours of discussion devoted to other topics important to the region that had been slated for the event in order to take advantage of the large number of attendees gathered. Much of the talk related to the PUMA project recounted in agonizing detail portions of the project application covered in the previous night's meeting, only this time with lots of back and forth between participants about exactly how much money had been spent,

when, on what, and the circumstances surrounding the project's approval. Since my concern here is with the interactive performance of expertise and its socio-linguistic consequences, I have been selective in my presentation of this data to highlight points at which verbal articulations of Kallawaya expertise and the identity and rights of healers are explicitly emphasized over the project. That is, when and where "the act of speaking is itself framed as display, objectified, lifted out to a degree from its contextual surroundings, and opened up to scrutiny by an audience" (Bauman 1993:182-183). This view treats performance "as a meta-communicative frame, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence…highlighting the way in which verbal communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content" (ibid:182).

Following Bauman and others (Hymes 1981; Hanks 1996; Matoesian 2001; Jacobs-Huey 2006) who have attended to the interactional dynamics of how performance is achieved in the context of face-to-face interaction, I rely on Goffman's analytic terminology to discuss how individual acts of speaking establish participation frameworks in and through which different social roles are assumed and projected for meeting participants. Thus I attend both to how shifts in "footing," (Goffman 1981 [1979]) expressed in the speech of participants accomplishes this social work, as well as how performances of "expertise" are *keyed* through the communicative conventions they employ (Goffman 1974). In doing so, I demonstrate that the status of Kallawaya expert, like other categories of professional specialists, is a metadiscursive construction, constituted in and through (authoritative) talk about the nature of Kallawaya expertise, as much as through verbal performances that are perceived as embodying the characteristics

described. As the work of Bruner (1991), Wortham (2001, 2005, 2006) and Silverstein (2003) notably attests: often these kinds of narrative projections coincide as people enact the very identities they refer to and elaborate in speech, thereby bringing them to life in the process. To the extent that attention is then implicitly or explicitly called to such performances as exemplars of "authentic" Kallawaya expertise, they are simultaneously rendered cultural models to be emulated in future performances.

The excerpts I have selected to analyze represent three pivotal segments of the meeting in which the bounds of expertise and community membership are discursively negotiated. During the first segment, Miguel attempts to clarify the content of the project and the status of its activities. But, in so doing he assumes the role of community spokesperson, arguing that all community members, regardless of genealogical ties to Curva, level of medicinal knowledge, or professional reputation as healers are entitled to participate in the PUMA project by virtue of their common Kallawaya heritage in the context of the UNESCO award. During the second segment, labeled The Response from Los Residentes on Behalf of the Healers, the *residentes* respond to Miguel's presentation by refuting his premises and offering, instead, an alternative set of criteria for defining expertise and the social distribution of rights and obligations among healers. But, rather than accepting those new grounds as the *residentes* expected, these differences and the way they were articulated resulted in a communicative breakdown that deepened existing social fissures between those living in the communities and *los residentes.* The third segment, labeled Los Residentes Attempt to Achieve Unity, documents the *residentes*' attempts to repair this damage by appealing to a model of expertise that still stipulates secrecy and protection of medicinal knowledge as fundamental criteria but extends that

obligation to the community of healers as a whole. In so doing, it creates the illusion of intra-cultural equality, while reinforcing pre-existing hierarchies based on differential medical expertise by encouraging people to withhold their medicinal knowledge from public circulation.

4.3 Segment I: Miguel's Presentation of the Project on Behalf of the Community

After four long hours during which tension over the project was steadily rising, with bus horns honking loudly in the background, Jaime Tejerina announced that the PUMA project was the next item on the agenda. He then promptly turned the floor over to Miguel Zambrana, who you will recall, was the designated head of the project and under a great detail of public scrutiny. Amidst mounting criticism from *lugareños* and *residentes* alike, Jaime asked Miguel to clarify the content of the project and the status of its activities.

As Miguel stepped forward to address the audience, he was met by *residentes* representing the various organizations of Kallawaya healers in attendance. Armed with tape recorders, note taking materials, and video and digital cameras, they were intent on documenting the event in order to provide a record of truth, which they planned to circulate in the months that followed. Miguel opened with a statement that not only relieved him of responsibility for the decision to approve the PUMA project, but also the obligation to report on the communities' activities in relation to the project. This was accomplished by refocusing the audience's attention on the "agreement" between the communities and the funding institution. In labeling the communities as the beneficiaries of the project, he also implicitly denies rumors (circulating within and beyond Curva) that

he and the other community spokesperson for the project, Santiago Quina, are taking advantage of the community for their own financial gain, something that has yet to come up, but he anticipates in advance:

Transcript 2, excerpt 1

	1:10 Miguel Zambrana (Residente from La Paz, currently living in Curva. Head of PUMA Project):	**1:10 MZ (Residente from La Paz, currently living in Curva. Head of PUMA Project):**
1	Se me ha hecho la invitación para que pueda hacer una...un...¿cómo se dice?...un informe verbal…Vale decir que eso no corresponde porque se ha hecho un contrato privado entre comunidades, beneficiares del proyecto, y la institución financiadora…	They have [extended] me the invitation so that a, how do you call it, a verbal report can be made…It is worth saying that this does not correspond [to me] because a private contract has been made between communities, the beneficiaries of the project, and the financial institution…

Miguel's discursive strategy effectively reframes the terms under which he was asked to speak by locating responsibility for the decision to accept and participate in the project with the communities that are involved. This shift in footing highlights his subsequent contribution as stemming from his role as spokesperson for the community, rather than the project, while absolving himself of any personal responsibility for the content of the project or the communities' participation in it. His obvious reluctance to assume and perform this role is expressed through his explicit statement that "this job does not correspond to me." This hedged introduction is a classic "disclaimer of performance" (Bauman 1993) and a clear expression of his unease assuming this role due to his marginal status.

Nonetheless, he proceeds to assume the voice of the community, his performance being keyed by his shift towards the use of the first person plural "we." Thus, rather than publicly defending himself, which is what he was asked to do, he takes on the job of

defending the community–ultimately, a more neutral and diffuse locus of responsibility from which to defend the project:

Transcript 2, excerpt 2

	2:22 Miguel Zambrana:	**2:22 MZ:**
1	… Todos somos de pan...tenemos poco aquí pa llévanos a…la boca…Las comunidades como tal siempre tiene decisión. Acuérdense…la soberanía deciden el pueblo. Como tal estamos en la opinión de la...eeee...del pueblo que pueda generar algún ingreso…	…We all have to eat…We have little here to feed ourselves…The communities themselves always have [the right to decide]. Remember…sovereignty is in the hands of the people. As such, we are of the opinion that [the project] can generate an income….
2	**4:26**…nace de una autoridad administrativa, porque son ellos justamente los que pueden realizar cualquier tipo de proyecto…que tiene la finalidad del gobierno municipal es garantizar el bien material y tanto el promover eeeel la cultura...y...aprovechar…los recursos naturales de manera sostenible…	**4:26** [the decision] comes from an administrative authority because it is precisely they who can carry out whatever kind of project…the purpose of the municipal government is to guarantee the material well-being [of the community] and so promote the culture and take advantage of the natural resources in a sustainable manner…
3	Se entiende el desarrollo sostenible el proceso por el cual se satisfacen las necesidades de la actual generación sin poner en riesgo las generaciones futuras.	Sustainable development is understood as the process by which the needs of the present generation are satisfied without putting future generations at risk.

In these passages, Miguel justifies the community's actions by clarifying that the project fulfills an immediate need in their opinion: it will generate income, which is not only pitched as a solution to the problem that "*lugareños* have little food," but here is extended to the community's concern for the well being of future generations. This is accomplished by highlighting the sustainability of the project to ensure that local culture (i.e. medicinal knowledge/practice) and natural resources continue to serve local interests, both in terms of personal use, as well as a potential source of community revenue. While Miguel states that it is the obligation of the community to make and act in

accordance with such judgments, he places responsibility for executing those decisions in the hands of administrative authorities and thus beyond the power of healers to dictate (Excerpt 2, stanza 2). This transfer of power and responsibility is reflected in another shift in pronoun usage from the collective "we" of the *pueblo* (community, people) to the third-person plural "they."

Transcript 2, excerpt 3

	6:20 Miguel Zambrana:	**6:20 MZ:**
1	**…**el proyecto se respeta a...a...quienes quieran participar, es voluntario, no es obligatorio, es voluntario**…**	**…**the project respects whoever wants to participate. It's voluntary, it is not obligatory, it's voluntary…
2	Socializando el proyecto, todas las comunidades están de acuerdo…El objetivo específico, es a lo que si podemos llegar, las comunidades en un sitio de Curva transforman y comercializan las plantas del bosque nativo, revalorizando la práctica de la medicina tradicional	Having reflected on the project, all the communities are in agreement…The specific objective that we can meet is that the communities within Curva can transform and commercialize the plants of the native forest, revalorizing the practice of traditional medicine…

Here we see a transition in Miguel's presentation from the motivations behind the project and the locus of communal decision-making to a description of project activities. Not surprisingly, his comments reflect the underlying assumptions outlined in the project application with which *residentes* and other healers took issue during the previous meeting. The first problematic assumption is the idea that the project is open to anyone, including members of communities within the municipality that had no prior association with traditional medicine (Excerpt 3, stanza 1). Within the context of the project, however, participants will be granted that association through the "transformation and commercialization" of local medicinal plants. The second assumption is that in so doing, these individuals will be revitalizing the practice of Kallawaya medicine (Excerpt 3,

stanza 2). This assumes both that they are recuperating something that has been lost or is in a clear state of decline and that it is theirs' to reclaim, points that *residentes* and other healers who were engaged in the professional practice of Kallawaya medicine well before the PUMA project started are in complete disagreement about.

Again, Miguel's use of "we" here highlights his inclusion in this group of individuals who are asserting these rights through their participation in the project. Of critical importance is that this group also includes individuals from communities throughout the municipality who have no prior association with Kallawaya medicine. Although not stated explicitly here, his "we" refers to a social body that claims Kallawaya heritage on the basis of the UNESCO recognition that extended the recognition to the entire province. His attempts to appease those in opposition to the project by clarifying that no one is obligated to participate is meaningless, since it does not address the opposition's concern regarding the transfer of medicinal knowledge from those believed to "rightfully" possess specialist knowledge and/or have access to local medicinal resources and those who do not, but will nonetheless be given this information and benefit financially from its use in the processing and sale of local products.

Transcript 2, excerpt 4

	8:05 Miguel Zambrana:	**8:05 MZ:**
1	…el mismo compañero de Cañuma que tienen derecho a poder aprender un poco más y que les sirva a ellos mismos en la cuestión de poder manejar plantas medicinales.	**…**the same compañero from Cañuma has the right to be able to learn a little more and that [what they know] with respect to being able to manage medicinal plants serves them directly.
2	Eso no significa que a los señores de la ciudad pueden hacerle mañana competencia. ¿Por qué? Porque estamos hablando gente de la comunidad que le apuesta a la comunidad…sigue	That does not mean that tomorrow they will be able to compete with the men from the city. Why? Because we are talking [about] people from the community who invest in the

	trabajando y le pone todo lomo.	community…They continue to work and put in all their effort.
3	Fácil es salirse a la cuidad…En la comunidad aquí tenemos muchas otras necesidades, tenemos que generar nuestro propio ingresos.	It is easy to leave for the city…Here, in the community, we have many other necessities. We have to generate our own income.

As he continued, the implications of "open participation" become clearer and even more problematic for the opposition. The right to "learn" medicine and benefit from that knowledge is extended to communities and individuals outside the community of Curva. Miguel makes this possibility explicit by mentioning Cañuma, an Aymara-speaking Kallawaya community with no prior local (or academic) association with the practice of Kallawaya medicine. Miguel's recognition that this will be perceived as problematic is indicated by his attempt to address the issue of competition between these "new" healers and those who already have established practices in the city. People from Cañuma, like people who continue to live in Curva, are characterized as differing fundamentally from those who have carved out professional lives in the city, both in terms of needs and opportunities. The PUMA project and thus the practice of medicine becomes the *only* means by which locals can meet their needs.

Transcript 2, excerpt 5

	8:48 Miguel Zambrana:	**8:48 MZ:**
1	…las familias beneficiares son capaces de circular, aprovechar, y manejar el bosque nativo…porque donde estamos parados ahora toditos es dentro de un área protegida, y como tal nadie puede atribuirse el derecho de decir por la defensa de los recursos naturales, eso existe una autoridad...a...ambiental legalmente constituida por el Estado.	**…**the benefiting families are capable of circulating, taking advantage of and managing the native forest….because where we are all standing is inside a [nationally] protected area and as such, no one can attribute themselves the right to say 'for the defense of natural resources.' There exists an environmental authority legally constituted by the State for that [purpose].

In this section, Miguel slips momentarily out of his own performance of "the community" by referring to the "benefiting families" in the generic third person, as if he, personally, has nothing to gain. Furthermore, he asserts "their" right to participate in the project and, therefore, circulate as healers and utilize local medicinal resources on the basis of yet another criterion that falls outside the domain of traditional authority: that of the Bolivian State. Reminding attendees that the communities involved in the project are subsumed within a nationally protected area poses a direct challenge to the claim of *residentes* and other healers that they, by virtue of their official status as experts, are the only ones entitled to benefit from and protect local resources.

But, more brazen still is Miguel's next comment, which suggests that it is not only possible for park authorities to begin asserting those rights, but that plans were, in fact, already in place to introduce restrictions on everyone's use of local resources. Thus he argued that having communities within the park prove they were able to manage local resources in a sustainable manner on their own was in the collective interest of all. Here, Miguel presents participation in the PUMA project as an opportunity to demonstrate the willingness and ability of local communities to take on such a challenge:

Transcript 2, excerpt 6

	10:35 Miguel Zambrana:	**10:35 MZ:**
1	...los recursos no maderables aún no están reglamentados…va a llegar en los próximos meses el SERNAP, donde de ahí todos van a tener que lamentar que no se va a poder tocar ni una, ni una rama más...	**…**although [medicinal plants] (literally: plants not suitable for timber) are not regulated, SERNAP is going to arrive in the months ahead, and from that point on everyone is going to have to regret [the fact] that they will be unable to touch a single branch more….
2	**10:59 MZ…**Es decir, vale ganarse también el derecho. Planificar y	**10:59 MZ:** That is to say, it is also worth earning the right to plan and organize the

	organizar el manejo del bosque nativo en seis comunidades del municipio de Curva…	management of the native forest within [the] six communities of the municipality of Curva….
3	Se ha coordinado, se ha iniciado el proyecto y con las cuales las seis están de acuerdo en realizar, de llevar adelante y capacitar de plantas medicinales en seis comunidades. Sabemos que la capacitación no conlleva un, un plazo de tiempo corto, sino conlleva mucho tiempo.	They have coordinated, initiated the project and are in agreement about executing and carrying [it] forward, to become qualified/competent in medicinal plants within six communities. We know that the training does not entail a short time period, but rather a lot of time.

Towards the end of the passage Miguel shifts back into the performative stance by resuming his use of the first person plural "we" as he proceeds to recount more project details, this time concerning the transplantation and propagation of medicinal plants:

Transcript 2, excerpt 7

	12:17 Miguel Zambrana:	**12:17 MZ:**
1	**…** Como tal hacer manejo no solamente es hacer un aprovechamiento sino que queremos...reproducir con nuestra propias manos y, además introducirles especies exóticas que nos permitan a tallar algún aprovechamiento que se pueda realizar.	…as such, managing [medicinal plants] is not only achieving optimization, but we want to reproduce [them] with our very own hands and, in addition, introduce exotic species that permit us to carve out some viable niche/option.

While he leaves the greenhouse reference implicit here, everyone familiar with the project is well aware of which part of the project he is talking about. And, as reflected in the *residentes* reaction to the project application during the previous evening, this was a principal point of contention between the groups supporting and opposing the project. Miguel's choice to broach the subject indirectly and the lack of fluency in his subsequent talk signal his awareness of the local controversy surrounding the content of the project and thus his discomfort with publicly disclosing this information and, in so doing, opening himself up to attack. Not surprisingly, then, he saved the most controversial aspect of the project for last:

Transcript 2, excerpt 8

	12:43 Miguel Zambrana:	12:43 MZ:
1	**…**Y una última actividad…es intercambio de experiencias con médicos Kallawayas. Para tal se ha hecho un...un...un contrato...eee...para que pueda un mismo conocedor de la medicina, que pueda capacitar a las demás comunidades…si la misma necesidad tienen todas, la misma oportunidad merecen los hermanos de las distintas comunidades.	**…**And the last activity is the exchange of experiences with Kallawaya healers. So, for this they have made a…a…a… contract, uh, so that one who is versed in [traditional] medicine can train the other communities…if [they] all have the same needs, the brothers from the different communities deserve the same opportunity.

This made clear the involvement of healers from Curva who had already committed to pass on specialist knowledge to other participants within and beyond Curva's borders on the basis of similar "needs," which he spelled out earlier. These were basic needs, like having enough food to eat, that presumably distinguished the life conditions of *lugareños* and *residentes.* The parallel enabled Miguel to align the other communities and project participants with Curva, while simultaneously contrasting their position (and collective identity) to that of *residentes*.

Transcript 2, excerpt 9

	14:11 Miguel Zambrana:	14:11 MZ:
1	**….**Claro, todos tienen derecho de reclamar, es justo el derecho que tienen de haber nacido en la comunidad. Pero ¿porque también negarles a quienes apuestan continuamente la comunidad, que están, siguen trabajando?	**….**Clearly, everyone has the right to protest, it is precisely the right one has from having been born in the community. But why also deny those who pertain continuously to the community, who are [here], [those who] continue to work?

Miguel concludes by acknowledging both the right and inclination of *residentes* to object to the project, but tries to mitigate that inclination by asking the opposition not to interfer with the ability of *lugareños,* who want and are able to work, to take advantage of the

opportunities offered through the PUMA project by allowing healers to share their medicinal knowledge with community members who know less.

4.4 Segment II: The Response from *Los Residentes* on Behalf of the Healers

Jesus Gomez, a young and active member of SBIDCMEK with an engineering background, was the first to respond to Miguel's presentation and jumped at the opportunity to attack. This was the same individual who (you will recall from the previous chapter) was responsible for translating the PUMA project application in the secret gathering held the previous evening. His response, which had been well rehearsed the night before, presented an alternative set of criteria for establishing expert status and, therefore, the grounds on which the project should be accepted and executed. This frame of reference functioned to undermine Miguel's presentation by exposing the false premises, on which it was based, namely, the idea that the UNESCO award entitled any and all residents of the Province of Bautista Saavedra to claim expert status and thereby gain unencumbered access to specialist knowledge:

Transcript 2, excerpt 10

	3:05 Jesus Gomez (Residente, member of SBIDCMEK):	**3:05 JG** (Residente, member of SBIDCMEK):
1	Yo soy Kallawaya. También soy profesional...Yo lo tengo el proyecto…..y además creo que nosotros sabemos leer y por lo menos interpretar el proyecto.	I am a Kallawaya. I am also a professional…I have [a copy of] the project...and, in addition, believe that we know how to read and interpret the project.
2	Las justificaciones pues hablan muchas mentiras: de que estamos haciendo chaqueos, sobre pastoreos, que no sabemos manejar las plantas, que estamos sacando desde las raíces…Esas son mentiras. No podemos elaborar un	The justifications speak many lies: that we are over collecting, that we do not know how to manage the plants, that we are extracting from the root…Those are lies. We cannot elaborate a project on the basis of lies.

proyecto en base a mentiras.

3	Quiero decirles una cosa muy bien clara: No sé porque uds. se han atribuido personalmente poder en nombre "patrimonio de la humanidad." Eso ni nosotros como residentes que hemos puesto el lomo así como los Curveños para que salga esto no usamos ese nombre. Mas bien lo cuidamos, lo protegemos.	I want to tell you all one thing very clear: I do not why you all have ascribed yourselves the power in the name of "heritage of humanity" [to accept this project]. That, not even we as *residentes* who put in the effort like those from Curva so that this name would be granted, use it [in this way]. To the contrary, we care for it, we protect it.
4	Creo que Uds., los dos en especial, no deben saber que es el Kallawaya para que tratan de poner sus plantas en unos viveros.	I believe you all, the two of you in particular, must not know what a Kallawaya is [given] that you put your plants in some greenhouses.
5	Si las plantas son efectivos es porque tienen que pasar por los tres pisos ecológicos, por los tres climas...Si no pasara es como cualquier otra planta pues de otra lado que no tiene ningún efecto…	If the plants are effective it is because they have had to come from the three ecological levels, the three climates. If that does not happen, then it is like whatever other plant that is from another place that has no [medicinal] effect…
6	No estamos viniendo solamente residentes. Estamos hablando de instituciones, refrendando a instituciones…	We are not only *residentes* that are coming [here]. We are talking about institutions, ratifying institutions…
7	Tenemos conocimientos bioquímicos, biofarmacéuticos, agrónomos, fitoterapias, agrónomos fitotécnicos**….**	We have biochemical knowledge, biopharmacists, agronomists, phytotherapists, agricultural phytotechnicians.
8	**6:18** …Creo que estamos viendo no más ahí intereses y malos manejos. Cuando las cosas se quieren hacer claras se lo hace de frente, se las demuestra a todos (Cheers and applause follow from the audience)	**6:18** …I believe that what we are seeing [here] are no more than personal interests and poor administration. When [one] wants to do things transparently, they do things up front, they show [what they're up to] to everyone (Cheers and applause follow from the audience).

In contrast to Miguel, Jesus' explicit assertion of Kallawaya expert status, as opposed to community membership, is substantiated with strategic references to

presumably shared knowledge and professional values that contradict the actions of project supporters. The presumed contrast between authentic expert and inauthentic other is established and reinforced through repetitive alternation between first- and second-person pronouns that highlight relevant differences between the two groups. This is not the all inclusive "we" employed repeatedly in the previous night's meeting to create a sense of collective identification among all participants, but the exclusive "we" designed to set "us" apart from "them."

In declaring that the justifications for the project are false, Jesus draws attention both to his own (and other healers') access to the proposal, as well as the conflict between the proposal's description of healers, and their own personal experience (as healers). At issue here is the question of who has the right to define Kallawaya expertise and thus the right to speak on their behalf. Similarly, Jesus accuses project supporters of unauthorized use of the UNESCO title to secure the project since, unlike healers from Curva and urban Kallawaya organizations, "they" were not involved in obtaining the recognition. Further, "they" are charged with exploiting expert knowledge, while real healers (like Jesus and the cadre of other healers who actively oppose the PUMA project) "care" for and "protect" it.

These claims are backed with additional proof of the differences between the two groups that make explicit what he has been implying all along: that project participants' lack of appropriate behavior is evidence of their inauthenticity. Their participation in the project is taken as proof of their inauthentic status as healers because it reveals their lack of specialist knowledge according to standards set forth by healers with *residente* status. "They," unlike real healers, don't know that the medicinal efficacy of plants are tied to

soil conditions and that, therefore, attempts to transplant them will nullify their healing properties. Nor do they belong to "ratifying" Kallawaya institutions like those the *residentes* represent. This final comment makes clear that Jesus' attendance and contributions to the meeting are tied to his and the other members of these organizations status as healers, not simply *residentes*, whose expertise and rights with respect to specialist resources differ fundamentally from those *lugareños* participating in the project. In essence, Jesus' performance, in addition to providing a competing frame of reference for what distinguishes Kallawaya experts from non-experts, serves to undermine the logic of the PUMA project by revealing how its design is at odds with the knowledge and practices of "real" Kallawaya experts. Those choosing to participate in the project are treated as impostors for being unable to recognize the difference themselves. As the transcripts make clear, Jesus' arguments depend on his ability to recontextualize key portions of Miguel's presentation in ways that expose the dissonance between the perspectives of the two groups, both with respect to the PUMA project and what it means to be a Kallawaya expert. For Jesus, the two are incompatible; you cannot profess to be a Kallawaya expert and participate in a project whose design and purpose contradicts essential aspects of Kallawaya specialist knowledge and practice, including norms about protecting both.

Jesus' monologue, unlike Miguel's, was capped with applause and cheers from the audience concentrated on the left side of the assembly, where the *residentes* were seated and a number of local sympathizers paced behind them. Participants who showed their support in this way enacted their social alignment with Jesus. In expressing agreement with what he said, they are validating their inclusion in his "we" and the

alternative frame of expertise he has formulated. In short, they are colluding in his performance as a healer, while simultaneously staking their own claims to membership in this exclusive community.

As the noise died down, Victor Bustillos, another *residente* and healer from Curva, stood to speak. Victor had not been present at the previous night's meeting, but was the one publicly credited with notifying the SBIDCMEK group in Cochabamba of the project's activities in Curva. His comments reflected sentiments similar to Jesus' and thus situated him within the same social camp.

Like Jesus, Victor's claim to expert status was also performed explicitly by introducing himself in the first-person singular *as* a prominent leader for one of the Kallawaya organizations Jesus had spoken about, drawing more attention to who was speaking than to what was said. Ultimately, this was a more legitimate basis from which to speak on the behalf of others and thus imbued his subsequent talk about the differences between the healers represented by those organizations and those participating in the project with even more authority:

Transcript 2, excerpt 11

	18:50 Victor Bustillos:	**18:50 VB**:
1	Bueno, hermanos Curveños y de las comunidades, como presidente de los Kallawayas de toda la provincia Bautista Saavedra, que manejo ocho comunidades. Yo como presidente pregunto al Sr. Zambrana y al Sr. Santiago, ¿con qué documento este proyecto se ha elaborado y se admitido y se ha hecho el compromiso señores?	Well, brothers from Curva and from the other communities, as President of the Kallawayas of the entire Province of Bautista Saavedra, [I] oversee eight communities. I, as president, ask Mr. Zambrana and Mr. Santiago with what document have they elaborated and admitted this project and made agreements, gentlemen.
2	Nosotros tenemos un documento al día en	We have a current document in the city of

	la ciudad de La Paz, es la personería jurídica y tenemos nuestro estatuto orgánico para que nosotros vendemos los medicamentos y los recursos naturales de nuestro lugar y ¿por qué nosotros vamos a hacer un compromiso sin documentos, sin nada. ¿Por qué?	La Paz. It's the legal status [document] and we have our organic statute so that we can sell medicines and natural resources from our place [of origin] and why are we going to make an agreement without documents, without anything. Why?
3	Señores están vendiendo estas dos personas y yo quisiera que se desocupen del cargo señores.	Gentlemen, these two people are selling [plants/medicines] and I would like for them to step down from their position, gentlemen.
4	**9:52** Thunderous applause from *los residentes*	**19:52** Thunderous applause from *los residentes*
5	**Unidentified participant:** Bravo! Bravo! **Unidentified participant:** Que se vayan!!!!	**UP:** Well done! Good job! **UP:** Let them go!

Here, Victor reintroduces Jesus' point about the Kallawaya organizations, but uses it to not only make clear that the views put forth by the *residentes* correspond to healers who are members of ratified Kallawaya organizations, but to distinguish between the legal rights corresponding to the two groups. On this view, *their* organizations and its members, not the community, are the ones legally entitled to make decisions about projects related to medicine and the sale of medicinal plants (a point Justiano Rios had also made the previous evening). Miguel Zambrana and Santiago Quina, the two individuals in charge of the project, were being asked to step down because they sought to approve the project through improper channels—through communal bases of authority and government officials, rather than through the membership of authorized Kallawaya organizations. This move, like Jesus', constituted blatant refusal to acknowledge the terms of Miguel's presentation, especially the grounds that they and the members of other communities not previously recognized as healers were, nonetheless, entitled to claim

such identities, practice medicine, and thus negotiate project agreements involving the sale of local medicinal products *as* local healers. But, for those from Curva, the offense actually dug much deeper. Since Curva's Kallawaya organization, AMKOC, had not yet acquired their own *personaria juridica,* and thus did not have the same legal backing to which Victor was referring, in framing his request this way Victor was also calling into question the status and rights of local healers affiliated with AMKOC and supporting the project. Because the membership of the Kallawaya organizations to which Victor referred was limited to healers with *residente* status affiliated with the eight communities within the province traditionally associated with the practice of medicine, his comment also had the effect of subjugating the medical expertise and associated rights of all *lugareños*, including healers from Curva, to those affiliated with urban Kallawaya organizations. In doing so, Victor was clearly attempting to reassert a long-standing regional hierarchy based on the uneven distribution of Kallawaya expertise within and between Bautista Saavedra communities, a social system that was being undermined by the participation structure of the PUMA project, and more generally by the UNESCO award that generically associates Kallawaya medical expertise with the entire province.

Victor Bustillos' request for the accused to resign from their positions of leadership, while technically delivered as a personal preference, was sounded with the authority and force of a collective demand. The thunderous applause and affirmative cheers that followed reinforced his message, sending the increasingly polarized debate over the edge. As participants clamored for the floor to add their two cents, for and against Victor's vocal judgment, voices melded into a loud, incomprehensible roar. Things escalated as the entire congregation stood in unison and participants began

shaking their fists, while hurling accusations back and forth. The breaking point came swiftly when Miguel and Santiago buckled under the pressure and marched angrily from the front of the assembly towards the gate leading to the plaza. A small cadre of supporters followed the pair as they exited, provoking what eventually evolved into a complete breakdown in communication across factions.

It was only once this exodus took place that the protests of the *lugareños* who had stayed behind could be heard over and above the other speakers. Bernardo Cusuhue, Curva's Secretario General, was the first to assert himself following the communicative rupture. His call for recognition penetrated the wall of voices erected in the wake of Victor's hostile remark and flowed past the steady stream of bodies still leaving the venue. What he said stood as a counter challenge to Victor's claims:

Transcript 2, excerpt 12

	21:31 Bernardo Cusuhue (Lugareño, Secretario de Curva):	**21:31 Bernardo Cusuhue (Lugareño, Secretario General de Curva):**
1	Hermanos, disculpen, soy secretario general de Curva, y esto ya un año entonces yo quiero que Uds...Porque esto no se *avanza*...el pueblo? Porque los residentes tienen una vida tranquila….Entonces aquí yo tengo derecho.	Brothers, excuse me, I am the General Secretary of Curva and this [project] has already [been here] one year, so….why does this not advance the community? Because *los residentes* have an easy life…So, here, I have the right [to approve this project].

Like Miguel's earlier statement, Bernardo's contribution foregrounded community residence, needs, and collective authority as the basis of decision making regarding the project, as opposed to one's status as a Kallawaya expert. Introducing himself as the highest locally elected authority served to place control back in the community's court by framing his subsequent speech as a performance of community interest and collective desire to which he, not healers or Kallawaya organizations, was

entitled to speak. Given his reputation as a weak and disengaged leader, this was an especially bold (and meaningful) move on Bernardo's part. The words he chose resonated clearly with Miguel's earlier speech in highlighting his agreement with the potential for the project to "advance the community," the community's right to accept the project, and his characterization of *residentes* as having "an easy life." In doing so, he aligned himself (and the community he "legally" represents) with Miguel's statements and thus support for the project. His performance was, in fact, a (re)enactment of Miguel's position that borrowed directly from his words to assume the voice of "the community." However, Bernardo's version leant authorial weight to this position by being issued simultaneously in his capacity as Secretario General, just as Victor's statement served to reinforce Jesus' remarks with the authority of his own leadership position. As Goffman (1981:147) reminds us, "when such utterances are heard they are still heard as coming from an individual who not only animates the words, but is active in a *particular* social capacity, the words taking their authority from this capacity." Still, authorial capacity is unrealized potential without others' acknowledgement and collusion; in order for a leader to wield influence, their words must incite action.

Unlike Victor's speech, however, which solicited widespread support from the audience, Bernardo's rebuttal failed to elicit a reaction from the *residentes* to whom his words were aimed or from other *lugareños* who could have offered additional support through their own discursive alignments. The failure of either side to respond in this moment effectively terminated the dialogue between those in support of the PUMA project and those in opposition to it. Instead of engaging one another further, members of the polarized factions turned their focus inward, unloading their frustrations in

exasperated confessions to those seated next to them. Both sides, it seemed, had resigned themselves to the fact that an immediate resolution to the PUMA conflict and the related issue of who was legitimately entitled to claim Kallawaya expert status were lost causes.

Chaos ensued as people continued to leave the main event and disperse into smaller cliques, where they resumed their side-conversations on the topic of the PUMA project, Kallawaya expertise, and community tensions between *lugareños* and *residentes*. Outside, in the plaza, a small group of supporters for the project huddled around Miguel and Santiago as they complained about their mistreatment during the meeting, while reaffirming the sincerity of their motives and commitment to move the project forward under alternative leadership, if necessary. Others, fed up with the drama, opted to return home where they could voice their opinions in private or drop the subject altogether.

Meanwhile, a significantly larger subset of participants remained within the confines of the assembly meeting space. While the largest and most verbal contingent of this latter group consisted of *residentes*, the majority of whom had attended the previous night's meeting and communicated strong support for Jesus' and Victor's recent admonishments, most of Curva's perpetually ambulatory healers with *lugareño* status (i.e. Group D healers) also stayed behind, signaling a more overt shift in their allegiance with *residentes* against the PUMA project. While none of these *lugareño* healers had directly voiced their opposition to the project during the assembly meeting, many had expressed their disapproval and hence alignment with *residentes* taking strong oppositional stances towards the project in a range of more subtle ways. Prior to the meeting, many had marched in solidarity with the *residentes* during the anti-PUMA protest. During the meeting, they offered applause and shouts of affirmation for

residentes verbalizing strong opposition towards the project and maintained closer physical proximity to the *residente* crowd. But it was largely in their silence following the pleas of support by fellow *lugareños,* like Bernardo, who continued to challenge the *residentes* even as the meeting was disintegrating, that the influential impact of the *residentes'* performances, relative to those of *lugareños,* came into clearer focus. While we can't assume that the silence of group D healers at this moment implies a shared basis of understanding with one another or with the *residentes* who had spoken, it does highlight the inability of PUMA project supporters to persuade *lugareños* with well-established identities as healers in the audience that the *residentes'* criticisms were unfounded. Coupled with the above-mentioned demonstrations of their support for the position of *residentes,* the decision of Group D healers to remain in the meeting space and engaged with the discourse of *residentes* following the departure of project supporters and more neutral attendees was a strong signal to both sides of the PUMA debate that the tide of support among local healers was left leaning in favor of the *residentes.*

It was equally clear, however, that this local support was tenuous and, therefore, not strong enough to bring a definitive end to the project. Part of the problem was that Jesus' and Victor's comments, while equating anti-PUMA stances and thus the protection of medicinal knowledge and resources from "outsiders" with "true" expressions of expertise, simultaneously challenged the expert status of *lugareños* as a whole on the basis that they didn't belong to legally-ratified Kallawaya organizations (read: those with *residente*-based memberships) and had permitted the project to progress even if they themselves had not participated. This sent mixed messages to the audience regarding the

expert status of group D healers, in particular, while categorically denying the possibility of such recognition to everyone else. Either way, their speech had the effect of highlighting differences, rather than similarities among healers across the rural-urban divide, bringing long-standing tensions between *lugareños* and *residentes* to the surface. This, in turn, seriously undermined the latter's goal of unifying *all* healers in opposition to the PUMA project. In short, while oppositional stances towards the PUMA project had served to reaffirm the unified basis of the Kallawaya expert community irrespective of physical residence in the previous meeting, the *residentes'* had used such discursively articulated positions in the present meeting to draw contrasts between themselves and other participants, thereby reasserting their superior position *vis-à-vis lugareño* healers and the lay population within and beyond Curva.

The wedges of social difference planted by the *residentes* remained visibly perceptible in the placement and participation levels of healers who remained in the meeting space after the communicative rupture between opposing parties. Group D healers stayed on the fringes of the post-meeting interaction, attending carefully to the *residentes'* talk, but refraining from saying much themselves. This arrangement gave the *residentes* an opportunity to collectively process what had happened, assess the damage, and lay the foundation for future action to a captive audience that was not only larger than itself, but included a substantial swath of the *lugareño* population, whose trust and support they would ultimately need to win back in order to end the PUMA project.

4.5 Segment III: *Los Residentes* Attempt to Achieve Unity

Sequestered behind the cement walls and iron gate now separating those against the PUMA project from the rest of the crowd, the *residentes* engaged freely in insider-oriented conversation within ear-shot of the Group D healers among them, lending an air of privacy to the gathering reminiscent of the secret meeting held the previous evening. Talk immediately turned to the topic of how the civility between *lugareños* and *residentes* had dissolved so quickly and who was at fault. Fingers pointed blame in all directions. But the one whose voice commanded everyone's attention was none other than Maritza Magnani, whose interjection decisively refocused the group's attention on the project of unity at stake and why it mattered:

Transcript 2, excerpt 13

	47:30 Maritza Magnani:	**47:30 MM:**
1	…algo también que quisiera que se tome en cuenta, es que esta situación de residentes versus comunarios no es precisamente que estén haciendo las comunidades, porque lo que hemos sabido también es que ha habido a nivel de la misma ex-autoridades ha habido comentarios en sentido de que, e ¿qué vienen a hacer acá los residentes? ¿No cierto? ¿Para qué Uds. están dando las medicinas a los residentes? Han ido soliviantando las ex-autoridades a los mismos comunarios. Eso ha pasado…	…something else I would like you all to take into account is that this situation of residentes versus comunario it isn't exactly the communities making [the distinction]. Because we have also known that there have been at the level of the same ex-authorities, commentaries in the sense that 'what do the residentes come here to do?' Is it not true? 'For what reason are you all giving the medicines to the residentes?' The ex-authorities have gone instigating a revolt among the same comunarios. That's what has happened…
2	…si nosotros queremos actuar en función de la unidad y queremos actuar como cultura no podemos estar en esto de que es residente o comunario.	…if we want to act on the basis of unity and we want to act like a culture, we cannot be in this [mentality] of residente or comunario.
3	O sea, todos han salido, todos han nacido en esta tierra Kallawaya. Y por tanto con los mismos derechos, con la mismas prerrogativas. No es que el comunario no	In other words, everyone has left from [this place], everyone has been born in this Kallawaya land. And, therefore, [born] with the same rights, with the same

	más.	perogatives. It is not that only the comunarios [have these rights].
4	Evidentemente llevar la vida en la comunidad es *una.* Llevar la vida en el campo es *otra*. Pero llevar la vida en la ciudad también implica mucho sacrificio igualito es, porque si no trabajas, no ganas, y lo mismo es en la comunidad, si no ganamos si no se trabaja. Y si se no se ve de qué manera podemos obtener alguna ayuda, no se vive….	Obviously, life in the city is one [life], life in the countryside is another [life]. But, life in the city also implies great sacrifice. It's the same. Because if you don't work, you don't earn [a living]. And, it's the same in the community. We can't earn a living if we don't work. And if one doesn't see a way that we can obtain some assistance, one doesn't live….
5	…Nosotros queremos que se trabaje en función de la unidad y queremos que lo que ha sido patrimonio, lo que ha sido heredado de nuestro pasado, hoy día se siga manteniendo como es, como una, como una heredad que debe ser cuidado por todos y cada uno de los Kallawayas.	…We want that [people/healers] work on the basis of unity and we want for that which has been a cultural heritage, that which has been inherited from our past, to continue being maintained today like it is, like a, like an inheritance that should be protected by each and every Kallawaya.
6	Los que practican y los que no practican tienen que cuidar su medicina, tienen que cuidar su cultura. Porque no puede ser que por unos pesos nosotros estemos aquí hablando de que la cultura esto, aquello o que los residentes fuera, eso no es la discusión.	Those who practice and those who do not practice have to protect their medicine. They have to protect their culture. Because it cannot be that for a few pesos we are talking about culture this, [culture] that, or residentes out. That is not the discussion.
7	Aquí tenemos que ver qué es la cultura Kallawaya, ¿quiénes somos los depositares de la cultura Kallawaya? Y esos, ¿cómo vamos a defender? Esa es nuestra posición, eso es el papel de todos quienes estamos fuera de las comunidades…	Here we have to see what is Kallawaya culture, who we, the depositories of the Kallawaya culture, are? And [of] those, how are we going to defend [ourselves]? That is our position. That is the role of all of those of us who are outside the communities….
8	Entonces aquí, hay que ver un poquito la unidad de las personas, la unidad de la cultura Kallawaya. La unidad de los Kallawayas no nos conviene a nosotros pelear entre Kallawayas. Tenemos que mantener unidad…Entonces por favor como los que vivimos aquí en la comunidades y los que estamos fuera de	So, here, we need to see a little unity between people, the unity of the Kallawaya culture, the unity of the Kallawayas. It does not serve us to fight among Kallawayas. We have to maintain unity….So, please, like those who live here in the communities and those who are out in the cities, we need to reflect on

	la ciudades tenemos que reflexionar mucho.	this a lot.
9	No podemos no más nosotros poner así a la vista todo lo que ha sido la cultura Kallawaya.	We cannot just put all that has been Kallawaya culture in plain view like that.

There are two important points to be made about Maritza's speech here. First, in urging everyone within earshot to act on the basis of unity, she is recruiting the participation of Group D healers. This is an attempt to repair the damage caused by the performances of Jesus and Victor by bridging the social distance they had created in highlighting presumed differences, rather than similarities between *residente* healers and *all lugareños*, including Group D healers. The result was a more inclusive definition of Kallawaya expertise than that with which Jesus and Victor were acting upon during the meeting.

Second, and more importantly, is the *way* that Maritza defines unity: she equates it to overcoming the distinction between *residentes* and *lugareños* and identifies a generalized commitment to the protection of local resources and medicinal knowledge as evidence of a unified Kallawaya front against exploitation by foreigners. In doing so, she effectively diverts attention away from intra-community contrasts by identifying the more inclusive inter-community boundary between Kallawayas and non-Kallawaya others as more problematic. She begins by illustrating how apparent differences between *lugareños* and *residentes,* such as physical residence and occupation are superficial. In Excerpt 13, stanza 3, for example, she states that what matters is not where one lives, but where one is from since it is by virtue of their common geographical origin that all Kallawayas share the same rights and obligations, including access to and the protection of local medicinal resources. Similarly, in stanza 4 of the same excerpt, Martiza counters the charge that

residentes have an "easy life," while *lugareños* are destined to suffer, by emphasing that regardless of what one does for a living and whether they earn that living in the city or the countryside, everyone must work and *all* work requires sacrifice.

Once the basis of this generic unity is outlined, Maritza builds on that assumption. She provides explicit instructions for what working on the basis of unity means: that the culture is treated as something that should be protected through secrecy. It is here that her speech begins to resonate more clearly with her own performance and those of other *residentes* on the previous evening, thus rearticulating the same model of Kallawaya expertise they had introduced that night. In contrast to Jesus' and Victor's statements, which draw sharp distinctions between the rights, obligations, and medicinal knowledge of Kallawaya "experts" who live and work in the city and the rest of the community, Maritza makes explicit that her use of the word Kallawaya and the "we" she employs are being used in all-inclusive terms by specifying that the obligation to protect Kallawaya knowledge from outsiders applies equally to those who practice medicine professionally, as well as those who don't (Excerpt 13, stanza 6). This obliges everyone who possesses medicinal knowledge to adopt a protective stance towards that knowledge (and thus an oppositional stance to the PUMA project) in the interest of the collective good regardless of whether they are publicly recognized as healers or not. Her position not only contradicts Jesus' and Victor's earlier statements, which implied that medicinal knowledge is limited to *residentes*, but reaffirms the ethnographic observations outlined in Chapter Two that medicinal knowledge and practices are wide-spread and variable across social groups in Curva, even though only a cross-section of the population are recognized as experts by any one group. While her discourse of unity seems at first

glance to level pre-existing social hierarchies on the basis of differential medicinal knowledge, it actually reinforces them by discouraging the flow of medicinal knowledge from more knowledgeable to less knowledgeable individuals within or beyond the group, which would undermine the social and economic superiority of healers who have traditionally wielded power in the region *because* of their differential expertise. While all of these claims indirectly suggest that what is really at issue here is the way Kallawaya expertise is being defined and to whom the designation applies, as opposed to the details of the PUMA project, Maritza makes this agenda highly explicit in her concluding remarks: "Here we have to see what is Kallawaya culture, who *we,* the depositories of the Kallawaya culture are and, [of] *those*, how *we* are going to defend ourselves? That is our position…" (Excerpt 13, stanza 7). But, note, that in the same breath she also provides the answers: "*We* have to maintain unity…*We* cannot just put all that has been Kallawaya culture in plain view like that." Thus, like the previous meeting, the Provincial Assembly is less a forum for debating differences of opinion or compromising on solutions than it is for selling *Curveños* on a definitive model of Kallawaya expertise promulgated by *residentes* in and across other discursive events. This model equates "real" Kallawayas with those community members committed to protect expert knowledge and medicinal plants.

Immediately following Maritza's exposition, another *residente* reaffirmed her message, thus performing his own expertise through strategic alignment with her position:

Transcript 2, excerpt 14

	51:06 Unknown Male Speaker:	**51:06 UMS:**
1	…por tratarse de digamos de asuntos	…because we are talking about, let's say,

	totalmente delicados...entonces para que tenemos que no más mantener un poquito de..de...más que todo silencio y de..de manera digamos como nos manda nuestro representante nacional de la cultura Kallawaya…	totally delicate issues…so, in order that we have to maintain a little uh...uh…more than anything silent and in a manner..uh..uh, let's say, like our national representative of the Kallawaya culture instructs us…
2	Tenemos que organizarnos ¿De qué manera vamos a defender?	We have to organize ourselves. In what manner are we going to defend ourselves?
3	Entonces, yo les pido de que ya no haiga (haya) mayor información porque realmente, están invitadas algunas personas en este momento para poder recabar esta información a los hermanos, digamos de la comunidad.	So, I ask of you (all) that you don't share any more information because, really, there are some people invited here in order to collect this information from the brothers, in other words, from the community.
4	Entonces guardaremos no más, eh, tenemos que convocar a un ampliado nacional en la cuidad para que realmente se decide esta situación.	So, let's just safeguard [it], uh, we have to call a national meeting in the city in order to really decide [what to do about] this situation.

His words parroted her call for the protection of specialist knowledge through silence and safeguarding, as well as cite the importance of following the instruction of the national Kallawaya organization in collectively organizing themselves to defend medicinal resources and knowledge (Excerpt 14, stanzas 1-2 and 4). Importantly, he also identifies the presence of danger in their midst and the risks of leaking that information in front of those who should not have access (Excerpt 14, stanza 3). While it is unclear who exactly represents that threat, his reference to it nonetheless establishes a clear boundary across which specialist knowledge should not flow. It is not clear, however, whether he is drawing that boundary between *residentes* and *lugareños*, between people from Curva and those from other communities, or everyone present at the meeting and the generic foreigner, whose constant presence was in this case signaled by my own participation in the meeting, coupled with the fact that I was recording the event. His contribution is thus

not adding any new semantic substance to the discussion, but rather recontextualizes Maritza's message in the context of a broader frame of reference to which not all the participants were equally privy. Maritza herself had pointed to that broader frame on the previous evening by calling attention to the ever-present threat of transnational corporations accessing and subsequently patenting local medical knowledge and genetic resources to their own detriment, but failed to explicate those same details here. In implicitly recalling these global dimensions of her earlier message by signaling the presence of "outsiders" who seek access to delicate "insider" information in the present moment he not only justifies the need for the kind of secrecy Martiza is advocating, but enacts it by ordering people to speak with discretion in the presence of non-Kallawaya "others." His plea is thus a performance of Kallawaya expertise that conforms to the model of expertise Maritza and other *residentes* have been discursively projecting.

The inherent ambiguity in this last speaker's speech regarding insider/outsider contrasts allows members of the audience to interpret the location and nature of that boundary differently, and thus determine their own placement relative to it. Considered together, what his and Maritza's messages tell us is that the real issue here is not the project, or even the details about how it was handled, but how expertise is defined, the social group to which it applies, and the boundaries across which expert knowledge and genetic resources should not be traveling and why.

But it is also more than that—it is simultaneously a reflection of the influence that the discourse of opposition to the PUMA project as an authentic expression of Kallawaya expertise is exerting on the semiotic dynamics of this professional community as it circulates in and through the speech events where the PUMA project is being discussed.

By reintroducing the model of expertise generated in the previous event in a mixed social setting composed of healers and lay people from throughout the Province of Bautista Saavedra, the *residentes* were able to substantially broaden the social sphere in which oppositional discourse to the PUMA project was circulating and hence the social domain in which it served as a sign of "authentic" expertise. However, as we have seen, while exposure is a pre-requiste for the adoption of these discursive patterns, it does not guarantee their adoption. Contrary to the *residentes'* expectations, persuading the *lugareños* that "true" Kallawayas are those who protect medicinal resources and knowledge from "outsiders" and therefore would naturally be opposed to participating in the PUMA project was not equally convincing to everyone. This is because the personal stakes in the project's success were more diverse in the Provincial Assembly. Not surprisingly, it was largely those individuals whose status as experts was the most questionable (i.e. Group A, B, and C healers) that were the strongest proponents of the project, since they viewed it as an opportunity for upward social mobility. To the contrary, those healers whose status as experts was the least questionable saw the project as a threat to their own elite positions within the local social hierarchy (i.e. Group E healers, but ultimately Group D healers, as well).

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that while the content of the Provincial Assembly meeting is ostensibly about the PUMA project, the speech of meeting participants simultaneously entails the performance of Kallawaya expertise according to different criteria. For local community members, expert status (or at least the right to claim it) is

synomnous with local residence, as demonstrated in the performances of Miguel Zambrana and Bernardo Cusuhue. However, for *residente* healers, as evidenced in the performances of Jesus Gomez, Victor Bustillos, Maritza Magnani, and the last speaker, while traditional markers of expertise, such as the possession of medicinal knowledge and ratified membership in legally-backed associations of Kallwaya healers are important to one's identity as an expert, at the end of the day what *really* matters is that one exhibits through speech and action a commitment to protect medicinal knowledge and genetic resources from "outsiders." In the present context, this commitment is equated with the enactment of an oppositional stance towards the PUMA project and, thus, serves to lock specialist knowledge, whether of medicinal plants or Sejo/Machaj Juyay, within the social circles such knowledge has traditionally circulated. I have argued that in addition to serving as a new sign of expertise, then, such discourse also serves to reassert social hierarchies based on the graded distribution of expertise that were leveled in the wake of the UNESCO award by guarding against its spread within and beyond the limited communities traditionally associated with Kallawaya medicine.

The problematic social relations between *lugareños* and *residentes*, the tensions between egalitarian ideology and emergent hierarchy, and the ambiguities surrounding insider versus outsider statuses existed previously (as we observed in Chapter 2). The PUMA project and the controversy surrounding it just brings them out into the open and ampfilies them in important ways. However, the increasingly public nature of the debate over the PUMA project has consequences for the way Kallawaya expertise is redefined and performed by rural and urban practitioners alike. As the foregoing analysis demonstrates, as oppositional discourse and related stances towards the PUMA project

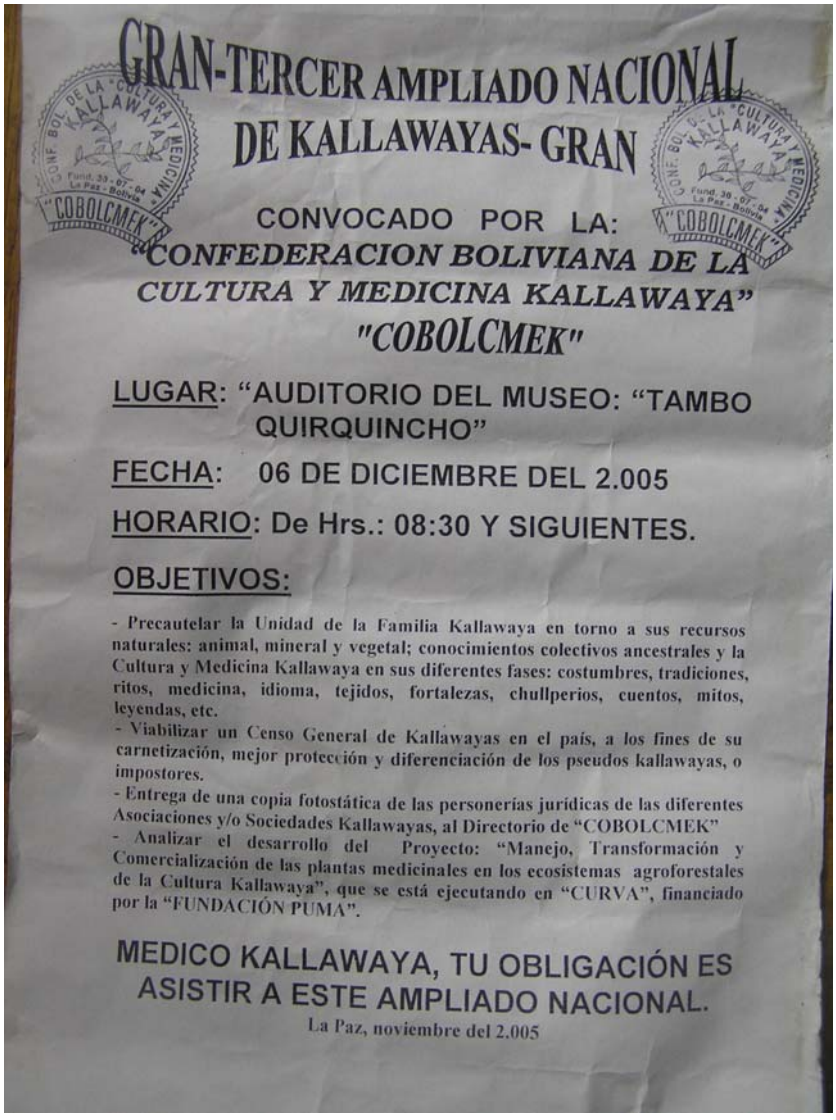
move through increasingly larger and diverse social channels, their potential for semiotic impact grows since there is both greater access to the forms and pressure for others to emulate them in their performative assertion of Kallawaya expertise. But, the discursive tug-of-war taking place in the Provincial Assembly also illustrates that as the circle of exposure to these emerging signs of expertise grows, so to do the challenges to their validity.

The debate over the PUMA project is ultimately about where the line between inside "expert" and outside "other" is drawn. Although the *lugareños* put up a good fight, when the meeting fell apart, things were left unresolved, but leaning clearly in the favor of *residentes* since the majority of group D healers chose to maintain their tenuous alliance with those speaking on behalf of the urban Kallawaya organizations, rather than throwing their support behind Bernardo's position in solidarity with the community of Curva. More proof of the *residentes'* discursive impact arrived in the form of a flyer that mysteriously appeared in Curva a week later, well after all the *residentes* had returned to the city, suggesting that it had to have been posted by a local healer. The flyer (depicted below in Figure 8) outlined the meeting agenda and topics for discussion as follows:

1. Reinforce the "unity" of Kallawaya Culture and Medicine with respect to its various forms.
2. Execute a census of Kallawayas throughout the country with the goal of issuing identity cards to ensure their protection and differentiation from "false" Kallawayas or imposters.
3. Provide copies of the legal status documents for those Kallawaya organizations who currently have them.

4. Analyze developments with the PUMA project in Curva.

At the bottom of the notice in large block letters read: KALLAWAYA HEALER IT IS YOUR OBILGATION TO ASSIST THIS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. Like much of the *residentes* speech prior to the announcement the implication was clear: shape up or ship out.



GRAN-TERCER AMPLIADO NACIONAL
DE KALLAWAYAS- GRAN

CONVOCADO POR LA:
"CONFEDERACION BOLIVIANA DE LA CULTURA Y MEDICINA KALLAWAYA"
"COBOLCMEK"

LUGAR: "AUDITORIO DEL MUSEO: "TAMBO QUIRQUINCHO"

FECHA: 06 DE DICIEMBRE DEL 2.005

HORARIO: De Hrs.: 08:30 Y SIGUIENTES.

OBJETIVOS:

- Precautelar la Unidad de la Familia Kallawaya en torno a sus recursos naturales: animal, mineral y vegetal; conocimientos colectivos ancestrales y la Cultura y Medicina Kallawaya en sus diferentes fases: costumbres, tradiciones, ritos, medicina, idioma, tejidos, fortalezas, chullperios, cuentos, mitos, leyendas, etc.
- Viabilizar un Censo General de Kallawayas en el país, a los fines de su carnetización, mejor protección y diferenciación de los pseudos kallawayas, o impostores.
- Entrega de una copia fotostática de las personerías jurídicas de las diferentes Asociaciones y/o Sociedades Kallawayas, al Directorio de "COBOLCMEK"
- Analizar el desarrollo del Proyecto: "Manejo, Transformación y Comercialización de las plantas medicinales en los ecosistemas agroforestales de la Cultura Kallawaya", que se está ejecutando en "CURVA", financiado por la "FUNDACIÓN PUMA".

MEDICO KALLAWAYA, TU OBLIGACIÓN ES ASISTIR A ESTE AMPLIADO NACIONAL.

La Paz, noviembre del 2.005

Figure 8: Announcement for the 3rd National Kallawaya Assembly organized by COBOLCMEK that appeared in Curva after the residentes had departed.

Chapter 5

Outcomes and Conclusions

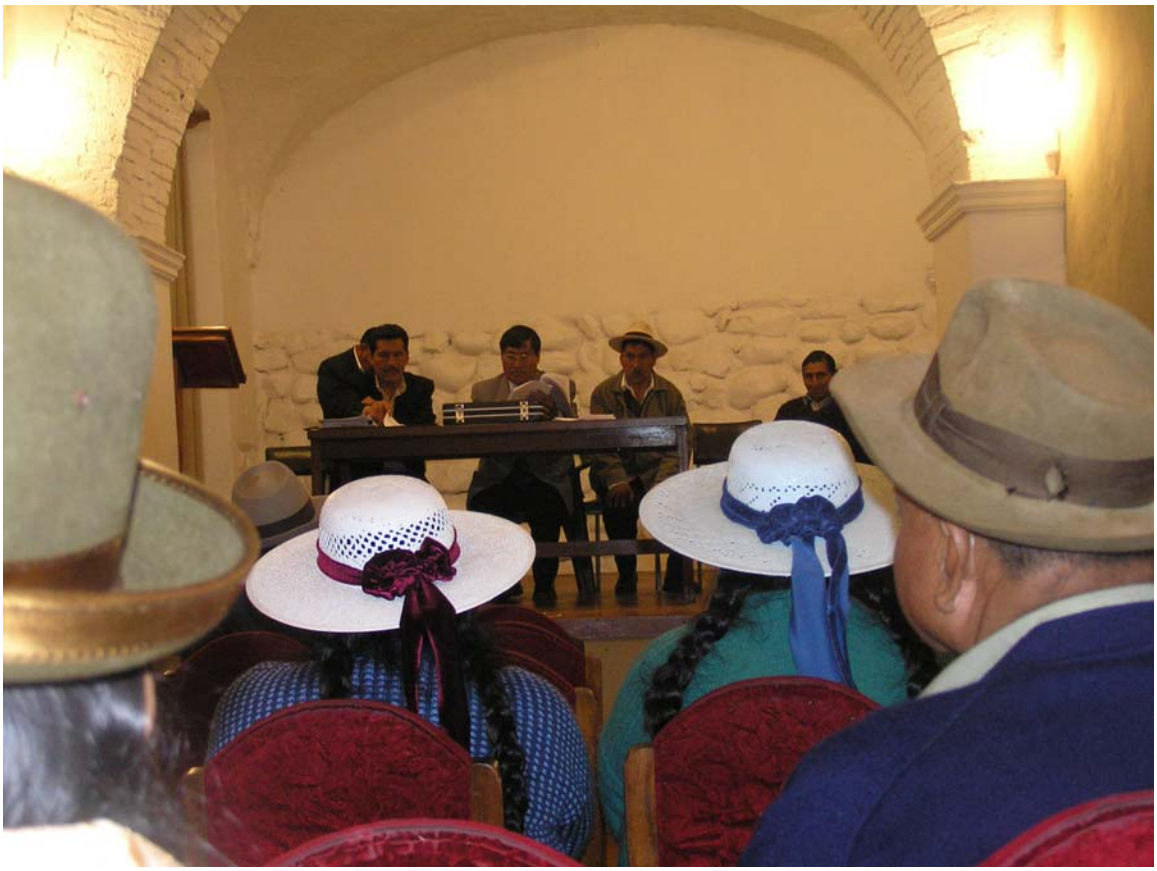


Figure 9: Members of COBOLCMEK's leadership moderating the 3rd National Kallawaya Assembly.

5.1 The National Kallawaya Assembly

On December 6, 2005, exactly sixteen days after the Provincial Assembly meeting in Curva, I arrived bright and early at the Tambo Quirquincho Museum in La Paz to attend the Third National Assembly of Kallawayas, sponsored by COBOLCMEK. Despite the announcement left in Curva obliging all Kallawaya healers to attend the

meeting, only one *lugareño* from Curva ventured to show up: Maximo Paye. Maximo was AMKOC's Vice President and fit the profile of healers described in Chapter Two as falling within Group C. That is, his medical practice was rooted firmly in Curva, although he made regular two-week to one-month trips to La Paz throughout the year, where he served a regular clientele. Thus, while his status as a healer was central within Curva, it was marginal on the urban scene. He was not a member of the Kallawaya Organization of La Paz and, therefore, not permitted to work on Sagarnaga Street with his peers from Curva and Lagunillas, who were now *residentes*. Instead, he worked independently on Santa Cruz St., one street over, on the periphery of tourist traffic and the medical activity his colleagues engaged in. Correspondingly, Maximo's attendance at the meeting was more symbolic than anything else, overshadowed by the dominant participation of representatives from other, mostly city-based, Kallawaya organizations.

Aside from the *residentes* who had participated in the two previous meetings devoted to the PUMA project that had taken place in Curva, members from numerous other Kallawaya organizations were also present. Large contingents had come from as far away as Potosí, Santa Cruz, and Oruro.[42] The number of COBOLCMEK members from Cochabamba and La Paz participating in the national meeting was also greater than the number of members present at the Provincial Assembly. Key members from the SOBOMETRA (Bolivian Society of Traditional Medicine) community, including the infamous Walter Alvarez, were also in attendance. Thus, as the locus of "collective" discussion moved from the Province of Bautista Saavedra to the city of La Paz, the circle of participation in the conflict broadened substantially, just as it had in the transition from

[42] Kallawayas from these locations were invited to attend the Provincial Assembly. However, the majority were unable to make it because of wide spread roadblocks throughout the country that interfered with land travel.

the first to the second meeting in Curva—only this time in the direction of full-time healers in the city. Consequently, it represented yet another shift in the social domain in which oppositional discourse to the PUMA project *as* a sign of authentic Kallawaya expert status was circulating.

This shift had the effect of bringing together a number of tightly knit regional networks of urban healers scattered throughout the country, while systematically excluding the participation of people from Curva and other communities, including healers, who continued to support the project or chose to maintain a more neutral position. One outcome of this dynamic was that it enabled members of SBIDCMEK, the Sagarnaga group, and the leadership of COBOLCMEK to exert tremendous influence on the shape, content, and tone of the group's deliberations on the project, since there was no one present to contest the version of events they presented. And, because they had access to the PUMA project application and had participated in the earlier meetings, these individuals stood in privileged positions to offer "informed" assessments of those events, as well as the larger context, relative to other participants. The perspectives they offered were thus heavily biased against the project and consistent with the ideology of Kallawaya expertise that we saw modeled and (imperfectly) performed in Chapters Three and Four.

This chapter describes ways in which the talk in this event (the National Assembly) overlaps and departs from the speech described in the previous two events. Then, after summarizing the new model of Kallawaya expertise that had emerged in the course of these events, I note a fatal moment that put an end to the work of a PUMA team operating in Curva. Finally, the chapter turns to the national and international resonances

that can be seen between the Kallawaya opposition to the PUMA project and other protest movements in Bolivia and elsewhere in Latin America.

The views expressed during the National Assembly included commitments to the "protection" of medicinal knowledge and resources through secrecy and other defensive stances, as we've seen before, but also a critical consciousness about the "real" motives and meaning behind research proposals like the PUMA project concerning foreign exploitation and privatization of their intellectual and genetic property. The fact that this kind of talk resurfaces in this speech event is in and of itself neither interesting nor surprising. What *is* significant is how wide-spread these discursive patterns have become, how routinized the individual performances are, how they are explicitly tied to Kallawaya expert status, and the subtle permutations that they have undergone, which add to their rhetorical force and signifying potential in the present event.

More important still are the ways in which speakers and their verbal performances are praised by high-ranking organizational officials as reflecting an inherent "consciousness" possessed by "authentic" Kallawaya healers regarding threats to expert knowledge and resources and, hence, the basis of their social distinction and livelihoods. In contrast to previous speech events in which such talk was used by Kallawaya leaders to admonish healers who had expressed contrary positions, as in the case of Maritza's response to Justiano's breach in Chapter Three, or as repairs to the slightly off-base performances of healers in Chapter Four, here the larger membership is being applauded for the collective exemplary nature of their performances. And, at the same time, they are also being encouraged through explicit metapragmatic discourse to model such speech. This last difference is especially important in that it highlights for participants the

preferred discursive forms in which oppositional stances are articulated, rather than their semantic content.

In short, what we see here is the crystallization of a loose, but nonetheless clearly recognizable discursive style that participants (with varying degrees of success) strive to emulate in their own contributions to the ongoing interaction *as* Kallawaya experts. This style, as we have seen in previous chapters, is itself part of a larger semiotic pattern that equates "authentic" Kallawaya expertise with opposition to the PUMA project and foreign research related to their medical culture, more generally, as a defensive stance to inhibit "outside" access to insider knowledge and resources.

Some features that give this style coherence for those who use and read it as a sign of Kallawaya expertise include: a set of highly charged lexemes (including nouns and verbs) that characterize medicinal research activity, as well as individual and collective entities engaged in such activity, as exploitive. These include words such as: transnacionales (transnational corporaciónes), patrón (master), empresas grandes (big companies), explotador (exploiter), sacar (to take), patentar (to patent), robar (to steal), and piratería (piracy). Other notable changes include powerful metaphors of exploitation and analogies that make sense of present circumstances in terms of historical patterns that entail the same exploitive activities, agents, victims, and outcomes. In both cases, these parallels set up complex frames of reference through creative acts of entextualization, which incorporate relevant "context," including people, events, and previous discourse in ways that communicate a particular understanding of the PUMA project as a more generalized "threat." It is in the very act of reproducing such discursive routines that

speech participants align themselves with one another and in so doing enact the role of Kallawaya expert according to this newly emerging model of Kallawaya expertise.

I mention these discursive features not in an attempt to provide an exhaustive account of what this discourse consists of, but to highlight the direction in which it is heading as it evolves *as* a sign of Kallawaya expertise and is negotiated in and through the moments of face-to-face interaction in which it takes on this particular social significance (for a particular group of healers at a particular point in time). As a growing number of scholars have been at pains to point out, the very "likenesses" within and between events of speech (and co-occurring non-linguistic activity) that draw our attention do so precisely because of the way in which they ideologically contrast with other discursive elements simultaneously (Irvine and Gal 2000; Irvine 2001; Agha 2005). The perceived consistency across stretches of discourse (and/or other semiotic activity) is the product of consistent oppositional relations, rather than contents (Irvine 2005). In this case, the contrast is between "authentic" healers who value and protect specialist knowledge/resources and "inauthentic" others who do not. The discursive style these healers employ in discussing opposition to the PUMA project and other perceived threats is treated as a sign of and evidence for their inclusion in the former group. Its use is thus also a form of boundary maintenance that marks, through its instantiation, boundaries between insider experts and outsider "others." As we have seen elsewhere throughout the dissertation, "insider" and "outsider" are complicated notions, whose very definition are part of the discrepancy in viewpoints and shift constantly as speakers draw attention to different scales of social differentiation regionally, nationally, and internationally.

What follows is a sample of the speech from the National Assembly that illustrates the trends outlined above. As my purpose here is simply to highlight the breadth and character of these discursive patterns, rather than the project of consensus building and interdiscursive alignment that I have attended to previously, they are not necessarily presented in the order in which they occurred. Nonetheless, the consistent nature of the content and rhetoric of presentation is evident in all of them.

Transcript 3, excerpt 1

	15:31 Rolando Magnani, COBOLCMEK President:	**15:31 RM (COBOLCMEK President):**
1	Exposiciones como la que ha hecho aquí el hermano de Chari realmente valen la pena…	Expositions like the one that our brother from Chari has given here are really worth something…
2	Saben, yo me siento orgulloso de Uds.….entienden lo que el hermano ha explicado. Realmente es increíble!	You know I am proud that you all understand what our brother has explained…Really, it's incredible!
3	Admirables sus palabras, paisanos…Él ha hablado de cosas como se dice de alto nivel de lo que esta pasando con las transnacionales. Las trasnacionales son los pulpos que nos van a succionar toda nuestra sangre…	His words [are] admirable, fellow countrymen…He has spoken of things, how do you call it, of utmost importance that are happening with the transnational [corporations]. The transnationals are the octopi that are going to suck all our blood...
4	Hay que llegar a nuestro pueblo y hacerles entender…qué cosas queremos dar, y qué cosas no debemos dar…Ese pulpo que está ahí está viniendo con unos pesos, nos está engañando para que mañana o pasado, nosotros no tengamos el derecho de decir es mío, no no puedo pagarte…	*We must* arrive at our community and make them understand…what things we want to give and what things we should not give…That octopus that is there is coming with a few pesos. It is taking advantage of us so that the day after tomorrow we don't have the right to say this is mine and no I can't pay you [for it]…
5	Es que ya están conscientes paisanos…Ese es la gran ventaja del Residente, el Residente se informa, se	The thing is *you all* are already conscious…That is the great advantage of the residente. The residente informs,

ilustra, y tiene la capacidad de poder hablar. En cambio ahí no. Pero nuestra obligación es explicar…y claro, hacer entender también al que vive en la comunidad….	illustrates, and has the power to talk. But *our obligation* is to explain and, obviously, make those who live in the community also understand…"

Before continuing with additional excerpts, notice a few salient points about Excerpt 1. First is the way Rolando characterizes the "transnationals": "The transnationals are the octopi that are going to suck all our blood…It is taking advantage of us." Second is the way he characterizes the *residentes*: "The residente informs, illustrates, and has the power to talk." The (urban) healer (synonymous here with *residente*) is represented as the gatekeeper, the one who has the knowledge and ability to mediate between the (rural) community and the outsider transnational organizations. That is, the *residente* has a kind of expertise lacking among those who live fulltime in rural areas except insofar as those *lugareños* become informed by, and align themselves with, the *residentes*. This expertise makes the *residente* the most appropriate guardian of Kallawaya medical knowledge and is predicated on the *residente's* cosmopolitan worldview, which reflects a global understanding of their subjugated status as ethnic and cultural minorities within the context of colonial power structures and their geopolitical distribution. Finally, that it is through the adoption and semiotic expression of this worldview that one's status as a Kallawaya expert is enacted and publicly reaffirmed in this setting is evidenced by the praise that Rolando Magnani doles out at the beginning and end of the excerpt. In stanzas 1-3, for instance, he expresses his jubilance at the ability of meeting participants to understand and verbally articulate such sophisticated issues, going so far as to characterize the previous speaker's language as "incredible" and "admirable." And, again, in stanza 5, he acknowledges that those present at the meeting understand *why* the PUMA project and those like it are problematic: "The thing is *you all* are already

conscious…That is the great advantage of the residente." This generalized praise is significant because it highlights the socio-linguistic impact of the interdiscursive chains I have been tracing across these events. For the first time, it is clear to the Kallawaya leadership that there is a critical mass opposed to the PUMA project and for all the right reasons. And it's not just *what* these healers are saying, but *how* they are saying it that makes the logic behind their oppositional stance apparent and thus their resistance to "outsiders" meaningful to "insiders." In other words, the discourse appears to have been thoroughly enregistered as a sign of "authentic" expertise on a national level.

In the following excerpts, this pattern continues: transnationals are represented as exploiters, and rural villagers as naïve unless they realize the necessity of the oppositional stance modeled by the *residentes*. In addition, speakers repeat the need to guard their medicinal knowledge and plants and justify that need through the elaboration of novel analogies and metaphors that reflect the unequal power dynamics and history of exploitation that the Kallawayas have experienced at the hands of foreigners throughout time. The contributions the *residentes* offer below, then, are regimented reiterations of one another's speech that also resonate with the oppositional discourse we have seen in the previous two events (analyzed in Chapters 3 and 4).

Transcript 3, excerpt 2

	1:14:53 Unknown Female Participant:	**1:14:53 UFP:**
1	Yo tengo entendido que por el lado de Chajaya, de Calaya, se han hecho hace ya en la década de los 80 proyectos de este tipo. Vienen los ONGs, las trasnacionales a explotar, sacan las hierbas, se lo llevan la patenta y nos vuelven a vender a nosotros, como	I have understood that in the area of Chajaya and Calaya they have already done projects of this kind in the 80s. The NGOs, the transnationals come to exploit, remove the medicinal plants, take them, patent them and then return to sell them to us, saying they are Peruvian products, I

diciendo productos peruanos, no sé, entonces tenemos que protegernos de alguna forma…

don't know. So, we have to protect ourselves in some form…

Transcript 3, excerpt 3

56:00 Victor Bustillos:

1 **…**Según lo he escuchado al Sr. Presidente, decía en que podrían sacar los principios activos de las plantas medicinales. Tal vez ya lo han hecho, tal vez ya lo han llevado de a poco…es como de la aspirina. Han descubierto otros efectos ya que tienen la aspirina, lo van a hacer igualito…van a seguir por todo lado…Entonces yo creo que no hay que permitir esto, no? Porque así no más es.

56:00 VB:

…According to what I have heard from the President, he said that they can remove the active principles from the medicinal plants. Perhaps, they've already done it. Maybe, they have taken away [the plants] little by little…It's like [the case] of aspirin. They discovered other effects that aspirin already had. They are going to do it the same…They are going to continue all over. So, I believe that this cannot be permitted, no? Because that's how it is.

Transcript 3, excerpt 4

2:12 Unknown Male Participant:

1 …Si es que hoy día vamos a vender nuestros recursos, mañana de qué vamos a vivir? Hoy día yo vivo gracias a eso...Creo que estas transnacionales….siempre cuando una organización aparece con fines así…buscan cualquier medio para que nosotros estemos bien divididos. Solamente con la plata los trasnacionales nos mueve y nos puede hacer todo, nos puede hacer pelear y mañana, mañana ¿quién sabe? Antiguamente como nos han hecho, nos han humillado. Nos han discriminado. Ahora también quieren nuestra imagen, quieren pisotearlo…

2:12 UMP:

If today we are going to sell our resources, tomorrow what will we live off? Today, I live thanks to this…I believe that these transnationals…whenever an organization appears with motives like this [they] always look for whatever means so that we are very divided. Only with money the transnationals move us and can make us do anything, can make us fight and tomorrow, tomorrow, who knows. They have humiliated us, like they have done to us in the past. They have discriminated against us. Now, they also want our image. They want to trample on it…

Transcript 3, excerpt 5

1:04 Renne Bustillos:

1 **….**quiero a esta cultura que realmente nos ha dado ojos…Esto es claramente es una traición a nuestro pueblo. Siendo Curveños, ellos deberían pensar un poco

1:04 RB:

…I love this culture that has really given us eyes…This is clearly a betrayal to our people. Being from Curva, they should have thought a little better for whatever

	mejor, para cualquier proyecto…nos quieren robar nuestra cultura Kallawaya…	project…they want to rob our Kallawaya culture…
2	Nosotros debemos ser celosos en esta situación para defender estas, esta cultura… Digo como uno nacido en, en Curva, pido la inmediata suspensión de este proyecto….	We should be jealous in this situation in order to defend these, this culture…I speak as someone born in, in Curva, I ask that this project is suspended immediately!!!!!

Transcript 3, excerpt 6

	6:20 Justiano Rios:	**6:20 JR:**
1	...todos nos hemos manifestado la vitalidad del rescate, la preservación, la difusión el mantenimiento, el cuidado con nuestras vidas…nunca vamos a ceder, digamos, la la la usurpación ni siquiera el saqueo de nuestras plantas medicinales por los trasnacionales…	…we have all manifested the vitality of the rescue, the preservation, the diffusion of the maintenance, the care with our lives…[we] are never going to cede, let's say, the..the..the usurpation not even the plunder of our medicinal plants by the transnationals…
2	Bueno ¿Cuáles son las características de este proyecto? El proyecto como su nombre ya lo ha manifestado, su nombre dice claro.	Well, what are the characteristics of this project? The project, has already manifested itself like its name, its name says it clearly.

Transcript 3, excerpt 7

	17:48 Rolando Magnani:	**17:48 RM:**
1	La fundación PUMA es organizado por los gobiernos de EEUU y Bolivia…tiene poderío económico.	The PUMA Foundation is organized by the United States and Bolivian governments…it has economic power.
2	El amigo de Chari que estaba, ha hablado muy bien y ha dicho que los trasnacionales nos pueden vender y comprar cuantas veces que ellos quieren…	Our friend from Chari who was here had spoken very well and had said that the transnationals can sell and buy us as many times as they want…
3	Entonces, ahí Uds. dense cuenta ¿Cuál es el problema?...Dicen que hay un aprovechamiento inadecuado de recursos no maderables…quiere decir arbustos, las plantas medicinales…O sea, ellos lo que quieren es aprovechar, dicen…óigase bien eso.	So, there you all make the connection. What is the problem?...They say that there is an inadequate use of resources not suitable for lumber. That is to say, shrubs, medicinal plants. In other words, they say *what they want is to take advantage* [of our medicinal resources]. Listen up!

4	**22:28** …Y finalmente un punto dice, escuchen bien, escuchen bien, si Uds. son Kallawayas van a entender…El abandono de ciertas prácticas homeopáticas. Quiere decir que aquí nos están dando a entender que los Kallawayas son cada día menos Kallawayas…	**22:28**…And finally one point says, **listen closely, listen closely, if you all are Kallawayas you are going to understand…**The abandonment of certain homeopathic practices. That is to say, that here what we understand that to mean is that every day there are fewer Kallawayas…
5	Ciertamente estas apreciaciones antojadizas y de mala fe, son de gente que no tiene la menor idea de la grandeza actual y siempre de la cultura y medicina Kallawaya…	Certainly, these unfounded and bad faith assessments are from people who don't have the faintest idea of the actual grandeur of Kallawaya culture and medicine….
6	De lo contrario, ¿cómo podría...escúchenme! una pregunta ¿Cómo podría haber declarado la UNESCO a nuestra milenaria cultura y medicina como obra maestra del patrimonio oral e intangible de la humanidad si hubiera sido así? Entonces paisanos ahí, ahí está la respuesta…	To the contrary, how could it be? Listen to me! A question [for you all]. How could UNESCO have declared our millennial culture and medicine a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity if it had been like that? So there you have it, countrymen, there is your answer….
7	Lo que quiero aclarar y recalcar con mayúscula, nuestras comunidades en cada pueblo, en cada comunidad, generalmente no tienen la culpa. A ellos les han mostrado como decir en la época cuando recién estaban conquistando América, al indio, al nativo, al originario, como un espejito. Le hacía mirar, ah, y empezar a reír y el espejo reía. Así…nos han tomado el pelo. Entonces paisanos lo que hay que hacer es el paisano tiene que darse cuenta….	What I want to clarify and highlight the importance of is that in our communities, in every village, in every community, generally, it is not the people who are at fault. Like in the time when they first began colonizing America, they had shown them a little mirror, to the Indian, the Native, the Indigenous inhabitant. They made them look [in it] and start to smile, ah, and the mirror smiled back. Like that…they took us for fools. So, countrymen, what has to be done is the countryman has to realize [what is happening]
8	**30:21** …Ahora, Santiago, de acuerdo a lo que dice ¿quién ha hablado de patentar? Eso no se habla, no se comenta, no se dice. Eso está aquí en la mente del explotador.	**30:21**…Now, according to what Santiago says, who has spoken about patenting? They don't speak about that, comment [on it], say [it]. That is here in the mind of the exploiter.
9	Para él que quiere analizar una planta, es	For he who wants to analyze a plant it is

	suficiente que salga fuera de nuestras fronteras, llega a una laboratorio y listo, si llega a un laboratorio, ¿para qué es? Para que la trasnacional directamente lo patente como propiedad suya….nosotros ya no vamos a poder hacer uso de esa planta sin el permiso del patrón, sin el permiso del que lo ha patentado...	sufficient that the plant leaves our borders, arrives at a laboratory and it's done. If it arrives at a laboratory, what it is it for? So that the transnational directly patents it like his own property…we are no longer going to be able to use that plant without the permission of the master, without the permission of he who has patented it…
10	**33:36** Saben paisanos, lamentablemente hasta ahora, estas cosas que están pasando nos están haciendo abrir los ojos. Por eso yo digo también es positivo y también es negativo…Para mí, para muchos de Uds. esto es novedoso. Ahora la solución a este problema paisanos lo tenemos que dar nosotros. Uds. que han estado en Curva saben.	**33:36** You know countrymen, unfortunately until now, these things that are happening are making us open our eyes. That is why I also say that it is positive and also negative….For me, and for many of you this is new. Now, we have to give the solution to this problem, countrymen. You all who had been in Curva know.

5.2 The Expert's Position: A New Cosmopolitanism

Here and in the previous two chapters, I have presented only a limited sample of the ways authentic expertise is interdiscursively performed by Kallawaya healers in the wake of the UNESCO recognition. I have argued that they are representative, however, of a ubiquitous pattern of in-group talk reiterated across a range of speech contexts, conversational participants, and spatio-temporal coordinates. In contrast to the assumption of a homogeneous one-to-one mapping between Kallawaya expertise and the Province of Bautista Saavedra as expressed in the UNESCO declaration, these Kallawaya healers orient towards an ideology of expertise that equates authenticity with a collective obligation to maintain intellectual secrets in the face of global encroachment. Conversationally, this is communicated through an oppositional stance to the PUMA project and foreign research more generally. I have shown, however, that while verbal resistance to the PUMA project may be the most obvious and frequent expression of this

stance it is by no means limited to discursive media; silence, the physical act of secrecy, as well as talk *about* secrecy, non-verbal public protest, and ridicule of others whose actions fail to conform to Kallawaya expectations of healers are semiotic variants of the same message and are read similarly as indicators of expertise. As Rolando's praise for the oppositional "words" of participants during the national assembly demonstrates (Excerpt 1, stanzas 1-3 and Excerpt 7, stanza 10), the particular form in which this stance is articulated matters; positive attention is drawn to some examples, and in extreme cases such as these are publicly regarded as objects of admiration to be emulated, while others are highlighted as expressions to avoid, and still others are ignored completely.

I have also demonstrated that adherence to this position is a highly political and self-serving move that advances elite interests to maintain established hierarchies based on differential access to expert medical knowledge and, by extension, their control over its circulation and economic potential. While fear of biopiracy is a real and widely distributed concern among Kallawaya healers, embedding their resistance to the PUMA project in the broader context of global exploitation enables them to obscure the local inequalities they help sustain in the process by locking knowledge and resources within the exclusive spaces it has always circulated.

More importantly, these claims are not just expressing pre-existing social distinctions, but actively producing them by defining the terms (quite literally) in which authentic Kallawaya expertise is understood and evaluated. Extending insights from the study of language ideologies and their mediation of social relations, Webb Keane reminds us that semiotic ideologies "do not just express social difference, they play a crucial role in producing—in objectifying and making inhabitable—the categories by

which social difference is understood and evaluated" (Keane 2007:17). By expressing their opposition to the PUMA project, through verbal and other displays of resistance, such as the protest in Curva, healers constitute this professional culture at a suprageographical level, thereby rendering the rural-urban distinction irrelevant in terms of community membership. In the process, the basis of Kallawaya expert identity is not only dislodged from its familiar partnership with rural and historical sites of cultural production, but is transported squarely in the realm of the modern present. In fact, the basis of Kallawaya expert identity is inverted: located in the expertise of urban healers, with their wide contacts and networks, not in the rural population in itself. It is here that we see the cosmopolitan dimensions of this transformation in its fullest expression.

5.3 A Glance toward Impacts and Outcomes

The impact of these and other acts of resistance to the PUMA project were extensive. In Curva, the public protest and debate that took place in the Provincial Assembly swayed local opinion to the point that high-ranking representatives from the foundation were eventually called to the community to respond to local public outcry. It caused major intra- and inter-community rifts within the Province of Bautista Saavedra, as well as what one informant described as a full-blown "war" between Kallawayas in the city and those in the campo who continued to support the project. Those fissures in the local social fabric deepened as group D healers continued to cycle in and out of Curva bringing with them updates regarding shifting support for and against the project in response to the continuous circulation of new information through Kallawaya networks. Meanwhile, direct public pressure on the PUMA foundation in the form of letters, in-person complaints, and legal threats by representatives of urban Kallawaya organizations

stalled the disbursement of project funds for months on end, as well as forced the foundation to reword portions of the online application deemed derogatory and inaccurate.

Less than two weeks after the National Assembly, Rolando Magnani, a *residente* of Cochabamba and President of COBOLCMEK and SBIDCMEK, returned to Curva, his community of origin, to disseminate copies of the PUMA application that had until now been circulating within the confines of organizational networks. As he had declared during the national meeting (Excerpt 1, stanzas 4 and 5 and Excerpt 7, stanza 10), he was intent on spreading the "word" as a model Kallawaya about the dangers such projects posed to their communities and the obligation of Kallawaya healers to identify, combat, and expel them. He worked his discursive magic in the *sindicato* meeting on December 15, 2005 and in the course of casual conversation over the next several days to those who would listen. In both contexts, Rolando delivered his message similarly to the ways he and other *residentes* had in the previous meetings by defining Kallawaya expertise primarily in terms of one's enacted commitment to protect medicinal knowledge through secrecy and active resistance to the PUMA project and others like it. In doing so, he employed the same analogies and "exploitation" terminology to draw parallels between the PUMA project and the global context in which history was perceived as merely repeating itself. Likewise, his statements were not just referential sound bites, communicating thoughts and opinions; they were performatively modeling his own identity as a Kallawaya expert in accordance with the view he was espousing, while simultaneously schooling those in his presence how to appropriately perform that role. By framing oppositional stances towards the PUMA project and the exploitation it

represented in analogous activities beyond the Province of Bautista Saavedra as the hallmark of "true" Kallawaya expertise, he effectively challenged *lugareño* healers to prove their knowledge and hence membership by adopting the same stance themselves.

Slowly, but surely, the large majority of group D healers eventually came around, assimilating the *residentes*' discourse into their own talk about the PUMA project and Kallawaya expertise long after Rolando and the other *residentes* involved in the earlier meetings had returned to their respective cities. While local resistance to the PUMA project among healers in Curva was evident prior to the Provincial Assembly, it only became embedded in these global frameworks, tied to claims of "authentic" expert status, and widely disseminated as the debate over the project unfolded in the context of the three speech events I have documented here—and in the less public, but equally influential, smaller-scale conversations through which the discourse moved in the shadows, or inter-discursive gaps, of these primary channels of enregisterment (see Irvine 1996, 2005).

These latter conversations also spanned the rural-urban continuum, reinforcing this new model of expertise at a suprageographical level. In Curva, they included household conversations with input from women, as well as talk exclusively between male healers loitering in the plaza, sharing beers in the kiosks, working in the fields or simply walking together from one location to another. As I participated in and overheard these conversations, it became increasingly evident that this talk was also occurring in the urban circles where itinerant *lugareño* healers often worked side-by-side with *residentes* from the area. Although I rarely witnessed open hostility between *lugareño* healers in Curva with opposing stances towards the project like that expressed between *residentes*

and *lugareños* during the Provincial Assembly, such tensions increasingly manifested themselves behind the scenes as both sides aired grievances to me and to other social contacts. For healers opposed to the project, these conversations inevitably ended with a remark about the remaining participants not "really" being healers. Thus, like *residentes*, many *lugareños* healers eventually came to see support for the project as evidence of inauthentic expertise, while seeing the inverse in opposite terms—as legitimate proof of one's specialist status.

By the time I finally left the field in August 2006, it was clear that a significant shift had taken place: anti-Puma discourse had become thoroughly enregistered as a sign of "authentic" Kallawaya expertise and in the process was being regularly employed by healers across the rural-urban spectrum to consolidate the boundary of Kallawaya expertise at a level above and beyond the Province. At this point, only a handful of people from Curva remained tethered to the PUMA project and most of those who did were peripheral to the Kallawaya scene on a national level. Not a single healer who spent significant time in the city (i.e. group D healers or *residentes*) supported the project, even if they remained unaffiliated with urban Kallawaya organizations. Some local healers held more neutral positions in that they didn't want to participate, but were less concerned about the participation of others, so long as they weren't forced to share their own knowledge. These healers generally justified their position in one of two ways: either they believed that those who remained committed to the project had no "real" specialist knowledge to offer (and thus presented little threat to their own professional interests) or they sympathized with the desperate circumstances and limited options of their fellow community members and, therefore, refused to fault them for trying to make

a living from local medicinal resources and knowledge.

The majority, however, continued to oppose the project outright and their speech sounded similar to that which I encountered in the National Kallawaya Assembly. As these oppositional sentiments and the stances in which they were embedded solidified and spread through the social fabric they produced a corresponding shift in what Agha (2003, 2007) calls the social domain of a register/style: the group of individuals to whom the use and recognition of a particular set of semiotic signs applies. Thus, while the original domain of this speech and correlated non-verbal signs was limited to a core set of high-ranking authorities linked to urban professional associations of Kallawaya healers, it eventually encompassed all *residente* healers and the majority of *lugareño* healers, as well.

5.4 The end of a PUMA team

The day my dissertation fieldwork officially ended, my family was invited to ride back to La Paz with a crew of people involved with the PUMA project. They had rented a large 4X4 vehicle and had been collecting medicinal plants throughout the municipality for the past several days. The driver was a botanist who had been temporally contracted for the job, and whose cluelessness about the politics surrounding the project led him to flaunt his work amidst weary onlookers throughout the community. The other passengers included the infamous Miguel Zambrana, a Bolivian colleague of his who had been working off and on as an engineer on the project since its inception, and Roberto Cañuma, a long-time resident of Curva and local authority who had moved there with his family from Cañuma. Roberto was traveling with his 5-year-old daughter. Uncomfortable with the possibility of being seen in the vehicle and mistakenly identified with project

activities, as well as uneasy about the level of driving experience among the crew, we declined the offer and took the bus.

The next day, in La Paz, I met the alcalde of Curva at his house behind Avenida Kollasuyo, where the bus for Curva departs, to say good-bye and extend my gratitude for his family's support during my fieldwork. As he showed me to a familiar chair, he informed me of a tragic accident involving the vehicle containing the PUMA project participants that had left Curva the previous afternoon. My heart sank in terror and sadness as the images unfolded before me, forcing me to contemplate the fate of the passengers, as well as that of my own family had we decided to join them. The vehicle drove off a steep cliff as the driver lost control on a narrow bend near the community of Chajaya. All of the passengers died, most instantly. The scene that was described to me was horrific: dismembered bodies strewn amidst a truckload of freshly pressed herbarium specimens and gnarled metal from the wreckage. People from Chajaya were the first to arrive on the scene of the accident and ran to Charazani for help. Miguel was reportedly transported to the hospital in Charazani, a facility only slightly better equipped than Curva's hospital. He died within minutes of his arrival. News of the accident and the death toll spread quickly in rural and urban circles as the uncertain fate of the PUMA project hung in the balance.

These kinds of accidents are common in Kallawaya country and are always a source of great loss and concern. But they are also something locals have come to accept as part of their existence, an unjust, but inescapable reality reflected in the structural inequities responsible for the poor quality of local roads that force community members to put their lives at risk every time they depart from or return to Curva in a motorized

vehicle. This was the third such accident that had taken place during the course of my fieldwork and the second one in which I knew the people involved intimately. I had heard of many more such deaths from those who had lost loved ones in similar accidents over the many years preceding my arrival. The rusted, deteriorated carnage of buses and vehicles in the valleys below served as potent reminders that these were not mere stories and the clusters of crosses on the road above made the facts relating to those deaths impossible to forget even for those whose eyes shied away from the wreckage at the base of the canyon.

However, the crash involving the PUMA vehicle was different. With the exception of Roberto and his daughter, the other passengers were not considered "locals" in the traditional sense. Miguel, as you will recall, was born and raised in La Paz and had only recently taken up residence in Curva in order to help execute the PUMA project, after inheriting property from his grandmother. The other two Bolivian engineers had no genealogical connection to the area and were there intermittently, solely on the basis of their contracted assistance with the project. And, although Roberto was clearly a native of Bautista Saavedra, his migrant status in Curva, even after having lived there for thirty years, distinguished him from "neto" (native) Curveños, especially in terms of his comparatively shallow medicinal knowledge. His participation in the PUMA project, like that of most Group A healers, was motivated by an interest in acquiring local medical expertise and hence recognition as a healer. Like many migrants in Curva and those still living in surrounding communities, he argued that the UNESCO award entitled him to this information since all residents of Bautista Saavedra may now claim this medicine as part of their cultural heritage. In the minds of those in opposition to the project, however,

all of these individuals represented "foreign" access to local cultural knowledge and resources, although to varying degrees. The crash exposed these connections by literally thrusting these "foreign" bodies and "local" plants out into the open as they were *leaving* the Province together, exposing the "guilty parties" in the act and thus verifying the *residentes*' worst nightmare, regardless of the PUMA team's own motives. It looked bad. The fact that the accident occurred in close proximity to Chajaya, a community whose own reputation for Kallawaya healers and medicinal plants closely rivals that of Curva, could have only added to the loaded meaning of the event. The scene of the accident was not just about the deaths of the passengers, then, but about the revelation of "truth" refracted through the various perspectives of those privy to the PUMA debate.

While I never had the opportunity to follow-up with people connected to Curva about the accident or the fate of the project, other than my brief conversation with the *alcalde* that day, I can imagine based on my many years living in the region and close interaction with healers that the event was equally charged for people on both sides of the PUMA debate. For those who opposed the project it seems likely that many would have seen the accident as an omen verifying the problematic nature of the project and the intervention of Apus, or mountain spirits, conspiring with healers seeking to prevent resources from leaving the region in hands other than those of established Kallawaya specialists to whom such rights arguably belonged. From this perspective, the crash could have easily been perceived both as a form of spiritual retribution and a provincial-wide warning to individuals and communities planning to take up similar activities. But, for those from Curva still invested in the project, I am equally certain that the tragedy was also interpreted in the context of socio-political inequalities that rural residents hold

accountable for their extreme poverty and limited life prospects relative to that of *residentes*. From the project's inception, local supporters for the PUMA project hoped that a portion of the revenue generated from the sale of local medicinal resources would be reinvested in local development not provided by the State. The improvement of roads was a major priority on their agenda. The irony that these plans would be diverted due to the very socio-economic conditions that they had hoped the PUMA project would alleviate was surely acknowledged in their understanding of the crash, however much other meanings may have also come into play. In any case, the loss of the entire technical support team that day would have certainly made resuscitating the project, which was still in the early stages of development, financially and logistically complicated for the municipality regardless of the politics involved.

5.5 National and International Ties

For those familiar with recent political events in Bolivia, the resonance between the scenes I have described in this dissertation and the "revolutionary" tone of public resistance to foreign control of the nation's gas, water, and coca reserves—resistance that culminated in the election of Bolivia's first indigenous President, Evo Morales, in 2006—should be strikingly clear. Kallawaya objections to medicinal plant research parallel ongoing national debate over foreign access to and use of natural resources, which have motivated recurrent social uprisings that have shaken the country to its core since my first visit to the Province of Bautista Saavedra in 2000 (Flores 2005; Hylton and Thomson 2005). The roots of these conflicts extend deep into Bolivia's colonial history and its extractive legacy tied to the nation's natural riches like tin and silver. However, the

contemporary tone of these conflicts and their meaning were aggravated by the disastrous outcomes of neoliberal reforms initiated in the mid-1980s.[43]

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that the events I have documented and analyzed here are indicative of a growing culture of resistance within the Kallawaya community that shares with social movements throughout the country concerns over autonomy, foreign exploitation, access to and use of natural resources, and the economic beneficiaries of those resources (Flores 2005). These discussions also share with "revolutionary" discourse brewing throughout the country an overt distrust of the stated purposes and benefits of foreign access to Bolivian natural resources, as well as outright disagreement with the prevailing ideology that poor countries and communities have no options other than to sell their resources cheaply (ibid.). From the three-fold rise in service costs following water privatization to the deepening national deficit and corrective tax increases imposed after Bolivian gas and oil were surrendered to foreign corporations, external interference in national resource management has proved disadvantageous for the large majority of Bolivians, leading to repeated large-scale civilian uprisings ending in violence (The Democracy Center 2005).

The recent proliferation of Kallawaya organizations, as well as increasingly stringent procedures for conducting research within these communities coincide with this heightened national awareness of and resistance to foreign control of Bolivian natural resources. Urban Kallawaya organizations play an important part in raising local consciousness about the potential dangers of cooperation in foreign projects by

[43] See Gill 2000 for an overview of early neoliberalism in Bolivia and its socio-political and economic impacts that set the stage for the post-2000 resource wars. The title of Gill's book, *Teetering on the Rim*, captures the country's fragile state of affairs that eventually pushed the country over the edge and to the brink of disaster.

transporting urban revolutionary ideologies and strategies of resistance to the countryside. In this way, nation-wide patterns of social rebellion feed into local forms of resistance, while at the same time constituting broader socio-political realignments united in their anti-foreign position on natural resource administration.

Mobilized opposition to the PUMA project must be considered against this backdrop. The parallels between conflicts in Curva and national debates over these issues are not limited to discursive opposition attacking foreign, transnational interests. They are mirrored as well in strategies of resistance at an organizational level that both rely on and contribute to "an informed and conscious" civil society based on the practical notion of knowledge as power. Scholars have noted that the oppositional tactics developing in this context are novel in both design and implementation (Linera 2005; Hylton and Thomson 2005). Alongside roadblocks and hunger strikes, we now see public demonstrations, non-mediated negotiations, symbolic and actual takeovers, social and legal threats, rural/urban alliances, and direct pressure on individuals and institutions to release private information for public evaluation, as well as the modification of existing laws and practices. Moreover, communication technologies, including cell phones, the internet, and radio are making increasing impacts as educational and mobilization tools (Crespo and Fernandez 2005; Garcia 2004, 2005). My analysis has shown that all of these strategies, which figured prominently in both the "Water Wars" of Cochabamba in 2000 and the "Gas Wars" of La Paz in 2003 and 2005, were also central features of the organized resistance of Kallawayas against the PUMA project.[44]

Today, rural indigenous communities in Bolivia, like the nation as a whole, remain

[44] For overviews of these events and their historical context see Dangl 2005, Olivera 2004, Shultz and Melissa Draper 2008, as well as essays by Ballvé, Hylton and Thomson, and Rivera Cusicanqui in Prashad and Ballvé 2006.

dependent on external financial assistance to meet basic needs like public health, education, water, electricity, and road construction. Historically, this has put them at the mercy of foreign agendas that have offered economic aid in exchange for collaboration in projects and business negotiations, as well as the unequal relations of power implicit in those deals. In exercising resistance to the PUMA medicinal plant project in Curva, and foreign investigation more generally, Kallawaya healers are demanding more than a fair bargain. They are making a radical move to rewrite the rules of the game, whereby they retain exclusive ownership and access rights to their intellectual and genetic resources and thus have the opportunity to profit from those resources on their own terms—a move that foreshadowed the progressive direction of national and international policy reforms instituted by the Morales administration up until present.[45]

The difficult circumstances under which I conducted this research and the conditions that were imposed on my study are additional testaments to the fact that such changes are well under way. Tighter control over the circulation of Kallawaya medicinal plants and knowledge of their use has evolved hand-in-hand with power struggles over how Kallawaya medicine and culture should be represented to outsiders and by whom. Until now, academic scholars, many of them anthropologists, have held a monopoly on these questions. But, that hold is loosening with the (re)institutionalization of Kallawaya medicine and the proliferation of Kallawaya organizations at community, regional, and national levels that seek greater control of how their culture is represented. Just as previous generations of Kallawaya migrants have pursued professional degrees in law, pharmacology, chemistry, biomedicine, and communication, many of today's young

[45] For a recent survey of national changes under the Morales administration consult the July and May 2010 special editions of Latin American Perspectives, "Bolivia Under Morales."

Kallawaya urban migrants are pursuing degrees in social science fields with the explicit purpose of documenting and disseminating their cultural experience without external oversight or technical assistance. In this way, they are better able to manage how much information about their cultural knowledge and practices are revealed to "foreigners," as well as the light in which such information is delivered.

Even without such credentials, Kallawaya organizations are already playing a greater role in how Kallawaya expertise is publicly represented. The UNESCO award itself has, of course, paved the way for many such opportunities on a national scale, including the anniversary celebrations that are coordinated jointly by COBOLCMEK's member organizations and geared towards performing Kallawaya identity for "outsider" audiences within and beyond Bolivia. But, even apart from these events, Kallawaya communities and organizations alike are taking bold steps in that direction on their own. KASFRO (Kallawayas Sin Fronteras/Kallawayas Without Frontiers), a spin-off organization of SBIDCMEK with a younger, less radical membership, has been running an independent webpage about the organization and Kallawaya culture emanating from Curva since at least 2005.[46] Similarly, Curva's association of healers, AMKOC, was involved in a number of workshops jointly organized with Cooperación Española, towards the end of my fieldwork, that were intended to compile information for a co-authored book by the two parties on the medical culture of the region. Kallawayas are also beginning to individually author papers and news articles on culturally relevant topics, as opposed to simply playing the more passive role of cultural informants.[47] As

[46] See http://www.redindigena.net/kallawaya. KASFRO was granted legal status in 2006 (R.P. No. 381).
[47] In addition to online content, I am aware of at least two journals published by SOBOMETRA (The Bolivian Society of Traditional Medicine), in which Kallawaya authors are prominently featured. The first publication is *Kallawaya: Vocera de la Sociedad Boliviana de Medicina Tradicional.* It started in 1992.

these auto-representational accounts enter into the public domain they compete for recognition alongside one another, as well as the traditionally authoritative accounts of foreign and national scholars.

At the time of my research, however, the majority of these "public" representations continued to add to and borrow from the romanticized imagery circulating in the literature and public media. Consequently, they contradicted much of the intra-cultural representational activity I have described throughout the dissertation, which I have argued serves to internally differentiate Kallawaya community members in ways that resurrect old expertise-based social hierarchies that were symbolically leveled following the UNESCO recognition. Nonetheless, we are beginning to see some crossover from these culturally intimate settings into the mainstream representational economy. In a recent online news article covering the UNESCO anniversary events orchestrated by Kallawaya organizations in November 2009, for instance, an entire paragraph was devoted to outlining the "ventajas y desventajas" (advantages and disadvantages) of the award from the perspective of Rolando Magnani, who remained the primary representative for both SBIDCMEK and COBOLCMEK.[48] There, quotes from Rolando regarding the negative impacts of the award referred explicitly to the influx of NGOs in the Province of Bautista Saavedra and their intent to "saquear la cultura" (take/steal the culture). While there is no mention of the PUMA project, Rolando goes on to state that as a "culture" they were unprepared to deal with the ensuing encroachment following the UNESCO recognition. As a result, he argues that they have had to organize and develop

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The second journal is *Jampiqkunaq Rimariynin: La voz de los medicos tradicionales del Departamento de Potosí*. It began in 2005.

[48]"Medicina Kallawaya cobra fuerza a seis años de su declaratoria por la UNESCO." Opinion.com.bo. November 15, 2009.

institutional means for monitoring the presence of "foreigners" in the region, both national and international. The paragraph concludes with a familiar generic accusation from Rolando that many of these visitors have left the area with ancestral knowledge, medicinal plants, textiles, and related information.

The overlap between Rolando's commentary in the article and that which I have documented here is unmistakable. This report not only supports my findings, but also suggests that the fears and anti-foreign sentiments behind oppositional stances to the PUMA project and others like it remain relevant years later. More importantly, it indicates that such representations are moving recursively across the private/public threshold at a more inclusive level. What during the time of my fieldwork was talk limited exclusively to behind-the-scenes cultural interactions *within* the Kallawaya community is beginning to emerge as *part* of the way Kallawayas are representing themselves as a collectivity to the world at large via national media. In Goffman's terms, the discourse of Kallawaya resistance to foreign access to local medicinal plants and knowledge is moving from the "back stage" to the "front stage" of national and international media (Goffman 1959).

This raises questions about future development in the Bautista Saavedra area, as well as the conditions under which Kallawaya medical practitioners will be integrated into the public healthcare system as part of national intercultural healthcare reforms currently underway. How will the controversy over the PUMA project shape the region's reception of future projects? Given the explicit emphasis on professional secrecy, to what extent will individual healers be willing to share medical knowledge and techniques in the context of integrative care with the biomedical physicians with whom they will be

"collaborating"? What consequences will follow if Kallawaya healers refuse to disclose their best-kept secrets? What would they get in exchange? What would a fair arrangement that equitably serves Kallawaya cultural and professional interests, as well as those of the Bolivian State and the biomedical profession look like? Who would have the ultimate say in these matters and under what circumstances? Until now, it seems that the divulgence of such knowledge, at least in the healthcare sector, has been a prerequisite for inclusion in intercultural exchange programs. Yet, Kallawaya healers, like other practitioners of traditional medicine, enter into these exchanges on unequal ground and without property right protection. Consequently, they potentially stand to lose more than they gain. If the contentious dynamics at play in the PUMA project are a sign of things to come, there is sure to be more trouble ahead.

In what remains of this chapter, I highlight some of the more salient connections the Kallawaya case shares with those in other Latin American countries and beyond before pointing to fruitful avenues for future research.

As the latest review on Latin American indigenous movements by Jackson and Warren (2005) makes clear, neither the internal community politics, the contradictory dimensions of global development agendas and their unintended consequences, or the articulation between local, national, and international movements against foreign privatization of natural resources are unique to Bolivia or the Kallawaya case. To the contrary, as disenchantment with the failed economic promises of neoliberal reforms has spread throughout Latin America and with it strain on the most socially vulnerable groups, so too, in reaction, there has been a surge in protests and related claims about cultural identity, ownership of resources, and equitable development programs that serve

local, rather than foreign interests (see Prashad and Ballvé 2006 for a recent survey of such cases).

In all of these cases, countries and communities have become increasingly dependent on the assistance of NGOs and private companies as structural adjustment policies designed to balance national budgets continue to impose cutbacks on education, healthcare, and other social service spending in accordance with IMF and World Bank mandates. However, like the international loans provided by these institutions to poor countries, this assistance almost always comes with strings attached—all too often in the form of shady resource concessions and the documentation of local environmental knowledge with patent potential. In the context of such programs, which are rife with the paternalistic overtones of "progressive development," marginalized communities and countries are asked to "help themselves," by allowing themselves to be "helped" by others. As Paulson and Calla note, "[t]his relation gives outsiders disproportionate power based on so-called technological knowledge, contributing to a lopsided distribution of agency in the generation of knowledge and in local and national processes of social change. We scientists and development professionals are agents, those (ethnic, gender, and class) others, implicitly different and inferior, are targets of our technical efforts" (2000:132). Refusal of such assistance, more often than not, is taken by outsiders as evidence that people don't want to improve their condition or participate in a globalized economy; or worse, that they are inherently incapable of conceptualizing and implementing viable solutions to their woes independently.[49] Yet, despite the stubborn

[49] A perfect example of this type of development discourse was contained in the justification section of the PUMA project, which SBIDCMEK members and other attendees dissected during the private meeting in Curva analyzed in Chapter Three. Equally illuminating is the discourse found in a recent New Yorker article on lithium development (or lack thereof) in Bolivia, which applies the same development logic on a

persistence of indigenous stereotypes that equate indigeneity and indigenous healers, in particular, with anti-development environmental stewardship, it is usually not development *per se* that is the problem from their perspective, but the unequal terms under which such development plans are conceived and implemented.[50]

Nowhere are the parallels between the Kallawaya case and other botched development efforts more evident than in cases where intellectual and genetic property rights tied to medicinal plants are at issue. In a 1997 research report published in *Culture & Agriculture*, Alex Greene describes a situation in which an eclectic group of herbal healers in Belize formed the Belize Association of Traditional Healers (BATH) in response to growing bioprospecting activity and the inflated financial rewards it promised. The international notoriety of traditional medicine in Belize, we are told, was due largely to the success of a North American expatriate trained in chiropractic medicine, Dr. Avigo, who had cultivated a successful ecotourism business and local medical practice based on traditional remedies. Dr. Avigo spearheaded the effort to organize BATH and was herself a member. Development contracts combining healthcare programs, ecological management, and ethnobotanical research with pharmaceutical potential quickly rolled in—first from the New York Botanical Garden (NYBG) and from Shaman Pharmaceuticals and USAID soon thereafter. But, as they did, new members eager to control the direction of the projects and their associated funds enlisted in BATH and trouble started. Things came to a head when one new member, with government ties,

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national scale (Wright 2010). The author, Lawrence Wright, proclaims that in an effort to protect its vast lithium reserves from the same exploitative fate that met Cerro Rico during the height of Bolivia's silver mining, Morales' reluctance to collaborate with multinational corporations interested in developing these resources will inevitably squander his own hopes of developing the nation's lithium for Bolivia's benefit.

[50] But see Cepak 2008 for an interesting and critical twist on conservationist ideologies and politics among the Cofán of the Ecuadorian Amazon.

brought an NGO activist on board and initiated a relentless smear campaign against Dr. Avigo, who was accused of embezzlement and ultimately forced to resign in the face of repeated death threats. The divisive internal politics of the group led to a default take-over of the organization when BATH's original membership collectively withdrew their support and new officers were installed with no prior connection to BATH or experience as healers. As in the PUMA case, funding for the project was suspended in the midst of the conflict. However, in the Belize case things progressed to the point that the project's financial support was eventually withdrawn completely. Greene argues that "one can view the entire drama as a struggle over the use of healers' names—and the right to represent them—by various parties engaged with international institutions" (1997:44). But, as he points out, this representational struggle is itself a product of the paternalistic logic on which such development projects are based, a logic that assumes that the targets of development are incapable of representing their own interests, leading to debates within and beyond the group as to who is best equipped to play the role of cultural mediator.

A string of similar cases in Latin America have been tied to large-scale ethnobotany projects that fall under the International Cooperative Biodiversity Group (ICBG) Program, funded jointly by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Science Foundation (NSF), and United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The program, which was initiated in 1992 and modeled on the mutual benefit-sharing arrangements mandated by the UN Convention on Biological Diversity the same year, was designed to integrate ecological conservation, sustainable economic development and modern drug discovery through bioprospecting contracts between corporate sponsors,

academic researchers, and indigenous communities willing to share their medicinal plants and knowledge about them in exchange for a cut of the profits, should the research yield promising pharmaceutical leads. Yet, despite the program's progressive "collaborative" vision, the practical implementation of these arrangements has often been problematic, leading to high-profile conflicts. I got my first glimpse of these problems first-hand, while working as a research intern with Dr. Joshua Rosenthal at NIH's Fogarty Center during the summer of 1999. In at least one case international mediation was required, while another project was terminated. For instance, Shane Greene reports that the ICBG-Aguaruna project under the direction of Dr. Walter Lewis (Washington University) in Perú, "involved three years of tense and highly politicized negotiations, which resulted in an international conflict with one Aguaruna federation, the Consejo Aguaruna y Huambisa (CAH), and the salvage of the project with another, the Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú (CONAP)" (1998:639). In response to widespread dissatisfaction with the direction of the project after the initial group had consented to the agreement, a summary of their grievances, along with a formal request for the research team to leave their territory was sent to both NIH and Washington University. According to Greene, one of the group's principal complaints was the Washington team's refusal to translate a contract they were being asked to sign with pharmaceutical giant Monsanto-Searle from English to Spanish. Although the contract was eventually renegotiated with a rival indigenous organization that competes for Aguaruna members following the intervention of NIH, Greene points out that the controversy and outcome only highlight the divergent political interests at play in these agreements and, therefore, the inherent complexities of "collaboration."

In the case of the Maya-ICBG among Tzeltal and Tzotzil communities in Mexico, Hayden reports the "program barely got off the ground before it was brought to its knees by concerted opposition from a potent coalition of actors 'decrying biopiracy in Chiapas" (2004:116). This project was under the management of Brent and Elois Ann Berlin (University of Georgia), both of whom are anthropologists with long-standing research relationships with these communities, making the controversy even more surprising. In order to ensure the local distribution of royalties resulting from pharmaceutical development of plants and microbes submitted to an international biotechnology firm for investigation, the pair established an NGO in Chiapas (PROMAYA) jointly with ECOSUR, a Mexican research institute. However, the project was ultimately canceled in the face of fierce opposition from a diverse group of protestors, both local and foreign, who argued "the negotiating process for this exchange was neither fair nor transparent, and that the regulatory conditions do not exist in Mexico for ensuring that such exchanges transpire with anything resembling legitimacy" (ibid. 2004:116). One of the groups protesting was COMPITCH, an association of local healers and midwives. Just as in the Kallawaya and Belize cases, conflict over the Maya-ICBG project appears to have been exacerbated by national tensions over state versus indigenous control of biological resources in the region.[51]

Brazil is yet another hotbed of indigenous protest over foreign access to medicinal plants and knowledge in Latin America. In 2002, Conklin identified "biopiracy," as "*the* unifying focus for Brazilian shamans' political mobilization" (2002:1057). The following quote by Krippner (1991:1), which she provides in support of her claim, could have easily come from one of the Kallawaya participants in the National Assembly covered

[51] A fuller account of this conflict and its implications can be found in Hayden 2003.

earlier in this chapter: "The invaders like animals of the night, have been coming to our land to steal our most precious possession. This precious possession is the knowledge that is stored inside the head of each pajé and in our tribal traditions" (Conklin 2002:1057). In fact, the quote was taken from a manifesto against piracy that materialized following the first National Encounter of Pajés in 1998, where 40 native groups in Brazil convened to discuss the problem. Conklin argues that "[b]y rallying against the threat of foreign pirates stealing from the treasure chest of Amazonia's biological riches, Native activists reposition themselves as *true* citizens of Brazil, patriotic guardians of National patrimony" (ibid.:1057, emphasis mine). Here, protest against access to genetic and intellectual property cannot be reduced to a functional protective stance, but must also be understood as the performance of an authentic identity in the eyes of the State, just as I have argued it is viewed internally as a marker of expertise among a growing number of Kallawayas.

While the details of these various cases differ, their social dynamics and outcomes overlap. Collectively, they signal a clear pan-Latin American trend that parallels similar developments across the globe (Shiva 1997; Robinson 2010). Whether we are talking about foreign patents on Ayurveda medicine in India or the appropriation of aboriginal art in Australia the pattern is the same: actual and perceived threats to global appropriation is met with local resistance. And, we don't need to point out these connections to the Kallawayas. As the discursive content of the transcripts I have analyzed clearly show, they are the ones drawing these connections; they point them out to themselves and to one another and then to me, the observing anthropologist.

5.6 Concluding remarks

If Kallawayas are but one of many indigenous groups protesting national and international programs for extracting local plants and knowledge for outsiders' benefit, what then is distinctive or noteworthy about this case? There are two points of interest here. First, the Kallawayas are not just expressing resistance, they are using those expressions of resistance to police social boundaries – both the boundaries between Kallawayas and "outsiders," and internal social boundaries between *residentes* and *lugareños*, between more "expert" and less expert healers (now to be understood in a novel way), between "authentic" Kallawayas and others. In this way, the mode of expression of resistance to outsiders serves to reorganize and regiment the hierarchical order and relations within, as well as between social groups. The second noteworthy point is the reassertion of secretism, in a particular form, as a new marker of authentic expertise that often coincides with, but ultimately trumps, claims to expert status on the basis of other specialist knowledge, involving medicinal plants, ritual skills, or the ability to speak and/or comprehend Sejo/Machaj Juyay.

The first of these, the use of relations with outsiders as a way of organizing insiders' relationships, should not come as a surprise; in a way, it is not so new. After all, this is what "real" Kallawayas have always done: they interact with people who lack their specialist knowledge, and outshine the less expert healers and the more humble assistants in their communities. By the same token, responses to outsiders are managed partly in terms of the way local relationships are mobilized. So although they are now working with a different model of expertise, there is continuity in the way Kallawayas recognize the global connections at work in their local worlds, and the way they respond to these

global forces through the local enactments of this new model. It is also worth noting that in the past, as well as the present, language behavior has played an important role in this process through the negotiation of insider/outsider boundaries. However, overtime, the use of Sejo/Machaj Juyay appears to have given way to the less exotic, but equally distinctive brand of secretism, whose emergence I have documented and analyzed in the context of the PUMA conflict.

What is interesting or novel about the Kallawaya case, then, is not that they are protesting outsiders' access to and potential exploitation of specialist cultural knowledge. Indeed, this is what we have almost come to expect. What is surprising is that the resistance has spawned a particular form of secretism that has been internalized and projected as a marker of authentic expertise. And this is what, through its enactment, has been used to reconfigure social boundaries and reassert social hierarchies in the wake of the UNESCO award and national debate over foreign access to Bolivian natural resources.

Secretism in general is not new to Kallawaya healers or unique to them. It is common among specialist groups, ranging from the Kpelle of West Africa (Murphy 1980, 1981) to the Taos Pueblo (Brandt 1980), who make their living from esoteric knowledge that is unevenly distributed within and between communities. Secretism is a practical response when others within or beyond that group seek to make that knowledge public, or to disperse widely the resources, such as medicinal plants, on which the specialist's professional practice and prestige depends. It is not that Kallawayas lack interest in or are opposed to development *per se*, but rather they reject the particular kind of development and research projects being introduced in their communities because

being predicated on foreign, as opposed to local needs, they require healers to divulge their specialist knowledge. As I have shown, this is turn not only upsets local social hierarchies tied to differential medical expertise, but is perceived as facilitating the exploitation of Kallawaya knowledge and resources by making it available to "outsiders," defined variously depending on the context.

Although UNESCO has sought to abate these tensions by recognizing Kallawaya "intangible culture," and thus actively working to protect it against appropriation by outsiders, it has inadvertently exacerbated the problem by drawing international attention to the medical practices of these healers, while at the same time mandating their documentation, so that they are publicly accessible. In addition, by indiscriminately identifying Kallawaya medical practices with the Province of Bautista Saavedra as a whole, the UNESCO recognition has opened the floodgates to development and research tied to Kallawaya medical practices in the region, irrespective of local ideas about their uneven geographic distribution. This situation has stirred controversy within the larger Kallawaya community, especially among well-established healers living and working in urban areas because it has entailed a loss of control over the flow of expert knowledge within the Bautista Saavedra region and into the hands of scholars, NGO workers, and pharmaceutical companies. This loss of control is due largely to the fact that any area resident can now claim Kallawaya expert status and increasingly has direct contact with foreigners in the countryside, while urban specialists, who are actually reputed to know more are by default or design excluded from these interactions because they spend the majority of their time living and working in the city.

In response to this increased pressure to divulge specialist knowledge within and beyond community boundaries, Kallawaya healers are clamming up, rather than graciously sharing their knowledge and resources with the rest of the world. Secretism in the form of oppositional discourse to projects related to their medicinal heritage that highlight the existence of and commitment to protect secret specialist knowledge from outsiders is an overt expression of their resistance to its public circulation. The Kallawayas' reaction resembles that of various other groups such as the Tewa (Brandt 1980) and practitioners of Brazilian Condomblé (Johnson 2002) whose cultural practices have been put under the national and international spotlight; many other examples could be given. Indeed, we are seeing unprecedented shifts towards greater secrecy and secretism among native groups across the globe in direct response to the fallout from UNESCO's adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 (Brown 1998; Smith and Akagawa 2009). While the specifics of these cases differ, the outcomes are strikingly similar: resistance and secretism in the face of global encroachment by outsiders.

As I have illustrated, however, what makes the Kallawaya case unique and interesting is the fact that this resistance has become tied up with authentic expert identity and exploited as a means of intra-cultural variation. Thus in drawing this chapter, and the dissertation itself, to a close I want to reiterate the connections between expertise and discourse – the talk in which "expertise" is asserted, manifested, and represented, and in which it is accepted (or not) by interlocutors. Many aspects of such talk are relevant, not only its referential content. An overemphasis on the referential content of such talk can obscure the ways in which "authentic expert" talk emerges in performance as a

sociolinguistic model for others to emulate in future moments spatially and temporally removed from one another. It can also obscure the ways interlocutors and audiences offer uptake, and thus control the shape and speed of its dissemination as they re-enact the model in new contexts. And, finally, failure to attend to what people succeed or fail to do with their words in relation to a circulating model of expertise can prevent us from acknowledging how social categories, like medical expert, and their verbal enactment can and do change in both content and expression. For all of these reasons, the interdiscursive links that underwrite the spread of performance models, like the ones I have attended to here, are crucial to understand. And because of their inherently ideological nature, conflicts over expertise are a good place to locate and trace these models as they emerge and move through discursive space.

I find that Kallawaya healers adhering to this new model are innovators of what Mark Goodale (2006) calls "indigenous cosmopolitanism," a hodge-podge of loosely related political commitments and actions that bring together diverse sets of social actors from across the rural-urban spectrum, including national political leaders and rural activists. Theirs is a social movement that is still loose, but in the beginning stages of institutionalization and clearly gaining force. This trend, while particularly salient in Bolivia, is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather a novel political moment in the history of Latin America wherein indigenous forces throughout the Andes are resurfacing and refiguring the contemporary political scene as they react against the oppresive convergence of colonial and neoliberal policies that maintain their disenfranchised status nationally and globally (de la Cadena 2010). This characterization is also consistent with the attention that Robert Albro (2005) calls to one of the distinguishing qualities of these

movements in Bolivia: a shift toward acts that are strategically "offensive," rather than merely "defensive." Not surpringly, perhaps, we see a similar shift play out across the Kallawaya speech events too, as the focus of healers turns from a discourse of damage control (defense) to a discourse of damage prevention (offense). The extent to which this discursive style will actually impact the participation of healers in research and development projects beyond the PUMA project, however, remains to be seen.

In future work, I plan to pursue these threads with respect to the evolving institutionalization of Kallawaya medicine (with themselves in control). I am especially interested in exploring how this will play out as Kallawaya healers continue to be incorporated into the national public health system in the context of intercultural health reforms, which are intended to bring traditional and biomedical systems and their corresponding practitioners into dialgue on a level playing field. The project of interculturality in medicine, as well as other social services like education, currently underway in Bolivia is discussed by the Evo administration, as well as most scholars, as an integral part of the nation's effort to shed its colonial skin, or decolonize itself (see Albó 2004; Fernández Juárez 2006; Johnson 2010). However, during the time of my fieldwork and in the few publications that have been released on the topic, the program in practice appears to suffer from many of the same problems that have plagued "collaborative" ethnobotany in Latin America and other parts of the world. Indeed, some authors argue that interculturality itself is incompatible with the colonial power structures still in place and the social inequalities they yield because in the real world there is no level playing field on which true cultural exchange, discursive or otherwise, can occur—biomedicine and its adherents remain the dominant force, nationally and globally (see

Viaña et al. 2009). Detailed ethnography with close attention to real-time interaction in these "intercultural" encounters will be needed to elucidate structural and cultural barriers to integrative and complementary medical care in both rural and urban settings, as well as solutions to overcome them.

I hope also to pursue the leads this research has offered in pointing toward important directions in future research in the area of discursive practice. Clearly, the Kallawaya case highlights the need for more ethnographic and theoretical attention to how "authentic expert" talk emerges *as* a socio-linguistic model *in* performance and is disseminated as it is taken up by others in new contexts. Summerson Carr's (2010) recent annual review article on expertise lays important groundwork for such studies by identifying fruitful connections between older studies of expertise and the growing, but disparate, body of literature on the subject informed by the semiotic dynamics involved in socialization, evaluation, institutionalization, and naturalization, which, of course, are co-present and attended to to various degrees in my own analysis. I predict this will be a big wave in the future direction of research in linguistic anthropology and allied disciplines and am grateful to have something important to contribute to this conversation.

Figure 10: Researcher with son, Luka Gallé-Callahan.

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