# Relocating Lives

**Resettlement in two Nasa Communities
after the Disaster of Páez
Cauca, Colombia**

By
Tone Wang

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
Cand. Polit. degree

Department of Social Anthropology
University of Oslo, October 2006

**Abstract**
This thesis seeks to explore experiences of relocation and resettlement in two indigenous communities in Cauca, Colombia. The people from Tóez and San José were among those forcibly displaced from their homes in the region of Tierradentro by the events of June 6th, 1994: the earthquake, landslides and mud floods that were to become known as the disaster of Páez. I did fieldwork with the resettled communities of San José and Tóez during a twelve month period from July 1996 to July 1997. My main focus was their processes of construction and reconstruction – of community, of place, and of belonging.

Theoretical grounding of this thesis is to be found in the tension between community and locality, as seen from the point of view of resettling communities making a continued and deliberate effort to re-root themselves in space, and between dwelling and travelling, perceived as interdependent practices together constitutive of successful resettlement.

These communities strove to colonise and transform resettlement land into community anchorage. Three areas of substantial practice, constitutive of resettlement dwelling, will receive particular attention: that of cultivating new land, of constructing new houses, and of adapting food practices and food discourse to resettlement life. Resettlement practices further involved concentrated efforts towards remapping terrain; travel routes and travel itineraries were explored and constructed to situate the resettlements in post disaster landscapes. Traditional institutions such as the *resguardo* and the *minga* were deliberately and painstakingly reworked and adapted to be useful as resettlement tools. While resettlement was perceived as a project of and for community construction, these communities were very concerned with their position in and relationships with outside others. These resettlement projects sought to situate the communities as nodal points through the building of relations and networks in various contexts of relevance.

## Acknowledgements

# Contents

# List of illustrations

Front page: "Chumbe Pos avalancha." (Post disaster Chumbe). Drawing by Alfredo López Garcés (Dorado Z. 1997).[*]

# List of maps

---

[*] See Chapter 8, footnote 193.

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

On December 15th 1994 an extraordinary procession of cars and lorries was navigating the narrow dirt roads of Cauca, Colombia. The indigenous community of San José was travelling again. When the community was left homeless and landless in the Páez disaster of June 1994, the search for a new place to settle was initiated. Six months later, permanent resettlement was finally within grasp. The destination that day was government-bought land outside the village of El Rosario.

I spent my first afternoon in the resettlement of San José listening to the retelling of the story of disaster and displacement. Don Lisandro Campo described the earthquake, the mudslides, the flooding and the deaths. He talked about life in temporary shelters and about the struggle to obtain resettlement land. The December day when the community had first arrived in the resettlement, that special encounter between people and their new land, was something he underlined:

> So, I brought the message there, to el Chero, that on the fifteenth we are going to leave, and on the fifteenth the cars arrived. The [former] owner was here [in el Rosario]; he had a pig slaughtered for us – excuse me for not letting you taste (laughter) but here they welcomed us with firecrackers; the people were cooking, the nuns were with them, and they welcomed us with a good lunch, and then we situated the tents where until this day they can still be found (Interview with Lisandro Campo in San José, July 27th 1996, my translation).

The 'us' and the 'we' of Don Lisandro's story is the community of San José. The community was displaced by the disaster. The community has struggled through a period of landlessness. Now, the community travels, and arrives, as an organised group to settle on the new land. Upon arrival, they are greeted with a meal cooked by those already living in this area – their new neighbours, the mestizo villagers.

The 'here' in Don Lisandro's account is the resettlement site. This is where the community live, and it is the land to which the San Joseños have been promised permanent title. It is where we have gathered to meet Don Lisandro and listen to what he has to tell. The 'there' he talks about is the last temporary shelter the community lived in prior to resettlement. On that first day of arrival, after the meal, the previous owner and the new neighbours leave. Only the community stay. They decide on where to organise their tent village, they put up the tents, and they move in. The process of 'acclimatisation', for people as well as land, can start. The community of San José now has El Rosario as its permanent base.

Tierradentro and the Cauca Department in Colombia (map adapted from Rappaport 1982).

This thesis seeks to explore experiences of relocation and resettlement in two indigenous communities in Cauca, Colombia. The people from Tóez, like the people from San José, were forcibly displaced from their land in the area called Tierradentro by the events of June 6th, 1994: the earthquake, landslides and mud floods that were to become known as the disaster of Páez. I arrived in the field two years after the disaster, in July 1996. People were by then living on land elsewhere in Cauca, land on which they expected to resettle permanently. Talk in the resettlements concentrated on constructing permanent houses, confirming teacher positions in relocated schools, and protecting bean crops from ant invasions. Through these activities of everyday resettlement life I want to explore the processes of construction and reconstruction – of community, of place, and of belonging.

**The problem**

The fundamental tension in this thesis is the one that persists between two endurable if continuously contested concepts in anthropological theory: community and locality. The resettlement process after the disaster of Páez provides an opportunity to look at aspects of the relationship between people and place. I want to explore ramifications of relocation in this theoretical context.

The community is uncontested reality for the people from San José and Tóez. The idea of community provides the discursive framework for everybody involved with the resettlement process. The practicalities of community define everyday life in the resettlements. It is communities who resettle, communities who manage resources, communities who are targeted in development programs, and communities who speak up in meetings with various outside authorities. In the following, I will pay consistent attention to the effort invested in constructing and adapting the community in resettlement.

Physical locality and ties between people and place are dramatically brought into focus through disaster and resettlement. From being firmly anchored communities, with deep roots in terms of history as well as tradition, people saw themselves as set adrift by disaster. Resettlement is about re-anchorage, about resituating life through the construction of place. I see social life, and thus community, as constructed in the dialectics between dwelling and travelling. Both movement between and residing in places are constitutive of the resettlement process. This same process also involves the transformation of travelling- and dwelling practices, as they are employed and invested with meaning from a new point of departure.

I want to explore dwelling as an activity constitutive of place and community in resettlement. The community strives to colonise, to inhabit and conquer new space. The process of turning alien space into community anchorage is also the process of turning landless disaster victims into settled farmers. This thesis will first concentrate on the challenges of cultivating new land (Chapter 3), constructing new houses (Chapter 4), and the shaping of resettlement food practices (Chapter 5). All three are constitutive of settled life. My aim is to show how dwelling, in the concrete form of substantial practices, produces belonging in a new place.

The community in resettlement depends on reproducing not only internal consistency and belonging, but also external relationships and contacts. Resettlement involves a concentrated effort towards remapping terrain. External partnerships and networks are produced through face to face contact and thus physical travel. The second part of this thesis will look into the ways travelling practices shape, and are shaped by, resettlement in new and fundamental ways (Chapter 6). To make traditional structures of land ownership and administration useful and relevant in the resettlement context, people employ the idea and reality of travel (Chapter 7). Situating community in the resettlement landscape calls for new partnerships as well as new ways of practicing longstanding ones (Chapter 8).

The resettlement situation provides an exceptional opportunity for exploring the melding of old and new, the rooting and routing of community through new mental and physical landscapes. This thesis will throughout have as its main focus the active, concentrated and continuous investment made by those resettling. These investments are firmly geared towards the re-grounding and confirming of communities.

**Theoretical and conceptual basis**

I am now going to put the practicalities of constructing community and place, the 'what' of this thesis, on hold while I turn my attention to the 'how'. My aim in this section is to situate this project in the wider landscape of anthropological theory. To do this, I am going to situate my project in relation to selected ongoing debates in the discipline. Moreover, I need to present some of the conceptual tools on which I rely. With this in place, I can move on to explore the resettlement processes after the disaster of Páez.

As an analytical concept, the community is deeply problematic. It holds a strong position in the field of tension between the individual and the collectivity in anthropological writing (Rapport and Overing 2000). A lot of work has been invested in defining and conceptualising 'community' (e.g. Cohen 1985, 2002; Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b; Amit 2002; Amit and Rapport 2002). From being a taken for granted staple of anthropological fieldwork and analysis (Clifford 1997), it has come to epitomise the problems facing anthropology as we grapple with the realities of the globalised, transnational, diasporic and postmodern world (e.g. Gupta and Ferguson 1997c; Hylland Eriksen 2003; Amit and Rapport 2002).

The practical reality of the community was, however, never in dispute among my informants. The community was a fundamental social category in everyday life and a focal point in ideological constructs. It formed the main political project of the resettlement as well as the main symbolic bulwark against the outside world (Cohen 1985; Long 1989; Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b; Amit 2002). "Communities do not exist simply because people say they do or wish them to, for between such invocations and the actualities of social organization lie the considerable logistical difficulties of opportunity, persuasion, structuration and ideology" (Amit and Rapport 2002:168). In my field context, people consciously invested in community. Community is thus both something people desire and something they work very hard to maintain as practiced reality.

> [L]ocal knowledge is actually knowledge of how to produce and reproduce locality under conditions of anxiety and entropy, social wear and flux, ecological uncertainty and cosmic volatility, and the always present quirkiness of kinsmen, enemies, spirits and quarks of all sorts. (....) Local knowledge is substantially about producing reliably local subjects as well as about producing reliably local neighbourhoods within which such subjects can be recognized and organized (Appadurai 1995:206).[1]

My informants worked diligently towards rerooting themselves. This entailed producing locality and producing the knowledge needed to manage this locality, with the aim always being new community inside (Long 1992a, b, c; A. Long 1992; Hobart 1993, 1995; Arce and Long 2000a, b).


Theoretically speaking, the idea of granting collectives agency is troublesome (Amit and Rapport 2002; Long 2000). When I in this thesis choose to present the community as the main actor in the resettlement process, it is my informants, and not theoretical persuasion, who lead me there. My informants consistently presented post-disaster events to me as situations where the community took action, where one community helped another community, and where communities chose land and settled. The focus of this thesis is thus going to be on how the idea and practice of community, realised as solidarity, belonging and anchorage, is reworked and adapted to new circumstances in resettlement. In the theoretical tension between individual action and structural constraints, my informants are, individually and as a group, consciously and deliberately working very hard towards building and maintaining the emplaced community. My interest is in their use of community as main resettlement tool. The settled community is consistently presented as the desired outcome of the resettlement process. Individuals abound, in this text and in resettlement. People direct their efforts towards constructing resettlement as a collective project, with the community as the centrepiece.

---

[1] This quote is from a version of the paper "The Production of Locality", published in Richard Fardon (ed.) 1995. Elsewhere in this thesis I refer to the revised version of this paper published as chapter 9 in Appadurai 1996. See list of references for both.

Alongside the idea of the collectivity as actor as well as desired outcome, the theoretical core of this thesis is found in the tension between the collectivity and place. It is the 'emplaced' or 'grounded' community, the community with firm belonging tied to a dot on the map, the community dependent for its existence on actual arable land, that will be presented and explored in the following pages. The present comprehensive anthropological interest in interpretations of physical space has long since established the 'rooted community' as an ideological construct, rather than an actual taken for granted way of life (Malkki (various); Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b; Clifford 1997). Even if place is a matter of representation and social construction (Tilley 1994; Hirsch 1995; Amit 2002), it is place as material reality which makes it relevant for my informants as a point of departure for these interpretations.

People live emplaced lives, even when these lives include travel, global networks of contact and migration. Dissolving physical place in diasporas, postmodernism and globalisation is not the answer to the theoretical quandary posed by attempts to dissolve the traditional village model in anthropology (Clifford 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1997c; Hylland Eriksen 2003). While physical boundedness cannot be taken for granted, it holds crucial interest as an object of exploration. It is one aspect of the complex relationship between people and the world they inhabit (Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Lovell 1998; Gray 2002; Guzmán 1997), whether locality is interpreted as physical place, imagined place or remembered place (Olwig 1993, 1997, 1998; Krohn Hansen 2001; Rapport and Dawson 1998a, b; Hastrup 1992).

Disaster and relocation rather dramatically destroy any idea of physical location as everlasting and eternal. The idea among my informants of the community as intrinsically rooted, however, was not weakened by resettlement. They used the idea of the rooted community, the community identified with and at times interchangeable with physical place, actively in order to explain their situation to visitors such as the anthropologist. Their explicit goal in resettlement was re-rooting the community.

Resettlement can, in Appadurai's terms (1996), be conceptualised as a process involving the localising of community and the colonising of locality. Appadurai presents locality as a quality that even in situations of apparent stability and rootedness has to be continuously reproduced

through hard and deliberate work (1996:180-81). There is nothing mere about the local (1996:18), or about the producing of it.

> Keeping in mind that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space *and* to clusters of interaction, we can see that the identity of a place emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces and with its cultural construction as a community or locality (Gupta and Ferguson 1997b:36).

Resettlement poses extreme challenges. Here place, locality and belonging must be constructed from scratch. In my field setting, the community is the resource mobilised to achieve this. My informants saw themselves resettling as communities, not as individuals or families.

The localising of community involves a moment of colonisation, of conscious and willed conversion of space:

> The production of a neighbourhood[2] is inherently colonizing in the sense that it involves the assertion of socially (often ritually) organized power over places and settings that are viewed as potentially chaotic or rebellious. (....) In this sense, the production of a neighbourhood is inherently an exercise of power over some sort of hostile or recalcitrant environment, which may take the form of another neighbourhood (Appadurai 1996:183-4).

Appadurai uses the concept to focus on the dramatic aspect of the process of appropriating land. Land is not empty, unoccupied space. New or alien land must be wrested from nature, or as in this case, from another cultural context, in order to be redefined as cultural 'inside' or 'ours'. For somebody to be able to define it as theirs someone else must be brought to give it up. Formal ownership is only one aspect in this process of conversion. Redefining land as community inside and legitimising community presence on and ownership of that land is the core of the resettlement project.

Resettlement involves the physical relocation of community. Travel in the resettlement context is a constitutive element of community construction. The world is to be re-inventoried from a new point of departure. Following Clifford's conceptualisation of society as constituted through the dialectic of dwelling and travelling (Clifford 1997), resettlement can be seen as an exercise in intensive dwelling. Resettlement as travel practice involves the re-routing of community through alien space (Clifford 1997; de Certeau 1985; Rapport and Dawson 1998a, b).

Resettlement involves a scattering of significant space for the people involved. Travel – continued travel, everyday travel and travel as an inherent aspect of the resettlement process – is a crucial resource in reordering and managing this situation. People in the resettlement rerouted and remapped the world according to the significant and relevant networks of relationships, with

---

[2] In this context a neighbourhood is a situated community (Appadurai 1996:178-9).

places as well as with people. Travel-structures and travel-practices (de Certeau 1985) were reworked through, and at the same time constitutive of, the resettlement experience. In working towards the construction of the emplaced resettlement community, dwelling and travelling emerged as mutually constitutive practices for my informants.

Disaster and resettlement have catalytic qualities. Dramatic upheaval and change often bring about a process of evaluation and reconsideration. Matters left to the implicit and latent in everyday life are forced to the surface and verbalised in new ways (García A. 1993, 1996; Saavedra 1996; Oliver-Smith 1996). In the resettlements, these practices included very explicit discussions of the relationship between community, land and identity. People started underlining ethnicity in ways unimaginable in a pre-disaster, Tierradentro context. Public image building and self representation became explicit issues in community discussions. It was crucial for my informants to present themselves to others as rightfully belonging, as emplaced and spatially contextualised communities (Preis 1997; Sørensen 1997; Lovell 1998).

As part of the post-disaster articulation of identity and ethnicity in the resettling communities, the language and discourse of the indigenous movement was adopted. While this had earlier been a matter for community leaders and those explicitly engaged in indigenous politics, it now became significant for all community members. The primordialist thesis, or 'identity politics in essentialized terms', became staples of self-representation in the resettlement communities (e.g. Amit and Rapport 2002; Appadurai 1996; Ramos 1991, 1994, 1998). The relationship between people and land, and people and history, were here described and reconstructed in terms of primordial and essentialist group identity (Gupta and Ferguson 1997c:13; Clifford 1997). This conception of identity, and its uses, is something people choose to carry with them, rearticulate and put to good use in resettlement (Parkin 1999). Primordial identity discourse is a significant ingredient in the various partnerships the resettling communities engage in, very visible in relationships with other indigenous communities, the Colombian state, different NGO's and random visitors. Indigenousness and politicised indigenous discourse are key tools in community construction, political strategising, and vital in dealing with a growing number of outside collaboration partners and supporters.

Localised resettlement belonging, anchored in place, was produced in the tension between what people in the communities saw as essentialised Indianness and progressive development

modernity. Community, locality and the local knowledge crucial (Appadurai 1996) to make its reproduction feasible emerged as a form of localised, indigenous modernity (Long 1989; Arce and Long 2000a, b; Long 2000; Hobart 1993, 1995; Archetti 1997; Gow 1997).

Resettlement is by necessity a spatial practice. My informants construed it as a project of deliberate emplacement. They employed collective identity, condensed in the community, in order to reroot themselves. Their point of departure was landlessness; their aim was to acquire land again, and the way they went about this was the conversion of alien space into community anchorage. The united, unanimous, rooted community people in the resettlements strove to present to outsiders, was the direct result of a conscious, continuous and concentrated effort by those involved. Resettlement identity as well as resettlement politics were constructed on the basis of ethnicity and community membership.

With this theoretical backdrop in place, two aspects of the resettlement experience as articulated by my informants are of particular interest to me. Firstly, I want to explore the ways in which people use and adapt the community to new situations and realities brought into relevance by disaster and subsequent resettlement. Secondly, I want to examine how the link between community and place is established and developed in resettlement, by looking at the ways substantial activities of settling and travelling are practiced. Identity politics and disaster management are relevant to my analytical perspective in as far as they are significant to my informants when they go about producing neighbourhoods in resettlement.

**Methodology**

I arrived in the town of Popayán to get my fieldwork under way in early July 1996. I already knew people from having spent some months in the area the previous year (November 1994 – June 1995). I talked to everybody I could think of about possible fieldwork communities among the Nasa in the area. Through Myriam Espinosa, a Colombian anthropologist living in Popayán, I met Joanne Rappaport. She had done considerable work on the Nasa starting in the late 1970's (see Rappaport in list of references), and was now in the area to do further research. She kindly introduced me to the people in San José and Tóez, the communities where I did do my fieldwork. She provided me with contacts and physical points of departure which proved to be fundamental at a time when I was more than open to suggestions.

Arriving in the company of someone already known and accepted eased my way when the communities of San José and Tóez generously decided to let me conduct work in their resettlements. Not arriving in company with anyone engaged directly in the reconstruction projects was significant in this complex landscape of outsiders, where all visitors to the communities were received with explicit expectations in terms what economic support they could contribute to the disaster victims.

At her further suggestion, I decided to look at resettlement processes in two communities. This provided me with material on the resettlement processes in two very different communities. It also required my spending a considerable amount of time travelling. As I journeyed from Tóez to San José and from San José to Tóez, I very soon realised I was not alone in this. It would be a rare day when I did not meet someone from the community on the *chiva*[3] travelling between Popayán and San José. I met people from the communities I worked with in Popayán offices, on buses, waiting for transport, when buses and cars broke down, and scattered everywhere in between.[4] Travel thus became part of fieldwork, and not mainly a matter of more or less efficient transportation.

The resettlement process involved a wide array of external actors. The para-statal agency charged by the Colombian state with the responsibility of coordinating the rebuilding after the disaster of Páez had a lot of professionals from different fields – from lawyers to agronomists – working in the area. Different NGO's and their representatives made significant contributions. The organisation of indigenous peoples in Cauca was heavily involved. Representatives from the national indigenous organisation in Colombia as well as different local sections of the indigenous organisations came and went in the resettlements.[5] A steady stream of visitors kept arriving, ranging from external experts offering their services, the media, and a variety of researchers, to the simply curious. I wanted to look at the resettlement process from the point of view of the resettling communities. In this situation with constant comings and goings, my actually staying with the communities took on significance. In terms of this thesis, the different outsiders listed above will enter the text in so far as people in the communities found them relevant and significant.

---

[3] Lorry converted for the transport of passengers as well as cargo.
[4] See Chapter 2 and 9 for references to Espinosa's (1996) concept 'el andar' as part of the Nasa way of life. Travel practices are further discussed in Chapter 6.
[5] The organisations and agencies referred to here (CNK, CRIC, ONIC and ACIN) are presented in full in Chapter 2.

Meeting people face to face was the only feasible alternative for those working with resettlement, whether they were community leaders or government functionaries. Travelling was thus a mandatory practice. Travelling to and from meetings, between communities and authorities of different sorts, was the only way to actively engage in the resettlement project. People travelling between the communities in small cars would mainly be government officials and representatives of different NGO's. In the communities, small cars were firmly associated with visitors who would arrive to claim the complete attention of community leaders and at times the entire community for the duration of their visit. They came to direct and to instruct, and while they were present community life revolved around them. The cars, with chauffeur and passengers, would depart again well before nightfall.

I stayed behind when the visitors left, and I strived to make myself available when people in the communities went to work on different projects. While I actively asked to participate in carrying buckets of cement, I waited for invitations when it came to different community defining projects. This was commented upon in the communities. People were well acquainted with the ways visitors (amongst them anthropologists) were expected to act. In being present, but making no attempt to 'take over' and direct community activities, I did not fit this pattern. It was important to me to remain when the small cars left. By remaining, I had the opportunity to be part of everyday community resettlement life. By taking care to do most of my travelling on buses and lorries, avoiding the private cars, I sought to maintain my focus on the resettling communities.

I conducted my fieldwork in Spanish. Understanding and speaking Nasa Yuwe would undoubtedly have given me further insight into community inside. People in both resettlements were bilingual, but Nasa Yuwe was more actively used in San José than in Tóez. The future use and preservation of Nasa Yuwe was an explicit concern in both resettlements. If visitors were present, community meetings were held mainly in Spanish. When no visitors from outside the indigenous communities were present, meetings would be conducted in a mixture of Nasa Yuwe and Spanish. My presence at community meetings was in terms of choice of language ignored. I sat in on a lot of meetings conducted in Nasa Yuwe. As we returned home afterwards, at times late at night when discussions had dragged out, I was provided with translations and

commentary. The people I worked with thus had a very direct means at hand when they wished to exclude me from any discussion.

People in San José and Tóez were in general very conscious of my presence, my work, and what they thought should be of interest to me. I was deliberately invited to observe and engage with practical construction efforts made by self-conscious communities. Anthropology and anthropologists were something people in both communities were well acquainted with. Their status as Indians, and thus their interest to 'people like me', was an accepted truth. Much of the anthropology done amongst indigenous peoples in Colombia follows the French fieldwork tradition of intensive interview work. Accordingly, my tape recorder was asked for repeatedly, while my stated interest in carrying posts and digging ditches was met by incomprehension. I did tape some interviews. I sat in on a lot of meetings, and I travelled when invited along with members of the communities to encounters they considered relevant for my work. Throughout, my main focus was the everyday practice of resettlement.

In July 1996, at the beginning of my fieldwork, people in the resettlements were living in tents and shacks made of plastic sheets, cardboard, and corrugated iron. By the time I left, in July 1997, I had not only travelled and sat in on meetings, but carried bricks, cleared pasture land, and poured concrete. I believe that it was my presence over time while the day to day construction of resettlement was happening that forms my contribution to the study of resettlement efforts among the Nasa after the disaster of Páez.

The context of post disaster relief work poses challenges in a fieldwork context. The reconstruction effort was well under way when I arrived in the field. The situation was no longer perceived as one of flux and crisis. The fact that the tents stood on resettlement land, land where the community expected to live for years to come, and not on a borrowed temporary plot, was presented as making all the difference. Choosing and settling on land is in the Cauca Province a complex political matter. The community of Tóez decided to resettle in an area where big land owners and indigenous communities have been in conflict over ownership rights in land for decades. The San José community spent considerable energy on how best to manage the relationship with their new neighbours. Before the disaster both communities lived in Tierradentro, a predominantly Nasa area where indigenousness was to a large extent taken for

12

granted. Both communities resettled in areas where their new neighbours were mestizo and afrocolombian farmers.

The epistemological uprooting of informants also has firm methodological implications. The tendency of anthropologists to tidy people into tidy villages with tidy village communities feasible for doing tidy anthropology has been well documented and soundly criticised (e.g. Clifford 1997; Gupta and Fergusson 1997a, b). Deconstructing rigid rootedness and reconstructing useful fieldwork approaches to deal with travel as well as dwelling have been central concerns in anthropological debate in the last decade (e.g. Malkki 1990, 1995; Olwig and Hastrup 1997; Olwig 1997, 1998; Clifford 1997; Fardon 1990; Hannertz 2003). My material presents uprooted communities whose main project is constructing just what anthropological methodology goes to great lengths to avoid taking for granted: A tidy village with defined boundaries where the community can maintain their Nasaness and produce firm spatial anchorage.

Some practical matters as regards to terminology and the use of material need clarification before I move on. Following my informants, I have chosen to use the term 'village' to refer to the nucleated settlements constructed by both the community of San José and Tóez in resettlement. The very implications and connotations making this term troublesome for anthropologists were, in fact, explicit and highly desirable qualities for my informants when employing it.[6] Their stated resettlement project was, as described above, to construct delineated, rooted nodal points suitable for the future survival of community inside (Malkki 1997a; Hastrup and Olwig 1997).

I use in this thesis the terms 'Indian' and 'indigenous' without any attempt to distinguish between them. In this, I follow my informants. 'Indigenous' is the most common term in referring to the Indigenous rights movement gaining ground in Cauca from the 1970's onward. 'Indian' was more common in everyday usage in the resettlements. My informants were careful to underline the two as equivalents, and free of derogatory content.

---

[6] In Spanish, my informants consistently employed the term 'pueblo'. I will discuss implications and consequences of this practice further in Chapter 4.

Further, I make no attempt to systematically compare resettlement processes in San José and Tóez in this thesis. I use material from both resettlements, selected according to relevance and text composition. Some chapters will concentrate mainly on one resettlement; others are based on material from both.

When I quote from recoded interviews in this thesis (e.g. Lisandro Campo at the beginning of this chapter), the quotes are chosen because they illustrate and make general fieldwork conclusions more immediate. I started recording interviews after having spent six months in the field, and used them sparingly but explicitly to get on tape comments and explanations both my informants and, by that time, I were well aware of as crucial and central resettlement concerns.[7]

Previous anthropological works on the Nasa have dealt with the construction of history (Rappaport 1998; Espinosa 1995b, 1996), indigenous politics and intellectuals (e.g. Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002; Gros 1993), farming and peasant analysis (e.g. Ortiz 1973; Findji and Rojas 1985; Sevilla C. 1986) and traditional cosmology and medicine (Portela G. 1995; Espinosa 1995b). In this thesis, I want to look at everyday construction of community and place in two resettlement communities. Chapter 2 will provide historical and political context on the Nasa and the situation they deal with in resettlement. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will discuss settling practices, concentrating on land management, house building and food practices. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 will then consider the resettlements in a wider spatial context, using travelling practices as the point of departure. The practical construction of community, and the conscious production of ties between community and land, will be analytical concerns throughout. My aim is to discuss resettlement in terms of bricks and busses.

---

[7] Joanne Rappaport generously made available to me transcriptions and permission to quote some interviews and life histories she recorded during visits to San José and Tóez in July and August 1996. I have quoted from the four listed below, all of which I had the opportunity to sit in on. All other interviews and recordings quoted in this thesis were made by me. Translations of all interview quotes are mine.

       Lisandro Campo, in San José, July 27th 1996
       José Manuel Campo, in San José, July 27th 1996
       Jorge Inseca, in Tóez, August 4th 1996
       Felipe Morales, in Tóez, August 5th 1996

# Chapter 2 – Backdrop to resettlement

The disaster of Páez is the dramatic defining moment of resettlement life. Disaster does, however, happen to people with history, people who at the time of disaster find themselves in a specific time and place.[8] If I am to explore reconstruction processes, I need to do this within the framework relevant for my informants when they resettle. The people from Tóez and Sán José used the resources at their disposal for all they were worth. They drew on history, on geography, on their status as indigenous communities within the Colombian nation state, and on the NGO's arriving on the scene to construct their post-disaster lives.[9]

With this chapter I aim to provide a backdrop, one that may serve to ground and situate my discussion of resettlement in the chapters to come. I am going to start by presenting the Nasa and their pre-disaster situation in Tierradentro, the area where the *resguardos* of Tóez and San José were situated. The Nasa, as an ethnic group, then needs to be situated historically. I will pay some attention to the ways migration and history have been managed in Nasa tradition. The wider political context involving the Colombian state, the indigenous movement, as well as the various organisations engaged in the post-disaster reconstruction will be presented towards the end of the chapter. Throughout, focus will be on the relevance these aspects and actors have for my informants in their resettlement efforts.

The Nasa have accomplished the feat of surviving conquest, colony and republic up to the present as a distinct indigenous group. Today, they are the second largest indigenous group in Colombia,[10] numbering around 100,000.[11] Most of them live in the Provinces of Cauca and Huila, in the southern Andean region of Colombia. Tóez and San José, the communities with which I did fieldwork, were both before the 1994 disaster situated in the area known as Tierradentro.[12] Tierradentro sits on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central, in the north

---

[8] For disasters understood and analysed as natural, social, economic, political and cultural processes, see e.g. Blaikie et al. 1996, Romero and Maskrey 1993, Wilches-Chaux 1993, García A. 1993, 1996, Saavedra 1996, Oliver-Smith 1996, Musset 1996.
[9] General descriptions and discussion on the history, political situation and indigenous groups of Colombia can be found for example in Bushnell 1993, Pearce 1990, Gairdner and Tuft 1995, Chaves M. et al. 1995, Correa 1993, Proyecto ONIC, CECOIN, GhK 1995.
[10] The Wayuu (Guajiro), living in the department of La Guajira on the Atlantic coast, number about 129,000 (Pineda Camacho 1995).
[11] (Ministerio de Gobierno. Dirección Genral de Asuntos Indígenas. Bogotá, D.C. 1995 in Pineda Camacho 1995). These numbers vary according to source. Both Rappaport (1998) and Findji and Bonilla (1995:106) estimate the number of Nasa to be about 200,000.
[12] The name Tierradentro implies inaccessibility and isolation (Chaves et al. 1995:198). The Spanish 'tierra adentro' means the land inside, the interior, remote area. According to Chaves and Puerta (1984:13) the area was named by Sebastián de Benalcázar's men when they arrived towards the middle of the 16th century. They found the area difficult in terms of terrain, and also in terms of the inhabitants, who offered the Spanish conquistadors fierce resistance (see below, this chapter).

eastern corner of the Cauca Province. It is home to some 39,000 Nasa, living and farming at altitudes ranging from 1,000 to 3,500 metres above sea level.[13]

The Nasa are traditionally known in literature as well as generally in Colombia as the *Paeces*. As part of the process of ethnic consciousness-building, their own term for themselves, the Nasa, is now gaining ground (e.g. Rappaport 1998).[14] Nasa means 'people' in Nasa Yuwe. Nasa Yuwe was the first language of a lot of my informants.[15] In Spanish, my informants referred to themselves continually as 'la gente' – the people – as opposed to everyone not Nasa.

Migration has been a constant aspect of Nasa history. At the time of the conquest their main settlement was on the plains near La Plata. They were in the process of establishing themselves in Tierradentro. Since then they have kept moving, establishing themselves in new areas as need and incentive arose. Today, Nasa communities are scattered in six departments of south-western Colombia.[16] In this situation of relative fluidity, Tierradentro held a very special position.

Tierradentro has been the one indisputable area where Nasa to a large extent have taken ethnic belonging for granted over time. Many Nasa live in Tierradentro. In some parts of Tierradentro, groups of mestizo and afrocolombian peasants have long settlement histories. Still, Nasaness is not in dispute, and at the time of the 1994 disaster it was not something people felt had to be defended or protected. Nasa Yuwe was and is the main language in parts of the area, and there are still a few people who do not speak Spanish. A lot of land in Tierradentro is administered under the *resguardo* system, with communal ownership the long established basis of community life.

The administrative structure in the *resguardos* has an annually elected *cabildo* council as its focal point. The *cabildo* is presided over by a governor. These positions are rotated among the members of the *resguardo*. While land invasions formed the basis for the initial indigenous

---

[13] Two municipalities make up the area called Tierradentro: Páez and Inzá. Some 30,000 Nasa live in the municipality of Páez, amounting to 75% of the population. For the municipality of Inzá, the corresponding numbers are nearly 8,900 Nasa, making up 50% of the population (Tierra Profanada 1995; Wilches-Chaux 1995:123).

[14] In quotes the terms 'Paeces' or 'Páez' will appear regularly to refer to the Nasa.

[15] Nasa Yuwe (Paez, 'la lengua') belongs to the linguistic family Marco-Chibcha. Early work on Nasa Yuwe includes the 1755 catechism, grammar and dictionary elaborated by Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco. At the time I was doing fieldwork, two orthographies for writing Nasa Yuwe were in use. One was developed by the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (Grammar: Slocum 1986; Dictionary: Slocum and Gerdel 1983). The other was the work of linguists from the Consejo Rregional Indígena del Cauca and their 'Programa de educación bilingüe', presented in "Nasa Yuwete piisan f'i'n'i: El alfabeto Nasa Yuwe", and researchers from the Universidad de los Andes (Rojas Cureieux, Tulio; Rocío Nieves Oviedo and Marcos Yule Yatacue 1991).

[16] Caquetá, Cauca, Huila, Putumayo, Tolima, Valle del Cauca (Tierra Profanada 1995; Findji and Bonilla 1995:107).

16

organisational activities in the Cauca Province in the last third of the 20th century, these were not an issue in Tierradentro. Ownership rights to land in Tierradentro were already tied to the *resguardos*.
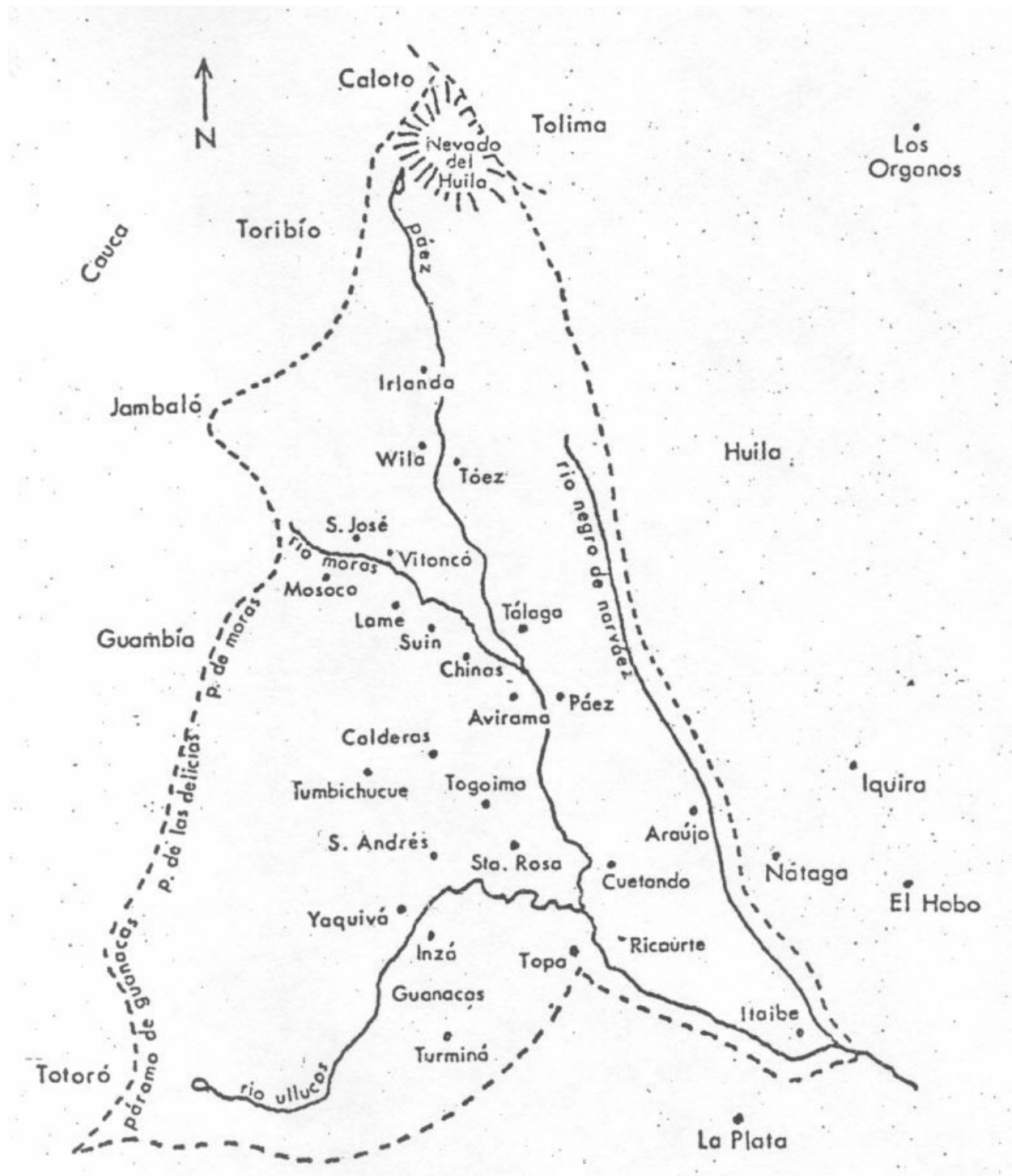


The Tierradentro area (see map on page 2) showing the different Nasa *resguardos* in the area. The Nevado del Huila shown on this map forms part of the Cordillera Central mountain range running along the western border of the Tierradentro area (map adapted from Rappaport 1982).

Tierradentro is regarded by many Nasa as their cultural cradle. Nasa tradition, language and historical narrative are anchored in Tierradentro more strongly than in any other area where Nasa live today. The landscape here is a reservoir of meaning to be drawn upon in different situations. Tierradentro presents an ideal of territorial defence, of resistance and of cultural survival. Tierradentro's position as the cultural core-land of the Nasa gave the disaster and the resettlement process that followed special importance and ramifications for all Nasa, those living elsewhere as well as those directly affected.[17]

**The Nasa in colonial history**

Tierradentro plays centre stage in Nasa history from the time of the conquest. This is where the Nasa fled to evade the pressure from hostile neighbours and conquistadors. Withdrawing to the steep, broken hills, difficult to access and easily defended, proved to be the crucial element in their strategy for survival as a people. Tierradentro consists mainly of steep hills and wild rivers. When roads and bridges built over the years were wiped out by the 1994 disaster, the basic challenges the landscape poses were brought very clearly to the forefront. Paths were again narrow, steep and the only means of overland travel, and river crossings depended on taravitas.[18]

Finding themselves to the north of the Inca Empire, the Spanish conquistadors were not faced with an Imperial army to be defeated once and for all. There was no already established central power base to lay claim to, and no central administration to adapt to the needs of the conquerors. 'The natives' had no previous experience with hierarchical state structures, and hid in the mountains rather than pay their taxes. The Nasa emerge in records from the first two centuries of colonial rule as troublesome subjects of the Spanish crown, willing and able to take up weapons against the invaders. Historical records chronicle battles against the Spanish and against neighbouring indigenous groups.[19] The Nasa provided the famous conquistador, founder of cities and at this time governor of the Cauca Province, Sebastián de Benalcázar, with his first military defeat in the New World at the Peñón de Tálaga in 1542 (Rappaport 1996:41, 184). Their repeated levelling of the Spanish settlement of Caloto made it necessary to move Caloto to

---

[17] Tierradentro as a significant archaeological region plays an implicit role in this context. The national and international recognition of the importance of the area and the finds made here adds to Tierradentro's image as an area where purely Indian, pre-conquest roots run deep. Because of the archaeological Tierradentro remains a stop on the Colombian tourist trail. See e.g. Chaves and Puerta (1984) for a description of the archaeological finds in Tierradentro.

[18] Suspension bridge of the simplest variety based on one aerial cable. To cross, one is suspended in a harness attached to the cable, and pulls oneself along the cable hand over hand. Cargo is suspended and then pulled across with an attached line.

[19] Other indigenous groups include among others the Yalcones, the Guanacos, the Pijaos and the Guambianos. Nasa tradition focuses on the defeat of the Guambianos and their chief Calambás in the second half of the 16th century, through which the Nasa gained access to the western slopes of the cordillera. The Pijaos were the most important allies of the Nasa in the struggles against the Spanish (Rappaport 1998:39).

the western slopes of the Cordillera Central, where it is found today (Gómez Valderrama 1993).[20]

In Nasa historical tradition, this period is remembered through the traces it left in the landscape of Tierradentro. The story of La Gaitana, the famous chief who took up arms against the Spanish to avenge the murder of her son, is recounted in terms of what happened where. The Nasa were gathered at Avirama when the Spanish captured and killed her son, and the subsequent battle took place at Caloto in Wila. The gold at the centre of this dispute is still today reported to be hidden deep in the mountain of Tumbichucue, where it is kept safe from outsiders encroaching on Nasa territory and ways of life. [21] Tálaga, Wila, Avirama and Tumbichucue are places in Tierradentro all Nasa from the area know well.

While La Gaitana continued to contribute to anchoring Nasa communities in space in resettlement – the bakery and shop in the resettlement of San José was named after her – questions of land rights and land management repeatedly placed Don Juan Tama centre stage.[22] By the middle of the 17th century open hostilities between the Nasa and the Spanish had come to an end. The Spanish implemented their rule in Tierradentro by means of the *resguardo* system. Juan Tama earned his status in Nasa tradition by securing written *resguardo* titles to land in Tierradentro and the surrounding area. The *resguardo* system established a direct relationship between the Spanish crown and the Indian chief Juan Tama. The title was vested in Juan Tama through his position as an already established chief of a chiefdom, to hold on behalf of the community living in this area. Through this system, Nasa communities obtained written documents granting them title to land. The Indians made the Spanish administrative system work for them, securing some degree of control over land they regarded as their own.[23]

---

[20] The settlement of Nueva Segovia de Caloto was founded for the first time in 1543 in Wila, Tierradentro, by Juan de Cabrera (nephew of Sebastián de Benalcázar). By 1714, when it was moved to its present location to the west of the Cordillera Central, it had been levelled by Indian attacks nine times (Gómez Valderrama 1993).

[21] The story of La Gaitana, as told by Julio Niquinás (Rappaport 1998:181ff.). La Gaitana's famous clash with Pedro de Añasco and Juan de Ampudias (and their men) happened in 1538 (Espinosa 1996:77). Añasco had Güiponga, La Gaitana's son, burned alive. She then led an army of Nasa and Pijaos against the Spanish. Upon winning the battle, she had Añasco captured alive, and subsequently tortured to death in revenge (Rappaport 1998).

[22] Doubts have been raised as to the exact ethnic identity of both La Gaitana (var.) and Juan Tama (Rappaport 1998). Perafán (1992:32) argues for understanding Nasa ethnic identity in terms of place, as a product of coexistence between various ethnic groups in the Tierradentro area at the time of and following the conquest.

[23] The *resguardo* system was an elaboration on the encomienda system in the colonial administration of the Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá). The encomienda vested considerable power with the encomendero, the person who held land by title from the Spanish crown, often as a reward for conquest activities. The *resguardo*, on the other hand, gave the Indians some independence, and isolated them from outside (Spanish, mestizo and encomendero) influence. The benefits that fell to the encomendero under the encomienda system now came directly to the Spanish crown, in terms of control, taxes and work tribute. (Rappaport 1998:48). Caciazgos, or chiefdoms, were established in Tierradentro and the surrounding area from around the mid 17th century. Resguardo titles were granted to the caciques, the chiefs, of these chiefdoms on behalf of their communities (Rappaport 1998:53-54).

The titles granted by the crown in 1700 (Pitayó) and 1708 (Vitoncó) to Don Juan Tama de la Estrella y Calambás, established him as the quintessential cultural hero for later Nasa.[24] In the landscape of Tierradentro, the stream where he was born, the community of El Cabuyo where he spent his growing years, the *resguardos* he governed, and the mountain lake where he made sacrifices and ultimately disappeared are all well known.[25] He is as much a mythological as a historical figure, with the landscape, Nasa oral history, and written documents of the colonial archives reinforcing each other to underline his significance (Rappaport 1998).

The *resguardo* titles have been the basis of the Nasa defence of their territories up until the present. The *resguardos* have changed from the large, hereditary chiefdoms of the late 17th century, to today's much smaller community run *resguardos*. What have remained constant are the *resguardo* institution and the *resguardo* title, as essential resources in the management of territory. For the Nasa today, the *resguardo* is still the fundamental tool in territorial defence. The *resguardo* was and is the basis for the indigenous struggle to regain control over usurped lands (Gros 1991; Avirama and Márques 1995; Espinosa 1995a, b, 1996; Rappaport 1985, 1998). When resettling after the disaster of Páez, the *resguardo* institution played centre stage. The possible adaptations that could be made for the *resguardo* to be an effective and useful response to the challenges of post-disaster resettlement were thoroughly and continuously debated by everyone involved in the process.

**The Nasa as farmers**

The Nasa are first and foremost farmers. The *resguardo* is crucial in that it assigns rights to farmland. These rights are assigned on the basis of ethnicity and long standing ties between families and territory. Belonging to a *resguardo* and being assured rights to farmland on the basis of that belonging is fundamental to Nasaness. Rappaport underlines this: "To be Páez is to be a farmer. …The only true work is farming and the only good Páez is a farmer who pursues other specializations in conjunction with agricultural labor" (1985:32).

---

[24] The *resguardo* titles established in this period include the two mentioned granted on behalf of Don Juan Tama for the *resguardos* of Pitayó in 1700 and Vitoncó in 1708, title to the *resguardo* of Toribío and Tacueyó established by Don Manuel de Quilos y Sicos in 1700, and that of Togoima in 1727 (?) on behalf of the Gueymouse family. The actual land areas encompassed in these titles were much larger than the *resguardos* of corresponding names today. See map in Rappaport 1998:52.

[25] Don Juan Tama is also considered a significant shaman, *thë wala* in Nasa Yuwe (referred to in Spanish as "medicos tradicionales"). The *thë walas* play a significant role in the Juan Tama myth, as it was their role to be present and take him out of the stream when he arrived with the current, to help train him well for his life's work among the Nasa of Tierradentro. The *thë walas* today are charged with keeping alive his memory as well as continuing the necessary rituals to keep Nasa territory strong and clean. The role of the *thë walas* in Nasa medicine is explored in Portela 1995. See general Nasa ethnography for more on their role in territorial maintenance (e.g. Rappaport 1998).

While maize is consistently presented as the most Nasa of crops, Nasa farmers also underline the importance of diversification. Partly, this comes as a direct result of the land they cultivate. Tierradentro farmland lies at altitudes ranging from 1,000 to 3,500 metres above sea level. Low altitude crops include coca and sugarcane; the middle altitudes are suitable for maize and beans, while potatoes and other Andean tubers are significant high altitude crops. Ortíz has explored Nasa farming practices as a peasant economy (1973).[26] Diversification of crops is also something that is sought after in its own right, as discussed by Field (1994, 1996) in his work on a modernising project among Nasa farmers in Pitayó.[27] Verticality is an important issue when the diversification of crops is discussed in an Andean context, and having access to land at various altitudes was underlined as significant when the communities discussed possibilities for resettlement.[28]

Ethnography on relationships between people and land are of considerable interest from a resettlement perspective. I want to mention two interrelated approaches presented in anthropological discussions of the Nasa: Rappaport's discussion of territorial practices, and Espinosa's concept of 'sowing history'.[29]

Rappaport underlines the importance of activity for the definition of territory in Nasa *resguardos*. She approaches Nasa territorial practices through a discussion of the Nasa Yuwe word *kiwe*, translating it loosely as 'territory'. The term *kiwe* does not distinguish between soil, space, land, or political entity – "In essence, *kiwe* is the Páez universe" (Rappaport 1985:31). Rappaport goes on to identify the activities underlying the production of *kiwe*: "It is as though land had no meaning unless acted upon through the activities of 'looking,' 'traversing,' and 'planting.' Territory is maintained and defended through agricultural activity as much as through *cabildo* legal procedures and ritual." (Rappaport 1985:32) If practice, through the activities of

---

[26] See also Sevilla C. 1986 and Findji and Rojas 1985 on this.

[27] A discussion of the inclusion of the opium poppy in higher altitude agriculture among the Nasa is included in Field 1994, as element in CNK's (below, this chapter) approach to reconstruction and resettlement, see Wilches-Chaux 1995b. See also Proyecto Enlace et al. (s.f.:12).

[28] Rappaport (1985:42n) contrasts the Nasa approach to verticality with the classic archipelago description provided by Murray (1972) for the Central Andes. To gain access to different ecological zones, the Nasa have traditionally established new communities as outposts, often wresting land from competitors by force. The resettlements after the disaster of Páez are discussed by the communities concerned as part of this tradition of moving away to diversify land. See Portela G. (1995) on traditional Nasa thinking on verticality.

[29] Contributors to Nasa ethnography also include Arcilia V. (1989), Bernal V. (1953, 1954a, 1954b, 1955, 1968), Sevilla C. (1986), Ortiz (1973), Findji y Rojas (1985) and Bonilla (1977). Some biographical notes on early ethnographers among the Nasa are found in Miñana B. (1994), whose main focus is Nasa flute-music and the festival cycle. Portela G. (1995, various) has focused on Nasa ethno-medicine and cosmology. See Rappaport 1998 for more.

looking, traversing and planting, defines territory, then, as practice is altered, territory or land will be redefined accordingly. Defining and appropriating land is a practical, conscious activity. When Don Juan Tama is reported to have walked the boundaries of his land to demarcate and define it, these activities are underlined as having historical roots and significance. The practical activities performed on new land by members of the resettling communities will be placed centre stage in the following chapters.

Espinosa (1995b) takes this further in her discussion of the Nasa practice of 'sowing history'. She presents this as an approach to the colonisation of land (Appadurai 1996). The appropriation and use of new land implies converting that land into Nasa territory. The concrete practices of sowing history focus on actively engaging the land in memory – real and mythical – as well as on practical use (Espinosa 1995b:281). Agricultural activity, together with community ritual and *cabildo* legal procedures (Rappaport 1985:32), is the basis for the defence and conservation, the production and reproduction of Nasa territory:

> The structural persistence of the Páez presents itself throughout their understanding of space/ time as one of the main sources of transformation and change. It can be glimpsed in their strategic ability for *'sowing history'* moulding territory with identity. This happens in ethnic interplay, along the frontier 'edges', always in varying ways, but with the characterising symbols persisting throughout (Espinosa 1995:279).[30]

Espinosa goes on to describe the practice of reproducing the model geography of Tierradentro in other areas of Nasa settlement. The mythological landscape is transported and superimposed in a new place to provide meaning and significance: "…about the manner in which the Páez travel with their landscape [of Tierradentro] throughout Tierrafuera" (Espinosa 1995b:285). [31] This sacred geography (Espinosa 1995b; Rappaport 1998) is thus an important tool brought to the colonising effort.

Over time Nasa colonising activity in Tierrafuera has taken various forms. As I will explore in the following, territorial belonging is not, and has historically not been, considered an impediment or contradiction to continued travel and migration.

---

[30] My translation, original italics. "La persistencia estructural de los paez se presenta a lo largo de su concepción de espacio/tiempo como una de las principales fuentes de transformación y cambio. Ello se deja entrever en su capacidad estratégia para *"sembrar historia"* conformando territorio con identidad, dentro del juego interétnico, en sus "bordes" fronterizos, siempre de manera diferenciada pero persistiendo en ella los símbolos que los caracterizan." (Espinosa 1995b:279).
[31] My translation."…sobre la forma en que el paez viaja con su paisaje [de Tierradentro] a lo largo de Tierrafuera" (Espinosa 1995b:285). The use of terminology here underlines the inside/ outside dichotomy. Espinosa (1995b:283, 298) contrasts 'Tierradentro' with 'Tierrafuera', the interior (Tierradentro), as opposed to the exterior or outside (Tierrafuera): In other words, the geographical region of Tierradentro as opposed to everywhere else.

**The Nasa in a regional context**

Dispersion and migration has been an important strategy for the Nasa throughout known history. The situation in what is today southern Colombia was at the time of conquest one of various ethnic groups coexisting and mingling in the same areas (Rappaport 1998). The Inca Empire was the immense neighbour to the south, but it never controlled this part of the Andes. The Nasa responded to conquest by going to war and migrating. These were familiar strategies in the pre-conquest landscape of territorial and ethnic fluidity of southern Colombia.

By the mid 17th century, illness, slavery and warfare had combined to reduce the Nasa population to about 10% of it's pre-conquest levels (Rappaport 1998:49). War against the Spanish was no longer feasible. The Nasa compensated by withdrawing further into the mountains of Tierradentro and migrating to other areas. Dispersion is here a means to shield the communities from Spanish influence.

In ethnography on the Nasa, spatial belonging is presented as much as a result of routes through, as of roots in, land (Clifford 1997). Espinosa (1995a, b, 1996) presents the term 'el andar' as a territorial metaphor among the Nasa.[32] This goes further than Rappaport's discussion of territorial maintenance in Tierradentro as the looking at, traversing through, and planting of, land. The focus on activity and movement is with el andar expanded from this core area of Nasaness to include a wider scope of territorial activities. El andar is something communities and individuals all engage in at various levels and at different times of their lives. When Nasa communities are established in new places not only people, but also traditions and history 'walk' – the sowing of history goes hand in hand with the sowing of crops. In the resettlements, this tradition of 'el andar' is a significant aspect of the re-rooting practices engaged in by the communities. It can be seen in the ways territorial practices and traditional community institutions are sown in new land.

'El andar' brings community members to the outside world, and the outside world to the communities. Nasa communities move and take their history and traditions with them. People travel, as individuals or representatives for their communities, and when they return bring the

---

[32] A literal translation of 'el andar' would be 'the walk'. It is used directly indicating somebody moving around, or travelling, a lot (see Chapter 6). In a more general sense, and as it is employed analytically here, it implies the travel and movement of people, ideas and things. Travelling elements are brought out of and into different contexts, with exchange as the direct result (Espinosa 1996).

outside back to the community. Travel, and living outside the *resguardos* or communities for some time – often several years – is a valued and pivotal experience in a lot of life histories. This is something young people do, and people talk about it as an educational experience, as a time when they experienced and learned 'civilisation' (Espinosa 1995b:287; Findji 1993; Findji and Rojas 1985).

Most common was leaving to find paid work. Both men and women worked on the big industrial farms in the lowlands.[33] Women also worked in domestic service in the city, most often Cali or Popayán. Returning to the land and the community is an integral part of this form of 'el andar', in large part taken for granted (Ortiz 1973:56). Community leaders practice another version of 'el andar'. They travel to represent their community in different meetings with other communities and official Colombia. Resettlement actualised experience from these sorts of 'el andar' further for many. Again confronting the outside, people drew on knowledge gained through work and travel during that essential period – most often in their youth.

Migration and travel is not perceived as threatening to the cultural survival of the Nasa in the way described by anthropologists working in Andean communities where identity seems to be purely a consequence of spatial fixity: "[A]ll the cognitive principles that constitute the cosmology of the Juncalese are geographically fixed to their territory; were they to leave home it would mean leaving their whole world behind" (Foch in Kaarhus 1988:97). Migration and resettlement studies based on this kind of spatial conception tend to centre on the dramatic and devastating experiences of suddenly finding oneself in a sense outside the world.[34] Close ties between history, landscape and world view are certainly very much part of traditional Nasa thinking. Rappaport (1998) demonstrates how what could be termed traditional rootedness is perceived as a resource also in the Tierradentro communities, to be used and adapted to changing circumstances over time. For Espinosa, 'el andar' epitomises this process in Nasa communities in Tierrafuera as well as Tierradentro:

> El andar appears here as a social category which transforms the inside processes. The cultural is
> invigorated through its recreation towards the outside, and also through not shutting it in with cultural

---

[33] This type of employment is referred to as *jornalear*. The workers are employed and paid by the *jornada* – a day's work. This further underlines the temporariness of the situation. This is not organised work migration, solicited by hacienda owners, where people from one place migrate seasonally in more or less organised groups (see e.g. Skar 1994 for an example from the Andean region), but largely journeys initiated and made by individuals, varying from a few days to several years in duration.

[34] Resettlement and relocation studies, victimising and pacifying the affected by focusing on the 'cast adrift perspective', are discussed in Sørensen 1997. The idea that indigenous people have special quality ties to 'Mother earth', and thus will be more severely affected when forced to move, is common (e.g. Wilches-Chaux 1995b:135; Ramos 1998). Malkki discusses the tendency to describe people as plants, refugees thus being uprooted and to be regarded as matter out of place (Malkki 1997).

walls inherited from the past. (….) [I]n an inside interpretation these same borders represent the contradiction which invigorates the inside process (Espinosa 1995b:299–300).[35]

The history and belonging embedded in the terrain of Tierradentro is a resource to be drawn upon and adapted to changing places and circumstances. The resettling communities draw heavily on them, and the indigenous movement use them actively when engaging in the Colombian political present.

**Politics and the indigenous movement**

When Quintín Lame established himself as a significant leader among the Nasa at the beginning of the 20th century, his point of departure was not Tierradentro. Rather, his main area of operations was the Nasa communities on the western slopes of the Cordillera Central. Quintín Lame agitated for land reform among the sharecropping Nasa in Cauca. The *resguardos* had managed to keep control over parts of Tierradentro, and in this capacity they served as Lame's ideal model of land ownership. Quintín Lame presented Juan Tama, in his capacity as original title holder, as one of his heroes (Rappaport 1998). While his rebellion was broken up and Lame himself imprisoned in 1917, his thoughts live on through the manuscript he authored.[36] This manuscript is one of the three works Joanne Rappaport concentrates on in her study of Nasa historical thought (Rappaport 1998).

Quintín Lame's book was finally published in 1971. This was also the year the Regional Indian Council of the Cauca (Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca), CRIC, was founded. After decades of civil war and violence, in the early 70's the landless sharecropping Indians of Cauca were organising with the explicit aim of claiming land.[37] The communities and leaders involved found Lame's work useful as an organisational tool. The motto of CRIC, "Land, Culture, Unity" (Tierra, Cultura, Unidad), reflects thinking central in Lame's approach to reclaiming land for Cauca Indians.

---

[35] My translation. "El 'andar' aparece aquí como una categoría social transformadora del proceso interno. Lo cultural se dinamiza recreándolo hacia afuera, y no encerrándolo en paredes culturales heredadas del pasado. (….) [E]n una interpretación interna esos mismos bordes representan la contradicción que dinamiza el proceso interno." (Espinosa 1995b:299–300).

[36] "Los pensamientos del indio que se educó dentro de las selvas colombianas" – in English, "The Thoughts of the Indian Educated in the Colombian Forests". The manuscript was 118 pages long, and completed in 1939. It was not published until 1971, four years after Quintín Lame himself died in Ortega, Tolima, where he had spent the last 40 years of his life (Rappaport 1998:112ff.). CRIC material consistently quotes Quintín Lame's work (e.g. CRIC 1996 "Calendario"; CRIC 1998 "Para que investigamos"; Perafán S. 1992) and present him, alongside Juan Tama, as great leaders of the past.

[37] Violent struggle has been a part of daily life for people in Cauca, and in Colombia in general, for most of the 20th century. Tierradentro has been hard hit by every upsurge in violent activity, in particular by the *Violencia* of the 1950's and 60's. All main guerrilla groups operated here from the late 1970's onward, also implying a strong army presence in the area. The pan-Indian guerrilla movement operating in Cauca during the 1980's (until it disarmed to participate in the National Constituent Assembly leading up to the 1991 constitution) was called Quintín Lame Armed Movement (Movimiento armado Quintín Lame), MAQL (Espinosa 1996; Findji and Bonilla 1995:115).

Gros (1991) traces the tradition for territorial defence in the indigenous communities of Cauca from La Gaitana in the 16th century, through Quintín Lame and his followers, to the emergence of CRIC. While the peasant organisations at the time fought to make more land available to the individual peasant, CRIC took as its point of departure the way land is embedded in the indigenous constructs of *resguardo* and community:

> [A]s the Indigenous person is not only a peasant, an exploited farmer, but above all member of a community, the land is for him much more than a simple tool: it is above all else the inalienable territory of the community, the place where the community exercises its sovereignty. The economic struggle embarked upon by the peasant cannot be separated from the community's struggle for its right to exist (Gros 1991:184-185).[38]

The struggle to repossess land must, according to CRIC, have the communities as point of departure.[39] In this way, it is firmly established within the *resguardo* structure. The fundamental aims and strategies of CRIC are embedded in this approach: The fight for land and indigenous rights may be directed from CRIC, but must be based in the communities if it is to have any significance or success.

Basing their repossession effort on the idea that indigenous groups had special rights to land because of their position as the original Americans, the communities harnessed the *resguardo* as both the main tool and the chief goal of their struggle.[40] Displaced communities cited old *resguardo* titles – at hand or remembered – to justify and strengthen their claims. *Resguardo* titles and extensions to *resguardo* land were issues all community members could stand behind, underlining internal solidarity and collectivity.

By defining the struggle in terms of the community versus the outside, two potentially difficult issues were resolved. Firstly, the unequal distribution of existing *resguardo* lands among the members of the *resguardo* was not affected. There was nowhere near sufficient land to go around in any case, and the community's efforts were therefore directed towards claiming outside land to be distributed among the landless members. Secondly, people who would

---

[38] My translation. "..pero como el indígena no es sólo un campesino, un agricultor explotado, sino ante todo un miembro de una comunidad, la tierra es para él mucho más que una simple herramienta: es ante todo el territorio inalienable de la comunidad, el lugar donde ésta ejerce su soberanía. La lucha económica emprendida por el campesino no puede separarse de la lucha de la comunidad por su derecho a la existencia." (Gros 1991:184-5)

[39] The word used in Spanish is 'recuperación', repossession. See Rappaport 1992 for a discussion of this terminology.

[40] This line of argument is not new. In the year 1700, Don Manuel de Quilo y Sicos secured the title to the *resguardo* of Tacueyó on the western slopes of the Cordillera Central. He argued his case to the Spanish king by referring to the special situation of the Indian population:

> I believe that only Your Majesty has the right to cede lands to white individuals, and that only without injury to the Indian tributaries, because furthermore we have the right and preference because we are not originally from other foreign lands…(Title to Tacueyó in Sendoya, in Rappaport 1998:50).

Juan Tama cited similar arguments (Rappaport 1998:76) when legitimising his claims to territory. The establishment of the *resguardos* codified in legal terms the ownership of lands that both these caciques (see footnote 23) and their followers believed was theirs by right.

otherwise have been forced to leave the *resguardo,* to seek land and work elsewhere, now had a reason to stay. As a whole, this strategy strengthened the *resguardo* and the community as units of organisation (Gros 1991:184).

The Nasa were in the majority in CRIC, but the organisation was very much a Pan-Indian effort. Throughout the 1970's and 80's, continued violence made the efforts towards uniting the indigenous communities of Cauca difficult.[41] The Nasa in Tierradentro, living in long-established *resguardos*, found the focus on land invasions and court battle less relevant than what was the case for sharecropping communities on the western slopes of the Cordillera Central. Still, the resettlement process after the disaster of Páez is directly based on the principles fronted by CRIC: collectivity and the traditional administrative structures of the *resguardo* are the strategies used to further the concrete aim, land for disaster victims, as well as the more general aim, the strengthening of Nasa indigenous communities. CRIC and the work CRIC has been attempting through the years have, as the result of the drastic upheaval of disaster and resettlement, gained currency in new communities and new contexts. The community of Tóez is, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, a good example of this.

CRIC was first among the regional Indian rights organisations to be established in Colombia in the 1970's. The National Organisation of Indigenous Peoples of Colombia, ONIC, founded in 1982, was very much based on the experiences made in Cauca (Avirama and Márques 1994; Findji 1992).[42] Compared to other countries in the Andean region, Colombia is a special case in that Indians make up only 1.5% of the population.[43] At the same time, the 1991 constitution grants the indigenous groups in Colombia special standing. The constitution identifies Colombia as a pluriethnic nation, and provides indigenous communities some autonomy in several aspects of the administration of their territories (Gros 1997; various in Rappaport (ed.) 1996; Gow and Rappaport 2002).[44]

---

[41] For more detailed discussion on the different indigenous and other social movements active in Cauca during the period, see e.g. Avirama and Márques 1994, Findji 1992, Espinosa 1996. Note that in these presentations the different guerrilla groups are as central to the situation and as frequently mentioned as any other organisation.

[42] 'Organisación Nacional Indígena de Colombia'. On Indigenous politics on the national level in Colombia see e.g. Findji 1992, Avirama and Márques 1994, Jackson 2002. Beltrán P. (1989) offers a list of the main conclusions of the congresses held up until publication of both CRIC and ONIC.

[43] Compare this number to Ecuador's 40 %, and Peru, where more than half the population is Indian. The Colombian republic worked very hard to convert the remaining Indian population (warfare, illness and slavery had already taken a heavy toll) into Spanish-speaking, Catholic, mestizo peasants, in short, civilised national citizens (e.g. Pineda C. 1995; Rappaport 1998; Field 1994). What is special about Colombia is not the policy of assimilation and integration, which was general throughout Latin America at the time, but the extent to which it succeeded here – with the end result being the mentioned 1,5 % Indian population of today.

[44] The relevant articles of the 1991 constitution can be found in Avirama and Márques 1994:103-105. For discussion on the ways the 1991 constitution relates to indigenous groups, in particular the groups of Cauca, see Gros 1993, Wade 1999, and e.g.

The basis of the indigenous movement in Cauca is the fight for rights in land. The focus on the *resguardo* institution identifies the land claims as Indian, and as part of the identity and community building processes of CRIC. Here, 'land' must be accompanied by 'culture and unity' to position and justify the struggle in the communities as well as within the discourse of the international indigenous movement. The *resguardo* institution makes for an interesting case in this sense. The historical meanderings of the Nasa *resguardo* exemplify the transformation of a purely colonial institution to form the basis of indigenous territorial defence, as well as the uniting focus of the wider indigenous movement of the late 20th century. The essence of indigenousness is found in the *resguardo*, and this institution exists not in spite of, but as a direct result of 400 years of close contact with conquistadors, the colonial administration and the Colombian state.[45]

While the Nasa as an ethnic group can be firmly placed in the Andean region, Andeanist anthropology has tended to concentrate its efforts on the area previously included in the Inca empire. The Colombian Andes are to a large extent ignored in regional discussions. Rappaport makes an effort to contextualise the Nasa in just this wider regional context, and contrasts the Nasa approach to indigenous ideology construction with that of other Indigenous movements in the Andean region. She points to the strong millenarian elements common in indigenous self representation and the tendency to idealise a 'perfect, pre-colonial condition', as different from the more processual and practical oriented approach of the Nasa (Rappaport 1985:42n4).[46]

After the disaster of Páez, CRIC became an important actor in the reconstruction and resettlement processes. It is in this position they warrant attention in this thesis. The thinking and discourse central to the indigenous movement was also, as will become clear in following chapters, being brought in as staples of everyday conversation and self representation in the resettlements of San José and Tóez. The organised indigenous movement was, however, only

Dover and Rappaport, Rappaport and Dover, Field, Jackson in Rappaport (ed.) 1996: special issue of "Journal of Latin American Anthropology". In particular, the ETI's, Indigenous Territorial Entities, which according to the 1991 constitution should replace the indigenous *resguardos*, are discussed in Field 1996. For a discussion of prior legislation regarding the *resguardo* system (law 89 of 1890) see e.g. Rappaport 1998:93, 143, Findji 1992. On the ways this affects the judicial system see Gow and Rappaport 2002, Perafán S. 1995.

[45] Resistance as an analytical framework is an obvious avenue for this material. See Rappaport 1998. Field (1994) presents a discussion on the relationship between resistance and indigenous ethnicity.

[46] For more discussion of identity politics in Nasa communities see Rappaport 1992, 1996, 1998, Gow 1997, Rappaport and Gow 1997, Gow and Rappaport 2002, Gros 1991, and on a more general level, Ramos 1991, 1994, 1998, and Jackson 1991, 1995, 2002.

one of a long list of entities involved. In the following, I want to present a few of the most important external actors in the resettlement process.

**The resettlement scene and its actors**

Colombia and Cauca in the 1990's present a complex social scene. Navigation in the political and organisational landscape of resettlement was a complicated endeavour for the displaced communities, but one they were very much clear on wanting to take on. Resettlement success was measured by the communities themselves in large degree on how well they managed this. The intricacies of the situation facing them is well illustrated by the presentation below on what entities were involved with the reconstruction of housing one year after the disaster:

> Housing: The agreement is going forward with Comité de Cafeteros del Cauca, Organisation Antioquia Presente, Fundación Compartir, Minuto de Dios, Fundación para la Comunicación Popular (FUNCOP), Plan Padrinos, Doctors Without Borders, Christian Children's Fund (CCF), and other non governmental organisations, and with INURBE [The National Institute of Social Housing and Urban Reform], Caja Agraria, and SENA [National Apprenticeship Service] (Wilches-Chaux 1995a:102).[47]

This list includes organisations and entities at all levels of society, international, national, regional, religious, and non governmental. The list deals only with those involved in the building of houses and was made at a relatively early point in the reconstruction process.

The one entity whith which all affected communities had to work in order to benefit from the available disaster relief programs, NASA KIWE Corporation for the reconstruction of the Páez river basin and bordering areas (henceforth CNK), is not mentioned in this list. CNK was the para-statal agency the Colombian state created and put in charge of coordinating relief and rebuilding efforts after the disaster of Páez (Wilches-Chaux 1995a, 1995b; Cardona 1995; Olson and Sarmiento 1995). Gustavo Wilches-Chaux was director of CNK when he presented the list, and is thus detailing his collaborating partners.

CNK took its name, Nasa Kiwe, from Nasa Yuwe.[48] All government funds for disaster relief and reconstruction were channelled through CNK. All other actors involved in reconstruction were to coordinate their efforts through CNK. Representatives from CRIC sat on the board and

---

[47] My translation, English translations of names of Colombian entities/ organisations in square brackets in the following: "Vivienda: Se esta adelantando la concertación con el Comité de Cafeteros del Cauca [Committee of Coffee in Cauca], la organisación Antioquia Presente [Antioqioa is Present], la Fundación Compartir [Foundation Sharing], el Minuto de Dios [Moment of God], la Fundación para la Comunicación Popular (FUNCOP) [Foundation Contact Between People], el Plan Padrinos [Sponsorship Plan], Médicos sin Fronteras, el Christian Children Fund (CCF) y otras organizaciones no gubernamentales, y con el INURBE, la Caja Agraria [Agrarian Bank] y el SENA…" (Wilches-Chaux 1995a:102). INURBE: Instituto Nacional de Vivienda de Interés Social y Reforma Urbana, SENA: Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje.
[48] 'NASA KIWE Corporacón para reconstrucción de la cuenca del rio Páez y zonas aledañas'. The official CNK (CNK: Corproación Nasa Kiwe) translation of 'Nasa Kiwe' was 'Tierra de la gente', land of the people. 'La gente', the people, would here refer to the Nasa communities. Note that this *kiwe* is the same word discussed in Rappaport (1985).

assisted the various programs in planning and organising their efforts. CNK had programs for immediate disaster relief, roads, agricultural production, the environment, housing, health, land acquisition and education. (Wilches-Chaux 1995a). CNK also expressed grave concerns over what the entity described as a crisis in indigenous culture, and they stated their explicit ambition to work to counteract this (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Findji and Bonilla 1995; Gow and Rappaport 2002:65).

The Catholic Church has held a position of considerable power and influence in Tierradentro, especially through its control of education. At the time of the disaster, various protestant evangelical churches were also very much present in the area (Findji and Bonilla 1995; Rappaport 1998; 1984; Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Beltrán P. 1989). In the context of reconstruction, a variety of more or less religious organisations were involved, Minuto de Dios and CCF being examples of this.[49] The religious order 'Las Lauras' accompanied many communities, among them the community of San José, in resettlement. Two sisters lived in the resettlement, held prayer meetings and helped organise religious festivals.[50] Both Catholic and protestant members of the communities of San José and Tóez attended services with the local congregations where they resettled. These contacts were informal and not directly related to the resettlement project, but they were significant in creating ties between members of the resettling communities and their new neighbours.

While CCF is an example of an international NGO involved in resettlement, local organisations were also part of the scene. Indigenous communities in the area where the community of Tóez wanted to resettle were organised in ACIN, a local section of CRIC.[51] ACIN provided the Tóez leaders with an instant local network, staunch support and proved significant for their success in acquiring the land they wanted. Assistance in reconstruction and resettlement ranged from that

---

[49] El Minuto de Dios is a Colombian NGO funded by a Catholic priest. Its stated aim is to help the poor in Colombia. After the disaster of Páez, the NGO was particulary noted for their effort to built temporary housing in Tierradentro and some resettlements. The NGO CCF, Christian Children's Fund, is international in scope. It was already working in several communities in Tierradentro before the disaster. They had a Popayán office and worked with a sponsor system, where people, many from the US, sponsored a child from one of the communities. As part of the reconstruction effort, CCF widened the scope of their activities in the communities where they were already present, in Tierradentro, in the temporary shelters and in the resettlements.
[50] 'Las Lauras' is a well known religious order among the indigenous communities in Colombia. It was funded by Laura Montoya in 1914, with the explicit purpose of working with the Indian communities (Beltrán P. 1989:83ff.).
[51] Association of *Cabildos* of Northern Cauca (Associación de *Cabildos* del Norte del Cauca). The indigenous communities from the northern part of Cauca hold a special position as a consistently active and initiative-rich voice within CRIC. The activities of ACIN are extensive and varied, combining economic, cultural and political initiatives on behalf of the member *cabildos*.

offered by local schools (The Nucleo in Caloto being an example) to individual professionals taking the initiative to contact the affected communities.

Before I end this chapter, the general situation in Colombia and in Cauca at the time of disaster and resettlement deserves some attention. Although actual fighting was not frequent in the areas of Cauca I frequented during fieldwork, various guerrilla groups as well as the army made their presence felt. The army had checkpoints along the main roads. The local guerrillas were called in to provide security during neighbourhood parties and compensated for this with liquor. The growing of coca and opium poppies were considered practical considerations of agriculture and economy by members of the communities. When these aspects do not constantly stand out in the chapters to come, that is the direct result of my informants take on this situation as normalcy. The resettling communities apparently navigated the politics and practicalities of local Cauca with relative success during my fieldwork. It was mainly CNK who pointed to these aspects of the situation as a worry and consideration in resettlement.[52] CNK tended to express these doubts in rather paternalistic terms as considerations on how to protect the resettling communities from the dangers of acculturation (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Rappaport and Gow 1997).

This is not to say it was not taken seriously, or that the communities involved had not suffered severely at the hands of the army, various guerrilla groups and death squads organised by land owners in the past.[53] The problem of internal displacement as a result of continued violence is serious in Colombia (e.g. Gairdner and Tuft 1995:195; Hernandez D. and Laegreid 2001). My informants were conscious and careful to underline their status as victims of a natural disaster, and thus to distance themselves from the ongoing conflicts.

**Situating resettlement**
The disaster of Páez killed some 1,100 people, destroyed 40,000 ha. of land and displaced 20% of the population of Tierradentro. In June 1995, one year after the disaster, some 1,600 families lived in temporary shelters (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002). Even though the process of choosing resettlement sites was largely completed

---

[52] CNK expressed this concern as an explicit strategy to relocate the communities outside zones of conflict. In practical terms, this proved impossible, as well as of only moderate interest for the resettling communities themselves (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Findji and Bonilla 1995; Rappaport and Gow 1997).
[53] Rappaport discusses in particular how the community of San José was especially hard hit during the *Violencia* period (Rappaport 1998:146). The guerrilla activity in Tierradentro during the subsequent period was considerable, as mentioned above. During the first decades of CRIC a number of its leaders as well as community members participating in land invasions were killed (as exemplified in the Nilo massacre discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis). See e.g. Rappaport 1998, Espinosa 1996, Findji and Bonilla 1995, and literature on CRIC on this.

by the time I arrived in the field, the matter was still under constant discussion. People perceived it as one where the individual communities had to negotiate with CNK to be able resettle where the communities had decided would suit them best.

CNK presented four main considerations which, according to them, should guide the choice of resettlement land for Nasa communities displaced by disaster. The first and most important was that resettlement land should resemble the land the communities had left behind in Tierradentro in terms of ecological conditions. Secondly, resettlement land should be situated in isolated locations, to help counteract the 'crisis of culture' and preserve traditions (Findji and Bonilla 1995; Gow and Rappaport 2002:65). Thirdly, land should be sought in low conflict areas of Cauca. Last but not least, all concerned, the resettling communities, the new neighbours, the municipal councils, the present owners of potential resettlement land, and CNK, should agree that this was a suitable place for resettlement (Wilches-Chaux 1995a, b; Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002).[54]

CNK was very conscious of the cultural dimension of resettlement. An example of how this found expression was their stated and consistent concern with traditional medicine. Nasa *thë walas*, shamans, were called in to evaluate, cleanse and prepare sites for resettlement. This process was initiated and organised by CNK for all resettlements, independently of the presence or absence of *thë walas* in the particular communities (Wilches-Chaux 1995a, b; Rappaport and Gow 1997; CRIC et al. 1994). During my fieldwork, there was no *thë wala* living in the resettled community of San José, and the community of Tóez was visited only periodically. People in the communities referred to this insistent concern with traditional medicine in relation to resettlement sites as a CNK issue.[55]

What was of considerable and explicit concern for both the communities of Tóez and San José was obtaining productive land near urban centres. They looked for land that would compliment,

---

[54] The consistent worry CNK expressed over possible opinions and reception for the resettling communities in the areas they were moving into has its base in the traditional 'fierce warrior Indian image' of the Nasa in official and popular Colombian discourse (Steward and Faron 1959; Chaves and Puerta 1984:13; Rappaport 1992; Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002).

[55] In the resettlements of Tóez and San José, the matter was rarely referred to. The preparatory work had been completed before the communities moved to the resettlement sites. It having been successful meant the area would be a suitable place for a Nasa settlement. The work now held an implicit position as one of the funding events for resettlement. Representatives of CNK were the only ones repeatedly referring to this matter (Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002), possibly to underline their self appointed position as guardians of Nasa culture in the resettlement process. In other resettlement communities the work of the *thë walas* was a much more public and everyday concern. The people from Vitoncó, El Cabuyo and La Troja, resettling in Santa Leticia, had several *thë walas* living in the resettlement and doing continuous work with the land.

32

not equal, the ecological conditions in Tierradentro, to be able to cultivate crops difficult to grow in their home *resguardos*. They hoped to benefit from the markets found in urban centres. Better transport along better roads over shorter distances to get to those markets, and also the educational opportunities found in cities, were concerns. Travel to and from Tierradentro was another aspect to be taken into account when evaluating potential resettlement land.

These concerns did not correspond all that well with the stated program of CNK, and conflicts were inevitable. CNK perceived their role as being one of pointing out suitable alternatives and then providing firm guidance to the communities so that they could choose wisely, i.e. according to what CNK considered important. The communities believed firmly that they themselves should decide what constituted suitable resettlement land, and that CNK should then take care of the practicalities to make this possible.

The people from San José resettled in the municipality of Cajibío, close to the village of El Rosario. Thirty families, about one third of the population from the *resguardo* of San José Tierradentro chose to come to El Rosario.[56] The rest remained in Tierradentro. The resettlement land varied from low to medium productivity (Rappaport and Gow 1997), and agriculture in the area concentrated on coffee and sugar cane. Both were desirable products for the San Joseños, and fitted the desire to compliment agricultural production in Tierradentro. El Rosario was also considered convenient in terms of distances. It was only a two hour drive from Popayán, and from there it was possible to reach Tierradentro in the same day. El Rosario was a mestizo area, and the only other Indian settlement nearby was another resettlement (Pat Yu', in La Capilla).

The community of Tóez consisted of about 118 families. Their *resguardo* land in Tierradentro was completely wiped out in the disaster, and practically all members of the *resguardo* resettled as a group close to the small town Caloto, in the municipality of Caloto in the northern part of the Cauca Department. The resettlement was close to the Panamerican Highway, well connected with both Popayán and Cali, but considerably closer to the much bigger city of Cali.[57]

---

[56] The information on the number of resettling families is taken from Nasa Kiwe 1997. Inconsistencies in these numbers are found (e.g. Rappaport and Gow 1997). This might be due to varying definitions of the family, and various censuses in circulation (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the family as a tool in census production).
[57] The Panamerican Highway runs north-south through Colombia, passing through the cities of Cali and Popayán on the way. It is the main north-south road and transport route through Cauca.
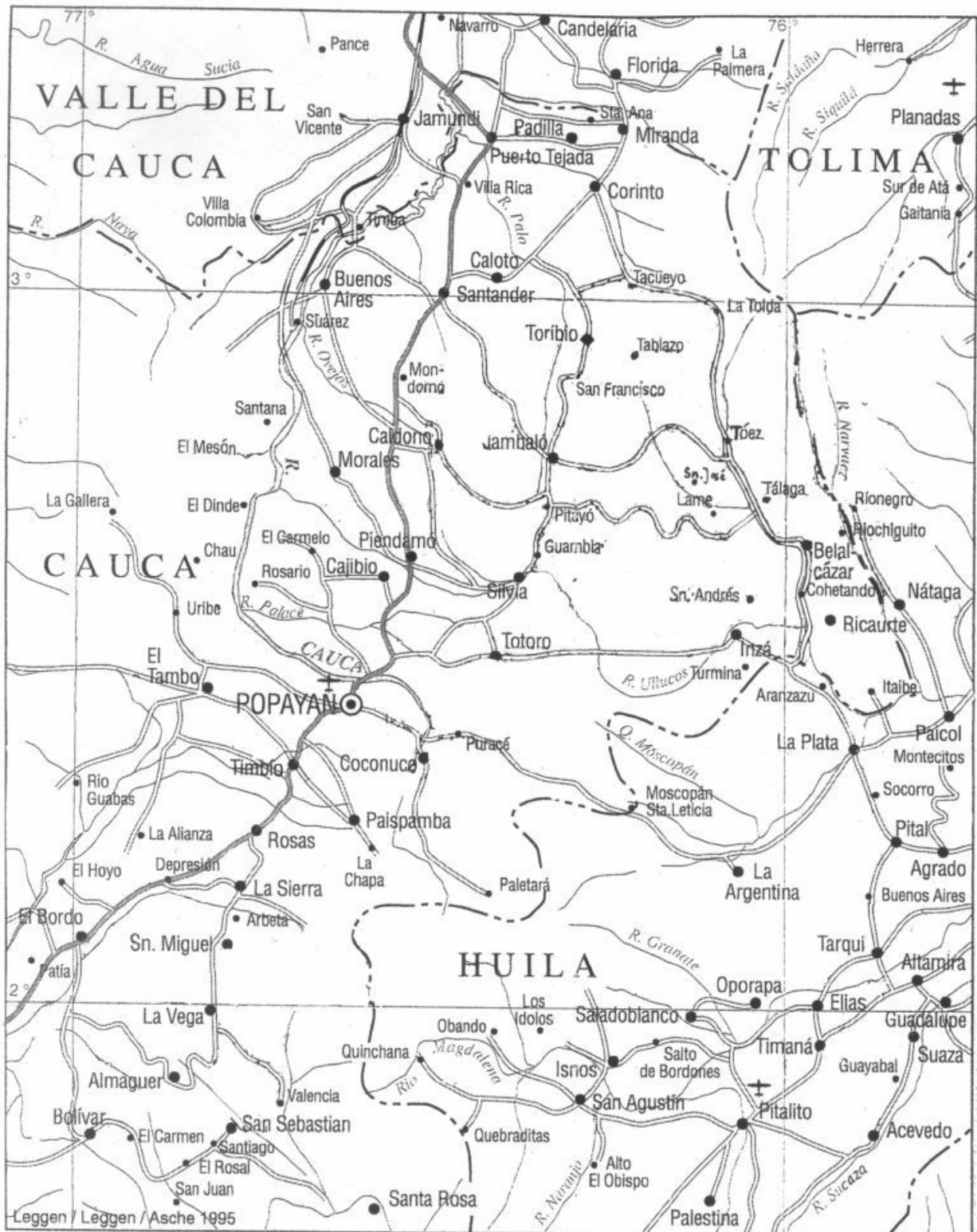
Map covering the relevant areas of Tierradentro (including the Tierradentro *resguardos* of Tóez and San José) and resettlement (see map on page 2 to situate Tierradentro). The network of roads in the Tierradentro area are here shown as they existed before the disaster of Páez. The resettlement of San José was situated just outside Rosario, a short distance northwest of Popayán. The resettlement of Tóez was situated along the road running northeast from Caloto in the north of the Cauca Province. The Panamerican Highway is the road marked darker than others. The city of Cali is situated just north of the edge of this map (Map adapted from Proyecto ONIC et al. 1995).

This choice of resettlement land was extremely controversial with both CNK and CRIC. The area was part of the Valle de Cauca agricultural region, with high fertility land suitable for

34

sugarcane. The land was thus expensive to buy. It was also situated in an area that had seen considerable conflict over land. There were other Nasa communities in the surrounding area, and these provided crucial support for Tóez when they went up against CNK in this matter. Alongside Nasa communities, mestizo and afrocolombian peasants lived in the area.[58]

The community of San José, and particularly the community of Tóez, chose their resettlement land more in spite of than in collaboration with CNK. The process was, by the time I arrived in the field, referred to as part of the struggle for resettlement land. This struggle was not ended with the decision over where to relocate the communities. People from both communities saw it as an ongoing effort that had to be tended to constantly. This effort is going to be my concern in the chapters to come.

When people in the resettlements of San José and Tóez went about reconstructing their lives, they chose to do this by resettling as communities. They underlined strong ties to the areas of Tierradentro they came from. They organised ownership and use of their new land according to the *resguardo* model. They handled the political situation underlining their status as indigenous communities. They referred to history and tradition to explain and cope with the disaster, and then to position and ground their resettlement project.

I can now move on to deal directly with the resettlement process against the backdrop of pre disaster Tierradentro, Nasa history and geography, and a sketch of the situation and actors surrounding the communities of San José and Tóez in resettlement.

---

[58] For more detail on the conflict between CNK, CRIC and the community of Tóez see Rappaport and Gow 1997, Gow and Rappaport 2002.

## Chapter 3 – Investigating and investing in farmland

When the people from San José had set their hearts on land outside the village of El Rosario for their resettlement, leaders from the community travelled to participate in a meeting with the mestizo peasants already living in the area. Don Lisandro Campo was asked to introduce his community to their new neighbours:

> So they said, you two indigenous [persons], we would like you to tell us a bit about what happened there [the disaster in Tierradentro], about where you come from, what your names are, about what *resguardo* you are from? And I stood up to face the meeting: Our people, this is where we are from, this is my name, this is the tragedy that is the reason why we are coming here; we are working people, working with hoe and machete, but not with the opium poppy... yes this we denied (laughter). Well, we are people who work the land planting wheat, planting potatoes, onions, other tubers, these things, and that is all there is to it (Interview with Lisandro Campo in San José, July 27<sup>th</sup> 1996).

Don Lisandro wanted to establish himself and his community in this area, and spoke with this in mind. It was important for him to make the Indians and their wish to live in El Rosario understandable and acceptable to the people already living here. He did this by focusing on the Indians as farmers, and farming as the basic aim of the resettlement project. Farming was something Indian disaster victims and mestizo peasants had in common. Don Lisandro presented the essence of resettlement as the acquisition of land to make life as a farmer possible again.

In this, the very core of the resettlement project is found. Access to farmland means access to the basic means of making a living as a farmer. The disaster left Indians from Tierradentro landless, and resettlement was thus acquiring new land to farm. Farming and land management make for a compelling point of departure in exploring resettlement. This chapter will concentrate on establishing some fundamentals of the relationship between people and land as it emerged in the resettlement process.

Above, Don Lisandro presented the displaced Indians as farmers in search of farmland. Farming practices, and the ways they were regarded and reworked in resettlement, will in the following be introduced by way of the maize. The position of maize as the crucial crop for the Tierradentro farmers makes it an extremely interesting point of departure in exploring resettlement farming as a situating practice.

The second main focus of this chapter is going to be the communal work party, the *minga*. As will immediately become clear, even the farming activities of individual families were in large

part based on access to more help at crucial points in the agricultural cycle. The *minga*, in its traditional and reworked versions, gives invaluable access to the ways community construction and land appropriation went hand in hand in resettlement.

**The maize as entrance to farming practices**

Maize was the most significant crop for the Tierradentro farmers.[59] Indians and outsiders were all clear on the extraordinary symbolic and practical position of the maize. As the communities searched for resettlement land, they investigated and evaluated it with maize in mind. The following presentation, quoted in full, was made during the Nasa Cultural Fair in Tóez.[60] Don Leopoldo Castro was speaking to a mixed audience of community members, teachers, and visiting academics. His task was to explain maize to the listeners.[61] In doing this, he also presented the main concerns of this chapter: Don Leopoldo described how to farm in specific places, and he presented the *minga*, with all it entails, not as *a* way, but as *the* way to work. He explained how he had come into his knowledge about maize planting, and presented his conclusions after his first forays into maize cultivation in the resettlement.

> Good morning to everybody; I am going to present the topic of the maize (…)
> I am Leopoldo Castro, from Tóez [Tierradentro]; you probably don't know the place. I am very much from the country, we hardly ever went anywhere. I was born there and am a native of Tóez. For the maize planting, the old ones knew the time, yes, they chose the time. There [Tóez Tierradentro] there were different seasons; how can I explain to you… that in other places, in cold climate, there is only one planting of maize as we say each year. The kernel, the corncob, will mature after more or less nine months, eight months.
>
> First of all, preparations to clear land are made. A *minga* is organized if one is going to clear a big area, for example one hectare, or more, for one and a half hectares. In that case, one cannot manage alone, so a *minga* is prepared. First to be prepared is the *chicha* [fermented maize drink] for drinking, yes, eight days before, to let it ferment well, and after this when it is ready, when the *chicha* is fresh [ready] to drink, in the afternoon, after work is finished, time has come for the meal. First the land must be cleared and then burnt off, and the time to do this must be chosen as well.
>
> There [in Tierradentro] you have to plant in April, May, (…) the early [maize] in April and the last in May. When *mingas* are organised the meal is in the afternoon, *mote*, what we call *mote*, yes? With meat; beef,

---

[59] When I call the maize the most significant crop for Tierradentro farmers here, it is on the basis of the way people from San José and Tóez described their agricultural production in Tierradentro. The position of maize among the Nasa is described and discussed further in among others Findji and Rojas 1985, Espinosa 1995b, Field 1994, Nates C. 1991 and Miñana B. 1994. The calendar published by CRIC for the year 1997, gives the names for the months of the year in Nasa Yuwe with Spanish translations. Most names are related to the agricultural cycle in Tierradentro. The names of the months April, June, October, and December include mention of the maize. This indicates the special position of the maize, even in areas where people get a significant amount of their food from other crops (e.g. beans, plantains) (Ortiz 1973; Sevilla C. 1986). I will explore maize as food further in Chapter 5. A general history of maize cultivation in Colombia is found in Chavez M. et al. 1995.

[60] The use of place names becomes a challenge in the resettlement setting. 'Tóez' was routinely used to refer to a place in Tierradentro, to the resettlement outside Caloto, and to the community formerly living in Tóez Tierradentro and now living in Tóez Caloto. I have attempted clarity by using Tóez for the community and the resettlement site outside Caloto, and by specifying (in the form 'Tóez Tierradentro') when people refer to the Tierradentro *resguardo*. Thus, the Cultural Fair was held in Tóez Caloto, while Don Leopoldo in the first part of his presentation refers to the place Tóez Tierradentro. The same sort of solution will be chosen when I discuss the community of San José. For a discussion on community naming in San José, see Chapter 7.

[61] The 'Primera Feria Cultural Nasa. Centro Etnoeducativo Tóez – Caloto' took place on April 21st – 25th, 1997. It was organised by the school in the resettlement. The Cultural Fair will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

pork. Then, the *minga* for planting is the same way, the time must be chosen to be April, and first what would be the *chicha* is prepared, next the maize to prepare the *mote* and in this way… When all is ready the day must be decided. What day would be good for the *minga*, because a plot to be cleared, when large, working alone is tiresome, yes? Planting something like that bit by bit, alone one would need six days to sow, so to avoid this we have *mingas*, of maybe fifteen people, between women and men.

So, one would tell the people to plant one's grains in a certain way, yes, by planting six or seven grains of maize at a time. But then it appeared it had not always been done like this; this had not been the proper [our own] way of planting. People who had studied at the SENA[62] in Popayán, a man who arrived – well, we did not know, so we were planting eight, six, some people with up to fifteen grains of maize for each plant, so of course it would shoot. Maize would shoot, but then the seedlings would be very crowded. Shoots would emerge but the plants wouldn't carry – or if they did carry, one or two or three stalks would topple over. As we did not know, we did things that way. But finally, before the landslide, they had sent us some instructors from the SENA. They taught a course about planting maize, well, prepare the field and plant with a spacing of always more than one metre, or one metre and a half, yes, apart, and plant two, or one, grain at a time, in this way it will be tight, very fine, yes. So, I did this experiment, and it [the maize] appeared.

Participating, at that time about some ten of us participated, at this time we were from Tóez, yes. And the old people, well, they did not participate; more than anything they said it was the people from Tóez. So, I took part in this, and until this day I plant according to these teachings. Here [in the resettlement] I have planted as well, in total some two times, and the harvest has gone well for me. On the other hand, there [in Tierradentro] even in big plots, one would not, not even harvest three loads, even in the big plots, I am telling you… So, then, this is my presentation of the maize. Thank you (Applause) (Speech made by Leopoldo Castro at Cultural Fair in Tóez, April 24th 1997).

The extreme sitedness of agricultural knowledge formed the basis for Don Leopoldo's description. The analytical implications of the *minga* as it was described here will later in this chapter be compared to the *minga* as it was used in the resettlement communities. Don Leopoldo discussed his sources of agricultural knowledge, legitimising his claims by referring to his ancestors, his indigenous status and his progressive attitude to modern science. The process of evaluating farmland was evident in his speech. All this was done in terms of maize.

Don Leopoldo had been specifically asked to present the maize, and did this in terms of his life as a farmer. Knowing your land is crucial for successful farming anywhere. The Northern Andean region offers extreme variations in climate and farming conditions over short distances. The entire agricultural cycle differs widely, according to altitude, and the different patterns of precipitation on the western and eastern slopes of the three main chains of the Andes. This was Leopoldo's first point. He grew up in Tóez Tierradentro, and knew that place, and how to cultivate maize there. The proper time for planting was in this case valid specifically for Tóez Tierradentro, and thus knowledge particular to the farmers working the land there. It had no relevance for farming practices in, for example, Tóez Caloto.

---

[62] SENA (Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje) Colombian National Community Education Service.

His knowledge, he explained, came from his own practical experience, as well as from what his ancestors, who also farmed in Tóez, passed down to him. Don Leopoldo and his ancestors were Indians, and were thus expected – both by Don Leopoldo and by most of the audience listening to him – to claim a particular sort of deep rooted, site specific knowledge of nature, the ecological system, and the land (Wilches-Chaux 1995b:135; Wade 1999). In this particular situation, facing this particular audience, Don Leopoldo found it significant to cite his credentials as authentically Indian in these terms.

Don Leopoldo went on to describe the 'how to' of maize cultivation. In his account, this process started and ended with food. The first step when one wanted to grow maize is to make 'preparations to clear land' for planting. Working alone is not an option for Don Leopoldo. In order to organise the needed work group, *chicha* is essential. *Chicha* was at the time of my fieldwork most frequently made by fermenting sugarcane juice. The traditional *chicha* was, however, made from maize, and this is the kind of *chicha* Don Leopoldo referred to here. Good *chicha* needed eight days for fermenting. Setting the *chicha* to ferment was thus the first step in planting maize.

Don Leopoldo described the work of clearing land and planting maize in terms of how to properly organise *mingas*. When a day was decided upon, neighbours and relatives were invited to participate. Food and drink were prepared. *Mote* was thick soup made from whole kernels of maize, and for the *minga* the *mote* should, as Don Leopoldo underlined, be made with meat. The people who clear land and plant maize were presented with food and drink made with maize as its main ingredient. Don Leopoldo was very careful to underline the distinctive steps in this process, their traditional position and significance for the end result: successful maize cultivation. The *chicha* and the *mote*, prepared for and presented at the *minga*, activated the ultimate objective of the agricultural cycle the participants were engaging in.

Once Don Leopoldo has explained how the *minga* was an essential element in indigenous maize cultivation, he went on to discuss the technicalities of maize planting. He described the way he and others in Tóez Tierradentro had been planting maize, placing six or seven grains of maize in each hole. He contrasted this with what professional agronomists from the SENA proposed. They advocated planting only one or two grains of maize in each hole, and spacing the holes at between one to one and a half metres. This was modernity and science arriving in Tóez. Don

Leopoldo's main concern was farming as day to day practice, and from this perspective he was very interested in the techniques for maize planting the SENA presented. Therefore, he participated in the course. His present enthusiasm was, however, firmly based on practical experience. He has evaluated these ideas by planting and harvesting maize himself, and it was as a result of this he now described this as good advice.

Don Leopoldo was careful to point out his position as one of the few who participated in the course offered by the instructors from the SENA, and how all the participants came from the community of Tóez. He underlined his and his community's progressive attitude, as a contrast to the implicit 'backward Indian image' of the rest of Tierradentro. He walked a fine line, however. He managed to present agricultural science as a way for himself and his community as progressive, modern farmers to return to their Indian roots. He introduced the new way of planting maize as the way the Indians of Tierradentro probably did things before they were corrupted into neglecting traditional practices by too much contact with 'white people'. Neglect leads to oblivion, and this problem was a mainstay in discussions of ethnicity and identity among Indian activists in Cauca. The Indians now saw the need to rediscover their own inherently ecological ways of life, and perceived modern science as one relevant source in this endeavour.[63] This line of reasoning was also very apparent in CNK's approach to resettlement planning.[64] Don Leopoldo here incorporated what he has learnt, tested, and decided gives him better harvests, in the discursive context of development (progress and modernity is good) and indigenousness (Indians are inherently ecological).

Resettlement was in Don Leopoldo's account an aspect of maize cultivation. It was presented as a farming challenge, a matter of sited knowledge being adapted for use in a new place.[65] Don Leopoldo was careful to describe the limits of his experience. So far, he had planted and harvested maize twice. On this basis, he reported his conclusions on resettlement farming to his audience. His references to the agricultural cycle were implicit. When he described the way maize in Tierradentro could be planted only once a year, at a specific time, and needed eight or

[63] Rediscovering Indianness is conceptualised by the Indian rights organisations in Colombia in terms of 'recuperación', or repossession (see note Chapter 2). This process is relevant not only in terms of ecological mindedness, but includes the repossession of land, knowledge, history and traditions on many levels. See e.g. Rappaport (1992:205).
[64] This approach is presented in Nasa Kiwe 1996 and Wilches-Chaux 1995b. Field (1996:102-103) ties the inherently ecological Indian to the broader debate on agricultural approaches and ecologism in Latin America, and to the 1991 Colombian constitution, with its definition of ETI's (Indigenous Territorial Entities) as a move towards sustainable development.
[65] See Hobart 1993 and 1995 for further discussion on sited knowledge in terms of situated practices. This intake to knowledge systems fits very well with the ways my informants managed land in the resettlements. Don Leopoldo is describing his 'knowing how', not his 'knowing that' (Hobart 1995:58), above.

nine months to mature, he was underlining difference. In Tóez Caloto, where the presentation was held and where the community was now living, the warmer climate made it possible to plant, harvest, and then replant maize continuously, reaping three harvests from the same land within the year.

Don Leopoldo pointed to soil quality as another significant difference between the resettlement land and land in Tóez Tierradentro. He described how a small piece of land in the resettlement could produce more maize than a big piece of land could in Tóez Tierradentro. Don Leopoldo had investigated the land in the resettlement by planting maize. He had used the planting techniques he considered best in Tierradentro, and concluded on the basis of his harvests that they were suitable also in resettlement. The land, however, was very different from what he had farmed before, and he described these differences in terms of climate, agricultural cycle and soil quality. When he stated that the harvests had gone well for him, this was an endorsement of resettlement land. Implicit was the fact that his community had made a good choice in where to resettle.

**Investigating resettlement land**

The stated objective in resettlement, to diversify *resguardo* lands, made resettlement farming a considerable challenge.[66] The warmer resettlement climate made it imperative both for the community of Tóez and San José to relearn how best to grow traditional crops, like the maize under discussion above. The climate also made it possible to grow crops the community members had not before attempted, like sugarcane and coffee in San José. This process was often talked about in terms of 'getting acclimatised' or 'getting accustomed' in the resettlements. In the following, I want to explore some ways in which resettlement cultivation practices were shaped by and shaped the relationship between the resettling community and the place in which they resettle.

The first night I spent with the community of San José, the weather was terrible. Rain was falling by the bucket, and thunder made conversation a staccato affair. A feast was being held that night, to welcome two young men from the community who were going to be ordained as Catholic priests. The community had quite a few visitors, but after taking stock of the situation and those present, Don Lisandro concluded that everyone but me had spent time in the

---

[66] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the process of land selection.

resettlement before. As the land was acting up in this way with rain and thunder, my presence had to be the cause.

The morning after the feast, when the sun was again shining, Don Lisandro put the dramatic weather changes during the night into perspective. The community of San José had at this point lived nineteen months outside the village of El Rosario. They had spent that time learning about the land – and the land had gotten to know them in return. They had come to know very well how this land reacted when outsiders arrived. Don Lisandro went on to describe the day the community of San José had arrived in El Rosario. The people had been met by new neighbours, the man who had sold them the farmland they were settling on, and two nuns who were going to accompany the community in resettlement. All present shared a meal, and the lorries were unloaded. By nightfall, all but the community members had left the resettlement site. That first night there was a big thunderstorm. This was, according to Don Lisandro, when the community realised that they had moved onto very fierce land. After the two first communal bean plantings in San José were destroyed by hailstorms, and the same thing happened to the communal potato patch, this had been amply confirmed. The land in El Rosario was indeed fierce.[67]

Weather was here perceived as the land reacting to the arrival of new people. The people in the community of San José also reacted strongly to their new land. Adjusting to the warmer climate in El Rosario was repeatedly described as difficult for everyone:

> In the beginning the climate affected us strongly because, because we came from the highlands, from over there, from the high altitude moors [páramo]. We, the adults who are here, suffered from headaches, some suffered stomach aches, some from diarrhoea, well, the children suffered worse, from fevers, so… Things improved; we, the people, we are not getting sick any longer. Thank God, during these two years we have spent here, we have been acclimatised. It seems we hardly feel the heat any longer. However, working with the shovel one sweats, and gets a bit baked (Interview with Lisandro Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

People were not at all used to heat, and got sick at first. Then, as time went by, they were acclimatised. Getting acclimatised was consistently tied to working outdoors, and thus farming. Don Lisandro points out how you would sweat when working the land, and how people got baked. Getting baked by the climate was an aspect of getting acclimated instantly obvious when looking at people. People who returned to the resettlement after spending time in Tierradentro

---

[67] Lisandro's description of the storm during the night and a morning of new beginnings (the storm the first night the community spent in El Rosario, the morning when they went outside to put up their tents in a resettlement village) follows a classical pattern from Nasa mythology. Juan Tama, the great culture hero, was born from a flooding stream on a stormy night, and the next morning the Nasa communities in Tierradentro woke to a new era. Beltrán P. takes this one step further, and compares the storms of nature to the storms of community discord. He ties this to the Nasa tradition of close relations with nature (1989:33ff). A common interpretation of the disaster of Páez presented the landscape of Tierradentro as revolting against people (the Nasa) who were at this time forgetting and doing dishonour to their roots and history.

were paler of colour than those who had spent their time in El Rosario. This was continuously commented upon. How people changed colour in El Rosario was one of the great jokes in the resettlement.[68]

While in El Rosario, I lived with the Musse family. I had barely arrived when Jesusa asked me to accompany her in bringing Mario Musse, her husband, lunch. We collected the pots and plates and the kettle with drinking water and walked up the hill towards the village of El Rosario. About half way up along the shortcut path, we found the patch of land where Mario was working in the Musse vegetable garden. While he ate, he told me about how his family had spent their time after the disaster. The Musses had friends who lived outside Santander and had opted to stay with them, instead of in the temporary shelters with the rest of the community of San José. Outside Santander they could borrow a house and some land to farm. However, as soon as word came that resettlement land was within sight for the community of San José, the Musses packed up to return to the shelters. They very much wanted to participate in the move to El Rosario. When Mario told me about the stay in Santander, he explained the situation by saying that working for others was annoying, because you yourself were left with nothing. He was referring to a potential investment coming to nothing. According to him, what you needed to live well was your own land to farm. When you worked your own land, what you put into the land was yours to harvest, in terms of crops, knowledge, and belonging. The opportunity to work your own land again was in essence the point of resettlement. The Musses travelled to the shelters to make certain of their inclusion in the resettling community of San José.

At first, Mario said, the Musses did not like El Rosario much. It was very hot, and they had no land to work. Then, after the *cabildo* had decided to share out land to the individual families, things changed. Now, Mario said, they could work on their land, and thus became much happier with El Rosario. Mario tied getting used to the climate in the resettlement directly to working the land. Spending time in the resettlement was not enough. It was working, investigating and investing in resettlement land that was essential.[69] He got to know resettlement land through cultivating it. In Lisandro's terms, he sweaed with his shovel and was baked. Further,

---

[68] Portela G. describes the way the difference between climatic zones must be handled with care and consideration according to traditional Nasa thought. The Nasa make use of the resources found at different altitudes, and thus movement between them is necessary. Staying too long in extreme heat or extreme cold, however, will affect the balance of both the surrounding environment and the body (1995:268). With resettlement, this imbalance is inevitable. The adaptation and becoming accustomed discussed here will from this point of view be a matter of restoring balance, but with a different climatic point of departure.
[69] Note the resonance with Rappaport's (1985) discussion of territorial maintenance in Tierradentro as centred on *kiwe*: the looking, traversing and planting of *resguardo* land, as discussed in Chapter 2.

investment in his own patch of land was what changed Mario's perception of the resettlement. He was now investing work and effort in something he and his family expected to keep and harvest. As a result, the heat stopped bothering him; he became accustomed and acclimatised to the ways of the resettlement land.

Knowledge the community members brought with them from a lifetime of farming in Tierradentro was put to good use in the resettlement. The traditional crops from Tierradentro were planted to see if they would grow in El Rosario. The Musse family had sown a lot of pumpkins on their resettlement land. They also had spring onions and tomatoes in their vegetable patch, but no carrots, as Jesusa, who did a lot of the cooking, did not much like them. Maize and potatoes were grown in part on resettlement land and in part on undamaged patches in Tierradentro. Crop variety was a topic of constant discussion in the resettlement. Santiago Mumucué, also from San José, underlined the possibility of cultivating a wider variety of plants and crops than the neighbouring mestizo farmers habitually planted. The significant point of resettlement agriculture was, according to him, to be careful when choosing seeds and cuttings to plant in resettlement land. Seed and cuttings from the area around El Rosario were necessary if the result was to be good, and Santiago pointed to seed brought from Tierradentro as unfit for resettlement land.

Santiago also talked about the difficult challenges of tilling former grazing land. Resettlement land needed transforming if people were going to be able to farm it for a living. The community knew they would have to turn grazing land into farmland when they arrived in El Rosario. People worked with the land, and in the process they learnt about it. Physical labour on the land transformed grazing land into farmland, both in the physical sense, and in the sense of redefining what the land was required to do. The land was taught to produce according to the needs of the farmers in the community. Farmer and land were both seen as redefined as a result of this interaction.[70]

Mario Musse told me in detail about the yucca the family had been planting in the resettlement. Yucca took time to mature. The cutting must be placed in good soil, and only after one and a half to two years could one expect the roots to be fat enough for harvesting. The venture

---

[70] Portela G. (1995:268) describes *resguardo* land in Tierradentro as classified as tame or wild, where tame land indicates cultivated land, and wild land would be land not put under the plough. In the resettlement, land is wild because it has not yet been affected by Nasa farming and Nasa community inside.

required planning and thinking well ahead, and Mario underlined that one should keep planting cuttings every two months to ensure a continuous supply of yucca. He showed me each plant, mentioning when it had been planted, when it should be ready for harvesting, and who had planted it. He pointed to where the yucca Mauricio, his fifteen-year-old adopted son, had planted, was growing well. All family members should plant some yucca, he told me. In particular, the children should plant yucca as they were growing up. Planting yucca was a way of establishing relationships between family members and the land they were claiming as their own. Planting tied the planter to the plant; the produce or food that would in turn be harvested from that plant, and the land it had grown on (Guzmán 1996:63). This was a very concrete expression of how investing in resettlement land was perceived.[71]

Mario told me how some people had a better hand for planting yucca than others. Still, the most significant point was, in this case, the participation of all family members. The planting anchored individual family members in the land, and established the family as a unit in resettlement. The Musse family invested in the yucca harvest, they invested in the family plot, and they invested in resettlement. With all members of the family planting a few cuttings, and this being repeated at intervals, the yucca patch became the continuous collective endeavour it should be. The land the Musses were claiming was being established as belonging to them as a group.

Jorge Inseca underlined some of the same elements when he described how the relationship between the community of Tóez and their resettlement land took shape:

> We started with a planting project; that was also maize, and that was when the community developed even warmer feelings [for the resettlement land]. Why? Why did they develop warmer feelings? They looked at their harvest; they looked at the product of what they had planted, and said yes, this land is good land. So they looked, they planted, they harvested. There was a lot of work, of effort put in, that one could observe during this time (Interview with Jorge Inseca in Tóez, August 4th 1996).

Jorge's comments focused on maize cultivation. People in Tóez, Don Leopoldo among them, consistently underlined how good the resettlement land was for growing maize. According to Jorge, this was what first captured the attention of the community of Tóez. They saw the resettlement land as good because it was suitable for maize cultivation. Jorge described how the community invested work and effort into planting, tending, and harvesting maize. Work was invested in land, and people saw the results of their efforts, a good maize harvest. They worked, and through work they came to know the resettlement land and what it could do. According to

---

[71] The ways availability of different foodstuffs is perceived to affect people in resettlement will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Jorge, the direct result of this was the 'warmer feelings' the community members developed for the resettlement land.

Jorge, Lisandro and Mario all described the same kind of process. The relationship between the resettling communities and the resettlement land could only be established through work. The practical investigation of and investment in land was what produced the kind of relationship Appadurai (1996) describes as the production of locality. Resettlement was presented to me as an encounter between two parties who had to get used to each other, to get to know each other, in order to live well together. Cultivation, in the sense of investigating the land, was perceived as a two way process. People, by tilling it, were affected by resettlement land and adjusted to new climatic conditions. At the same time, they learned how best to make this land produce what they needed for a living. People and land were, according to my informants, 'acclimatised' and 'accustomed'.

**Farming at the interface**

The warmer climate in the resettlement of the San José community made it possible to grow crops hard to come by in upper Tierradentro here. Don Lisandro's arguments for choosing land in El Rosario centred on exactly these possibilities: "Because beans grow here, because sugarcane grows here, because there is coffee, there are plantains…" (Interview with Lisandro Campo in San José, July 27th 1996). Apart from the beans, these things could not be grown in San José Tierradentro. The community was concerned to secure their own access particularly to coffee and *panela*.[72] They also hoped to sell these products on the market. Still, these were crops they had very little experience with.

Nemesio Musse had opted for planting coffee, and he showed me how it was coming along nicely. He had planted plantains in between the coffee bushes to give them shade. Nemesio's coffee was part of a CNK project. Each family in the community of San José had been offered a loan in order to plant either coffee or sugarcane for the market. Some people had, like Nemesio, opted for coffee, while others had planted sugarcane. The coffee plants needed close to two years before they started producing. When this stage was reached, however, they would keep producing for many years. The coffee could be harvested by manual labour, needing no costly

---

[72] *Panela* is blocks of raw, brown sugar. The significant position of coffee and *panela* in the resettlement project of the community of San José will be explored further in Chapter 5.

equipment, and brought to market little by little as need arose. The sugarcane grew faster than the coffee. When it came to harvesting, a mill to extract the juice and a place to cook the *panela* was needed. The use of these had to be rented from neighbouring peasants. All the *panela* would be prepared, and ready to sell, together. The harvesting and marketing could not be spread out as was possible with coffee. While I was in the field, Don Lisandro travelled to Tierradentro regularly to sell his *panela* at the market in Moras. Neither Nemesio nor anybody else in the resettlement was yet able to harvest coffee for the market at that time.

The advantages and disadvantages of coffee versus sugarcane were under continuous debate in the resettlement. These discussions often involved the mestizo peasants who lived around El Rosario. The mestizo neighbours had a lot of experience growing both crops on this land, and were actively asked for advice by members of the community. They were consulted on what types of coffee plants were best suited to the area and sold saplings to those who wanted to plant. They also owned mills and cooking facilities for *panela*. The community was planning to put up their own sugarcane mill, but for the time being those who had sugarcane ready for harvesting depended on their new neighbours to rent facilities. Investigating resettlement land meant taking advantage of the experience of those who already knew this land intimately. The mestizo peasants of El Rosario possessed this knowledge, and learning from them made excellent practical farming sense. Learning from the local peasants was a resource when the resettling community explored what their new land could do. In this context, the indigenous community took possession of their land and transformed it into community inside by means of techniques and crops acquired through contact with their new mestizo neighbours.

The ways resettlement farming practice was shaped at the interface between the communities, their new neighbours, CNK, CRIC and others involved in the resettlement endeavour, became very apparent in the ways people talked about and dealt with ants. Resettlement farming was perceived as a precarious exercise, with crops constantly threatened by ants and fierce weather. While Tierradentro was described as a place where 'one threw the maize on the ground and it grew and carried, just like that', the land in the resettlements required fertilizer and pesticides in order to produce. Fertilizer and pesticides were expenditures people in the resettling communities were not used to. Ways of handling the getting and using of these were under constant debate in the resettlements. CNK supported the buying of lime and hen droppings for farmers in the resettlements. These were classified as organic fertilizers by CNK, and were thus

acceptable for use in the indigenous communities. The problem of pesticides, and thus of controlling the ants, was not as easily solved.

Any conversation about farming in Tóez would sooner or later touch on the problem of the ants. The question of how to keep the ants from destroying the crops was a concern for everyone in the resettlement. The ants would attack green plants, in particular bean plants, carry off all leaves, and leave only death and destruction behind. The different strategies people discussed and employed to deal with the ant problem showed very clearly how resettlement cultivation was produced in the communities, by people who were not only farmers, but indigenous farmers, and well aware of the constraints and opportunities presented by the world around them in resettlement.

People in the community of Tóez had three main strategies for dealing with the ant problem. The cheapest, most easily accessible and maybe most common approach was washing powder – jabon FAB. Spreading washing powder on the ground around the plants, and at the ends of the rows, would, according to the farmers, make the ants stay away. You would not get rid of the ants for good this way, one farmer in the community underlined. The ants would just go somewhere else while there was detergent around these plants. The powdered detergent was what most of the women used to wash clothes, and thus readily available in most households.

The detergent approach was not spoken well of in Tóez. In fact, it was hardly spoken of at all, making it the by far least discussed of the three strategies for combating ants. People were aware of there being no ideological potential in using washing powder as a pesticide – or maybe more correctly, in talking about the use of washing powder in this way. Using detergent was considered a 'peasant' solution – not a matter of modern technology, and certainly not a matter of traditional, indigenous practices. It was something 'ignorant people' would do to solve a problem temporarily, not having knowledge of or access to more prestigious solutions. People in the resettlement would use detergent to temporarily solve the problem, but all the while they were aware of this as a second rate approach which should be abandoned as soon as an alternative presented itself.

The second strategy discussed was using chemical pesticides. This was the modern, technological solution of industrial agriculture. The community of Tóez had resettled in the

industrial farming area of the Cauca Valley, where their immediate neighbours were big landowners who employed machinery and chemicals as standard farming practice. While the people in San José would look to their new neighbours to learn how to succeed in growing coffee and sugarcane, the people in Tóez did not seriously consider emulating the practices preferred on big industrial farms in the Cauca Valley. What the community aimed to do – mainly subsistence cultivation – and how they went about it – small scale cultivation on lots shared out to each family in the community – was very different from large scale industrial farming, and the difference was obvious to all concerned.

The most considerable and obvious obstacle to the use of chemical pesticides in the community of Tóez was economical. This was undoubtedly the most expensive way of solving the ant problem. The expense was also a recurring one, the pesticides needing to be applied with regularity to keep the ants away. Some well off farmers in the community occasionally bought chemical pesticides and used them on their family land, but chemical pesticides never emerged as a possible solution to the ant problem for the community as a group.

The use of chemical pesticides was also frowned upon for ideological reasons. In the community, chemical pesticides were considered the easy way out; the way rich farmers without regard for their surroundings or the environment could remove an immediate problem. It was also obvious to all concerned that CNK would never advance funds for buying chemical pesticides. CNK supported regular purchases of organic fertilizer but consistently referred to chemical pesticides as poison. The ecological cultivation approach supported by CNK did not open for the use of chemical pesticides. People in the resettling communities, in particular the leaders who travelled to meetings and spent a lot of time participating in official resettlement discourse, were very aware of this consideration.

Public image building was a significant underlying element in Tóez community debate. The resettlement site was close to Cali and the Panamerican Highway, and visitors were frequent. Visitors came to Tóez looking for, and expecting to find, the authentic ecological Indian. The people in the community were concerned to give them what they came for. Hopefully, the visitors would then return, bring others with them, and could possibly also be enticed to support

projects in the community. The use of chemical pesticides, it was felt, would not be a plus in this context. Chemical pesticides did not fit the image of the ecological Indian.[73]

The third strategy for getting rid of ants was the one championed by CNK. It involved the use of special plants to be grown at the ends of rows and interspaced with the bean plants in the fields. The presence of these plants around the edges and close to the crops would keep the ants away. CNK presented this approach to the resettling communities as Nasa traditional knowledge about how people and land should best coexist:

> 'Associated cultivation' facilitates natural pest control, avoiding the use of poisons and chemical fertilizers, improving the health of the community, the environment and the family economy. Associated cultivation, with no poisons or chemical fertilizers, is the cultural patrimony of the NASA, and of all the native cultures of America (Nasa Kiwe 1997:5).[74]

The tie between ecologism and indigenism presented here saturated CNK strategy. It was also very much in line with the thinking of CRIC. CRIC had several representatives on CNK's board of directors and a considerable say in forming the resettlement ideology of CNK.

This way of combining different plants was the approach to controlling the ant problem most intensely talked about. The solution was consistently presented as the most beneficial approach to the land, to the beans, to the health of those eating the beans, and to the farmers – both in economical terms and in terms of efficient cultivation. It would not even hurt the ants, only make them stay away from the bean plants. There was no doubt among the members of the community of Tóez that this was the ecological and indigenous solution to the ant problem. The 'culture loss', the neglect of traditional practices caused by prolonged contact with outsiders referred to by Leopoldo Castro above, was again put forward to explain why farmers in the community did not already do things this way. The supposition was that the Nasa of old would have protected their crops in this manner. This technique in pest control very much fitted the desired image of the community of Tóez as inherently ecological Indians worthy of the attention of interested outsiders.

The big obstacle to adopting this way of mixing plants in the community of Tóez was lack of knowledge and practical experience with the relevant plants. People in the community referred to this as an interesting but rather mysterious proposal they did not know much about. It had

---

[73] See Chapter 8 for further discussion of the ways the community of Tóez approach and manage their public image and the outside world.
[74] 'Los cultivos asociados', associated cultivation, the principle of planting a variety of species together. The expectation is, as explained above, to avoid pests and damage to the plants. By imitating the way plants are mixed in nature, no particular pest should be able to get a stronghold and destroy the entire harvest.

much in common with the way Don Leopoldo described the maize planting techniques he learnt in the course directed by SENA instructors. This use of plant combinations was a new approach to pest control brought to the community by university educated agronomists. The community members had to learn it or, more accurately, to be reminded of how it should be done, from modern science.

Arnulfo Atillo was in charge of the greenhouse and tree-nurseries in Tóez. He had experience working in commercial plant nurseries and explained to me how he could contribute to the community in resettlement by supplying plants and trees suited to the resettlement climate. He had received expert consulting from CNK agronomists and was now growing the plants needed to control pests in the community. When he showed me the plants, he was careful to underline his work as investigative. When the community saw the experiments he was doing growing these plants, he hoped people would start using them in their gardens and fields. The use of particular plant combinations to control the ants had to be learnt, tried out and explored for potential in resettlement cultivation. This process had only barely started in Tóez during the time I spent in the field. Arnulfo's hopes went towards speeding it by showing the way.

Resettlement agriculture was about managing new crops under new conditions, and doing this at the interface between the actors engaged in the resettlement endeavour. By working resettlement land and discussing resettlement agriculture people got to know the land and what it could do for them. This process of investigation and investing in resettlement land anchored people to place. Up to this point, I have mainly concentrated on the individual farmer and his strategies in learning his land. When individual families invested work and effort in resettlement land, they were in fact investing in the community and the *resguardo*. It was the community that resettled after the disaster of Páez, and the community that claimed ownership to resettlement land. In the following, I want to use the *minga* institution as a means of exploring this relationship between the community as actor in resettlement, and the land the community claimed and resettled on.

**Investing in resettlement land through the community *minga***
The land bought by the Colombian state for the resettling Nasa communities was to be the property of each community as a whole. The *resguardo* model, where the community was the legal owner of the land, and member families enjoyed usufruct rights, was taken for granted as the ideal model for management. The basic implication of this model was that land could not be

bought or sold by individual families. It was considered an inviolable unit belonging to the group. Community membership was what qualified a family for receiving resettlement land.

In Nasa communities in possession of *resguardo* lands, *resguardo* membership has traditionally been tied directly to the continued cultivation of specific pieces of land. Findji (1985, 1993) underlines the importance of any family's established right to farm as the crucial factor in determining community membership. After the disaster of Páez, the land forming the basis of *resguardo* membership was gone. People found themselves in a fluid situation travelling between the temporary shelters, Tierradentro and towns in the area. To confirm and reproduce community membership in resettlement, a different approach had to be developed.

With rights in destroyed Tierradentro *resguardo* land as point of departure, the basic premise for membership in the resettlement communities came to be presence. For the San José community, those present in the temporary shelters at El Chero, those present for the meetings and discussions while the community worked to find suitable resettlement land, and those present on that defining and crucial day of arrival in El Rosario, were included. They were included as community members dedicated to resettlement. Mario Musse made sure that he and his family were present and accompanied the community when they travelled together to resettle in El Rosario. The Musse family also stayed on in the resettlement after that, even though they, as Mario put it, did not much like it there, while they waited for the community to come to a conclusion on how the sharing out of resettlement land should be handled. Continued presence and residence in the resettlement showed commitment and was significant in assuring them the right to land when it was in fact shared out among the families.

Presence must be combined with participation and investment in resettlement. Continued commitment to the community should be practically proven through repeated investment in the resettlement site. Without established family rights to individual pieces of land, investment in membership was directed towards the community. This investment took the form of substantial activities, and was in the resettlement setting channelled through the *minga*.

The *minga* was introduced to the Nasa by the Spanish conquistadors as a tool of government to control the Indian communities and collect work tribute. It does not have the same deep historic

roots in Southern Colombia as is the case further south in the Andean region.[75] The Nasa transformed the *minga* institution in much the same way they transformed the *resguardo* (see Chapter 2). The *minga* was seen as very much a Nasa institution, adapted to suit the needs of the communities. The *minga* as an ethnic marker stood out clearly in the way Don Leopoldo employed it in his description of maize cultivation above. In resettlement, the *minga* emerged as the central and crucial institution harnessed to construct community as well as colonise territory.

What Leopoldo described in the first part of this chapter was the traditional family *minga*, where one family invited others to assist with some defined task. In return, they were offered food, drink and the implicit promise of the favour being returned. The *minga* in the resettlements was a community event happening every week on a certain day. It was organised by the *cabildo*, not by individual families. Both in San José and in Tóez, Monday was the regular day for *mingas*. This *minga* was defined as one day's work to be given to the community, taking the form of a weekly tribute. Community meetings were often held in the afternoon on *minga* day, since this was the one day of the week when most families could be expected to be present. In Tierradentro, both forms of the *minga* had been common. In resettlement, family organised *mingas* were very rare, while the *cabildo* organised *mingas* took on crucial significance.[76]

Severo Atillo, governor of the community of Tóez in 1996, was careful to underline the significance of spending his Mondays in the resettlement of Tóez. Being governor of a resettlement community involved a lot of travelling. As the main representative of the community, he was on the move constantly, often spending more time away from the resettlement than at home. However on Mondays when the weekly *minga* was held, everyone, and according to Severo in particular the governor, should do their outmost to be present. *Minga* day was actually the only day of the week one could be reasonably certain of finding him in the resettlement.

In Tóez, the *minga* was organised using the loudspeaker system in the centre of the village. During breakfast on Monday mornings, the *minga* project of the day would be announced to the

---

[75] Steward and Faron (1959:209) describe the *minga* as an institution primarily belonging to the extensive pre-Columbian state formations of the Southern Andes. Sevillas C. (1986:156ff.) uses the term *minga* in discussing pre-Columbian ritual festivals of maize harvest in the Northern Andes. Still, he is clear on the way state formations and especially Spanish control structured and formalised the *minga* in this area. An example of a later use of the *minga* tradition is discussed in Rappaport (1998:137) with reference to Quintín Lame's teaching *mingas* in the early 1900's.

[76] When I use the term '*minga*' without qualification from here on in the text, I am referring to the weekly communal work party organised by the *cabildo*. For more extensive discussion of the different types of *minga* in use see e.g. Ortiz 1973 and Sevilla C. 1986.

community. The governor or another member of the *cabildo* council would explain for all to hear the what, where and why of this particular Monday's work. The presentation would invariably include insistent invitations for people to turn out for the *minga*, with repeated emphasis on the importance of supporting the community by participating in the work project of the day. Every Monday morning, *minga* participation was explicitly underlined as the public badge of community commitment.

Every week a particular project would be chosen for the *minga*. Generally, the selected projects would benefit the community as a whole and serve to improve the resettlement in some way. *Minga* projects were selected by the *cabildo* council. When the chosen project was announced, it was also very carefully explained to the community. The *minga* was often used as an opportunity to educate the people living in the resettlement on some matter the community leaders deemed significant. Ecological awareness issues were something both leaders and community members in Tóez were very aware of, and this was reflected both in the projects chosen and the effort made to explain them. Visiting CNK representatives championed ideas on what could be done to safeguard the environment and the ecological balance on resettlement land. The tree planting *minga* in Tóez was a good example of a CNK idea made practical reality in the resettlement.

The plan for this *minga*, as announced over the loudspeakers, was to plant trees made in the community tree nursery on the grassy hills behind the community village. The announcement was accompanied by an insistent effort to educate the community on the significance of reforestation. Apart from the obvious advantage of shade, a continuous supply of firewood was essential in day to day living, and these trees would help with both. The role trees could play in preventing erosion, and in protecting the water supply, was carefully explained. There were few trees on the land where the community had resettled. The heat and possibility of drought in the Cauca Valley made water availability a concern everybody was aware of. The quality of life for future generations on *resguardo* land in Caloto was presented to the community in terms of participating in the tree planting *minga*.

Planting trees had an added dimension for people in Tóez. Before the disaster of Páez, the Tierradentro hillsides had been mostly bare from deforestation. This made massive landslides and a subsequent mud flood the inevitable result of the earthquake. The *resguardo* of Tóez

54

Tierradentro had been completely wiped out by these mud floods. People in the community were quick to pick up on the implication, and turned out en masse to plant trees on the hills behind the resettlement village.

One week the *minga* concentrated on digging holes for posts, to fence the cattle away from the sources of water on resettlement land. The streams, a little river, and the springs needed to be protected from the wear and tear of grazing, so that they would not dry out. In another *minga* the community dug ditches to bury water pipe. Improvements to the road, and to community buildings, were also made in *mingas*. When Doña Rosa's husband unexpectedly died, the community of Tóez had a *minga* to organise a cemetery. The consistent common denominator for the projects chosen was the community as benefactor for the effort put in. The projects concentrated on improving and protecting resettlement land, thus making the resettlement a better place to live.

After breakfast on *minga* day, people gathered by the provisional school buildings in the centre of the village of Tóez. The governor and other *cabildo* members organised equipment and people. The project of the day was put in motion. Some women were assigned the task of cooking lunch. This was done in huge pots over a fire behind the school. The foodstuffs were bought with *cabildo* funds. In Tóez, lunch was organised in this way every Monday. The communal *minga* lunch was meant as an incentive for participation, in particular for the women of the community. If no communal lunch was served, the women would either have to stay home, or at least leave the *minga* early, in order to prepare the midday meal for their families. Now, all those participating in the *minga* could return to the communal kitchen at midday to eat. The meal was tied to participating in the work of the day. People turning up for food without doing their share in the *minga* were heavily criticised in community meetings.

Tóez was, with its 118 families, a relatively big community, and to ensure the *cabildo*'s ability to keep track of what was going on a written list of *minga* participants was recorded every Monday. This was something people in Tóez considered important. Every family should, as a rule, have at least one person present and working in the *minga* every week, and the *minga* lists were written proof of actual contributions. Any discussion coming up in meetings over who did what could be authoritatively solved by reference to this participatory catalogue. The list was

read out loud every month at the community assembly, detailing how many *jornales* – days of work – each family had contributed to the community over the last month.

Through the making and public reading of these lists, the link between *minga* participation and community membership was made very explicit. Ignoring the *minga* was interpreted as ignoring the community, and led to general censure. The general issues of *minga* participation and community commitment led to discussions in every single community assembly. Community membership was for all concerns and purposes practically reproduced by *minga* participation in Tóez every Monday throughout the year.

In December 1996, a big meeting was organised in Tóez. CNK functionaries working in the housing programme had called it in order to update the list of families who lived in the resettlement. It was by this time clear that some of the families listed in the Tóez resettlement census did not actually live in the resettlement. Some had not turned up in the resettlement at all, while others had been more absent than present. The housing materials allotted these families sat unused. At the same time, people who had not been on the original list of families forming the resettling community of Tóez were now enquiring into the possibilities of acquiring land and house here. CNK came to Tóez with the stated intention of ascertaining the number and owners of the houses that had actually been built in the resettlement village. The fate of the still vacant plots with building materials promised was also to be determined.

During ensuing discussions, the *minga* held a prominent position. The lists of who had, and had not, participated regularly in the *mingas*, were actively used to redefine who could now be considered members of the community of Tóez. Families who had not turned up in the resettlement at all were simply removed from the census. This meant that they automatically lost all rights to farmland and house in the resettlement of Tóez. Families who had actually built their house, but contributed little to the *mingas*, were heavily criticised. Spending most of their time outside the resettlement was considered bad, but ignoring the Monday *mingas* was what incited serious censure.

CNK's approach to community size in resettlement gave what would otherwise have been a general discussion on community responsibilities direct and practical consequences for those involved. CNK was committed to supplying seven hectares of land and house building materials

56

for a certain number of families in each resettlement, as per the original census. Now, after removing people from the resettlement census, the community was left with 'vacant community memberships' that CNK encouraged them to redistribute. If not, the resources would be reassigned elsewhere. In this situation, the community of Tóez placed the list of weekly *minga* participation centre stage. The list included people who were not members of the community of Tóez, who had not received house materials or land in the resettlement, but who had all the same contributed to the *mingas*. A few had deliberately and regularly travelled to Tóez on Mondays to put in their day of work for the community, the *cabildo* lists leaving no doubt as to whom and how often. These people were now commended for their support of the community, and nominated to CNK for community membership, including house materials and rights in resettlement land.

The *minga* delineated community membership in Tóez. It also played a significant part as ethnic signifier. Leopoldo Castro described the family *minga* as the Indian approach to cultivation above. Through the resettlement process, the community *minga* in Tóez had come to be accepted in the community as the defining factor of Indianness. Before the disaster of Páez, Tóez Tierradentro had been a place of mixed settlement. The road and the connections to the town of Belalcázar were good; the biggest school in the area was located in Tóez, and a lot of mestizo families lived in the village. After the disaster, when resettlement was brought up, the mestizo families made it clear early on that they were not interested in resettling as part of the community of Tóez. The *minga* was their stated reason for this. They did not want to commit to spending one day every week on communal work projects. The *minga* was to them the Indian way of doing things, and they did not see themselves as members of either the *resguardo* or the Indian community. Instead, the mestizo families from Tóez decided to resettle on the outskirts of Popayán.

The people who had decided to resettle as part of the indigenous community of Tóez were, as a consequence of this, very aware of having made a deliberate choice. There had been clear alternatives, and they had decided to resettle in Caloto. This choice defined them as Indians, as members of a Nasa community, as accepting the *resguardo* model for land ownership, and as committed to the institution of the *minga*. The choice and the implications of this choice were brought up repeatedly in community meetings. *Minga* participation was held up as the main badge of honour of indigenousness in the community.

57

The people in the communities of Tóez and San José were all farmers. The point of resettlement was to them access to farmland. Under the *resguardo* system, this access was assured through community membership. Community membership was, after the disaster of Páez, no longer a direct derivation of long standing usufruct rights in specific pieces of *resguardo* land. The disaster of Páez challenged this relationship in the most fundamental way possible by removing the land from the equation.

When the *minga* was used as the vehicle for defining community membership in resettlement, access to *resguardo* land was still the ultimate goal of the families involved. By demonstrating repeated willingness to invest in the community and the resettlement the families reaffirmed their membership status. They also transformed resettlement land. The *minga* involved the community investing themselves and their *resguardo* ideology in the land they hoped would support their future. The community colonised the resettlement site, transforming it from alien outside to community inside. They did this through substantial activities, and through the substantial activities of all members. By planting trees, building fences and tilling the land, they put their mark on it and made it their own.

The *minga* was the way territory was adjusted, adapted and improved upon. The agency in this process was placed squarely with the community. It was the community as unit that invested in land, thus staking claim on it and transforming it from generalised space to particular place. The community was thus localized, producing spatial anchorage, at the same time as space was colonised and given particular identity and significance.

The *minga* was the community at work producing ties to land. The community as a unit invested time, effort and community spirit in their resettlement site. Place was produced through practical commitment to the idea of community. Appadurai (1996) underlines the production of locality as hard and continuous work. This work has to be done by the community, in his words the neighbourhood, in order for either locality or community to survive. Community and locality are, according to him, aspects of the same phenomena. The process of learning to know the new land and its particularities was taken on in San José and Tóez as the basic challenge of forging a relationship between the community as a unit and the place it had chosen for resettlement. During the process of disaster and resettlement the community had been transformed from a

straightforward deduction of territory – *resguardo* land in Tierradentro – to an independent entity with clearly defined membership achieved through active choice. Instead of defining community through territory, community was now being moulded to serve as the foundation for redefining new territory. Resettlement as localisation of community and colonisation of new land was under way.

## Chapter 4 – Houses anchoring resettlement in San José

When I returned to San José in March 1997, the community village had disappeared. The old farm house, which had been surrounded by tents, people, and sundry activities throughout the time I had spent with the community, now sat abandoned beside the road. I had to continue downhill, past the bend in the road, to find what I was looking for. Down here the disorderly construction site of my last visit was no longer. Instead, a tidy village of thirty brick houses, lined up in rows around an open central space, with eternit roofs, doors and window openings sat on the hillside.[77] People from the community were busy everywhere, organising garden plots, digging canals to direct waste water, and getting their houses in order. Behind the Musse house I found Mario rebuilding the old kitchen shack, using the cardboard, plastic and corrugated iron sheets he had brought down from the tent village. Jesusa was busy preparing *mote* inside the half finished kitchen. That night was the first I spent under a roof and between solid walls in San José.

All families in San José moved from the tent village to the brick houses within the space of less than a month. The move was, as the building had been, conceived of as a collective enterprise. House construction in San José had as much to do with demonstrating commitment to community and place as it had to do with improving living conditions and getting a roof over one's head. People had invested time and effort in constructing the village, the focal centre of the community in resettlement. Constructing houses was a matter of constructing potential permanence in resettlement. Moving into and living in the houses would now be substantial demonstration of commitment to resettlement, in terms of locality as well as community. In this chapter, I want to explore some practical and symbolic dimensions of these houses in the resettlement of San José.[78]

Clifford (1997) describes the fieldworker's focus on and construction of villages as the ideal place to produce ethnography. This is where community and culture traditionally have been sought and encountered by anthropologists: "Villages, inhabited by natives, are bounded sites particularly suitable for intensive visiting by anthropologists. They have long served as

---

[77] Eternit as used to cover roofs in the resettlement is profiled fibre cement roofing sheets.
[78] In this chapter, I am mainly going to draw on the house construction process in San José. The community of San José constructed their resettlement houses within the parameters of CNK support. The people in the community of Tóez took a different approach to house construction and resettlement in general, drawing on a variety of partnerships and sources for financing. This approach to resettlement will receive attention in Chapter 8.

habitable, mappable centres for community, and by extension, the culture" (Clifford 1997:21). In my resettlement setting, the 'natives' were very much in line with the traditional anthropological concern for boundedness and workable units. The community of San José was striving to produce just such a habitable, mappable centre for community and culture. The physical concentration of houses, and thus people and daily life, in villages, was their strategy of choice.[79]

People transformed land into community territory by farming it. The resettlement village cemented territorial occupation and anchored families firmly to place. The house was the most concrete, physical, and direct verification of the transformation of alien space into community anchorage in resettlement. This was Appadurai's (1996) colonisation project made tangible reality. Resettlement space was evaluated to situate the village to be constructed; the houses and the village itself were determined and planned, and only when these initial projects of community localisation were completed could construction start. When I arrived in the field this process had reached the point where designs for house and village lay out were being converted into reality through practical investment of work. The first part of this chapter will focus on the ways in which the community as a project was realised through the construction of houses in San José. In San José, building houses was a matter of constructing community inside and living quarters as one.

People in both San José and Tóez moved into their new houses during the time I spent in Cauca. The planned and constructed spaces of house and village were now challenged by people practicing everyday life in and among them. House discourse was modified in this meeting with real life practices, and so were the houses. Ideational and planned realities were turned into practiced space through daily life. The second part of this chapter will examine this process of adaptation as real life met resettlement houses in the village of San José.

---

[79] See Chapter 1 for a clarification of my decision to follow my informants in using the term 'village' to describe these resettlement urbanisations.

**Constructing the houses**

The point of departure for house construction in the resettlements was the fixed sum assigned per family by CNK. Each community decided, with advice from CNK architects, how the money was to be spent in their resettlement.[80] The community would agree on a house plan for their resettlement, and all houses would be constructed according to that plan. People in the community of San José explained their choice of bricks and cement for their houses primarily by referring to the fierce weather in El Rosario. The wind and hailstorms did frequent damage to the tents and shacks people lived in. The need to construct strong houses, houses that would last, and houses able to withstand the storms, was obvious to everybody in the community. The people in San José decided on eternit sheets for the roofs, and were thus ensured strong, durable houses from the foundations to the ridge of the roof.

The community of San José chose house materials they knew well. There was nothing new or experimental about bricks or eternit. Even though most houses in Tierradentro had been made with wattle and daub, several people in the community had experience with brick construction. The Musse family had just completed their big, new brick house in San José Tierradentro when the disaster struck. Nemesio described how the family had worked for several years to complete it, saving to buy the materials, organising *mingas* to carry the bricks to San José, and putting up the house bit by bit. The disaster tumbled the house to the ground, but in the resettlement Nemesio Musse again had the opportunity to build a brick house.

Choosing to onstruct with traditional, solid bricks affected the size of the houses. Bricks were the most expensive alternative for house construction in the resettlements. In San José CNK money would only stretch to two rooms and a small bathroom for each family. Eternit was also the more expensive choice for roofs. The Musses talked about how big their house in Tierradentro had been, with rooms for the whole family. The houses in the resettlement would be much smaller, and this was something that worried not only the Musses. Throughout the construction period people would return to the discussion of how they would be able to fit big families into such small houses. The construction plan opened for future enlargement, with the

---

[80] In 1997 this was in the vicinity of 2,000,000 Colombian pesos for each house, to be spent on the acquisition and transport of house materials to the resettlement site. The alternatives for construction as presented by CNK were walls of bricks, wattle and daub, or muro tendinoso. Roofs were a choice between corrugated iron and eternit. Wattle and daub was well known but excited little interest in the resettlements. Bricks, solid or hollow, were the expensive, but prestigious and durable alternative. Muro tendinoso was a new, untried technique presented by CNK functionaries. Muro tendinoso houses are made from a wooden framework filled in with crisscrossing barbed wire. The walls are then covered by burlap on both inside and outside, and onto the burlap a mixture of cement, sand and water is smeared in layers. The resulting house was promoted as being cheap, durable and earthquake resistant.

foundation already provided for two additional rooms, but people did not see the economic possibilities for completing these rooms in the foreseeable future.

Bricks were considered a better, more expensive and prestigious material, and when resettlement presented people in the community of San José with the opportunity of building with bricks, there was no doubt about what they wanted. People told me repeatedly about their reasons for choosing bricks, and how this made the San José houses the best possible. Other resettlement communities might be building bigger houses, but, according to people in San José, size was second to quality, and nothing could beat brick houses with eternit roofs on quality.

Apart from size, the big difference between the brick houses in the resettlement and the brick house of the Musses in San José Tierradentro was the reinforced concrete framework in the resettlement houses. Earthquake resistant construction was for obvious reasons a significant consideration when resettlement houses were to be built. CNK provided each community with a master builder, to advise and direct the construction process and to make sure the new houses would not tumble to the ground in the next earthquake. For the brick houses in San José, this meant a foundation reinforced with iron, reinforced corner posts and a reinforced frame at the top of the walls, all connected at the corners. Nemesio Musse was one of the people in the community who was very interested in learning as much as he could about this way of building. This was the way the family was going to go about reconstructing their Tierradentro house at some point in the future, he told me. The bricks were there, although now in a heap, and now he knew how to put them back together in a better way. The possibility of providing people in the community with certificates stating that they were now qualified in this construction technique was also discussed.

The master builder was not in the resettlement of San José to build houses but to offer advice. The actual building was done by the people in the community. To organise this process, the community had grouped all families into work parties, each responsible for four or five planned houses. The idea was for people in one group together to build the houses which would be theirs. Bringing the brick house village into being was very definitely a concern for the community as a whole. In community meetings, people repeatedly returned to the importance of working together. Nobody should be left to build their house alone. Being part of the community meant receiving help with your house, and the obligation to return the favour. Along

the same lines, the tubs for soaking bricks and the boards for post moulds were meant for the use of all, and thus were to be diligently looked after and handed around.

The concrete was poured for the foundation on Lucia Musse's house in August 1996. The bricks were laid at the end of November, and the roof sheeting was finally put on in February 1997. The work was done in intense spurts of activity, each lasting at the most a few days. The way construction moved along on Lucia's house was a direct consequence of the way the community of San José organised matters. When materials arrived in the community, they were distributed according to the list of work groups. The first group on the list would receive materials to complete the foundations on all the houses in their care. Then cement and iron for foundations would be supplied to the second work group, and so on. The same thing happened with corner posts, bricks, top frame and roof. Doing things in this way made sure that no family in the community would be left behind. Construction remained a collective endeavour, and, in the end, all the houses were finished more or less at the same time. People in San José then tore down their tents and shacks, and moved into the village they had built, within the space of less than a month.

In between the intense spurts of activity, the house sat abandoned. This was the case for all houses under construction in El Rosario, and it caused considerable frustration in the community. People spent more time waiting for materials to arrive and inquiring after those materials than actually constructing. CNK was at this time working to provide building materials for 1287 houses in twentynine resettlements scattered throughout the departments of Cauca and Huila (Nasa Kiwe 1997). Materials were difficult to come by and had to be shared out piecemeal among the resettlements. Having to wait for materials was something with which people in most resettling communities were very familiar.

**The house and the family in the resettlement census**

After the disaster of Páez CNK provided each resettling family with materials for one house. The family was also the basis for assigning land, seven hectares for each, and other resources.[81] A family was, according to CNK, an established couple with or without children or a single parent with children, as of June 1994. In the resettlement communities, people distinguished as a

---

[81] An example of this would be the loan offered to make it possible for families in the resettlement of San José to plant sugarcane or coffee for the market, discussed in Chapter 3.

matter of fact between 'families', and what they called 'census' or 'CNK families'. CNK families were bureaucratic constructions, relevant to the distribution of resources allocated by CNK. When CNK families came up in community discussion, people talked about them mainly by referring to the houses. Receiving a house was the direct material result of being defined as a CNK family. Houses were significant in the resettlement, but the traditional link between house and household, and the house as focal centre of relevant social groups (e.g. Gudeman and Rivera 1990; Sparkes 2002; Howell 2002; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995), was at best tenuous.

The Musses were building three houses in the resettlement of San José. The CNK census counted them as three families, and allocated house materials and farm land accordingly. One house was built for Mario and Jesusa, the second one for Nemesio and his children, and the third one for Lucia and her children. The houses were constructed according to the pattern set by the CNK census, but daily life was not. The Musses organised one kitchen, where Jesusa was in charge of cooking for the household. Lucia brought in a wage by working at the San José primary school. Nemesio and Mario did most of the farm work on all land accorded the Musses. The whole family, adults and children alike, pitched in when and where needed, and they shared the work of constructing the three houses. The ways cooking, eating, and daily work were organised all indicated the relevant social unit for the Musses as having little to do with the CNK family.

In Tierradentro, the Musses had lived in one house, and their neighbours in the house next door had been the Pachos. Aureliano and Delfina Pacho had three sons, two of them over eighteen. Still, since they had yet to establish themselves with wives or children, none of the sons was eligible for a house or land in resettlement. The Pachos received materials for one house and seven hectares of land. Delfina Pacho worked as a health promoter in San José Tierradentro. She had no possibility at present for getting a similar position in the resettlement, and as a result, she and her husband Auraliano were only able to visit the resettlement during holidays. Luckily, their house in Tierradentro had survived the disaster relatively intact and was liveable. It was the three sons, Juan Carlos, Robeiro and Tito, who lived permanently in the resettlement. Juan Carlos worked as an apprentice teacher at the resettlement school, while the two others were still attending classes to gain their baccalaureates at the school in the village of El Rosario.[82] The

---

[82] The baccalaureate (El bachillerato) is the Colombian university entrance examination. The village school in El Rosario offered classes up to and including the baccalaureate level, while the resettlement school offered classes only at the primary school level.

three of them had worked out a rota for sharing cooking and house chores, and they participated on behalf of the Pacho's in community activities.

Counting adult hands, the Musse and Pacho families came out about the same. Counting households, the Pachos actually maintained two, while the Musses kept only one kitchen. Even so, when resources were allotted in resettlement according to the CNK model, the Musses received three houses, and the Pachos one. The Musses together would receive twenty-one hectares of land in the resettlement, the Pachos only seven. When land was to be shared out to the next generation, lots would become smaller for everyone, but while this sharing out belonged in the distant future for the Musses, it was very possibly imminent for the Pachos. The Musses also had more resources to share out.

These kinds of discrepancies were not unusual. People in the resettlement community were very aware of the rather arbitrary implications of the CNK family definition. They would commiserate with the Pachos as being less lucky than others, but the consequences of this luck were regarded as a matter for the Pachos to deal with themselves. Equal distribution of resettlement resources was of great significance to people in the resettlement communities. It was, however, very much recognised as an ideal, and not expected to be translatable into lived reality. The challenges of community organisation and leadership were readily recognised by people in the community, and the CNK family provided a practical solution to a difficult problem. The advantages of having a predefined formula for distribution to work with was not lost to people in San José. The CNK family resolved a controversial matter involving great potential for strife in the community, not to everyone's satisfaction, but at least according to understood rules.[83]

The community of San José did in fact attempt to harness the CNK family definition to their advantage. The first census the community of San José worked out and presented to CNK listed all members of the community neatly distributed in forty tidy family units, all satisfying CNK criteria. It was not accepted. The census that in the end was made official as the basis for resettlement in the community of San José listed the same community members, but only thirty

---

[83] The community leaders clearly saw the practical usefulness of the CNK family as imposition from outside authorities. Resettlement was organised through community meetings and consensus decisions. The CNK family provided a presupposition the community could relate to and work with, without having to take responsibility for. Extensive experience with this kind of process breeds a certain kind of pragmatism, and everybody involved knew very well that making everybody happy about everything was unrealistic.

families. The difference between lived reality and bureaucratic definitions formed the explicit point of departure for this experiment. The community of San José was deliberately playing around with a purely theoretical concept to see if its very arbitraryness could be turned into a tool to extract additional resources from the CNK system. People in San José talked about the first census with regret. Alcides Musse made the situation very clear by explaining to me that once the land now provided by CNK had been divided, seven hectares for each CNK family, the *cabildo* council itself would be left landless. In Tierradentro, fallow *cabildo* land had provided a buffer the community in El Rosario would have to do without. It was land that was at stake here; the houses were largely irrelevant. The census experiment in San José was not meant to benefit individual families in the community. Whether the official resettlement census contained thirty or forty families was not a matter of real life significance, but of the prospect of providing the community as a whole with a resource buffer for the future. The regrets when it failed were thus expressed on behalf of the community as a whole.

The CNK family was perceived as a somewhat arbitrary, but still effective organisational tool for this one specific moment in history when the available resettlement resources were distributed among community members. Resettlement was not normalcy. It was a state of emergency well outside any recognised framework for the communities. Specific regulations for a specific situation were expected and accepted. After the initial discussions it was established as the key to the distribution of resources. It resolved a specific matter at a specific moment in time in a way that did not challenge community cohesion. The Tierradentro *resguardo* was not, and had never been, perceived as guaranteeing equal distribution of community resources. Community membership was about the right to land, but not about how much land for each.

The overriding consideration in constructing resettlement community life was community unity and welfare. The situation of individual families was of subordinate significance. When community discussions moved from the general to the specific, from the model with its implications to the situation any specific family found themselves in, official community involvement ended abruptly. Discussing the model was considered useful and relevant for the community as resettlement project. Discussing specific implications for specific families was not considered either. What was significant in resettlement was 'the community as a structure of feeling' (Amit condensing Appadurai 2002). While resources must be divided between families, the main consideration when this was to be done was for the distribution to do as little damage

as possible to this 'structure of feeling'. The community was, whenever at all possible, to stand as advocate and beneficiary of resettlement activity. Attempting creative use of a bureaucratic family definition was thus regarded as a constructive a community enterprise. Employing this same model to distribute resources without unduly affecting community cohesion was likewise seen as contributing constructively to the resettlement project in San José.

**The resettlement village**

The houses in the resettlement of San José were constructed in a tight village. This was not an obvious choice. The traditional pattern of residence in Tierradentro had the different families living scattered throughout the *resguardo*, in houses close to their own fields. When I asked Alcides Musse about the resettlement village, he pointed first to the practical matters of piped water supply and sewage system:

> Let's see, before, there, [in Tierradentro before the disaster] we called it *veredas*, but the houses were like this, far, far apart. It turns out that CNK, in this matter, they had to provide certain things, like the water mains, so if we built the houses in different places it would be very difficult and more expensive, and the sewer system would be more expensive too. So it was thought better to do a small urbanisation, all close together, to organise the houses just like this, so the sewer system could include all families; this would be for everyone. These reasons were becoming clear, and further, when we looked at the unity [community togetherness], because we would all be in the same place, and not dispersed like we were there [in Tierradentro] (Interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997).

Resettlement presented the possibility of getting access to modernity in ways people in the community of San José had not known before. Water mains and sewage systems were unknowns in Tierradentro, but CNK would as a matter of course provide these utilities for the community in resettlement. The decision to construct a village was taken by the community together, and Alcides took the underlying argument for granted: These things must be for everyone. The ideals of community equality and togetherness in resettlement were to found the reconstruction process wherever possible.

The development connotations here were strong. CNK had clear ideas on what should constitute the minimums of a decent, modern life and planned accordingly. This included piped water and sewage. The community of San José were also very clear on the advantages of these things. They saw resettlement as an opportunity to improve living conditions and to become more modern. This was, however, a matter to be dealt with by the whole group. If the resettlement community was to 'upgrade its standards', all members had to be included. The matter was never discussed or presented in the community in terms of a choice for the individual families. It was not a matter of having to construct the family brick house in the village if you wanted access to sewage system and water mains. The community was the only relevant actor in

68

resettlement, and resettlement was constantly evaluated on the basis of how the community handled matters. The community was modernising its members through resettlement, and for it to succeed, it had to be about the group as a whole.

While the choice of bricks for the houses was discussed and dissected over and over again, the decision to construct the houses in a tight village formation was taken in stride.[84] It was at no time presented as an uncomfortable imposition from outside. When it came up in meetings, it was indirectly in terms of where pigsties were best placed, and how much noise it was acceptable to make at what times, but people did not see the village structure itself as worthy of much attention. The intense and continuous debate between resettling communities over choices made, and the consequences of those choices, did not extend to village layout. All the resettling communities had been presented with CNK views on the practical advantages of the village model, and all resettling communities were in fact organising their houses in villages, so debating the choice did not even excite comparative interest.

The community of San José had in fact lived close together in village fashion continuously after the disaster of Páez. The tents first in the temporary shelters, and then in the resettlement, were organised in a tight cluster with neighbours close on all sides. The village of houses was seen as a continuation of a way of life brought on by disaster. People kept telling me that now, as opposed to before the disaster, they would not consider living alone. 'We want to stay here together' and 'we get very unhappy at the idea of each family living by itself' were common and explicit statements to this fact.

While the community in Tierradentro had been a taken for granted, direct derivation of *resguardo* territory, in resettlement community had to be constructed and maintained through different techniques. Living in a close cluster was an effective strategy people chose to constantly underline their belonging and the significance of the group. Alcides concludes his comments above on the village with just this point. Not only should the advantages of resettlement be for everyone, but resettlement should be organised in ways that would support and strengthen 'unity', i.e. community togetherness. Alcides sees this as a consequence of, as well as an argument for, the village model in resettlement.

---

[84] References to the structure of Nasa habitation in Tierradentro abound in the ethnographic literature (see Chapter 2 for lists of references). See in particular Bernal V. 1968 for a discussion of this particular phenomenon.

The resettlement village was, as discussed above, built with strong emphasis on the construction being a community project. The village plan gave the spirit of community material reality. The village construction process provided the community members with yet another opportunity to demonstrate this spirit through substantial activities. Lucia worried about moving into her new house while the houses at either side still sat empty. She told me she would much rather stay in the tent until Mariano next door got his house in order, or at least until I arrived so that we would be two adults in the house at night. Living in the new village without neighbours was not an option for people in San José. As it turned out, all the families in the community of San José moved from the tent village to the brick house village within a short period of time. The move was consistently explained with community togetherness as the crucial principle, prompting all community members to wait until all were ready and then move daily life from one village structure to the next.

After the village plan was drawn, the families in the resettlement of San José drew lots for the different house plots. This serves to further emphasise the village as material expression of the community. It was not social structure and family ties that were given expression in the resettlement village; it was the community, in terms of togetherness and equality. Even if the basis for equal distribution, in the form of the CNK family, was considered arbitrary, it served its purpose in this setting. The CNK family was defined by the resettlement structure and thus not an internal community issue at all. When the lots were drawn for the different houses, the Musses ended up with one house above the village square, two below, and none of them next to each other. When I wondered about this, I was told that since this was a village, it was irrelevant. The way the village model put all the houses close together made my attempts to ask about distances meaningless to people in San José.

The drawing of lots was a practical solution to distribution in resettlement. It marked resettlement as a situation well outside the bounds of community and *resguardo* life as people knew it from Tierradentro. Differences in social and economic status, real, recognised and visible in the traditional *resguardo* setting, were purposely ignored in organising the resettlement village. This did not imply any expectations of permanence, but it clearly illustrated the crucial significance of the community ideal at that specific moment in time. The community was moving into the material manifestation of togetherness they had constructed as a group. The

resettlement village presented the community of San José to themselves, to their new neighbours, and to visitors, as a bastion of community spirit, equality and togetherness.

The village council in El Rosario had invited the people from San José to build their houses as an extension of the already existing mestizo village. When the community decided to build a village, but situate it further down the hill away from El Rosario, their main argument concerned community maintenance. José Manuel, vice governor of San José in 1996, underlined distance and isolation as crucial tools for the community of San José if they were to survive as a Nasa community in this purely mestizo area of Cauca.[85] Physical apartness was presented as a decisive contribution to community delineation and border maintenance over time.[86]

The resettlement presented the community of San José with a new situation in terms of neighbours. From being one Nasa *resguardo* community in area where this was taken for granted as the way most people lived, they were now the only indigenous community in an area of mestizo settlement. People in the resettlements employed the community structure as the main line of defence against the outside world. In San José, useful and relevant contacts with their new neighbours were constantly weighed against the worries of 'losing culture', generally conceptualised in terms of losing language. The recipe presented for conserving Nasaness in resettlement was staying together, organising a school especially for the Nasa children and keeping daily life a community matter. Staying together to protect Nasa inside was translated into the village model for resettlement.

After having maintained a dispersed resettlement pattern in the face of outside pressure for centuries, the people in San José were now adapting the traditional Mediterranean village model, for practical reasons but also as a means of resistance. While in Tierradentro it had made sense to make it hard for the government to control what people did by making them hard to find, and especially hard to find together in one place, the situation in resettlement called for different measures. It took resettlement to convince the Nasa that a village was a constructive strategy towards controlling outside influence, but the village must be a reflection of the community for

---

[85] The 'gobernador suplente', vice governor, was second in command to the governor in the *cabildo* system. In the resettlement community of San José, it meant that José Manuel was, for all intents and purposes, the designated governor of the community. The way the resettlement community of San José related to the Tierradentro community of San José, and the adaptations to the *resguardo* leadership model necessary to deal with the post disaster situation, will be the focus of Chapter 7.
[86] When José Manuel presented his argument for isolation and distance as necessary for the cultural survival of the resettling communities, the stated agenda of CNK (see Chapter 2) immediately comes to mind. The difference between José Manuel and CNK point of view was still marked, as what José Manuel was advocating was establishing the resettlement village at a distance of a fifteen minute walk from El Rosario and the Popayán road.

this argument to have validity. It was the village as a material reflection of community that was the aim for the people in San José when they resettled.

The production of space and the ways this space in turn structured community and family life were of course two sides to the same story. Community got its most visible manifestation in space through the village. The group of houses was the signifier telling everybody that people lived here, that this land had changed character and was now occupied by new people. The former owner described his farm as 'pure pasture' when the land-committee first arrived in El Rosario. This was no longer the case. The transformation was far more significant than the matter of the changing ownership of a farm. The community invaded and colonised this land, put its mark on it and redefined its core as something fundamentally and qualitatively different – a village, a tangible focus for community life.

**The house as family anchor**

The tents and shacks that made up the living quarters of the community of San José had outlasted most reasonable expectations by the time the houses were ready. The tents had by then been in constant use for close to three years, and had been taken down, transported, put back up, reinforced, adapted and lived in throughout that period. I fretted over how to keep at least some of the little waterfalls coming through the roof in heavy rain from ending up in my bed, and saw the new houses as an excellent hope for a relatively dry future. Lucia shook her head and laughed at me. She would much rather stay in the tired tent for another few weeks than move down to the brick village ahead of her neighbours.

While the practical living conditions for Lucia and her family did in fact improve dramatically when we moved into the new house, I was the only one who thought this worth commenting upon. Lucia talked about her new house in terms of how good it was to finally have somewhere things could be kept. With a lock on the door, she would know that they were safe. The house could be relied on to last, and it was no longer necessary to worry about the fierce weather in El Rosario doing damage. The tents had routinely fallen apart in bad weather. The house provided permanence and security for the future. Lucia talked about the finished house with doors that could be locked as an opportunity to travel, to leave the resettlement community and return as

need arose. Having constructed a firm point of departure, a family anchor in resettlement, normalcy, very much including coming and going at intervals, was again within reach.[87]

Houses were talked about in terms of tradition, continuity and as the lure of normalcy in resettlement. The house and the ways it was managed was a very concrete opening to evaluate change. One thing that had not changed, at least not in the Musse family, was the significance put upon burying a piece of the umbilical cord for a newborn baby in the ground close to the hearth in the family house.[88] Lucia explained to me how she had done this for all her children, those born before as well as after the disaster. When the umbilical cord was buried in this manner, the family made sure the child would always remember where it came from. A tradition among the Nasa for travel and extended stays away from the community made tying the individual to the fireplace of the family home very relevant.[89] This would ensure their return. During the time after the disaster while the family had no house, Lucia had buried the umbilical cord beside the hearth in the kitchen tent. The physical structure sheltering the family, whether tent or house, would in this way provide those born there with a fixed point in life. According to Lucia, her children would now return to the resettlement, while her own fixed point would always be in Tierradentro.

While people in the resettlement of San José made sure to bury the umbilical cord when new babies arrived, they only talked about the 'dance of the straw opossum effigy'.[90] People told me about this as the traditional inaugural festival held for a new house in Tierradentro. While the dance of the straw opossum effigy was very present in the way people talked about houses and traditions in the resettlements, they also made it clear that this was something that had fallen out of use in Tierradentro well before the disaster. Resettlement provided an opportunity to reflect upon and evaluate the state of Nasaness in the communities. Organising this kind of festival in the resettlement was not the point. The dance of the straw opossum effigy was relevant as an indicator of relative indigenousness or lack thereof in the resettlement community.

---

[87] The link here to the ancestral houses constructed for permanence discussed in Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995:37) is obvious. Even if resettlement houses were houses people move into and lived in, they were planned and constructed primarily with permanence and staying power in mind. They were making a statement. Agreeing with Lucia, people talked about them in terms of permanence rather than comfort.
[88] Other ideas connected with this burying of the umbilical cord state that one should be careful not to bury it too deep in the ground, in which case the child will get its teeth late. It should always be buried under the roof, inside the house. If it is buried outside a girl might never get her menstruation. See e.g. CRIC 1991:7.
[89] See Chapter 2 for a discussion and references on this.
[90] 'El baile de la chucha' is described in Rappaport (1998:170) and Miñana Blasco (1994:91,93).

When Benjamin Ramos visited San José in August 1996, he brought news of the killing of the mayor of Jambaló. As this was discussed, talk moved on to a recounting of the main massacres and killings marking out the history of the indigenous movement's struggles in Cauca.[91] In asides to me, Benjamin clarified matters he thought I should be interested in. He had considerable experience from working actively within CRIC, and was well versed in explaining indigenousness and Nasaness to outsiders. To put the dramatic moments of indigenous struggle under discussion into context, Benjamin told me very carefully about the correct way to handle the umbilical cord. His point in this context was to underline the importance of knowing where you belong. All Nasa children should know this, and, with the umbilical cord safely buried, the house would provide them with an anchor of identity and belonging for life. Indigenous identity and spatial belonging were the crucial issues people had fought and suffered for as part of the indigenous movement.

Benjamin used the coat as a metaphor to illustrate for me the way the house was thought of among the Nasa. The house would, like a coat, shelter and warm the family, and protect it from weather and assorted threatening ills. The house was, the way Benjamin explained it, the ultimate cultural inside.[92] It protected you, and also your identity and ethnicity, all your life. The house as the bulwark against the troublesome world was very clearly reflected in the way people in San José talked about 'difficult times' in Tierradentro. During periods with a lot of guerrillas and army in the area, people had been afraid to venture outside, especially at night. When people described the situation, they talked about having to keep to their houses, and staying inside with the doors bolted after dark. The house sheltered them from whatever was going on in the area. It also very directly served to situate them, so chance meetings nobody wished for could be avoided.[93]

---

[91] The killing of the mestizo-but-almost-indigenous mayor of the municipality of Jambaló, where a lot of Nasa Indians lived, was routinely blamed on the guerrillas he had been mixed up with. Among the other massacres and killings Benjamin Ramos underlined the Nilo massacre of three years before, where twenty Indians had been killed in a conflict over land, also in the northern part of the Cauca Province. See Chapter 1 for further references on the violent history of CRIC, and Chapter 8 for a discussion of the Nilo massacre.

[92] The coat as metaphor for the house is used in much the same way by Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995:2) when they discuss analytical approaches to the house in anthropology. Gudeman and Rivera talk about the house as shelter as a metaphor for the house as economy, with these practices organised around and through the household (1990:2).

[93] Portela Guarín notes the fact that in Nasa Yuwe, the word used to denominate the four dimensions of Nasa cosmology is 'yet' (or yat): house. "In Páez cosmography, 'the four houses' worlds (eeka yat, ksaw yat, kiwe ni yat and kiwe diu) configure the unity of territorial space of Nasa Kiwe" (1995:270). "It is worth noting that in the four names the lexeme yet=house appears; in other words, there are four houses in the Nasa world" (1995:264n15). My translation. "En la cosmografía Páez, "las cuatro casas" mundos (eeka yat, ksaw yat, kiwe ni yat y kiwe diu) configuran la unidad del espacio territorial de los nasa kiwe" (1995:270). "Es de anotar que en las cuatro denominaciones aparece el lexema yet = casa; es decir, existe cuatro casas en el mundo nasa" (1995:164n15). The four houses together constitute the Nasa world, suggestively evoking the way the resettlement village constitute the social and cultural world of the community.

Rappaport (1998:168-69) describes the Nasa house as a repository of memory, a mnemonic device recording practical history, big and small events, standing there as the centre of everyday living to remind the occupants of what was and what had been. Returning to Tierradentro after the disaster, resettling families from San José were met by their tumbledown houses acting as an acute reminder of how things used to be and how the disaster had changed them. The houses being constructed in the resettlement would, in the same way, provide hope for the future. Evaluating traditions, and tying them to the resettlement houses, constructed connecting lines of continuity in resettlement. Rebuilding tradition was in the resettlement context combined with an active search for modernity and development opportunities.

**Practicing space in resettlement houses**

The plans for houses and village had been elaborated with modernity and development very much in mind. Once the houses had roofs, the families in San José moved in. The village of brick houses went from being a work site to becoming the pivotal point of everyday life. The community had invested time and effort over a period of two and a half years to plan and build this structure. Now, time had come to begin living in it.

Every house constructed in San José was put up strictly according to the plan. Each house had two rooms, the largest one designated the kitchen, and a small bathroom. All rooms let onto the covered porch at the back of the house. When the families moved in, their structural point of departure was thus exactly the same. The main concern voiced during construction was, as discussed above, size. People in the community of San José worried about how they would be able to fit their families into such small houses.

People moved their things and sleeping quarters into the houses in the village strictly according to the census list of CNK families. Lucia slept in her new house; Nemesio and his children slept in his. Lucia put both her beds in the smaller of the two rooms in her house. She, her children, and anyone else spending the night would sleep together in this room. This was the solution chosen by all the families in San José. Independently of the number of family members and the number of beds they had, people chose one of their rooms and made it into sleeping quarters for the entire family.

Some families, like Lucia, chose the smaller room, while others decided to use the bigger room, called the kitchen in the house plan, for the beds. Whichever room they decided upon, the other one was consistently used for storage. The answer to the problem of priorities in a small house with two rooms was obvious. One room would be used by people, and the other would be given over to the *panela*, sacks of coffee for sale, tools and bathroom equipment.

Lucia's enthusiasm for safe storage, under roof, between walls and with a solid door, was shared by everyone in the community. CNK provided each house with two solid doors. The houses as they stood already had four doorways, all of them outer ones, and people had to decide which ones should be given priority and provided with one of the two doors. The storage room was invariably secured first. The doors were shut at night and when people left the community for a few days. During the day, it was the openings between the inside of the house, and the porch and the village, which were significant.

As people went about distributing daily life in terms of sleeping, cooking, eating and talking in their new houses, it became very obvious to all that house life did not equal house plans. The designated use of different rooms on the architect drawings was revised when the houses went from planned space to practiced space. The room called the kitchen on the drawings was to be fitted with a new gas stove supplied by CNK. Both Lucia and Nemesio installed the stove in the spare room of their houses, but neither considered using it for cooking. Buying gas was not an expense to be considered. The Musses carefully took down the shack that had served as their kitchen in the tent village, and reconstructed it behind Mario and Jesusa's brick house. The wood fire in the middle of the floor continued being the place where the actual cooking for the family took place.

The Musses were not alone in choosing this solution. Some families preferred a lean-to structure supported by the actual brick house. A few put the cooking fire on the back porch, where it would be under roof, while others put it just inside the door to the smaller room in their house. The one room nobody used for cooking was the one called kitchen in the drawings. Putting the gas stove in there was good, since keeping the gas stove safe was important in terms of storage. However, the room had only one door, and the walls went all the way up to the ceiling, with no opening where smoke could escape. The house and the kitchen had been planned by the

community with modernity and the gas stove in mind. Practical living indicated the distance between the plans and reality soon enough as people went about situating their cooking fires.

The kitchen shack, still made from cardboard, plastic and sheets of corrugated iron, was the place where daily life in the Musse family happened. The shack was moved from the tent village to the brick house village, but the way the family used it remained the same. The new brick houses were used for storage and sleeping. Everything else happened in and around the kitchen shack. This was where meals were cooked, where people ate, and where other members of the community came visiting. The family gathered in the kitchen shack in the evenings, to be close to the fire, to talk and do whatever repair work and handicrafts they had at hand. This was very obviously the focal point of practical living for the Musses.[94]

Moving the cooking away from the new houses was considered purely a matter of practicalities in the resettlement. Lack of material resources, in this context money for gas, was a fact of life. With no money for gas, a cooking fire had to be organised, and since the designated kitchen was not suitable for this kind of cooking, alternatives had to be found. People did not see the kitchen arrangements as something affecting the modernising project of the resettlement community. The bathrooms, however, were another matter.

People had talked about the bathrooms from the start. They were presented to me as the pride and joy of the house plans in San José. The resettlement village was, as Alcides underlined above, organised so that water mains and sewage system could be connected to all the houses. The bathrooms were being put in on the original CNK money. They had been given priority over concrete floors and more space when the house plans were drawn up. People were excited about the possibility of getting indoor plumbing. For the first time ever, the families in the community of San José were going to live in modern houses.

The sinks, toilet bowls and the tubing arrived by lorry in December 1996, well before there were houses to put them in. They were shared out according to the census lists. A meeting was held, and José Manuel spent considerable effort on explaining to the community how crucial it was to

---

[94] The resettlement kitchen described above shows a marked resemblance to the Nasa house of old. The traditional house had one room with the hearth in the centre (Sevilla C. 1986:78). Cooking, commensality, visiting and socialising took place in this one room. Only sleeping and storage arrangements have been removed in the resettlement kitchen. One interesting consequence is that visitors are invited to enter the cardboard kitchen shack, rather than the new brick house, to be welcomed and be served with food. See Sparkes 2003 for pointers to a discussion of the hearth and cooking as significant aspect of the house and the household. Food and the consumption of food in resettlement will be discussed in Chapter 5.

look after these things until they could be put to use. When I left San José seven months later, the bathroom fixtures were being carefully stored with the coffee and the *panela* in people's houses. The cement for bathroom floors was nowhere in sight, and the plumbing expert engaged by CNK had no reason to visit San José within the foreseeable future. The bathrooms, sitting at the end of the covered porch next to the designated kitchen, had uniformly been turned into tool sheds.

By the time the community had settled into their new houses, the way they talked about the bathrooms changed. The bathrooms were now discussed with considerable worry by a lot of people in the resettlement. The problem was not the fact that the community again had to wait for materials to arrive. It was rather the special position the bathrooms had come to occupy in resettlement discourse. As the bathrooms represented the epitome of modernity and development for the community in resettlement, people very clearly saw them as also carrying the potential for failure. Indoor plumbing had been an unknown in San José, Tierradentro. People in the community talked about having a bathroom in the actual house as requiring a very different level of cleanliness and care than what had been required before. Lucia was one of those who thought the bathrooms could lead to serious problems in the resettlement village. She told me that if people did not learn, and more than that, start to practice new ideas about how a bathroom should be managed, the fact that these structures were now in the actual houses instead of some distance from them, and even more that the houses were so close together, could turn the bathrooms into serious health hazards and a considerable social embarrassment rather than improvements to be proud of.[95]

The downside to all projects of development and modernity was the potential for failure. The distance between plans and lived reality was after a period of house living obvious to everybody in San José. If the people, after the bathrooms had in fact been installed, failed to use them in the prescribed manner, it was felt that this would designate the community of San José as backward Indians unable to manage modern life. The way the individual families might deal with indoor plumbing had direct repercussions for the community as a whole. The kitchen adaptations had been taken in stride and explained in terms of fuel economy. To the extent they entered community discourse at all it was as a sad but inevitable consequence of the cost of cooking

---

[95] See Cárdona A. 1995:149 for a description of this problem as it appeared to the relief workers in the first phase of post disaster relief work. Against this background it can be said that people in the resettlement communities have already come far in the matter of adapting to the requirements of 'modern hygiene'.

with gas. The use of bathrooms, on the other hand, was contextualised in terms of possible moral failure.

The resettlement plans as well as the adaptations to these plans were evaluated within the community of San José. The situation in San José was also compared to that found in other resettling communities. In general, continued indigenousness was to be combined with a demonstration of the community's ability to deal with modernity and development for the resettlement project to gain prestige. These concerns stood out clearly when the kitchen solution was evaluated and the bathroom was worried over above. The different adjustments in the use of planned houses must be explained within the framework of resettlement discourse for them to become acceptable. Lack of money was very permissible; lack of bathroom hygiene was not.

The community found its material expression in the resettlement village. This connection was very strong and obvious to people living in San José. When Alcides worried about the state of community togetherness in San José, he used the new village as a metaphor to illustrate his point: "Yes, every person in his corner; we are living next to each other, but it seems like… well, the houses demonstrate more togetherness than we do (laughter)" (Interview with Alcides Musse 22. June 1997). Moving into the village marked the transition from an obvious state of emergency to some semblance of normalcy for the resettling community. The ways people went about practicing normalcy continued to reflect strongly on the community as a whole. Building community, maintaining community and projecting the community image towards outsiders was a constant concern for people in the resettlement. The way people lived in their houses was considered a community matter, just as was the case with constructing the houses and moving into the houses.

The house was about anchorage, protection and belonging. When Benjamin Ramos called the house a second mother who sheltered people like a coat, the link was very obvious. One CNK slogan presented the house as a metaphor for the resettlement project: "That our daily work should be a *minga* to reconstruct the house in which we all live" (CNK 1997:26).[96] Here, the house was the the world, understood in terms of the environment held in trust for future generations. Portela G. refers to the way 'house' is the word used in Nasa Yuwe to describe the

---

[96] My translation. 'Que nuestro trabajo diario sea una minga para reconstruir la casa en que vivimos todos.'

four cosmological dimensions (Portela G. 1995). From Benjamin's Indian rights movement discourse, via the way CNK conceptualised resettlement, to the *thë wala*'s description of Nasa traditional philosophy, the house provided a nodal point for producing territoriality.

The house in the resettlement context was a tangible, material expression of not only the colonisation of new land, but of intent and will to permanent appropriation. Resettlement had moved from the violence of arrival, when the community wrested foreign territory from former occupants (Appadurai 1996), through the gradual redefinition of place, and into the aftermath of drama. What came after violent upheaval and colonisation was not occupation, but the return to normalcy. Territory redefined was now cultural and practical inside. The village was the community translated into physical reality. It was the very materiality of the houses that served as concrete proof, for insiders as well as outsiders, of this redefinition of space.

A return to normalcy marked by living in houses did not imply a return to things as they used to be. Moving into the houses in the resettlement village was a step forwards in the process of structuring and anchoring community and family anew in the resettlement context. The project of resettlement took a significant step towards becoming settlement.

# Chapter 5 – Resettling food practices

The most Nasa of all foods was the *mote*. People in the communities of Tóez and San José were very clear on this. At the Cultural Fair in Tóez, the community cooked and served *mote*. Estela Hurtado had the task of explaining this presentation of cultural practice to the visitors:

> Old people were accustomed to preparing the *mote* in the afternoon, and in the evening they would leave it to boil so that during the night… well, then they added wood to the fire, so it would all be cooked, and be ready for the next day. Then the *mote* was eaten for breakfast, for lunch, for supper, and with the *chaguaso* [fermented maize drink].[97] And because of this, the indigenous people before us lived as strong people, healthy, they did not suffer from illness, and now today because we do not eat *mote* it is that we live as skinny people (laughter, applause) (From speech made by Estela Hurtado at Cultural Fair in Tóez, April 24th 1997).[98]

*Mote* was made from maize. Maize was, as already established in Chapter 3, considered a significant staple for Nasa Indians living in Tierradentro. Maize was more than food; maize had strength.[99] Estela told her listeners how eating *mote* affected people; they became strong. Her presentation also contained a firm statement to the fact that times have moved on. People in Tóez were skinny because they ate little *mote*. The *mote* was a significant part of everyday discourse, but in the resettlement no longer part of everyday diet.

Food is the basis for physical survival, and at the same time densely packed with symbolic content. The *mote* was much more than just cooked maize. Food is also a social field. It is about interaction between people. In the preceding chapter, the Musse kitchen, with its activities concerning food and commensality, was the everyday life arena where the relevant social unit of resettlement life was most plainly visible. Looking at the food on people's plates situates us very firmly in the here and now (Douglas 1984). Food thus provided an excellent key to the immediacy of resettlement life. The fact that food practices must change when farmers move to and cultivate land in a different climatic zone was obvious. What made these apparently prosaic changes in food practice interesting here was the ways people used them to conceptualise resettlement experience. People in the resettlements of San José and Tóez ate certain foods, and

---

[97] The *chaguaso* Estela refers to here is often called *chicha*. The community of Tóez actually made maize *chicha* for their Cultural Fair. When indigenous practices, especially those of past times, are referred to, the *chicha* is maize *chicha*. While maize *chicha* is common further south in the Andean region, it is the sugarcane *chicha* people associate with the term used in Colombian everyday language. Apart from the Cultural Fair in Tóez, all other festivals and celebrations I attended, in San José, Tóez and other indigenous communities, included *chicha* made from sugarcane juice (Sevilla C. 1986:82). For a more comprehensive history of maize *chicha* in Colombia, from pre-conquest use to the legislation passed in 1948 to bring *chicha* drinking to an end, see Llano and Campuzano 1994.

[98] The 'First Nasa Cultural Fair' was held in Tóez from the 2nd to the 25th of April 1997. Aspects of this event are also discussed in Chapter 3 (Don Leopoldo's presentation of the maize) and in Chapter 8 (the Fair as celebration of the partnership between community and teachers in the resettlement of Tóez).

[99] The Spanish word used for both the intrinsic quality of the maize and the effect eating maize has on people is 'fuerza'. This strength, or life force, is a vitality stemming specifically from the maize. Nates C. (1991) calls her thesis on the maize *Maize, force of life* (*Maize: fuerza de vida*). She differentiates between different types of maize and their different uses in medicine and in different dishes. See also Portela G. (various).

talked about eating certain other foods. People used food practices and food discourse to delineate and evaluate resettlement reality in terms of changes over time, to situate themselves in their new local context, and as a tool in evaluating the different resettlement locations (A. Long 1992; Arce and Long 2000b). When what you eat is who you are (Sherratt 1995), then what you talk about eating says something significant about who you have been, who you want to become and how you wish to present yourself. Food in resettlement was fundamentally about the production of identity, community and locality.

The links between land, the produce of that land, and the cooking and eating of that produce, were crucial here. People in the resettlement communities produced themselves as cohesive units by investing in and harvesting from their resettlement land. People saw themselves as becoming what they ate, not only as individuals but as a community. The resettlement community became in this sense a direct derivation of resettlement land, and people here would be different from people anywhere else. In this chapter, I want to explore food practice and food discourse as they were used in resettlement as tools of differentiation, or in other words, how resettlement community was produced, delineated and situated in various landscapes of relevance in terms of food.[100]

In the following, I am going to focus on four specific foods as keys to the ways people go about living and conceptualising resettlement. The *mote* will be my point of departure. Maize, and in particular the *mote*, was a way for people in the resettlements to talk about the past, life in Tierradentro, ethnicity, and tradition. *Mote* was presented in resettlement as the purest essence of Indianness. Plantains provided, on the other hand, pointers to the processes of change and getting accustomed, particularly in the resettlement of San José. Before, there, people ate *mote*; now, here, they eat plantains. In the last part of the chapter, I will examine meat and *tinto* (sweet coffee). These two were crucial when people evaluated resettlement success. As indicators of economic standing not directly related to indigenousness, they were also actively employed to situate and evaluate the resettling communities in their new local contexts. Access to meat and *tinto* represented the good life, regardless of time and place.[101]

---

[100] The 'man is what he eats' aphorism (Ludwig Feuerbach) is in Sherratt (1995:12) used to underline social implications. He points out the significance of other peoples' reaction to, and evaluation of, what you cook and eat, to the establishing of group boundaries. L'orange Fürst (1995), in her abstract, structuralist take on this, actually comes closer to the way my informants conceptualised this; she describes the eating of new and different foods as fraught with uncertainty and risk. The consequence of taking these substances into your body is necessarily that you are affected by them. For my informants, man became what he ate in a very basic way indeed.

[101] For my purposes here, I have chosen to use the term 'food' for the contents of people's plates and cups when they sit down to eat. Thus, both *mote*, a dish, and plantains, rarely a dish by itself but a major part of everyday diet, are called food in this

*Mote*

When most Nasa children started school, the first page in the first book they encountered there showed an illustration of a Nasa family working together in their maize field surrounded by mountain peaks (CRIC, undated).[102] When the educational office of CRIC prepared teaching materials for primary education in the indigenous Cauca communities, their main objective was making this material relevant to the daily lives of the children who were going to use it. Maize was the most significant crop and staple for Nasa Indians living in Tierradentro. People in Tóez planted maize on resettlement land, and decided Caloto was a good place to live once they saw the yield (Jorge Inseca, Chapter 3). Below, I want to look into the ways people used *mote*, food made from maize, to construct a master narrative of Nasaness in resettlement.

The main raw material for *mote* is maize. Doña Jesusa cooked *mote* for the Musse household in the resettlement of San José at Easter. I had by then spent eight months in Cauca, but this was the first time I was present when the Musses cooked *mote*. Jesusa herself, Mario, Lucia and Nemesio all made sure I went to the kitchen, that I understood what was going to happen, and how essential it was for me to watch and learn.

When cooking *mote*, one should use half a bucket of dry maize kernels. Cooking a little *mote* is not an option; it takes a lot of time. Jesusa put the maize into a big pot and covered the maize with hot water. She then put the pot to boil, at which time we would have to add the ash. Jesusa explained what was needed with great care. The ash would be what made removing the seed-coats from the kernels of maize, or 'peeling the *mote*', possible. One must add a lot, about as much ash as there was maize. Strong, good wood was needed to get strong, good ash. If the ash was weak, like the dark ash one got from guadua (a form of bamboo), the *mote* would not peel at all. Jesusa characterised trying to peel *mote* with guadua ash as a waste of work. The best ash for peeling *mote* was maize cob ash. This was almost white, and as indicated by the colour, contained a lot of strength. Once the ash was in the pot, the whole thing was left to cook for about half an hour. Then time had come to peel the kernels of maize.

---

chapter. Meat is in this sense also food. I make no attempt to distinguish analytically between food and drink. *Tinto* is thus in this sense food.
[102] See list of references for "Conociendo nuestra vida - Kwe's' u'hun'is hiyuna", or 'Knowing our life'. This is the first booklet in a series which aims to introduce indigenous children in Cauca to school life, and the basic skills of writing and reading. The illustrations concentrate on the different aspects of agriculture and *resguardo* life, mainly in Nasa and Guambiano communities.

Jesusa showed me how she kneaded the maize and washed it with cold water in a pot with a perforated bottom. The kneading got the now loose seed-coats off the kernels of maize, and the washing got rid of the seed-coats and the ash alike. This was heavy work, and Jesusa washed the maize twice. The cooking pot was then cleaned, and the now peeled maize put back in and left, ready for cooking the next day. The final cooking of the *mote* took all the following morning. Jesusa added kidney beans, potatoes, and a soup bone to give the *mote* more flavour. Into the afternoon, she checked the maize every once in a while, and when the kernels were soft all the way through, the *mote* was ready to serve.

In Tierradentro, the Musses had *mote* at least once a week, and they told me repeatedly how they missed this food in the resettlement. The problem, according to them, was getting the needed maize. El Rosario was not maize territory. This particular occasion was thus something to take note of and enjoy. The entire Musse family talked about little but *mote* for a full week. They ate *mote*, discussed *mote* and kept pointing out to me that since I was doing anthropology, I should above all pay attention to *mote*. They were very explicitly offering me authentic Nasa culture in a pot.

*Mote* was considered the traditional Nasa way of eating. *Mote* was food, in the most fundamental of senses. Maize was the relevant staple, and maize was, when people were to eat, converted to *mote*. *Mote* was obviously not fast food. Jesusa as well as Estela, in her description at the beginning of this chapter, were clear on the time and work it required. Estela talked about the old days, the Tierradentro of the past, and how people back then slept by the hearth, and added to the fire through the night to cook their *mote*. By morning, they could eat *mote* for breakfast. They would eat it for lunch and supper too, until the pot was empty. Then, they cooked more *mote*. People in the resettlements consistently presented their Nasa ancestors as subsisting on *mote*. Being authentically Nasa from the Tierradentro of old implied being a creature of maize and *mote*.

The ancients ate mainly *mote*, and there was no doubt in Estela's mind that because of this, they were strong. They were never ill, but lived, as she put it, healthy lives. Their lives were healthy in the physical sense of living well and being strong. Living well was also reflected in her referring to them as being fat, not skinny like Estela herself. Being fat indicated abundance and the good life. There was also a spiritual dimension to the good life of the ancestors. Traditional

Nasa thought interpreted illness as imbalance. The physical and the spiritual were closely tied together. If people were strong and healthy, this was because they paid attention to their land, listened to what this land had to tell them and respected it. By doing this, their new crop of maize would again grow well, and they would stay fat and healthy.[103] Strength in this sense was thus also cultural strength, and the strength of people as well as culture would be constructed from *mote*.

Strength from maize was here presented as the essence of indigenous Nasaness. Doña Leticia Lectamo talked about this at length when she described the *mote* to the visitors at the Tóez Cultural Fair:

> What is the basic food for the indigenous Páez? It's the *mote*. How is it prepared, how do we, the indigenous Páez, prepare it, how do the old people over there, who are sitting with us here, prepare it? They harvested the maize, they husked it… (…) Then in the afternoon, the indigenous Páez madam will start serving us, our indigenous Páez children. As a result, we, the indigenous Páez, are strong, and fat, as you can see here, because we eat *mote*. *Mote* is everything; this is a food which lasts, which gives strength, which gives energy. As I explained earlier, the *chaguaso*, the fermented maize drink, is the juice from the same plant, the maize. This was their [the Nasa of the past's] drink, and it is ours today (From speech made by Leticia Lectamo at Cultural Fair in Tóez, April 24th 1997).

Leticia talked about the maize as food for Nasa Indians.[104] She underlined that *mote* was, in fact, 'everything'. It produced people as Nasa people. They got strength, energy and endurance from maize, both in the sense of day to day work and in the sense of ethnic survival over time. Leticia was very careful to collapse distinction between past and present here. Her point was the *mote* as essensialised Nasaness, in the present as well as in the past. She included herself, her children, the old people in the audience, and Nasa ancestors in general when she explained how *mote* was made. She presented the Nasa as maize-eating people, and maize eating as their source of strength.

Ethnic identity as a result of *mote* eating in the present as well as in the past was underlined when Leticia took up the fat and skinny joke Estela referred to at the beginning of this chapter. Leticia was, compared to Estela, rather voluminous, so she turned the joke the other way, saying

---

[103] For a close examination of Nasa cosmology and the ways balance and a solid relationship between people and land are maintained, see Portela G. in list of references, in particular Portela G. 1995. Here, he also discusses the way hot and cold as significant properties for the categorisation of foods are used by the Nasa. The hot/cold distinction was only rarely referred to by my informants. It was implicit knowledge and mainly brought into play when people talked about visits to Tierradentro and the ills they themselves or others had suffered while there. Traditional healers, among them the *thë walas*, were expected to provide expert knowledge on this when needed.

[104] Douglas 1984 concentrates on the investigation of food systems, entire diets. She describes how immigrant populations sharing the same raw materials as their hosts construct difference through patterning foods, rather than through using specific food items. This is what she calls 'Ethnic Food' (1984:28). This might indicate interesting avenues for future investigation in the Nasa resettlements. During my fieldwork, people in the resettlement communities perceived their own diets as being still in a state of flux. Their fields and gardens were not yet investigated, structured and cultivated to the point of being considered established and stable. People primarily ate foods produced in the resettlements but did not consider what they ate an established food system. They still signalled ethnicity and identity with the *mote* and the ways they handled maize.

that she was fat because of all the maize she had eaten. The underlying issue was obvious. *Mote* was the best thing a Nasa person could eat, and if you ate enough it would show. You became a physically, spiritually and culturally strong person, and you would look it.

Knowing how to make *mote* indicated ethnic competence. Leticia signalled her own Nasaness by knowing how, and telling people how, *mote* was properly made. Handling the maize was not the only aspect of *mote* making Leticia presented as signalling professional Nasaness:

> In what did they wash the maize? In a bag, what we today call a jigra, which we weave from pita hemp. Old people, or we ourselves, make it. It should be washed until it is clean, until all the peel is gone. Afterwards, it should be put in a pot made from clay, one pot or several. Pots which we use right now, which we actually use. (…) You are earnestly invited to taste now what real Páez food is. I need the presence of all of you who are visiting; I invite you over here, to the kitchen, around the hearth, so you can participate in savouring. Thank you very much (applause) (From speech made by Leticia Lectamo at Cultural Fair in Tóez, April 24th 1997).

When the *mote* was to be washed, Leticia explained that this was traditionally done in a bag made from pita hemp. She pointed out such bags carried by community members in the audience. The Nasa were known locally for making beautiful bags in a special weaving technique. Those sold to outsiders and used for show were made from wool, but the same basic principle was used for bags made in pita hemp. The hemp bags were workhorses in everyday life, and most people in the community had and used them. Leticia's point was the immediate presence of the skill to make such bags at that very moment in time: "We, ourselves, make it." She established continuity between past and present Nasaness through the bags. It was irrelevant in this context that *mote*, when it was in fact cooked, was generally washed in the sort of pot Jesusa used. Practical solutions to everyday work here and now were not Leticia's point. The point was demonstrating knowledge as connecting past and present Nasa.[105]

The clay pot was also important to Leticia, she underlined how the community was in fact cooking *mote* in exactly this kind of pot this very day. Again she achieved a blurring of past and present. She carefully underlined the competence people in the community still possessed in converting traditional knowledge of past practices into present reality. The bag for washing the maize and the pot for making the *mote* were presented as indigenous, as authentic and tied to past practice, and contributed to Leticia's presentation of the *mote* as essentialised Nasaness.

---

[105] Archetti (1997) underlines the significance of latent knowledge as an element in identity construction. This can be seen in the way the *mote* is present in resettlement mainly as a reminder of the past, an idea with underlying practical potential. Even if this potential in resettlement is realised at very irregular intervals, this does not affect the continuous presence of *mote* as idea and discourse in everyday life. The idea of *mote*, based on the knowledge of how to prepare it, is an essential part of Nasa identity. The importance of this knowledge, and the transferring of it to the next generation of Nasa in resettlement, is repeatedly underlined at the Cultural Fair in Tóez. It forms a basis, a backcloth for resettlement, in sketching out a past, a reminder of how things used to be and should be. Latent, potential knowledge is here as crucial in constructing identity and reality as the sometimes practical manifestation of this knowledge (Archetti 1997:9).

Leticia ended her speech by inviting her listeners to taste *mote*. Her listeners were those described in the presentation of Don Leopoldo Castro's audience at the beginning of Chapter 3. Offering food was mandatory. Visitors, whether to your house or your community, should always be presented with a meal. The fundamentals of eating in Nasa communities were, as summarised by Mario Musse, 'you shoud never eat hidden away' and 'you should never eat everything.' Eating should always be done in front of others, and as visitors might arrive unexpectedly, there should always be food available. Food was here a medium through which social relations were established, reproduced and maintained, between community members as well as with outside visitors.[106] There could be no significant relationship with anybody without food. The community of Tóez chose to define the audience present at the Cultural Fair as visitors by offering them a meal. Choosing *mote* as the dish to be served added a further dimension. The visitors were here presented with a specific cultural experience, prepared and planned for them by their hosts, the indigenous community. Nasaness was here the explicit as well as the implicit core of social relations between visitors and hosts.[107]

Since the community was aiming to offer community members as well as visitors *mote* for lunch, the huge metal pots generally used for cooking *minga* lunch had been put into service alongside the clay pot. A little *mote* was cooked in the clay pot, and a lot of *mote* was cooked in a big metal pot. When the *mote* was served, the visitors from outside were served from the clay pot. This way, they would achieve the ultimate Nasa cultural experience. The community demonstrated their authentic ethnicity for the visitors to see. The community members were served *mote* from the big metal pot. Even when the same food was served to all, the line between insiders and outsiders was maintained. The visitors were presented with an exotic taste of foreignness; the community was presented with good food. Insiders, community members, were primarily served lunch, while the visitors were served traditional Indian essence. The fact that this 'Indian essence' was perceived as basically good food and lunch by members of the community did, in this setting with the visitors present, turn the meal into an explicit experience of belonging to the cultural inside. The meal as a public relations effort presented the Indians as authentically Nasa to themselves as well as to their visitors. It served to delineate community and ethnic identity as part of the resettlement project of the community of Tóez.

---

[106] See Arhcetti (1997:69) on food as a social act based upon material content. Commensality opens for communication and the defining of a variety of social relations.
[107] Essensialised Nasaness as a theme at the Cultural Fair in Tóez will receive further attention in Chapter 8.

*Mote* as essential Nasaness was not translated into everyday food practice in Tóez. Leticia herself was not serving her children *mote* every day to make them grow up strong as their grandfathers. She talked to them about it instead, and made sure *mote* knowledge, rather than *mote* practice, became part of their daily life (Archetti 1997). The *mote* was in resettlement assigned the role of ethnic signifier rather than daily dish. It was the idea of the *mote*, the fact that Leticia knew how to cook it, the fact that her people used to eat it every day, which gave the dish its importance. Only at the Cultural Fair, where the stated objective was demonstrating ethnicity to outsiders, was *mote* not only talked about, but also practiced.[108]

Leticia described the very history and identity of her people as both materially and cognitively constructed of maize. Leticia was here employing essentialised Nasaness constructed from maize in a way effectively serving to reaffirm community borders and community belonging. People in Nasa communities these days would never be strong the way their ancestors were, simply because they did not eat right. Eating only *mote* was the way people talked about the days when Indigenousness was not yet diluted and threatened by contact with white people. Indigenousness, Nasaness and Tierradentro as place of origin were all condensed in the *mote*. The *mote* represented the ideal relationship between a farmer and his land. The indigenous *resguardo* farmer of Tierradentro, the cultural coreland of the Nasa, ate the fruits of his land in the form of *mote*. In the resettlements, *mote* was mainly discursive practice. The Musse family in San José talked about how much they missed eating *mote* every week. People in Tóez primarily talked about the important position the *mote* held as traditional Nasa food. *Mote* played the part of master narrative of tradition, Indianness and ethnic survival over time. People in Tóez and San José all saw their colonising efforts in resettlement as directly dependent on their success in keeping this master narrative alive and relevant, to themselves, to their new neighbours and to future generations of resettlement Nasa.

---

[108] In Tóez, quite a lot of maize was actually cultivated on resettlement land by members of the community (see Jorge about evaluating resettlement land in Chapter 3). In spite of the fact that maize for *mote* should thus be easily available, people chose to cook other dishes for daily consumption. Part of the rationale behind this choice might be related to the very fact that *mote* represented the epitome of tradition and past Nasaness. While the community of Tóez were concerned to present themselves as authentic Nasa Indians in resettlement, they sought to project themselves as progressive and modern Indians (see Chapter 8 for more on the public relations and identity project in Tóez). Presenting *mote* in particular settings (such as the Cultural Fair) was thus more relevant to their community construction project in resettlement than necessarily including it in everyday diet.

**Plantains**

Santiago Mumucué described the resettlement land of the community of San José as coffee, sugarcane and plantain land. These were the main crops the mestizo peasants living in the area cultivated. The possibility of growing plantains, sugarcane and coffee was, as discussed in Chapter 3, one of the main reasons the community of San José stated for wanting to resettle just here. While the coffee and the sugarcane grown around El Rosario were considered cash crops, the plantains were every day food for the family. People in the resettlement community of San José explained the resettlement experience in terms of plantains. While Tierradentro was a maize-eating place, El Rosario was a plantain-eating place. Living in El Rosario, farming the land here, and getting accustomed to the climate also implied eating plantains.

When the emergency food distribution organised by CNK ended, people in the community were left to feed their families with what their new resettlement land provided them. As people in the community came to know their land, they sought to 'teach' it to produce the crops they missed from Tierradentro. People described this to me in terms of exerting mutual influence. By investing time and effort, they were in time able to 'convince' the land to produce kidney beans and yucca. In return, the resettlement land turned people in the community of San José into plantain eaters. Plantains were the foodstuff everyone in the area cultivated, easy to come by, and generally what would be available for exchange and transactions when people from the community visited their mestizo neighbours *rebuscando*.[109]

While working with your shovel and getting baked (Lisandro Campo, Chapter 3) was what gave you insight in and attachment to resettlement land, eating plantains was what turned you into a resettlement dweller. People in the resettlement were careful to underline how eating what the land produced affected them. It was presented as a very direct relation between produce, cooking, food and the transformation of people.[110] Don Lisandro (Chapter 3) described how hard adapting to life in El Rosario had been for people in the community of San José. The

---

[109] '*Rebuscar*' means to search carefully for, to search out, or to live by one's wits. In the resettlement communities and in Colombia in general, it was described as an approach to life. One takes things as they come; very little planning is involved or in fact possible, and people see this as a way of retaining independence. You are not indebted or obligated to anybody for anything, but you get by. The ideal was starting out in the morning with empty hands, and by wheeling and dealing, through contacts and the exchange of favours, by evening having managed to make ends meet – at least for the day. In San José *rebuscar* was something people left the community to do. Lucia told me that this was something at which her father, Mario, was particularly proficient. He would leave the house early on Sunday mornings with the mule. The day would then be spent *rebuscando*, visiting with mestizo neighbours, helping out where he could, and making deals of different kinds. By the end of the day he arrive back in the resettlement community with the mule carrying plantains.

[110] Food as transformed through cooking, and the hearth as the place where these transformations take place, is well known in anthropological thought (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995:42-43). Note that my informants saw this as a transformation of the person, the result of eating food made from foreign (resettlement) produce (See L'orange Fürst 1995 in note 3, this chapter).

relation between what you ate and what that did to who you were may have been presented as direct, but it was not to be taken lightly and was talked about in terms of effort and suffering.

Doña Blanca returned to the resettlement from spending the Easter week with her mother in Tierradentro. She told me she much preferred staying in Tierradentro, but because of house and family in the resettlement, she could only manage occasional visits. Blanca explained this in terms of climate. After more than two years in El Rosario, she still found it a difficult place to tolerate. While most adults from San José managed to get accustomed to the climate and its consequences in resettlement, some, like Blanca, found this an ongoing struggle. Having spent years of their lives living in Tierradentro eating maize, adapting to plantains was a considerable challenge.

Arriving in El Rosario had been especially brutal for the children. They were young; what maize they had managed to eat in their short lives was limited, and thus they had little strength. Lisandro Campo explained the death of two very young children shortly after the community arrived in El Rosario with fierce climate and heat. The shock of the new place had simply been too much for them. Upon surviving the shock of arrival, the rest of the children in the community acclimatised rapidly and fully to resettlement life.

Ana Yandi, her mother, Ana's three-year-old son, and the boy's cousin, a girl of the same age, had gone together to Tierradentro to visit relatives there. A few days later, Ana and her boy returned to the resettlement. They were not expected back this soon. As Ana told us, as soon as they arrived in Tierradentro, her boy had started crying. He wanted to go home. He did not like the food. He wanted plantains. He had gone on until, after a few days, Ana decided to pack up and return to the resettlement early. Ana took this in stride and did not see it as a matter of a misbehaving child. To her boy, the resettlement was home, and good food was plantains. Since he found it hard to cope with the suffering that came with being in a place foreign to him, with foreign food, she found it necessary to take him back to what he was used to.

Ana herself split her time between work in Popayán and the resettlement in El Rosario. Ana's boy had never lived in Tierradentro, only visited. Now he was old enough, and had eaten plantains for such a large part of his short life, to find adjusting difficult. His cousin, the little girl who went with them to Tierradentro, was in a very different situation. The girl spent most of

her time with Ana's mother, and Ana's mother did in fact spend long periods of time in Tierradentro. The cousin was quite happy there; she did not cry for plantains, and she stayed behind in Tierradentro when Ana took her boy and returned to the resettlement.

The children in resettlement grow up eating plantains the way their parents grew up eating maize. While Ana herself might have longed for *mote*, her little boy was crying for plantains. The children became plantain eaters and resettlement dwellers in a much more fundamental sense than their parents. The children would be from El Rosario the way their parents were, and always would be, from Tierradentro. When Lucia talked about how she had buried the umbilical cord of her youngest child next to the family hearth in resettlement, she told me all her children, the older ones as well, would belonging mainly in El Rosario. Plantains were, and would stay, their first choice. She thought this a bit sad, but inevitable. Her children would not dream of being able to return to Tierradentro the way her generation did. The climate and the food in El Rosario would be their definition of normalcy, of how the world should be, the way it was for Ana's boy.

Adults became accustomed and children were transformed in resettlement. Old people were not realistically expected to make the attempt. Blanca's mother refused to leave Tierradentro. She was old and needed Blanca's help around the house, but she would not even consider coming to the resettlement to live with Blanca and her family. To Blanca, this was a difficult, but inevitable problem. People in Tóez and in San José all agreed on the heat and the strange food as becoming harder to handle the older you were. Having spent most of your life eating maize, adjusting to a new climate was considered almost insurmountable.

A few old people refused to accompany the community of Tóez in resettlement. While some families in San José had a realistic choice of staying behind in Tierradentro, this was not really the case in Tóez. The *resguardo* was extremely hard hit by the mud floods of the disaster of Páez. Rosa told me about how they insisted on staying, citing being too old to cope with a different climate and not being willing to adjust their food habits. These arguments were solid and obvious to all. Rosa herself was not happy with everything in the resettlement; in particular she missed her Tierradentro garden and the things she had grown in it. When Rosa in fact shook her head over those who chose to stay, it was a considerable testament to the gravity of the situation in Tóez, Tierradentro.

The immediate experience of resettlement was reflected in the food on people's plates. On a day to day basis, resettlement reality was produced, cooked and eaten in the form of plantains. Plantains and maize were contrasted in San José to illustrate the difference between before and now, here and there, pre- and post-disaster reality. While Tierradentro was a maize-eating place, El Rosario was a plantain-eating place. Plantains came to symbolise the difference between everyday reality in Tierradentro and resettlement, and the ways in which this difference affected the people living it.

Eating plantains was for the people from San José eating the produce of resettlement land. The effect climate and food was perceived to have on members of the community over time was wide reaching. Ana's boy's crying and Blanca's difficulties were understood as serious hardships affecting people unable to adapt well to specific locations. The changes in daily diet transformed people; they saw themselves as becoming fundamentally different as a consequence of what they ate (L'orange Fürst 1995). Every single member of the resettlement community became plantain eaters as a consequence of spending time in El Rosario. This differentiated people in the resettlement community from those members of the San José *resguardo* who had stayed in Tierradentro after the disaster. Those who stayed in Tierradentro remained maize eaters; those who left and resettled had to accustom themselves to the produce of their new home and became plantain eaters.

Growing up eating maize and growing up eating plantains produced, according to my informants, qualitatively different people, people with roots and belonging anchored in different locations and also different climatic zones. The 'getting accustomed' people talked about was what adults could aspire to in resettlement. Children were affected even more fundamentally. As the members of the community of San José got accustomed, they also cemented community relations. The resettlement community became, by eating resettlement food, a derivative of their resettlement land – and at the same time, this land was turned into community land. People were produced as resettlement dwellers, and as this process was so closely tied to a particular place, the resettlement site, this was something they had in common with only the other members of the resettlement community of San José.

In resettlement, land was converted to community inside through the investment of time and effort. The return on this investment, foodstuffs, was then eaten, and in turn changed community members in ways that made them take root in resettlement land. Eating plantains in the resettlement of San José was a matter of consuming resettlement essence. Eating maize, as the Musse family did at Easter, was a way to reproduce ties, not a production of people per se. Community, territoriality and belonging in resettlement were produced through the ways people ate, talked about eating, and contrasted their eating to that of various others.

Acquiring, cooking and eating plantains daily situated the community of San José as inhabitants of El Rosario. The plantains provided networks, since they were a means of exchange, shared knowledge, and important daily food for mestizo neighbours and community members alike. Plantain eating was something the resettlement community of San José had in common with their new neighbours in El Rosario. While they shared plantains, the San José community demonstrated difference and distance to these neighbours through maize. *Mote* was cooked for special celebratory occasions in the resettlement, among them Christmas. When visiting neighbours were offered *mote*, they were presented with the basic hospitality of food, but also Nasaness as fundamental difference. What made people in the community different from their mestizo neighbours was given material reality and offered visitors on a plate. The community of Tóez drew this same line between inside and outside using food when they served *mote* at their Cultural Fair.[111]

**Meat**

People in the resettlements talked about eating meat as the ultimate expression of the good life. Members of the communities of San José and Tóez could very rarely afford to buy meat, and the lack of meat in resettlement diet was a much belaboured complaint. Alcides Musse described a real *minga*, the way they had been held in Tierradentro before the disaster, in terms of a detailed description of the *minga* lunch:

> [The *minga*] must have meat, *chicha*, all these things should be prepared for the *minga*. (…) To hold a *minga* in Tierradentro, first they went to each house, telling each family, and some families would say good, let us go and work. They ate lunch in the afternoon, in the fields, with a lot of things, and a portion of *mote*. Well, as I remember, they served you an enormous portion of *mote*, and you would look at it and wonder, what I can do with all this *mote*. Afterwards, you would take the *mote* home and share out to the family (Interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997).

---

[111] Pushing this argument to extremes, it is interesting to view this offering as also implying a challenge. By following L'orange Fürst (1995) and her comments on the risk involved in incorporating (literally taking into the body) the new and unknown, the resettling communities are here offering visitors indigenous essence to eat. When visitors choose to accept the *mote*, they also accept the difference between the Nasa community and their own way of life. They open themselves to experiencing this difference in the most fundamental way: with their bodies.

*Mote* was *minga* food for Alcides, and *minga mote* had to have meat.[112] The good life was thus tied to reminiscences of pre-disaster Tierradentro, of life lived before the disruption of disaster and resettlement. While people from the community of San José described their pre-disaster situation as that of poor farmers in Tierradentro, they perceived their post-disaster situation as that of even poorer resettlement farmers.[113]

Being poor was seen by people in the resettlements as part of being disaster victims. They lamented the lack of meat, but going without meat was also the ultimate proof and demonstration of resettlement life as a life of hardship. In resettlement, meat was no longer part of the family *minga*, and the family *minga* itself had, as discussed in Chapter 3, largely fallen out of use. When meat did appear in resettlement diet, it was ascribed considerable significance and interpretative content in terms of context and message.

Meat was in fact part of the San José Christmas *mote*. The resettlement community wanted to hold a celebration in the school building for all community members and those neighbours who wanted to attend, and part of this would be a good dinner to be shared out among those present. Well before Christmas, the community decided they wanted a sheep for this meal. This was no simple matter, as nobody in the resettlement of San José owned sheep. Money had to be found to buy one, and money was always hard to come by. The fact that the effort was made, and the sheep actually purchased, underlined the importance the community placed on getting this part of the celebrations off ground. This Christmas celebration was very special in that it actually happened. Most of the festival calendar maintained in Tierradentro was talked about, and not carried out, in the resettlement.[114]

The *mote* with meat was prepared; the entire community of San José gathered to eat it, and Christmas was celebrated in style. From the community's point of view, this *mote* was an

---

[112] Leopoldo Castro introduced the *chicha*, the meat and the *mote* as significant elements in the traditional family *minga* in Chapter 3. This relationship between food and *mingas* is discussed further in Miñana B. 1995:75, and Sevilla C. 1986:164.

[113] Interestingly, ethnography done in Nasa communities prior to the disaster describes meat as something very scarce, only present at festivals or special *mingas* (e.g. Sevilla C. 1986:82; Ortiz 1973:72, Rappaport, personal communication). Anyway, the significant point here is not a factual comparison, but the way people used meat and no meat to describe resettlement experience.

[114] See Miñana B. 1994:ch.2 for a description of the Tierradentro festival calendar. At every recurrent festival throughout the year in Tierradentro the people responsible for organising the festivities next year would be chosen. This chain of responsibility handed from group to group was broken by the disaster (Interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997). In Tierradentro, the Christmas celebrations in particular would have been financed through the 'kuc'h wala'. For the last two weeks before Christmas, a group of musicians, children and *cabildo* representatives would accompany the child Jesus (doll in box) on a walk through their own and neighbouring *resguardos*, asking for support in houses along the way. This was, according to Alcides, not possible in resettlement. The mestizo neighbours did not understand this way of doing things and could not be depended upon to receive the child Jesus and his entourage properly when they arrived.

accomplishment. It combined *mote*, condensed Nasaness, with meat, an understood indication of social and economic standing. This was a material demonstration of community spirit. The community had in fact managed to get this meal together in spite of the difficult situation in which they found themselves. They could serve a meal which elevated their social standing in their own eyes.

Neighbours stopping by were, as any visitors should be, offered a plate of *mote*. Being able to offer a visitor meat marked the host as wealthy. It conveyed respect for the visitor, and through this, social standing for the host. These implications were understood by the visitors as well as people in the community. This presentation of prestigious food was surrounded by a discourse explicitly underlining the meat as an absolutely extraordinary aspect of the celebrations. In this way, the community collected on their claim to social standing by serving meat, but they presented this achievement in terms of their ability to achieve something as a group, thus underlining their competence as a Nasa community, and in spite of their difficult situation as disaster victims. The Christmas celebrations were a community success to benefit everyone in the resettlement by way of their community membership status.

Alcides' *minga* description above described the aspects of the Tierradentro family *minga* hard to reproduce in the resettlement community *minga*. The *minga* in resettlement was rarely by personal invitation; it did not present the participants with *mote*, or meat, or *chicha*, and the portions of food offered, when food was in fact offered, were no longer enough to feed several people. The simple *minga* meal in the resettlement offered everyday dishes. The food in itself was not interesting or significant. What made the resettlement *minga* meal significant was the role it came to play as the ultimate commensal resettlement experience. It included by definition the whole community, since the *minga* was the weekly communal work party. Everyone in the community ate together after having spent the day making a physical and symbolic demonstration of investment in community and land. The *minga* provided a weekly demonstration of the difference between the resettlement community and their mestizo neighbours. Being Indian outside El Rosario was conceptualised in terms of communal work, communal eating and being disaster victims.

The absence of meat at *minga* meals was brought up and lamented every time the community sat down together to eat. Shared communal suffering after the disaster of Páez was here given

substantial, commensual reality. From this perspective, the acute communal experience of being without meat contributed to resettlement community construction in the form of Amit's 'community as a structure of feeling' (Amit 2002). The good life with available meat was, on one hand, a thing of the past, of pre disaster life, and, on the other, of intensive community experience in resettlement – as a community project and success when the *mote* was served at Christmas – and as shared everyday deprivation.

### *Tinto*

*Tinto* was another foodstuff employed to describe and evaluate resettlement life, but while meat was above most people's daily expectations, *tinto* was not. If meat represented the good life, *tinto* could be seen as representing the decent life. *Tinto* was sweet, black coffee, made by sieving water with *panela* through a cloth containing ground coffee.[115] People in the resettlement of San José came to El Rosario to grow coffee and sugarcane, which they consumed in the form of *tinto*.

The Musses invariably started the day with *tinto*. Jesusa was up, and the *tinto* was ready, before anyone else arrived in the kitchen. Everyone was handed a mug of *tinto* to start off the day as they came in. The rest of the breakfast preparations were more of a collective effort, with whoever was present helping out to make and fry plantains or wheat cakes. Everybody drank *tinto*. Babies in the community were given *tinto* by bottle before they learned to drink out of a cup. The day was not complete without the *tinto* to start it off, and preferably there was *tinto* to accompany lunch and supper as well. Mario complained of headaches when he had to go without *tinto*. This was a common complaint in the resettlement. When health workers encouraged mothers to stop giving young children *tinto*, and told them this was very bad for the children, they were consistently met by the argument that the children would cry and get ill when the *tinto* was taken away from them.[116] *Tinto* was perceived by people in the community

---

[115] 'Agua de panela', water with *panela*, can be drunk alone, made into *tinto*, or made into lemonade by adding lime or lemon juice to it. The water is boiled to dissolve the lumps of raw, brown sugar (the *panela*). Afterwards it might be drunk hot, or left to cool.

[116] In December 1994 I spent a couple of weeks accompanying a Colombian nutritionist on a walk through the disaster area in Tierradentro. We worked our way from Belalcázar up to Mosoco and all the way back down again, running workshops in most of the communities along the way. As part of reconstruction, CNK wanted to teach people how to benefit more fully from the foodstuffs they already grew. The workshops concentrated on how these could be combined in new ways and also on reintroducing the use of various plants, tubers, beans and fruits in people's diet in Tierradentro. *Tinto* was a constant topic of workshop discussions. The nutritionists' objections centred on oral hygiene, caffeine addiction, and the ways in which these influenced a growing child. Some people cited having tried to wean their children off *tinto*, but this was generally perceived as an academic ideal rather than liveable reality. The one allegation actually claiming a lot of attention in these discussions was that *tinto* would make children grow into short adults. People were very aware of the Nasa generally being short people. Examples of Nasa, short and tall, were cited and dissected, with references to how their mothers had reared them.

to have addictive qualities, and this addiction was something people would present as proof of their ability to serve themselves and their families this drink regularly.

For people in San José, the *tinto* summarised resettlement success. When they drank *tinto* made with *panela* from their own sugarcane and coffee from *cabildo* coffee bushes, they were realising their hopes and aims in coming to El Rosario. This resettlement ambition was the basis when Don Lisandro's evaluated the state of *tinto* consumption in the resettlement of San José:

> We have suffered greatly because of the problem of how to get *panela*. Before, our grandparents were used to drinking water with *panela* every eight days, every four days. Today, it is common for us to do like the white people, and drink water with *panela* every day, and if there is coffee, then that too. Here, in this place we are talking about [the resettlement], we are planting sugarcane. I think maybe soon we can stop buying a quarter, or half, an arroba of *panela*.[117] Instead, we will have our own plants; we will cut them down, mash them and make *panela* ourselves (Interview with Lisandro Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

Don Lisandro talked about how people suffered in San José Tierradentro because *panela* was hard to get. Here, in the resettlement, not only was the *panela* readily available, but people were going to be able to make it themselves. The economic gain was significant for Lisandro, both as mentioned here in the sense of not having to buy *panela* for the family, and because *panela* could be sold. Lisandro was one of those in the community who had already planted sugarcane, and he was travelling to Tierradentro to sell *panela* made from his own sugarcane not many months later.

*Tinto* was not directly tied to ethnicity or Nasaness, but rather to the community effort towards resettlement success. Lisandro did underline that their grandfathers were enjoying and wanting water with *panela*. His point was, however, that in this matter, the Nasa in Tierradentro, past and present, were just like white people. In the time of the grandfathers they wanted water with *panela*, and, by the time of resettlement, they wanted their daily *tinto*. Lisandro ranked *tinto* one step above water with *panela* in prestige. Making the resettlement project of the San José community all the better in this context was the fact that part of the land the community now owned in El Rosario was already producing coffee.

Every once in a while Jesusa Musse would walk up the hill, through the village of El Rosario and across the fields on the other side to the coffee bushes belonging to the San José *cabildo*. She would return to the resettlement with a bucket or so of coffee. The coffee was then soaked, peeled, washed and left to dry on a plastic sheet in front of the Musse house. When it was dry, it

---

[117] One arroba equals 11.502 kg or 25.3 lbs.

was toasted in an earthenware pan over the kitchen hearth. Jesusa ground it little by little to make *tinto*. Having *tinto* for the family, and to offer whatever visitors arrived, underlined the Musse house as one of certain decency and social standing. This was a significant point for people in the resettlement as well as for their new mestizo neighbours.

In this context, the addictive aspect of *tinto* was significant. People in the community all agreed that, once you were used to drinking *tinto* every day, having to go without caused physical illness. When people talked about how bad they had felt, they communicated being without *tinto* as an exceptional situation. As they were accustomed to always drinking *tinto* every day, having to go without made them very ill. This was a way of situating themselves socially and economically. The people in the resettlement of San José saw themselves as poor. They did, however, have *tinto* and were aware that not everyone was so fortunate. In my informants' perception, being able to afford a daily *tinto* placed people within the category of 'decent poverty' where they themselves felt they belonged.

Sugarcane and coffee were crucial elements in the resettlement strategy of the people in San José.[118] *Tinto* was thus, for members of the community, the materialisation of resettlement success. People were drinking the results of moving to El Rosario on a daily basis. *Tinto* practices were used to distinguish the decently poor, regardless of ethnic belonging. *Tinto* practices were also a significant element when relative resettlement success was evaluated. The *tinto* defined the community of San José as a decent place to live. It was incontrovertible proof for everyone involved in resettlement that land in El Rosario was good land, and that the community of San José had chosen wisely in coming here. While people from other resettlements might not accept the argument presenting the small houses in the resettlement as the best anywhere because of the building materials used, they could not avoid accepting the wonders of being able to grow coffee and sugarcane for *tinto* on resettlement land.[119] The *tinto* was the material representation of the land in El Rosario as a wise choice for the people from San José, and the community as a well functioning unit able to manage the challenges of resettlement with success.

---

[118] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of sugarcane and coffee cultivation in the resettlement of San José. Findji and Rojas describe coffee and sugarcane as the two typical crops of 'occupation' employed when mestizos and whites encroach upon *resguardo* land to claim it for their own purposes in the *resguardo* of Jambalo (1985:169). In the resettlement of San José, coffee and sugarcane can also be regarded as crops of occupation, but they are here used by the members of the community to lay claim to and colonise new *resguardo* land and success in resettlement.
[119] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the ranking of priorities referred to by people in San José when explaining their choices for house materials and house size.

The *tinto* tied past to present in resettlement. The *tinto* as a desired drink, as something one ideally wanted to drink every day, was a constant in Tierradentro as well as in the resettlement. Disaster changed the availability of the *tinto* for the people from San José, not its position as an aspect of living well. Making sure of the daily *tinto* was markedly easier for people from San José in resettlement. The *tinto* claimed its place as the symbol of all that was good about resettlement land and resettlement community in San José on this basis. The *tinto* contributed to presenting the community as a project shared by all, through the underlining of resettlement land as something giving advantage and prestige to those living there. The absence of meat, in the same way, was used to underline the fact that all community members were poor, struggling in resettlement and standing together in this poverty. Community togetherness as resettlement project was clearly visible also in the way these 'non ethnic' foods were managed.

Food and food practices situate us squarely in the here and now, in the resettlement present. People in the resettlements might talk about maize and meat, but they rarely ate it. They ate plantains and drank *tinto*. People living in this present employed food language and food practice to describe their own reality, to underline connections and distance, and to present themselves to each other and to outsiders with carefully regulated intent. The plantains and the *tinto* formed the basis of their own very succinct diagnosis of resettlement life. Maize represented ethnicity, shared history and continued ties to Nasa Tierradentro, and meat was something they had eaten more of in the past and hoped to be able to eat more of in the future. Plantains situated the community of San José firmly as now belonging and making a life for themselves in El Rosario. Food is communication, and a field of communication especially suited to express change and continuity and the ways in which these are perceived and negotiated in a situation of constant flux. Changing food practices substantiated resettlement processes for the participants. Changing food discourse substantiated resettlement construction of community and place by providing a concrete language for the shaping and directing of post disaster life.

Food is crucial in the production of belonging. Food links people and land in the most fundamental sense. Resettlement was a matter of cultivating, colonising (Appadurai 1996) and appropriating new land. As products of resettlement land and climate were harvested, cooked

and eaten as food; people incorporated new land directly (L'orange Fürst 1995). The foreign and unknown was domesticated and reinterpreted as Nasaness along the way. People invested in and influenced land. People cook and transform the food they harvest from this land. The land was thus transformed into Nasa land, and people were transformed into rerooted Nasa belonging to the land from which they made their living.

The community in resettlement reproduced itself as a delineated and differentiated group of people through this process. Foreign land was redefined as inside; foreign food, as substance and symbol, was taken into everyday diet, and through this, the people themselves 'got accustomed' - learned to live on, with and off resettlement land. The end result was perceived as a community of resettlement Nasa produced from resettlement land. People saw themselves as having changed, substantially and fundamentally, as the result of living in resettlement, and thus as now being different and differentiated from other Nasa living in Tierradentro or for that matter in other resettlements. Food from the land was the direct link producing roots and belonging, tying community to land as people ate their harvest and came to share in the particular essence of their own resettlement land.

## Chapter 6 – Resettling travel practices

Travel was the order of the day in the resettlement of San José. People were constantly arriving and leaving. The time-table for the *chiva* to Popayán was general knowledge.[120] Keeping track of who was at any time present, and who had gone where for what purpose, was constantly a topic of conversation. Members of the community arrived from having visited family and lands in San José Tierradentro, and from having sold *panela* at the market in Mosoco, and they left to visit government offices in Cajibío and Popayán. They left to work in the city or in the fields of large farms and came back to take part in the *minga* or to look in on their coffee plants.

Travel, as it was practiced by people living in the resettlements of San José and Tóez, is the focus of this chapter. Travel practices were fundamental to the ways people constructed and perceived resettlement (de Certeau 1985). Dwelling, the localising of community in resettlement (as explored in previous chapters in terms of land, houses and food practices), was practiced within nets of pathways through physical space (Clifford 1997; Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b), nets produced and mapped trough travel and movement. Travel as a significant and expected aspect of life was not new to people from the Nasa communities in resettlement. There had been well established traditions for travel and travel practices in the Tierradentro *resguardos* before the disaster.[121] Resettlement travel was not, however, perceived as a matter of re-establishing travel patterns with a new point of departure. With resettlement, travel became everyday practice. People now saw themselves as living lives of perpetual movement. Producing settlement, the colonising of space and the anchoring of community, was perceived as depending directly and absolutely on proficient travel practice (Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1997). In resettlement, to be was to travel. To stay was risking eradication from the resettlement landscapes. It is these resettlement landscapes of travel routes and travel practices I want to explore in the following.

I will begin this chapter with an instance of exceptional travel. When the entire resettling community of San José travelled together to Belalcázar in Tierradentro to attend an ordination mass, this was, by all involved, perceived as an extraordinary occasion. They used their own

---

[120] A *chiva* was a lorry converted for passenger and cargo transport. Passengers sat on benches in the back of the lorry, and cargo was placed on the roof constructed over the seating. *Chiva*s were a common means of transportation in the Colombian countryside.

[121] In pre disaster Tierradentro travel had been a matter of exceptional, but surmountable challenges to be conquered. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of travel practices in Nasa tradition, in particular Espinosa 1995a, b on the concept 'el andar'.

bus, bought with CNK resources, to cross half the Cauca Province, proclaimed their presence at the open air mass with a banner, visited with family and friends in Belalcázar, and returned to their resettlement, all within two days. In its very inordinacy, this journey was in organisation and accomplishment a direct expression of resettlement travel practices and travel conceptualisations. By examining the premises making this trip realisable and ways the community, as a group and as individual members, handled different aspects of it, fundamental aspects of resettlement travel practices, as well as landscapes these practices map out, emerge. I want to use these as my point of departure for a discussion of how travel practices are seen as constitutive for the production of community and locality in the resettlement setting.

The next part of this chapter discusses resettlement travel practices in terms of presence. Being physically present, at the right time and in the right place, was the one and only way to secure attention and inclusion for community and individuals in relevant resettlement contexts, and to be physically present people had to travel. I focus on presence in two crucial resettlement settings, as part of holding *cabildo* office in the resettlement, and as practiced through work on the land.

The final part of the chapter is given over to a discussion of how 'far' and 'near' were defined and conceptualised in resettlement. The relevant others of resettlement life, in terms of places as well as people, were continually evaluated and established by the resettling communities. Relative distance, the 'far' and 'near' of resettlement life, constituted the basic components of specific maps of relevance, connecting significant destinations by way of practicable routes with the resettlement as centre. These maps, and the ways they were elaborated, practiced and evaluated by people in the resettlements, provide a very direct entry to the work of localising resettlement, as place and as community, in the landscapes of post disaster Cauca.

**The community of San José travel to Belalcázar**[122]

On the last Sunday of November 1996, a big open air mass was planned in the town of Belalcázar, in Tierradentro.[123] The occasion was the ordination of two Nasa priests. This was an event of interest to all Nasa communities, in as well as outside Tierradentro, but in the

---

[122] See map on page 34.
[123] See Chapter 2 on the position of the Catholic Church in Tierradentro. When the matter of Nasa priests was brought up, the memory of padre Alvaro Ulcué, his life, his work and his murder was always implicitly present. Padre Alvaro Ulcué was ordained in 1973 and spent his working years in Nasa areas on the western slopes of the Cordillera Central. He was shot to death in 1984. See Beltran P. 1989, Roattino 1986.

resettlement community of San José the interest went beyond the general. One of the candidates was from the *resguardo* of San José, and his brother lived in the resettlement. The possibility of organising a trip to Belalcázar – not only to make sure the community was represented, as would have been the usual course of action, but actually for the entire resettlement community to go – produced considerable excitement and much discussion in the community.

The one premise making this plan more than a castle in the air was the bus the community owned. This bus was one of the direct benefits of resettlement in the community of San José, purchased with economic support from CNK.[124] In the regular run of things, the bus earned its keep transporting passengers between Popayán and Belalcázar. The community still owed money on it, and what the bus brought in went to pay interest. If the bus was to be used for this trip to Belalcázar, it would have to be taken off its regular route for the weekend. This would have obvious economic repercussions for the community as bus owners. After intense discussion, careful consideration and several community meetings, the community of San José decided an exception was justified on this particular occasion. They decided to go.

As the bus belonged to the community, people did not have to pay for tickets. Money for tickets was always a struggle when someone was to travel, and this consideration would generally result in people from the resettlement travelling individually. When a person needed to go somewhere, he or she would find a way and go, but travelling in groups for comfort or company was not a realistic option. In stark contrast to this, the trip to Belalcázar was a community project. Once the decision to travel was made, community membership qualified for a seat on the bus. The trip still had to be financed in terms of petrol costs, but this money was now collected on behalf of the community as a whole, and not related to the decision of individual members to join. The result was that close to all members of the community of San José travelled together to Belalcázar.

Belalcázar was the administrative centre of the municipality in which the people from San José had lived before the disaster. The distance between the town and the Tierradentro *resguardo* of San José, however, involved several hours of very difficult travel. The road connecting Belalcázar and the area of Tierradentro from which the San Joseños came was still, two and a

---

[124] CNK funded schemes to buy lorries, *chiva*s or buses in the resettlement communities. The idea was to facilitate travel between resettlement communities and their home *resguardos* in Tierradentro, as well as providing a possibility for generating income through the use of the vehicles. The community of Tóez invested in a lorry they then put into cargo transport in the area.

half years after the disaster, impassable by car. Thus, the community of San José could not travel by way of their former *resguardo* lands on either leg of the trip. They had to choose a completely different road to cross the Cordillera Central. In spite of the fact that all participants on the community trip to Belalcázar were very aware of the fact that they would not get the opportunity to visit San José Tierradentro on this journey, they still talked about it in terms of 'going home' to visit 'where we come from'. Visiting Belalcázar was perceived as a visit to 'Nasaland'. As opposed to their resettlement context, indigenousness and Nasaness were in Belalcázar the rule rather than the exception. Here, being Nasa and speaking Nasa Yuwe was the order of the day and would not require the constant explanations and justifications necessary in resettlement.

The bus arrived in the resettlement Friday evening just as the large banner the community wanted to bring to the ordination ceremony was being completed. Letters in red and green were carefully painted onto a big white sheet, reading "Father Juvenal/ Your community is with you/ San José Cajibío."[125] The community of San José planned and executed the trip to Belalcázar as a community venture. They prepared their participation in the open air mass to make sure the resettlement community of San José was not going to fade into the 'Indian crowd', but stand out to be noticed by all.[126]

At three o'clock on Saturday morning the community of San José gathered by their bus. Everyone from small children to old people climbed in to find seats and get ready. The organisational logistics of getting the community stowed in the bus were in themselves a challenge. I got to share a seat with Cecilia, her two children, her stuff and mine. Still, some community members were left with standing room only. Even at three in the morning, this trip had the quality of a party getting under way. People were not going to miss out, and, as long as they were in the bus by the time we set off, insufficient or uncomfortable seating was not putting any sort of damper on things.

Actually, I was not the only outsider accompanying the community of San José on their trip to Belalcázar. One family in the community had invited mestizo friends, new resettlement

---

[125] My translations. 'Padre Juvenal Tu comunidad esta contigo San José Cajibío'. People from San José Tierradentro were also present at the ceremony. They brought a banner reading 'San José Tierradentro /The community join Your ordination /be our prime future' (San José Tierradentro Tu comunidad se une a su ordenación ser nuestro primer futuro). The relationship between San José Tierradentro and the resettlement community of San José will be discussed in Chapter 7.

[126] See Chapter 8 for a discussion of banners used to announce public presence in indigenous Cauca.

neighbours from El Rosario, along. As they climbed into the bus, their host called for attention and made a speech introducing them and their presence to the rest of the community. The mestizo neighbours wanted to come on the trip to Belalcázar, he explained, to see 'where we come from, as now that we Indians know their land, they should know ours as well.' The excellent sense of this arrangement was clear to all present. The people from San José were embarking on a trip to their former home area, Tierradentro, and if this trip could serve to cement their position in and relationship to their resettlement surroundings, all the better. This family was invited to accompany the community not only to visit their area of origin, but also to observe and be impressed by the journey as a community project. In the El Rosario mestizo setting, *mingas*, frequent community meetings and community construction of houses were the cause of wonder, and these were significant in marking the resettling community as Indian and different. This journey to Tierradentro, organised by and for the community as a whole, in the bus owned by the community and free of charge for members and their invited guests, stood out as the epitome of community competence and community togetherness.

The trip from the resettlement of San José to Belalcázar, crossing the Cordillera Central on narrow, rutted roads, took as expected about ten hours. One stop was made for breakfast. Stops at various army check points along the way were as always mandatory. Questions and explanations about the trip and the passengers had to be sorted out, but the bus was left to continue on towards Belalcázar with no serious difficulties. The army checkpoint stops were later the example José Manuel used to illustrate the way people in San José had changed with resettlement. While soldiers inspected the bus and the passengers, people continued talking, joking and laughing in Nasa Yuwe. This would have been unthinkable before the disaster, when the people in the community were still, as José Manuel described it, shy of strangers and unused to travelling. He pointed out the use of language as particularly significant in this situation. Before, people from the community, himself included, would have been ashamed to speak Nasa Yuwe in public outside the indigenous communities. On this trip, not only did people speak Nasa Yuwe in public constantly, but they did so in front of the soldiers, and they were joking and laughing at the time.

The bus also stopped to pick up people waiting along the route for the regular bus service. When regular paying passengers got on, seats were immediately cleared for them. What the people from San José perceived as the pleasing absurdity of this situation – the Indians as owners,

catering to less fortunate travellers – was much appreciated and commented upon. They made a big joke out of how they, as owners of this vehicle, had to make room for their paying passengers. These were not timid Indians making a foray into the unknown outside. Rather, these Indians were well travelled and confident, ready to deal with soldiers and paying passengers on their own terms. The community bus was here practiced reality, experienced as directly benefiting all present members. Accommodating those along the way who made the obvious mistake of thinking this was the regular bus drove home the position of the community of San José as those in charge of and controlling this particular situation.

The Belalcázar trip provided the community of San José with the opportunity to experience, and present to the world, themselves as a confident, competent resettlement community. They were practicing travel in a form which would not only have been impossible, but irrelevant, before the disaster. They returned together to visit the Tierradentro they had been forced to abandon, underlining their success at community construction in resettlement. They travelled there in their own bus, underlining both their practical ability to capitalise on what advantages resettlement after all offered and their ability as proficient travellers, well able to not only manage the outside world along the route, but manage it as a publicly confident Indian community, speaking Nasa Yuwe in front of soldiers and other outsiders.

The bus with its passengers arrived in the main square of Belalcázar around one in the afternoon. People climbed out, and very soon only the driver was left tending to the bus. This was the point where the people from San José went from being a community on a community expedition, to being individual insiders in a place and context they felt at home in. Here, personal and family contacts were the significant thing. Staying together as a community was not. The community members dispersed in different directions to search out friends and relatives they planned on staying with while in town, blending into their surroundings as a matter of course. On that Saturday afternoon, Belalcázar presented itself as exactly the 'where we come from' the community members had talked about on the trip. While they had handled travel with proficiency, here there seemed to be nothing to handle. Community as the one relevant and all encompassing network of security and belonging for its members in confronting the outside was obviously redundant in this setting. In their present capacity as a professional resettlement community, the people from San José regarded and handled Belalcázar as cultural and social inside.

106

Before the disaster, Belalcázar had been the town most frequently visited by people from the *resguardo* of San José. Still, these visits had not in any way implied the sense of manageability and homecoming described and demonstrated by the people from San José on this trip. When José Manuel talked about these visits, he described them as ventures into the uncertain outside, where people spoke Spanish and town-ways predominated. The reclassification of Belalcázar from challenging outside to comfortable inside was, according to José Manuel, an unequivocal consequence of resettlement:

> For my part, I travelled every three or four months to Belalcázar, no more, and to Popayán even less, maybe once a year. And this brings with it feeling shy, and not acting on things. (…) One went to a meeting and started speaking and was shaking like this [showing his hand]. The thing is, one felt embarrassed because one lacked in education. But now, this [the disaster and the reconstruction process] has brought with it changes in our lives. Now, here [in the resettlement], as a result of this, no more than yesterday we were talking between us, three of the teachers, and we were saying about the children how they have woken up. Before, there [in Tierradentro], they were all like that [quiet, shy, embarrassed to speak up]. No longer; now they answer, they ask questions. One may consider these good or bad manners, but that is the way it is; there they are answering back, open for everything (Interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, 27. July 1996).

The outside world, according to José Manuel, became as a result of the resettlement experience a qualitatively different experience. Belalcázar, seen from a resettlement point of view, was unmistakably a context with strong elements of inside. It was no longer the first stop on a journey of leaving the indigenous inside of Tierradentro, but rather the most accessible (in terms of travel and transport) entry point to this same indigenous inside. While resettlement was perceived as an island of indigenous inside surrounded by otherness on all sides, Belalcázar was now the gateway to a context where indigenousness was the rule rather than the exception.

The mass on Sunday morning filled the entire town square in Belalcázar with people. Mass and ordination took place on a stage set up outside the church. Banners the different communities had brought were arranged along the walls to the sides of the stage. The people from San José did not attend mass as a visible group in the crowd. They did not arrive, meet up or leave mass together, and did not stand out in the crowd. Their presence here in the form of a significant collective unit was communicated by way of their banner beside the stage. After mass and the subsequent lunch was over, the members of the resettlement community of San José gathered by their bus in the town square. People tidied themselves, their family and belongings into the seats and sat down to wait. As a community venture, the return trip would include every single person who had been on the bus when it left the resettlement. In spite of it getting late and people being tired, the almost complete busload waited patiently for the last stragglers to arrive. Eventually, around five in the afternoon, the bus set out for the resettlement.

The return trip turned out to be quite eventful. The first puncture happened in Inzá. After an hour there, we were able to continue. The second puncture, further up the mountainside, took longer to sort out. By midnight, when we were well into the mountains, two more tyres exploded, and the bus was well and truly stuck. There were no more spares, no people or houses around for miles, and people settled down to sleep in the bus to wait for morning and the next passing vehicle.

When people in the resettlement talked about travel, the importance of it and the need for it, what they referred to were experiences very often like the ones the community of San José had on the return trip from Belalcázar. Travel was uncertain; travel was hard work, and these realities were fundamental to all travel practice and travel discourse. The road as what connected significant points in space held a pivotal position as not only a means to an end, arrival, but as a challenge in itself. There was no reason to take arrival for granted. Arrival was an accomplishment, something that, all being well, could be achieved at the end of the journey. Resettlement required the community to explore new journeys, along new possible routes. Evaluating and defining these pathways, the routing of contact through the landscapes of resettlement, was crucial to the resettlement project. Significant others could only be established and remain as such as long as they were reachable. These pathways defined resettlement relationships in terms of practicable pathways along which presence may be achieved (Tilley 1994; Clifford 1997).

After a long and cold night, the first regular bus for Popayán passed at six Monday morning. I was trying to get to Caloto in time for the communal assembly to be held in Tóez that day, so along with several others I climbed on. By mid morning we were in Popayán. A rescue mission bringing tyres to the stranded bus was organised, while I went to check if the buses to Caloto were running.

They were not. The hemp producers in Caldono had again closed down the Panamerican Highway, and as no buses could get through, neither could I.[127] As I could not get to Tóez, I

---

[127] The Panamerican Highway runs north/south through Colombia, passing through the cities of Cali and Popayán on the way. It was the main road and main transport route north/south through the Cauca Province. The hemp producers were only one of several groups using blockages of the Panamerican Highway to put pressure on the government. The indigenous communities in the area frequently employed this approach to capture the attention of the authorities. Referring back to the uncertainties of travel, discussed above in terms of bad roads and punctured tires, the frequent blockages along the main road contributed further to this situation. Arrival was, indeed, considered an accomplishment in its own terms.

caught the *chiva* to El Rosario instead. I arrived in the resettlement of San José in the afternoon, not all that long after the rest of the community – and just in time for the first in a row of meetings. Now, back in the resettlement, the problems the mishaps of the night presented had to be sorted out. New tyres and urgent repairs on the bus had to be taken care of to get the bus back into regular service.

The trip to Belalcázar represented, to those participating, the ultimate community venture. The community as collective agent and actor in resettlement was able to provide a spectacular and highly visible advantage for all members. When entire families climbed into the community bus to travel as part of the resettlement community of San José, they were living proof of resettlement community success. The trip was also a fundamental demonstration of the ways in which resettlement had changed people's perceptions and strategies towards travel and the outside world. Travelling from this outside world, the resettlement, to return to visit their former cultural inside, underlined this change of perspective. It also served to underline the resettlement location as their focal point of belonging in space. Outside El Rosario the resettlement community of San José was now established on a piece of land they had converted into Nasa inside. Leaving it as a group to travel and then return underlined this experience of crossing borders of inside and outsideness, in terms of place by leaving and returning to their resettlement village; and in terms of community by making these crossings together as a group. Here, the community practiced the resettlement landscape as an unit, leaving and returning to their village together, thus underlining and reinforcing not only the community as main project in resettlement but also very much the community as firmly established in one specific location: the resettlement.

The Belalcázar trip was exceptional in including the entire community and in involving the resettlement bus. Its destination, Belalcázar, was not exceptional. Belalcázar had been established as significant point in space for the people on this bus from long before the disaster. What made this visit to just Belalcázar particularly interesting in the context of resettlement travel was exactly this quality it held for people in the community of being well known and long established. With resettlement, people in the community of San José approached Belalcázar from a new angle. Travelling from a different place, by a new and different route and with different means of transport to reach Belalcázar was only one aspect of the change people in the community described. What José Manuel talked about above was the fundamental change in the

way people experienced visiting Belalcázar after resettlement. Belalcázar had with resettlement been converted from a town representing the presence of the outside world in 'Nasaland' into a town where Nasaness dominated the cultural inside.

**Practicing everyday travel in San José**

There was never any doubt that the resettling community of San José would be represented at the big open air mass in Belalcázar. The discussion revolved around whether this would take the form of just that, representation, or whether the entire community should go. The community went, and as discussed above, this was an exceptional event for all concerned. Most resettlement travel was done by individuals leaving and returning to the resettlement village – where the community as a conceptual and actual entity stayed put and in place. People left to further personal and community ambitions; more significantly, as these were ambitions rooted in the resettlement project, they returned and saw their absences in terms of contributions to this whole. The maps constructed and explored in the resettlement context revolved around the new community anchorage – the resettlement locality – as focal point.

The fundamental purpose of resettlement travel practices was presence. Presence was, in the resettlement context, considered a resource worthy of carefully management. Presence in the resettlement, as discussed in terms of land and houses in previous chapters, was a direct personal investment in community and locality. The resettlement communities still existed, and saw themselves as existing, only by force of their will and ability to travel. Resettlement everyday life was lived in a much larger and more complex world than pre disaster Tierradentro life had been. The resettlement landscape included a wide variety of significant others people in the resettlement and the community as a whole needed and to whom they wanted to relate. Resettlement was a conscious, directed project to establish and situate the community in a new place. To achieve this, travel was mandatory. Here, I want to discuss travel practices tied to two fundamental aspects of resettlement life: community representation, a responsibility largely falling to the resettlement *cabildo* representative, and travel motivated by the concerns of farming.

Every year in December, the resettlement community of San José held *cabildo* elections. One person would be chosen and charged with the responsibility of representing the resettlement for

the coming year.[128] Will and ability to travel were underlined as fundamental requirements for this position: "…that it should be an active person; it should be a person with experience in travel, with resources, who is always dynamic, and who is quite capable in these matters" (interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997). While pre disaster *cabildo* work had concentrated largely on internal *resguardo* administration, resettlement *cabildo* work focused on travel and representation outside the community. Personal presence in a wide array of contexts was the only way the resettlement community could keep up to date about what was going on and make sure they had their say in matters concerning them. Telephones were few and far between in rural Cauca, and lines were out more often than the roads. Letters to and from the communities were largely passed by way of CNK or CRIC offices in Popayán, and then personally collected by people travelling to the resettlements. The network of contacts so crucial to resettlement life was thus brought into existence and maintained through practical, physical movement between places. In order to produce relevance (Olwig and Hastrup 1997:8), the significant other, in resettlement, people had to meet face to face.

The person taking on the *cabildo* position for the year must thus have, as Alcides underlined above, travel ability and travel experience. While this had been relatively rare in Tierradentro, in resettlement it was something most members of the community of San José could claim. Travel was considered a skill acquired through practice, and most members of the resettling community did in fact travel regularly. Thus, the other point Alcides made became all the more crucial to the selection process: This must also be a person 'with resources'. Resources would, in the travel context, be conceptualised in terms of time and money.

Cecilia was one of the people proposed for the 1997 *cabildo* of San José. She asked to be excused and based her arguments on her need to spend her time in the resettlement. It was, she explained to me afterwards, in fact very difficult for a woman with family responsibilities to fill the post of *cabildo* representative for the resettlement community of San José. She herself was in an even more difficult situation because she had no close family in the resettlement. Cecilia had children; her husband already spent a lot of his time on the road, and one adult member of the family did need to remain in the resettlement to fulfil community responsibilities. Cecilia was in fact allowed to withdraw from election. The community accepted her reasoning and

---

[128] The *cabildo* council was the administrative body of the *resguardo*. The person elected in the resettlement of San José would formally become part of the *cabildo* of the *resguardo* of San José, including the resettlement as well as San José Tierradentro. See Chapter 7 for more on the *resguardo* and *cabildo* structure of San José after the disaster.

instead elected Alcides, a young man with a wife who could stay in the resettlement and look after family and community obligations while he travelled on behalf of the group.[129]

While people in the community were acknowledged to possess varying amounts of time according to their family situation and other responsibilities, the other crucial travel resource, money, was not allowed to direct the discussions about suitability for *cabildo* office. The community of San José carefully presented themselves as collectively poor disaster victims, and determinedly underplayed any differences between families in regard to economic resources. Travel on behalf of the community during the year a person occupied the *cabildo* office would inescapably be a considerable expense for whoever held the post. When José Manuel described his year in office, it was this fundamental tension between the importance of being present and the difficulty of financing presence that concerned him:

> Of inescapable expenses, I have had a lot. (…) Here [in the resettlement] the community contribute when they can. When they are unable, one is forced to look for means to move in any way one can. If not, if one stays put, one is left out of the programs altogether (Interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

The community would, as José Manuel points out, help out with travel expenses when they could, but the ultimate responsibility to actually travel and be present rested on the person in office. During 1996 the resettlement community of San José was personified by José Manuel as he travelled from meeting to meeting. If he had 'stayed put', as he described it, his community would have been 'left out of the programmes altogether'. Participation in the wider networks of CNK and NGO resettlement involvement, maintaining ties to CRIC projects and programmes, and keeping up networks of contacts with other Nasa communities in resettlement as well as Tierradentro, depended absolutely on the continuous initiative and effort of the resettlement community. This effort was largely substantiated in terms of the *cabildo* representative's travel on behalf of his community.

When travel was so central to the resettlement project, it was because the resettlement, as a colonised point in space and community anchorage, was regarded and practiced as a nodal point rather than a fish bowl. Community and locality were produced through, rather than in spite of, continuous travel. Most members of the resettlement community of San José travelled at regular intervals. Both men and women left the resettlement for periods of time to work for wages on

---

[129] This election process was in San José a matter of subsequent community meetings where candidates were proposed, discussed, and given the opportunity to comment on their willingness to accept office. The resettlement community of San José expected to (and did eventually) reach consensus on a candidate through discussion. The process of *cabildo* elections was in most *resguardos* a matter of secret ballot. Such a formalised process was not, however, seen as useful in this small community electing one single representative.

industrial farms. Many families in the resettlement of San José maintained patches of land in the Tierradentro *resguardo*, and these needed attention at crucial points in the agricultural calendar. As the seasons for planting and harvesting varied, travel practices in the resettlement were tied into the agricultural cycle of several different places as people attended their own land and worked as seasonal hands on big farms. Rights in *resguardo* land were legitimated through presence and work, and as members of the resettlement community of San José held claims in Tierradentro as well as in the resettlement, this implied mandatory travel. Attending to planting and harvesting was one thing, but this form of land ownership also required presence at *mingas* and in different community contexts.[130] The basic premise for the upholding of rights in land after the disaster of Páez was the willingness and ability to travel of the *resguardo* members, and in particular the resettlement community *resguardo* members.[131] While the financing of this moving around was a constant worry and topic of discussion, it shaped rather than limited the travel practices in the resettlement community. People travelled alone, travelled cheaply, and travelled by roundabout and slow routes, but they travelled, and travelled continuously.

Don Lisandro Campo travelled to Tierradentro to sell his *panela*. Blanca went to visit with her mother. People in the resettlement community were continuously aware of the need to share their time and attention between different places and contexts. Successful resettlement dwelling was considered a product of travel practice (Clifford 1997). In Tierradentro, travel had held an educational aspect as something people did when young to then return and settle to work their *resguardo* land. First people saw the world, and then they returned to Tierradentro to contribute to community and *resguardo* life. In resettlement, community and *resguardo* life was seen as constituted through travel. The outside world was not a place to be visited for educational purposes, but a place people in the resettlement community lived in continuously. Everyday practice was a matter of constructing resettlement locality and community as a place from which this world could be travelled and managed without being allowed to swallow the community whole. The *cabildo* representative travelling on behalf of his community, and community members travelling on behalf of their land and community commitments, all contributed to the rooting and routing of the community of San José in the resettlement landscape.

---

[130] See Chapters 2 and 3 for discussion on the importance of presence and work to legitimate land claims.
[131] This upholding of rights in land was sought organised and legalised through the extended *resguardo* model. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the model and its application in the *resguardo* of San José.

**Far and near in resettlement**

Abelardo Guejia lived with his family in the resettlement of Tóez but was originally from Mosoco. When the resettlement community from Mosoco requested Abelardo's presence at a community assembly, he invited me to accompany him. The people from Mosoco were building their houses in Morales. Abelardo told me that, in his opinion, the people from Mosoco had made a good choice. Morales was 'near', only four hours away from Mosoco Tierradentro, by car, and this made it a good site for resettlement. He compared Morales to El Rosario, and to his mind the people from San José found themselves in an unfortunate resettlement location. People in the resettlement of San José needed an entire day to travel to San José Tierradentro. When Abelardo described El Rosario as a bad place for a resettlement because it was very 'far', it was the Tierradentro *resguardo* lands he had in mind as the relevant spatial point of reference.[132] Resettlement locations were here evaluated in terms of far and near. The relevant distance for Abelardo was very specific; he was evaluating resettlement locations based on the number of travel hours between the resettlement and the Tierradentro *resguardo* of each community.[133] On this basis, he considered the people from Mosoco to have chosen a 'good and near' resettlement location, while the people from San José had resettled in a 'far and bad' place.[134]

In San José, people used the same categories of far and near to evaluate and situate their resettlement within the post disaster landscape. From their perspective, El Rosario was a suitable resettlement location. El Rosario filled their requirement of being near:

> [The land committee representing the community of San José] had looked at several places; they had gone to Santa Leticia; they had gone to Río Negro, and in the end they came here. This [the resettlement site in El Rosario] looked better to them because it was closer to Popayán. Santa Leticia is very far away and Río Negro much further, so they did not like those places very much. In terms of geography, this place was definitely to be preferred. (…) We could have ended up as far away as in Rio Negro, because they brought us that far to look at land. So we are saying it is indeed good the land committee kept stating that the land had to be near Popayán. This, we had been saying from the start (Interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997).

The interesting point here was, of course, the place near which people were concerned to resettle. The community of San José planned resettlement and evaluated possible resettlement locations by considering their relative nearness to Popayán. While Abelardo presented his

---

[132] The expectation of being able to maintain ownership and in time at least cultivate, possibly also move back to Tierradentro were part of the hopes for the future in the resettlement communities. For Abelardo's community, Tóez, this was in fact a rather uncertain proposition and relegated to the distant future. Their Tierradentro land was badly damaged and unsafe. In this case Abelardo was thus evaluating resettlement locations in terms of travel distance to an unliveable, unfarmable and unstable area.

[133] While distance measured in travel hours was common in the resettlements, travel hours would always depend on means of transport. Abelardo was here talking about travel hours in a private car. He was probably the only person in the two resettlements where I worked who would have done this, as he himself was in fact the only one to own such a vehicle. People would generally travel by bus, *chiva* or lorry, and thus their time estimates for the length of journeys would consistently be higher than Abelardo's.

[134] Compare this argument to the thinking presented by CRIC and CNK for situating resettlements in Chapter 2. The idea of looking for land similar to what the communities knew in Tierradentro, and seeing their original home areas as the one significant spatial point of reference for the resettling communities, were mainstays of CNK resettlement thinking.

analysis of resettlement locations in terms of the distance between Tierradentro *resguardo* and resettlement land, the people in San José explained their preference for El Rosario in terms of access to roads, public transport and markets. Being near Popayán was their stated ambition in resettlement. El Rosario was in fact a two and a half hour *chiva* journey away from Popayán. From San José Tierradentro, the trip would start with an hour's walk along steep bridle paths, continue with a bus ride of several hours to cross the Cordillera Central, and upon arriving in Silvia, a new bus for Popayán had to be found. Compared to this, people in the resettlement were undoubtedly correct in Popayán now being near.

The distance to Popayán was in fact a point of pride with the resettlement community of San José. People repeatedly pointed out how fortunate they were to live this near to Popayán, how easy it was to reach this city from the resettlement, and what a good location El Rosario thus was for resettlement. The spatial implications of resettlement were spelled out to me by a group of women discussing childbirth. María was expecting her first child. In Tierradentro, traditional midwives attended births as a matter of course, but there was no midwife in the resettlement of San José. Going to the hospital in Popayán would cost money and be scary. Ana had given birth to her baby there and told the rest of us how she had not known anyone, and had had to manage on her own. The matter was dissected and discussed at length, but there was general agreement that María's best option would be Popayán and the hospital. I wondered about getting to the hospital on time, as a two and a half hour travel distance and no private car available seemed to me a rather uncertain proposition if help should be needed in a hurry. The others brushed this aside with the assurance that here in the resettlement, Popayán and the hospital were very near. In Tierradentro, I was told, distance had been a problem, but here in the resettlement this was not a matter worth any attention whatsoever. Travelling practices in resettlement were routed and rooted with the resettlement village as point of departure. The outside world was measured, structured and defined in terms of 'far' and 'near' to this point in space. Their initial starting point, however, the measuring stick for the definition of 'near' in resettlement and the crucial distance determining what they saw as successful resettlement location outside El Rosario was Popayán.

When Abelardo arrived at a distinctly different conclusion on the qualities of El Rosario as a resettlement site, his measuring stick, the crucial distance to make or break a resettlement project, was not that between Popayán and the resettlement. It was the distance to San José

Tierradentro. As Popayán had been considered 'far' from San José Tierradentro before the disaster, the resettlement community of San José regarded being far from San José Tierradentro in resettlement a prerequisite if they were to realise their main ambition of nearness to Popayán. Resettlement maps were nothing if not relative and emplaced. These maps were drawn and adjusted from the point of view of specific communities, with specific resettlement projects, specific networks of relevant others and specific resettlement location selection processes behind them. The community of San José evaluated their own as well as other resettlement locations according to what they considered significant, so did Abelardo Guejia, and their resulting maps were not the same.[135]

Paths were forged and practiced, places discovered and redefined, in time situating the resettlement as central anchoring point in whole networks of practiced and imagined movement (Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b). As people continued practicing these spatial networks over time, perceptions of distance were adjusted. The members of the community of San José became accustomed, not only to resettlement climate and food, but also to the nearness and accessibility of Popayán, and as part of this they adjusted their opinions on the journey between the resettlement and the city.

In November 1996, the community of San José went to look at some land up for sale in La Capilla. CNK had not yet purchased the full amount of land the community had been promised in resettlement, so when this farm along the road running from El Rosario to Popayán came on the market, the community decided to look it over. As people from the community walked around the proposed fields, they commented upon how things could have worked out if this farmland had been on the market at the time they had been looking for a suitable resettlement location. Building the village here, instead of outside El Rosario, would have situated the resettlement closer to Popayán. La Capilla was one full hour's *chiva* ride closer to the city. After two years in El Rosario, the definition of 'near' was being adjusted. No one in the resettlement would ever describe Popayán as being 'far', but it was now possible to imagine living even

---

[135] Another map of relevance situating different resettlements and evaluating them according to a significant spatial other was the one made by Victoriano Cruz in Tóez. He actually chose to place the Nevado de Huila as centre of his map, and then placed the different resettlements around it. Resettlement success in this setting was moving away from the menace of the volcano in resettlement. The earthquake setting off the disaster of Páez had had its epicentre in the westerns slopes this mountain. Even as the disaster was caused by the earthquake and not a volcanic eruption, the Nevado loomed large in the various explanations circulating in the communities (Olson and Sarmiento P. 1995:67). The Nevado de Huila is at 5,750 metres above sea level the highest peak in the area. When Portela G. (1995:264n) lists significant landscape features in Tierradentro with Nasa cosmological maps as his point of departure, the Nevado is his first item. The *thë walas* exploring possible interpretations for the disaster within the framework of traditional Nasa cosmology did in fact identify the perpetually snow covered volcano as the origin of the disaster of Páez.

closer to the city. The fine tuning under discussion here revolved around degrees of 'near', and would have been irrelevant in a pre disaster context where ideas of travel to the city had Tierradentro as only relevant point of reference.[136]

People in San José used the expression 'poorly Popayán' to describe their travel situation.[137] Travelling to Popayán was in resettlement regarded as the equivalent of the daily *tinto*, what made for decent appearances in a situation where financing travel was a constant struggle.[138] Having easy access to Popayán was by now a matter of course in resettlement daily life and everyday travel. It was firmly established as a basic ability and possibility, to be expected for and of everyone in the resettlement community. Travel was a crucial necessity of resettlement life, but also hard, uncertain and expensive. The difficulties involved meant maintaining the travel patterns the community found fitting, interesting and necessary in resettlement were a constant challenge. Still, travel was here underlined as a desired quality, something people wanted and expected to do. The expression 'poorly Popayán' had its parallel in community members' complaining of *tinto* abstinence headaches. 'Poorly Popayán' was, albeit consciously and through deliberate effort, a taken for granted travel practice in the resettlement.[139]

Abelardo Guejia introduced this section with his evaluation of resettlement locations in terms of how near they were to their Tierradentro *resguardo* lands. In Tóez, where Abelardo himself lived, people did have a very clear idea of having settled relatively near Tierradentro. The people from Tóez had chosen their resettlement site outside Caloto against the express recommendations of CNK and CRIC, and having succeeded in this was a considerable point of pride to them.[140] While nearness to Tierradentro was a benefit of settling outside Caloto, people in the community were also very clear on the other advantages this site offered. Caloto was near

---

[136] The question of to buy or not to buy this land did in fact also revolve around distance, but the distance between the resettlement village outside El Rosario and this land in La Capilla. CNK functionaries involved had already before the visit presented their firm opinion on this land being very far away from the resettlement village of San José, and thus unsuitable. After looking around, people in the community defined the distance as 'not so far'. 'Not so far' was, after the matter had undergone discussion, deemed to be 'too far', and certainly not 'near'. The resettlement village was firmly situated outside El Rosario, and the La Capilla land was too far to be suitable. Note the way distance is evaluated according to context here: this land one hour away is too far from the resettlement to be interesting for the community as farmland, while Popayán, two and a half hours away, is near the resettlement village.

[137] The expression used was 'pobremente Popayán'.

[138] See Chapter 5 for the discussion of *tinto* and its position in the resettlement of San José.

[139] See the description of proposed exchange visits between the resettlement and Tierradentro *resguardo* of San José in Chapter 7 for a related discussion. While the challenges of travel – in terms of time and financing – were unavoidable and concerns for all, the desirability of travel and the expectation of travel as the norm rather than the exception were particular resettlement phenomena.

[140] See Chapter 2 for references to this process.

the city of Cali, bigger and more significant than Popayán, and, most significantly, Caloto was near the Panamerican Highway.

The community of Tóez had in particular looked for and wanted the nearness to the road when they resettled. People in the community believed living close to the Panamerican Highway would give them access to efficient travel as well as to town advantages. The road was expected to open the outside world to the community in new ways. People in Tóez were careful to underline that this had held true. It was a simple matter for the community members to reach markets and meetings in relatively distant places and return home in the same day. Young people from the community could choose between secondary schools in the area but stay living at home. People could return home for the *minga* or some significant community assembly on short notice. When drawing the Tóez resettlement map, this route brought the community's various significant others, in terms of people as well as places, near.

Not only was the Panamerican Highway and Cali considered near by people in the resettlement. People from outside, travelling along the Panamerican Highway as a matter of course, whether from Popayán or Cali, considered the resettlement of Tóez near and accessible. The village of Tóez was easy to spot from the road running through Caloto north to Corinto and easy to reach by car. Thus, resettlement not only opened the outside world to the people in Tóez, it also opened the community of Tóez to the world. A small market was established in the resettlement, where people from outside the community arrived to sell their produce every week. The characteristic propane lorry visited the community village as a matter of course. Tóez was the resettlement most frequently visited by people from the outside. Tourists who were simply curious and wanted to look, as well as people with special interests or proposals they wanted to present to the resettlement community, came driving or walking up the road to the village several times a week. The community of Tóez considered visitors a definite benefit of their resettlement location. These visitors were regarded as a potential to be explored, and community discussions circled around how this situation could be best taken advantage of. The discussion around ecological awareness in the community, and the planning and execution of the First Nasa Cultural Fair were examples of how people in the community of Tóez went about this.[141]

---

[141] See Chapter 3 for the ecological awareness discussion, and Chapters 3, 5 and in particular 8 for the First Nasa Cultural Fair.

The stretch of the Panamerican Highway running between Cali and Popayán was rarely affected by the vagaries of nature. While flooding or mud slides were rare, road blockages were not. Closing down this stretch of road was a favourite form of protest for any number of social movements in the area. The indigenous movement in Cauca had made use of road blockages repeatedly, this form of protest being considered efficient and to the point (Jackson 2002). People in the community of Tóez made a much repeated joke of the fact that because of living this close to the road, taking part in these periodical protests would become much more convenient.[142]

The people in Tóez had consciously and deliberately situated their resettlement village and organised resettlement life to take advantage of the improved communications and possibilities living in Caloto offered. When the Panamerican Highway was blocked, community members could indeed very easily travel to and participate in the organised protests. The consequences of road blockages did, however, now affect people in the resettlement community in other ways as well. When the Panamerican Highway was closed down, people travelling to and from Tóez now got stuck. CNK functionaries had to cancel meetings in the resettlement when they could not get through. The governor of the *cabildo* could not reach his community to participate in the Monday *minga*. The community-owned lorry which was earning its keep transporting goods in the Cauca region got stuck in the same endless queues as all other vehicles waiting at roadblocks. The lorry's cargo would spoil the same way that of other lorries' would, and with the same economical consequences for the community as owners.

The indigenous authorities were not alone in using road blockages to make their point. The blockage mentioned at the beginning of this chapter was organised by the hemp producers of Caldono. In resettlement, the relatively frequent blockages of the Panamerican Highway were no longer considered merely a form of efficient protest against the government. Blockages were now also seen as a definite practical nuisance, and an economic worry, for the community as a whole, and for individual community members. New travel paths and new travel patterns changed the view people in the community had on both distance and on the practical effects of actually stopping travel and transport along the main route connecting north and south in Cauca, Colombia and Latin America as a form of political action.

---

[142] The Panamerican Highway was blocked by the indigenous movement in August 1996 when I was attempting my first visit to the community (Jackson 2002). When I finally managed to get to Tóez, people were very excited about the ease with which they had been able to get to and participate in these protests.

The community of Tóez resettled to be part of the world around them continuously, not only through sporadic expeditions. With their resettlement located within easy reach of efficient transport and travel routes they practiced the outside world intensely as part of their resettlement daily life. This had been their explicit resettlement ambition, an ambition they had worked insistently to realise. Their resettlement map was based on their partaking in the travel patterns and travel flow of main society. Their choice of living intensely in the world opened the community to be affected by a wide array of events which in the pre disaster setting had been easy to ignore as distant and thus largely irrelevant.[143] The world as practiced in the resettlement of Tóez brought not only geographical, but social and cultural outside in to affect daily community life in new and formerly unimaginable ways.

People in the resettlement communities went about producing stability of dwelling and belonging in a new place through intensive travel. Physical relocation was accompanied by social, cultural and political repositioning. While the colonising of resettlement land through house building and farming was one aspect of this process, travel practices were another. In resettlement, through practice and imagination, the outside world was reconstructed and re-measured – re-rooted and re-routed (Tilley 1994). As the pathways and places of this heretofore unknown territory were practiced and defined, the wider landscape of resettlement emerged (Tilley 1994; Rapport and Dawson 1998).

Travel practices were fundamentally constitutive of the resettlement project and experience. Travel practices provided the stuff of resettlement maps (de Certeau 1985; Tilley 1994). Resettlement maps were both more varied, more complex, and far more intensively practiced than had been the case before the disaster. As people went about practicing space in resettlement, they converted their journeys into travel histories, adding to the biographies of places and people. The maps produced on the basis of these itineraries were constantly restructured and adjusted according to new journeys being made, and new experiences being added to the travel routes already established. Adjusting perceptions of far and near were part of this process. Resettlement was in this way rooted and routed through the post disaster landscape (Clifford 1997).

---

[143] See the discussion of the community of Tóez's participation in the Nilo march in Chapter 8 for another example of this.

120

The resettlement as anchoring place provided the point of departure for practicing the exterior world, while these excursions at the same time were constitutive of community inside. Resettlement as community anchorage and locality was produced through a combination of dwelling and travelling practices (Clifford 1997).

# Chapter 7 – The extended *resguardo* of San José[144]

Only one third of the members of the *resguardo* of San José left Tierradentro after the disaster to resettle.[145] The rest stayed in Tierradentro. This situation posed particular challenges to the project of resettlement community construction. People in the resettlement concerned themselves with how the new community was to be situated and delineated within a *resguardo* framework no longer to be taken for granted. When José Manuel explained the thinking behind the name people in the resettlement of San José had chosen for their new home, his address was this positioning effort.

After careful consideration, the community had decided to give the resettlement outside El Rosario the name 'San José de Guayabal'. As José Manuel explained, 'San José de Guayabal' was to designate the group, the resettlement community; as well as the place, the resettlement. Any distinction between people and place was thus intentionally dissolved, with implicit reference to the way Tierradentro *resguardo* names identified land and community as derivations of each other. In the case of 'San José de Guayabal', both place and community had been brought into existence in direct consequence of disaster and resettlement. The first part of the name, 'San José', was the name of the *resguardo* these people belonged to in Tierradentro. The second part, 'Guayabal', was the name of the farm outside the village of El Rosario where the community was building their resettlement village. This combination of two carefully chosen elements provided references to past and present, Tierradentro and resettlement, indigenous tradition and modernity. As José Manuel presented it, 'San José de Guayabal' was a densely packed label actively put together by the members to position the community in resettlement reality (Tilley 1994:18).

The resettlement community's main concern here was constructing their community as a capable and clearly delineated unit, while remaining within the *resguardo* structure they had been part of before the disaster. With the first part of their chosen name, they positioned their resettlement unmistakably as part of the *resguardo* of San José. The *resguardo*, alongside its

---

[144] In this chapter, I am going to discuss an aspect of resettlement relevant only in the community of San José: The challenge of adjusting the traditional *resguardo* structure to encompass Tierradentro as well as resettlement members. As the Tóez *resguardo* land in Tierradentro was largely destroyed in the disaster, practically all members of the *resguardo* moved to Caloto to resettle. Here, their resettlement project focused on colonising new land. Community inside and *resguardo* structure could to a large extent be taken for granted.

[145] The revised census of the resettlement of San José (of February 1996) lists 148 people as members of the resettlement community of San José. In a 1992 (pre-disaster) census, the number of *resguardo* members for San José, Tierradentro is listed as 452 (Diagnóstico Participativo del *Resguardo* de San José 1994(?)).

practical role in structuring rights in land and administration, represented a condensation of indigenousness, tradition and deep Tierradentro roots, all implied when the resettlement community chose to designate themselves 'San José'.

If 'San José' spoke clearly of tradition and Tierradentro roots, 'Guayabal' was the part of the name setting the resettlement apart from their former Tierradentro neighbours. Before the resettlement community arrived and decided to build their village here, Guayabal had been a field where cattle grazed. Two and a half years later, Guayabal was a place of tidy brick houses, in neat rows and with sturdy doors, where the inhabitants had official assurances of the installation of electricity and water mains in the near future. 'Guayabal' represented a clear statement as to what the resettlement community had accomplished. The village was physical evidence of successful community management, and the ability to practice modernity, impossible to ignore for anyone who came to visit.

Choosing 'San José de Guayabal' was a statement of unequivocal intent on part of the resettlement community. In their continuous effort to construct resettlement as a bounded, sited entity, the resettlement community's focus was firmly directed inward. To maintain their position as members of the *resguardo* of San José, however, the traditional *resguardo* structure needed modification. This endeavour necessarily involved the San Joseños who had stayed in Tierradentro as well as the San Joseños in the resettlement. This chapter is going to explore the efforts made by people living in San José de Guayabal to construct a place for their community as members of an extended *resguardo* of San José, including the Tierradentro lands as well as the resettlement.

The point of departure for this chapter will be the legal framework provided by the government as part of their initial response to the disaster of Páez: The extended *resguardo* model. The extended *resguardo* made it possible to include resettlement land into already existing *resguardos*, encompassing land and members in two or more unconnected places. Once the model has been presented, I will move on to the topic of land rights. Rights in *resguardo* land were the fundamental issue addressed by the extended *resguardo* model. I want to explore reasoning and strategies brought to bear in the debate over how these rights were to be distributed among *resguardo* members after the disaster.

The third part of this chapter will focus on the overarching process of converting the extended *resguardo* framework into relevant and practicable structures for all *resguardo* members. From the point of view of the resettlement community, assuring membership rights, and thus the possible reality of this structure, depended on their ability to present and position the San José de Guayabal as a relevant and interesting significant other to the Tierradentro *resguardo*. The effort made to adapt the *cabildo* council, the elected council administering the *resguardo*, to post disaster and extended *resguardo* reality, rounds off this chapter. Throughout, my concern will be the process of extended *resguardo* construction as seen from the resettlement community San José de Guayabal.

**The extended *resguardo* model**

The *resguardo* institution had proven its ability to travel well long before the disaster of Páez (Clifford 1997:44). Migrating Nasa set up *resguardos* wherever they settled in groups and employed the institution to structure daily life and as a bulwark against the main society.[146] The *resguardo* had, however, up until the disaster of Páez, consistently been localised to one place, an area with defined borders, with a defined community of people living within and maintaining these borders. People established new *resguardos*, moved, sectioned off or expanded old ones, but a *resguardo* was consistently and without fail one bounded location in physical space. The disaster of Páez confronted the traditional *resguardo* structure with a fundamental and drastic new challenge: The fragmentation of the bounded, sited *resguardo* entity into not one, but several separately bounded and sited entities scattered in physical space.

Everyone involved in reconstruction after the disaster of Páez took the *resguardo* institution as the framework for resettlement for granted. Resettlement was consistently presented and discussed in terms of *resguardo* land, *resguardo* belonging and *resguardo* management. The resettling communities saw the *resguardo* as their badge of indigenousness, their link, in both practical and symbolic terms, to the past, continuous ethnic belonging, and Tierradentro.[147] CNK, affected communities, leaders of the indigenous political movement, as well as various other organisations and individuals involved were all very aware of this dimension. CNK and the state saw providing this framework where resettlement and reconstruction could happen within the already existing *resguardo* structure as one of the most immediate and fundamental

---

[146] See Chapter 2 for a sketch of Nasa migration history. For further discussion see e.g. Espinosa 1995b, 1996, Findji and Rojas 1985, Rappaport 1998.
[147] See Chapter 2 and 3 for presentation and discussion of the *resguardo* institution.

issues to be settled. For those who had to resettle, the question of how their future rights to now damaged Tierradentro land could be assured, and combined with lasting rights in resettlement land, was paramount.

The extended *resguardo* model was put together specifically to address the situation of the resettling communities after the disaster of Páez. It provided the legal framework needed to incorporate resettlement land into already existing *resguardos*. This model was in place and known among the affected communities by the time they started discussing suitable resettlement land. In the following description, Gustavo Wilches-Chaux, as the then director of CNK, presented the salient points of the extended *resguardo* model to the Latin American academic community:

> In the acts drawn up after the earthquake it was established specifically that the affected territories would continue being the property of the *resguardos*, even when the respective communities resettled completely or partially outside the zone of disaster. The new territories, in consequence, are of a complementary character and will have the legal status of "extensions of *resguardos*" (Wilches-Chaux 1995b:138).[148]

These were the legal provisions for land ownership for all members of the affected communities after the disaster of Páez, whether they stayed in Tierradentro or resettled elsewhere. The *resguardo*, in its legal expression as inalienable rights in land granted to a specific group of people on the basis of their ethnic belonging and membership in a specific community, was the basis. The pre disaster *resguardo* community was, according to Wilches-Chaux, to define the post disaster extended *resguardo*. Wherever people from the *resguardo* of San José resettled, their resettlement land was to be regarded part of the already existing *resguardo* of San José. The *resguardo* would not lose rights to the land damaged by disaster, and as Wilches-Chaux underlined, those who resettled would not lose their future rights in now damaged Tierradentro *resguardo* land. Members were to continue being members, with membership rights in land, wherever they lived.

All resettlement planning and resettlement practice in the aftermath of the disaster of Páez was realised within this framework. All land bought by CNK for the resettling communities was formally classified as extensions of already existing *resguardos*. All resettling communities regarded them as such, as well as themselves as still members of and with rights in their

---

[148] My translation. "[E]n los decretos que se expidieron después del terremoto quedó previsto expresamente que los territorios afectados seguirían siendo de propiedad de los *resguardos*, aun cuando las respectivas comunidades se reubicaran total o parcialmente por fuera de la zona de desastre. Los nuevos territorios, en consecuencia, poseen el carácter de complementarios y jurídicamente tendrán el carácter de 'ampliaciones de *resguardos*'" (Wilches-Chaux 1995b:138).

*resguardos* of origin. While legal titles to land – the actual paperwork granting the communities ownership rights – were still not in place when I left the field, the very existence of the resettlement communities living in resettlement villages on resettlement land were based on the premises laid down in the extended *resguardo* model.[149]

The challenges for those working to translate the extended *resguardo* into viable and practicable *resguardo* life were to be found in the distance between legal provisions and on the ground *resguardo* management. Firstly, life within the extended *resguardo* structure had to be worked out in terms of the individual rights and commitments making up membership practices. The legal provisions for *resguardos*, be it those of the past or of the brand new extended *resguardo*, never did more than provide a framework making *resguardo* lives possible.[150] It was the practicing of these lives, as worked out on the ground by the members, which made the *resguardo* relevant and real. Secondly, the extended *resguardo* model addressed one group – the *resguardo* community – and the individual members of this group. At the time when the model was to be translated into practice, this community was nowhere to be seen. In San José the *resguardo* community as direct derivation of *resguardo* territory became extinct with the disaster of Páez. Thus, the taken-for-granted basis for Wilches-Chaux' model existed only as a memory of pre disaster life – and in so far as the two communities making up the new fragmented *resguardo* inside met with success in their attempt to produce extended *resguardo* reality.

What the extended *resguardo* model did do was to provide legal access to continued rights in land for members of the pre disaster *resguardo*, whether they chose to resettle or not. In the following, I want to look into these all significant rights in land from the ground up. The legal framework grants rights to members, but membership rights in themselves must be continually earned. Land rights must be practiced to be validated. Post disaster and extended *resguardo* reality posed an interesting dilemma for this fundamental truth of traditional *resguardo* life.[151]

---

[149] This paperwork was impatiently awaited and much missed in the resettlement communities. In San José de Guayabal, leaders described the situation as the community occupying resettlement land and refusing to move an inch until in possession of legal title to their land. People saw presence – living and working the land – as their only strategy to make sure they would in the end receive these titles (on presence and occupation as avenues to gain rights in land, see further comments and references in Chapters 2, 3 and 8).

[150] For the various legal frameworks of the *resguardo* institution through history see e.g Rappaport 1998 and Findji 1992. The significant articles were before the 1991 constitution to be found in law 89 of 1890. The relevant articles of the 1991 constitution are quoted in Avirama and Márques 1994:103-105. The extended *resguardo* was a clarification of existing law made to capture a special circumstance within the already existing structure.

[151] In other words, the *resguardo* world is not and has never been frozen. While the laws providing for *resguardo* life and the titles granting rights in land (Chapter 2) have been managed as permanent fixtures of Nasa *resguardo* life, actual interpretation and practice have changed continuously (Rappaport 1998). The extended *resguardo* was based on the premise that time could be

**Land rights in the extended *resguardo***

When people in the *resguardo* of San José chose to stay in Tierradentro or to leave and resettle, their decisions were based on the state of their farmland. Some parts of the *resguardo* were more severely damaged than others. In this situation, the division of the *resguardo* community was inevitable, and this was reflected in the way the different groups regarded the extended *resguardo*. For those who stayed, the extended *resguardo* with its provisions for land rights were largely irrelevant. Those who resettled considered these provisions crucial. José Manuel described the quandary as follows:

> Now, some people think in this way, saying those who left [Tierradentro] have no right to come back. No, as this is an extension of territory, we have the right to claim our piece of land here, and keep what remains of the scraps there (Interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

People who resettled depended absolutely on 'this extension of territory' if they were to maintain their rights in Tierradentro land.

In Nasa *resguardos*, people traditionally rescinded their long standing rights in *resguardo* land when they committed to land elsewhere. Membership rights in the *resguardo* were never permanently fixed but had to be maintained over time through continuous investment in *resguardo* land and *resguardo* community. Living outside the *resguardo* did not necessarily affect membership rights. What did affect these rights would be shifting the focus of the family's investment in land away from the *resguardo* and on to land elsewhere. [152] When a family or a member of a family gained access to farmland elsewhere, considered this land their own, and worked it for a living, they did rescind rights in membership and land in their *resguardo* of origin.[153] The 'some people' José Manuel referred to were members of the San José Tierradentro community. From their point of view, the resettlement was just such an elsewhere. By living in the resettlement, investing in resettlement land, and planning for a future

---

frozen at the moment of disaster, so membership and land rights at that exact moment were set in stone for the future. The challenge of practicing the extended *resguardo* concentrated, as will become clear in the following, largely on constructing practices which could validate membership rights which were in no way set in stone or otherwise frozen.

[152] Consider Mario Musse's comments on working your own land compared to working for others from Chapter 3 in this context, and the implications are obvious. Working for others might be acceptable while waiting for resettlement, for a few years when you are young, or periodically later when extra income is needed. The definition of the good and decent life is, however, working your own land – as Mario and his family resettled to be able to do. While working for others rarely affected *resguardo* rights, establishing a good and decent life by working your own land somewhere outside your *resguardo* very much did.

[153] Having close family living and working in the *resguardo* was insurance for those spending time elsewhere, as it gave them obvious right to return. In resettlement, the Pachos (see Chapter 4) were an example of a family whose members lived, invested and worked in both Tierradentro and in the resettlement, and who were thus accorded inclusion in both contexts. In general, people marrying away from their home *resguardo* are granted rights through their spouse and in laws.

there, the resettling members of the *resguardo* of San José were seen to rescind their rights in Tierradentro *resguardo* land.[154]

José Manuel cited the extended *resguardo* to explain why land rights for the people in the resettlement should be handled differently. The situation after the disaster of Páez could, according to him, not be dealt with according to standard practice. It was outside any semblance of normalcy, a special case, to be subject to special conditions, and these conditions were set out in the extended *resguardo* model. As displaced by the disaster, the resettlement community would maintain continued rights to Tierradentro *resguardo* land, even as they acquired land and rights in resettlement. José Manuel underlined their right to legitimate claims in both.

This dispute was not over rights to the use of available *resguardo* farmland. People in the resettlement had left Tierradentro because of the bad state their land was in. Government earthquake experts had declared large areas as unstable and dangerous, and no productive use could be expected from this land in the foreseeable future. At stake in these discussions was not present usefulness, but the possible future rights in land José Manuel describes above as 'what remains of the scraps'. The San Joseños were arguing the land claims of future generations. At stake here were not only the usufruct rights of individual families, but the future rights of an entire group of resettling *resguardo* members.

When these resettling *resguardo* members went about establishing community, *resguardo* and indigenous interior by colonising resettlement land, they used the *minga* tradition for all it was worth.[155] The weekly communal work party was of long standing in Tierradentro, and it was there, as in resettlement, employed to improve *resguardo* land for the benefit of the entire community. Participation in this work also allowed individual families to substantiate their commitment to place, community and *resguardo*. Lucia took *minga* participation, and its significance in delineating *resguardo* membership, as her point of departure when she described the debate over rights in land:[156]

---

[154] One underlying tension between the resettling community of San José and the San Joseños who had stayed behind in Tierradentro was related to religion. The resettlement community consisted mainly of Catholics, while a lot of the people staying on in Tierradentro were Protestants. The fact that land being worked by Catholic members of the pre disaster *resguardo* community had been more severely affected by disaster than that worked by Protestants was by the Protestants interpreted as God's commentary on the correctness of their beliefs. See Musset 1993 for a discussion of how religion has been employed to explain and rationalise disasters in a historical context.

[155] The *minga* as vehicle in community and *resguardo* construction is discussed in Chapter 3.

[156] I am here using the terms '*minga*' and 'communal work' as interchangeable. For a discussion of definitions and interpretations of the two, see Chapter 3.

[We are] working jointly with the people from Tierradentro; yes, this is an extension of the *resguardo*. So, provided the *cabildo* in Tierradentro embraces this piece [of land, the resettlement] and us here; we, the people here, should contribute support as well – that is to say, in terms of contributing to the communal work. For us [in the resettlement] this is a case of emergency, and one keeps the same rights [as member of the *resguardo*], even though... Since we are here [in the resettlement], we are never present at communal work [in Tierradentro], only very occasionally. The thing is, here [in the resettlement] works for the *cabildo* are done regularly as well. Well, the point being, the day one finds oneself there [in Tierradentro], one must contribute work there as well. (…) As it is so far away, one needs money, time, to get from one part to the other (Interview with Lucia Musse in San José, December 25th 1997).

Lucia presented the proposed extended *resguardo* as a community of exchange. The *cabildo* in Tierradentro should accept people in the resettlement community as full members of the *resguardo* of San José, making it the extended *resguardo* of San José. In exchange, the people in the resettlement must show support for the *resguardo*. To Lucia, showing support meant participating in *mingas*. By taking part when the *cabildo* organise communal work, people contributed investments of sweat and effort in *resguardo* land. They supported the very existence of the *resguardo* by practically demonstrating their adherence and respect for *resguardo* ideals and ideology. This was the stuff communities were made from, a fact of which Lucia, the *cabildo* council, and all members of the resettlement and Tierradentro communities in San José were very aware.

The problem, as Lucia states it, had its roots in the distance between Tierradentro and the resettlement. *Minga* work was organised in San José Tierradentro every Monday throughout the year. So was *minga* work in the resettlement. The resettlement families found themselves in a position where they should ideally fulfil obligations in Tierradentro as well as in the resettlement. This dilemma was not easily solved, but Lucia explained what she considered justifiable *minga* practice in the resettlement. Most families in the resettlement did travel periodically to Tierradentro. When they were there, it was, as Lucia underlines, important that they contributed to the Tierradentro *minga*. When they were not in Tierradentro, their contributions to the resettlement *minga* should, according to Lucia, be taken into account as also benefiting the *resguardo*. The interpretations of *minga* work in the resettlement were, however, disputed.

*Minga* participation brought community and *resguardo* commitment to ground, presenting it as observable practice to the community as a whole. Lucia's concern here was a situation where the whole community was no longer present to observe and validate this practice. The *resguardo* community as a whole no longer invested together in the same place. When investment was not

129

observed, it was not accepted as the validation of membership it was intended to be. The fact that members of the resettlement community invested in the San José de Guayabal *minga* every week was invisible to the people who lived in Tierradentro.

The interpretation of the resettlement *minga* depended on the status of resettlement land. Under the extended *resguardo* model, resettlement land was to be included on par with already existing Tierradentro land in the *resguardo* holdings. Resettlement land did, however, only hold significance, and for that matter, reality, for those working and living on it. The effort and investment going into turning resettlement land into *resguardo* land was invisible, in the same way the *minga* work done was invisible, for those not present to see it. The comments made by José Manuel as well as by Lucia above reflect an impression of general disinterest and scepticism on part of people from the Tierradentro community. The San Joseños in Tierradentro had, by staying and not leaving after the disaster, declined the opportunity to claim rights in resettlement land (Chapter 3). They had no investment or expectations in this land at all. Their interests, hopes and focus were firmly located in Tierradentro, and in Tierradentro only.

Herein lay one of the main challenges for the resettlement community.[157] For the extended *resguardo* to become practicable reality in San José, it had to be perceived as a relevant structure by all members of the *resguardo*, those in Tierradentro as well as those in the resettlement. The resettlement community needed to find ways of making themselves and their land as part of the extended *resguardo* structure significant to those members of the *resguardo* of San José who lived in Tierradentro. The distribution of rights in Tierradentro *resguardo* land was the one obvious issue of interest and importance to all *resguardo* members. When José Manuel and Lucia referred to land rights being discussed among all members of the *resguardo* above, they cited the existence of a conversation including members of both Tierradentro and resettlement communities. It was this inclusive context for exchange and discussion the resettlement community hoped to extend and make into enough of a single discursive community to form the basis of an extended *resguardo* of San José.

Lucia was, as was José Manuel above, careful to underline the extraordinary character of the circumstances created by the disaster of Páez. They both emphasised the situation people in the

---

[157] Gow and Rappaport (2002:52) actually refer to the extended *resguardo* in terms of *resguardos* and extensions, resettlement land here being denominated the extension, and describe the general relationship between *resguardos* and extensions as uncomfortable and as having provoked widespread conflict.

resettlement were living through as so singular it should be set firmly apart from the general run of things. The disaster and its aftermath were, as Lucia puts it, 'a case of emergency', and this should, according to both, have consequences for how rights in land were regarded in the *resguardo* context. The extended *resguardo*, with its provisions for continued belonging and rights in land, found its justification in this exact reasoning. This also provided a crucial dimension to the interpretative context the resettling communities referred to when they consistently emphasised their status as disaster victims.[158]

Lucia's concluding point above was on distance and travel as a serious challenge to close contact and exchange between Tierradentro and the resettlement. Most people in the resettlement had been back in Tierradentro to visit or even stay for periods of time after the disaster. Travelling the distance between the resettlement and San José Tierradentro was, however, an undertaking requiring, as Lucia underlined, time and money. People in the resettlement community had strong incentives to overcome these obstacles. They all had family, land – a lot of it severely damaged, but still of great significance to them – and community ties they were concerned to maintain. Some also had houses they were working to restore. People from the resettlement visiting San José Tierradentro were very aware of the fact that once there, they represented not only their own family, but the resettlement community as a whole. Their actions and contributions while there reflected on the entire group. When Lucia said 'Well, the point being, the day one finds oneself there [in Tierradentro], one must contribute work there as well,' her 'one' has very clear address, as encompassing any and all members of the resettlement community, herself included.

While people from the resettlement community continuously left the resettlement to travel to Tierradentro, visits by Tierradentro San Joseños to the resettlement were rare occurrences. People from the resettlement travelled to work land, to sell resettlement produce, to participate in *mingas*, to visit relatives and on official community business. The few times people from Tierradentro appeared in the resettlement during my time in San José this was by special invitation, for special occasions, and from a position as close kin to people living in the resettlement. [159] The routes between the two parts of the extended *resguardo* of San José were

---

[158] The importance and significance the resettling communities invested in their status as disaster victims has been discussed in various contexts in this thesis. In Chapter 8, when I move on to explore the way significant others are handled by the resettlement community in Tóez, this aspect of self presentation will be explored further.

[159] Two examples of such occasions were the Christmas festivities and a special celebration held when two Nasa Indians who were to be ordained as priests spent a day in the community. See Chapter 6 for a description of the trip made by the resettlement community of San José to participate in the ordination mass for these two priests in Belalcázar.

thus frequently practiced by people in the resettlement community, while remaining largely unexplored by people from the Tierradentro community. From this perspective, the idea of visits by members of the Tierradentro community to the resettlement took on considerable significance to the project of the extended *resguardo*. Travel was, in this context, a matter of making the significant other – whether the resettlement community or the Tierradentro community – real. Travel and reciprocal visiting were perceived as a prerequisite for the creation as well as the maintenance of extended *resguardo* reality.[160]

In terms of land and *minga*, the extended *resguardo* as practicable reality hinged on the resettlement community's ability to present and gain acceptance for investment in the resettlement *minga* as investment in the *resguardo* of San José. If investment in the resettlement *minga* attained established classification as investment in the *resguardo* of San José, this implied the resettlement land being accepted as *resguardo* land on par with land belonging to the *resguardo* of San José in Tierradentro. Presence and participation, the basis for membership, had to gain equal currency in both locations. Without this successful colonisation of resettlement land, and general acceptance by all San Joseños of this land as *resguardo* territory, any effort to practice the extended *resguardo* model was meaningless. This was the fundamental implication of Lucia's, as well as José Manuel's, statements above.

**Positioning San José de Guayabal for extended *resguardo* membership**

Wilches-Chaux presented the extended *resguardo* as a legal structure assuring individual membership rights to land. Lucia and José Manuel addressed these rights in land from an ethics perspective, presenting their views on the resettlement project as an exceptional circumstance as well as on ways in which established *resguardo* practice could be reinterpreted to justify membership rights in the extended *resguardo*. José Manuel in the following addressed the extended *resguardo* as work to be done. For the legal framework and the moral principles of the extended *resguardo* to gain significance in real life, the extended *resguardo* had to be translated into practicable daily life structures:

> The idea we from the outside had was to work, from here [the resettlement] towards there [Tierradentro], and from there towards here. Last year, before I became vice governor, we set up two meetings here. We did them in the form of workshops, lasting two days each, with a flip chart to present the objectives, everything very organised, yes? And on the two occasions they [the people from Tierradentro] arrived. What we wanted was to work in this way, to identify the objectives; because what we ourselves have said

---

[160] These travel practices would then, with reference to the literature on spatiality (e.g. Clifford 1997; Tilley 1994; Olwig and Hastrup 1997) constitute the extended *resguardo* as practiced space as well as one specific map of relevance (de Certeau 1984:118).

we want is an extension of the *resguardo*. What is important to us (…) is to keep in mind what is there [in Tierradentro] as well (Interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27<sup>th</sup> 1996).

José Manuel described a series of early meetings between the different member groups of the extended resguardo of San José in terms of the 'how to' of extended *resguardo* production. His approach will form my point of departure in the following when I explore extended *resguardo* production as an intercommunity process, and in particular the effort made by the resettling community of San José to position themselves for constructive participation in this process.

The meetings José Manuel referred to here took place the first year the resettlement community spent in El Rosario. As he described these initial efforts made towards establishing structured relations between the parts of the proposed extended *resguardo* of San José, he continuously referred to 'us' and 'here'. José Manuel's implied, taken for granted 'us' was not the pre disaster *resguardo* of San José. 'Us' and 'here' was for José Manuel, as it was for Lucia above, the resettlement and those living in it – the San José de Guayabal community. José Manuel was detailing the work done in the resettlement community to formalise relations with someone else, someone he consistently designated as 'they' and 'there'. People in the resettlement of San José made their plans to enter negotiations over the extended *resguardo* as an organised group, a community. The people living in the *resguardo* of San José Tierradentro were their designated significant others in the extended *resguardo* production process.

For José Manuel's 'us' and 'here' to become an effective position from which extended *resguardo* negotiations could be entered, the San José de Guayabal community depended on demonstrating their aptitude as exactly that: a community. José Manuel presented the process of extended *resguardo* production in terms of two parties coming together to discuss matters of common interest. As one of the participants was the firmly established and long standing Tierradentro *resguardo* community, José Manuel added to the consequence of the resettlement community by presenting the discussions as being held between two groups on equal footing. Further, he called attention to the fact that initiative for these meetings actually was being taken by the resettlement community. The resettlement community was here described by José Manuel as consistently presenting themselves to the Tierradentro community as a serious and relevant significant other.

José Manuel underlined the fact that the invitation for these meetings was made to the *cabildo* council, and presented as an opening of a dialogue, a context for future discussion. These

elements added a crucial dimension to the image the resettlement community aimed to project. Here, the resettlement community explicitly communicated their competence as not only a community, but an Indian and Nasa community, by approaching the matter of the extended *resguardo* 'by the book'. They recognised traditional authority, the *cabildo* council, and they made use of conventional channels to establish exchange, initiating this process by contacting the same *cabildo* council. They demonstrated respect and understanding for the process required if possible future conclusions were to be reached, as their invitation opened for the series of community meetings and discussions needed to arrive at consensus agreements. These were all time-honoured facets of Nasa *resguardo* life.

The resettlement community had clear, explicit aims for these meetings. Their overall aspiration when initiating this process was, according to José Manuel, the realisation of the extended *resguardo*: 'What we ourselves have said we want is an extension of the *resguardo*.' The immediate focus was, however, on discussion and exchange rather than on decisions. The meetings were, with this in mind, organised as workshops, lasting two days each. What the resettlement community explicitly wanted was, again according to José Manuel, to facilitate the formulation of 'objectives'. These objectives were, as he put it, to address how people in the resettlement could 'work towards Tierradentro', and how the people in Tierradentro could 'work towards the resettlement'. The process of community consensus building innate to *resguardo* decision making is time and effort intensive. The resettlement community was here starting the groundwork necessary for future realisation of the extended *resguardo*, in terms of initiating the essential discussions and giving these a definite direction. The first step, according to José Manuel and the resettlement community, should be the clarification of objectives, the premises for possible future cooperation and exchange between the two communities involved.

José Maunel went into detail describing the arrangements made by the resettlement community for these meetings. He drove home to his listeners the serious and competent approach the resettlement community had to these talks. This invitation was not made on a whim, and those arriving were to be received in style. The respect these preparations demonstrated had two significant layers. On the one hand the *cabildo* council, as the traditional *resguardo* authority, was accorded their due. On the other, the issue to be debated was taken very seriously by the resettlement community, and the careful arrangements made spoke to this as well. The

resettlement community demonstrated their organisational ability and serious attitude towards their visitors, towards the topic at hand and towards *resguardo* tradition.

José Manuel drew particular attention to the flip chart the community provided for these meetings. The fact of its presence added to the image of the resettlement community as serious and competent organisers of these meetings, not only within the framework of traditional *resguardo* work, but in a general sense. In this context the flip chart represented modernity. It was a common accessory in meetings and workshops organised by the entities with which the resettlement community had intensive and prolonged contact as part of the reconstruction effort after the disaster. By supplying one for these meetings, and explicitly pointing out this fact, José Manuel presented the resettlement community as competent not only in *resguardo* procedure but in managing the non indigenous outside they now lived in. This was a not so subtle reminder to the visiting leaders from San José Tierradentro of the extensive experience the resettling community had gained in this area – and which the Tierradentro community was without.

The presence of the flip chart also indicated the resettlement community's will to write. Writing things down, and demonstrating the intention of writing them down by supplying the flip chart, added weight to the proceedings. José Manuel detailed the objectives for cooperation between the two communities as the one thing the resettlement community in particular wanted a written record of, thus further underlining the serious attitude the resettlement community took to these proceedings. The prospect of written records from the meetings talked implicitly to the deep respect for written documentation underlying Nasa *resguardo* tradition.[161] A written record of the objectives would also provide the resettlement community with a substantial, indisputable fundament for the future work with the extended *resguardo* issue.

José Manuel referred above to the resettlement community having an already established opinion on the extended *resguardo* when they invited to these meetings. By citing a clear stand, a decision made on a significant issue, he further underlined the resettlement community as competent Nasa Indians. Any decision reached in a Nasa community was the result of a process of discussion and eventual consensus. Reaching decisions in this setting required knowledge, experience and ability in community management according to the indigenous *resguardo*

---

[161] See Chapter 2 for more on the position of written *resguardo* titles in Nasa tradition and strategies of territorial defence from the 18th century onwards. See Rappaport (in particular 1988a, 1998) for further discussion of the position and role accorded the written word and particular documents in Nasa tradition.

tradition. A clear decision on a significant issue was proof of successful community management, a feat which merited and received respect among the indigenous communities of Cauca. In the context of positioning the resettlement community for the upcoming negotiations over the extended *resguardo* of San José, this decision added to their consequence, all the more so since the Tierradentro community were unable to present a united stand on this issue.

The resettlement community wanted the extended *resguardo*. From their point of view, the option of continuing to rely on the status quo did not exist. The crucial question of continued rights in damaged Tierradentro *resguardo* land was, however, closely intertwined with and in most cases inseparable from the strong ideological implications represented by continued formalised ties to Tierradentro. Above, José Manuel referred to the resettlement as 'us' and 'here', but also as 'we from the outside'. Tierradentro's position as quintessential cultural core land, and the nexus of the Nasa world, was not affected by disaster and resettlement. Tierradentro represented cultural and personal roots for the members of the resettling community. The extended *resguardo* was their prospect for establishing and maintaining lasting links with Tierradentro. In José Manuel's words, 'What is important to us is to keep in mind what is there [in Tierradentro] as well.' The inherent qualities Tierradentro represented to the resettlement community were, according to José Manuel, thus one main reason for the resettlement community's insistence on the extended *resguardo* model.[162]

Inviting the *cabildo* council to the resettlement for talks positioned the resettlement community in post disaster reality. When the *cabildo* actually travelled to the resettlement, not once but twice, this provided credence to the resettlement community's claims to be taken seriously as partners in negotiation. Through travel, the San José *cabildo* council actively acknowledged *resguardo* matters as no longer a purely Tierradentro concern. The position of travel as an expected and extensive aspect of community leadership was more pronounced in the resettlement context than it was for the Tierradentro communities. Thus, when the Tierradentro *cabildo* council actually travelled to visit the resettlement, the symbolic significance was all the more pronounced. The fact of travel was interpreted by the resettlement community as an active declaration of interest in the extended *resguardo* on behalf of the Tierradentro community.

---

[162] Espinosa (1995b:298) describes the Nasa world as being based on an idea of territoriality not dependent on actual administrative divisions and boundaries. The undisputed position of Tierradentro as inside, wherever and for however long people or communities live and work elsewhere, ties in with this perspective. She goes on to discuss the categories of inside and outside, and how border zones are reworked to become part of one or the other of these. According to my material, the resettlement is very obviously established on the outside, and colonised in order to be reclassified. Tying the resettlement to the *resguardo* structure, and directly to the San José home *resguardo*, is one strategy employed towards this end.

The extended *resguardo* model addressed the membership rights of individual families in a structure which to all intents and purposes existed only as a memory of pre disaster reality. When people in possession of such membership rights went about converting them into practicable reality, their hopes for success depended on the position from which they entered negotiations. Those living in San José de Guayabal worked to enter these negotiations as members of an established, competent and respected resettlement community, in firm possession of resettlement land. The successful organisation of these meetings was regarded as substantive proof of their accomplishment – expressed in explicit terms by those living in the resettlement, and implicitly by the Tierradentro community. After all, the *cabildo* came, saw and participated, and these indisputable facts were seen to prove recognition.

In a *resguardo*, the groundwork for any decision to be considered legitimate and respected was open discussion between members until an agreement was reached. Meetings, discussion and the production of consensus were prerequisites for any and all community actions. Meetings, discussion and consensus were further the accepted and expected procedure which identify the people living in the *resguardo* as a community, and the community as a *resguardo* community. New adaptations to *resguardo* practice were necessary for the extended *resguardo* to work, but for these to be acceptable and valid, they had to be firmly anchored in and developed through the traditional structures of community management. If the extended *resguardo* of San José were to have any realistic future, a community of exchange and discussion encompassing all members, those in the resettlement as well as those in Tierradentro, had to be established. When the resettlement community organised these meetings between the two, by then established and separate, bounded and emplaced communities of the former *resguardo* of San José, they were attempting the first steps along the path towards establishing a viable extended *resguardo* framework encompassing both.

**The extended *resguardo cabildo* council**

José Manuel became vice governor of the *resguardo* of San José in January 1996, and he was holding this position when he made the comments quoted above. His taking on the vice governor position on the *cabildo* council was, by the resettlement community, considered the first conclusive step towards the establishment of a formalised structure of leadership in an extended *resguardo* of San José. I want to spend the last part of this chapter exploring the

process of obtaining formalised representation, and the significance this achievement held, for the resettlement community of San José.

After the disaster, the resettling community of San José found themselves cut off from the *cabildo* structure. The main administration of the *resguardo* remained tied to Tierradentro and the people who stayed behind. As efficient leadership was essential to the community's ability to survive and succeed at resettlement was an accepted truth among all concerned, the community went about exploring alternative solutions.[163]

> So now, arriving here [in the resettlement], is where we start these new procedures, so that here, with even better reason, we find ways to defend the resources corresponding to us. We were saying, let us organise ourselves this way; let us go further than just naming someone to organise. It would be a provisional appointment, but let us appoint Carlos. This was done by naming him, nothing else, but in the way it was managed internally it was respected; we could work co-ordinately (Interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

José Manuel tied the crisis point here directly to the community's arrival on resettlement land. The moment the community arrived in El Rosario, they were no longer disaster victims without anchorage. They now had something to defend, land to be colonised, to be made into community anchorage and belonging – and protected as such (Appadurai 1996). In this situation, the need for organised leadership was no longer a matter of discussion and general lamentation. Now, action was taken. The *cabildo* leadership structure may have been out of reach, but people in the resettlement were still proficient and experienced *resguardo* community professionals. Through the standardised procedure of meetings, discussion and consensus construction, the resettlement community went about producing a resettlement leadership structure, and appointed Carlos Mumuqué as coordinator for the resettlement community of San José de Guayabal.

The appointment was, as José Manuel carefully pointed out above, unofficial. He underlined this repeatedly, calling it 'provisional' and 'in name only'. 'Official' in José Manuel's terms meant elected through traditional *resguardo* channels to a position on the *cabildo* council, sanctioned by official visits to the municipal capital and the sacred lake of Juan Tama, and in possession of a staff of office.[164] Finding themselves outside the *resguardo cabildo* system, the resettlement

---

[163] Findji (1992:130) describes land and leadership as the two interdependent and equally essential elements ensuring the possible survival of Indigenous communities in Colombia. The resettling community worked to achieve both, and during the months they spent in shelters they maintained representation – leadership – in the form of a land committee. The land committee's one and all important purpose was to search out and identify satisfactory resettlement land for the San Joseños.
[164] The activities and ceremonies tied to the change of the *resguardo* council every January were referred to as 'the possessioning', with address to the transfer of the staffs of office from the members of one council to the next. They would then be 'in possession' of the staffs for the following year. As part of the transfer, staffs should be ritually refreshed (Rappaport

community of San José had no way of making any appointment official. Becoming accepted, practicing members of an extended *resguardo* would be the way for resettlement community leaders gain official recognition. The extended *resguardo* as practicable reality was, however, at that point a hope for the future. The resettlement community of San José went about laying the groundwork for this practicable extended *resguardo* reality by appointing this provisional coordinator. The meetings about objectives for the extended *resguardo* discussed above were held during Carlos's year as coordinator in the resettlement. They were made possible as an explicit and direct result of this effort towards community construction in the resettlement.

When José Manuel emphasised the unofficial nature of the coordinator position created and given to Carlos, he also carefully separated external and internal aspects of this process. The position was unofficial, provisional, and in name only, in terms of standard formalised *resguardo* representation. Within the resettlement community, however, the position was significant and very real. The naming of Carlos was a momentous step in the effort to construct and consolidate the community of San José de Guayabal in El Rosario. Carlos was entrusted with the responsibilities of any appointed Nasa community leader. He was the community's spokesperson in dealings with outside entities and in charge of organising meetings, *mingas* and sundry other internal activities and matters. Respect, for the structure, the positions distributed, and the authority attached to these positions, was the basis for successful leadership and community cooperation in the traditional *resguardo* structure. José Manuel underlined this respect as present in the way the resettlement community dealt with Carlos' appointment, stating explicitly 'in the way it was managed internally it was respected.' Within the resettlement community of San José, Carlos held the authority a *cabildo* appointment would have given him. As a result, the community was in a better position to accomplish their goals; in José Manuel's words: 'We could work co-ordinately.'

While internal community construction greatly benefited from the unofficial appointment of Carlos as coordinator, this did not, as José Manuel described the situation, negate the significance of gaining official sanction for resettlement community leadership posts. Rather, the unofficial naming of Carlos was regarded as a stepping stone on the way towards formalised community and leadership structures for the resettlement community, in other words, towards

---

1992:213). See e.g. Rappaport 1998 for description and discussion of the *cabildo* council and its role in Nasa *resguardo* tradition.

the realisation of the extended *resguardo*. José Manuel described the concrete negotiations over this formalising process as a precarious struggle towards officialdom:

> We established the round table; we established the dialogue, and now, with this, we started clarifying. What were the objectives of the resettlement in wanting the post of vice governor? What were the intentions of those on the inside towards those on the outside, and the thinking of us on the outside towards the inside? There was extensive debate, so much that in the end they almost resigned [their posts on the *cabildo* council]. (….) This was a big struggle to earn the present vice governor position, and now one can say established, taken possession of, yes, legally. This was no simple matter, and even now there is disagreement over this. (….) So we are thinking, as this first success is secured, why should it not be possible to continue this relationship; this is the sum of our intentions (interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27th 1996).

The basic steps of community construction and decision making were again clearly visible here. José Manuel described the process in terms of meetings, the establishment of dialogue, and difficult discussions. The division of the former *resguardo* community of San José was also again very much in evidence, with José Manuel referring to the resettlement community as 'us on the outside' and their Tierradentro counterpart as 'them on the inside'. Those on the outside and those on the inside did, however, manage to make a decision. José Manuel carefully underlined the difficult process as well as the happy result. The resettlement community considered their effort to formalise their ties to the *resguardo* structure as at least temporarily crowned with success when they gained the post of vice governor on the *cabildo* council of San José for 1996.

José Manuel was, when he made these comments in July 1996, already insistently concerned with how best to maintain the resettlement's claim. José Manuel described the naming of Carlos as unofficial community coordinator, and his own subsequent appointment as vice governor on the *cabildo* council, as steps towards the construction of a practicable extended *resguardo* structure. The future of the resettlement community appointment to the *cabildo*, and thus the future of the inclusion of the resettlement in the extended *resguardo* of San José, depended on its ability to prove its usefulness and practicability during the year of 1996. New *cabildo* elections were to be held in December. José Manuel expressed hopes and intentions for 'continuing the relationship'. Still, with his insistence on the significance of process, the clarification of intentions, and on positioning the resettlement community, he underlined the fact that this was in no way something to be taken for granted.

The elections were indeed the first serious test where the new administrative structure – the representation of the resettlement community in the *cabildo* council – was going to have to

prove its potential as a durable solution. It passed the test. In June 1997 Alcides Musse described his role as resettlement representative on the 1997 San José *cabildo* council in relation to the rest of the council members:

> Regarding the relationship with Tierradentro, the thing is, on the part of the governor as much as on the part of my person as member of the *cabildo* council, we have come to some understandings. He has to come from there [Tierradentro] even if only one or two times a year, with all the members of the *cabildo* council so all the members come here [to the resettlement]. This is one of the agreements we have with the principal governor. My obligation is to go, to come [to Tierradentro] as well, every once in a while, to present him with some reports about what is being done here. Now, as somebody, well, as a person who is… let's say being the governor, I have complete authorisation to do everything necessary here [in the resettlement]. He is giving me complete authorisation as governor, so I deal with everything even though he is not present (interview with Alcides Musse in San José, June 22nd 1997).

Alcides described an organisational framework where the areas of responsibility traditionally falling to the *resguardo cabildo* council have been differentiated according to place and context. The day to day administration, in terms of internal as well as external matters, had been segregated according to place. The distance between the two parts of the extended *resguardo*, as well as differences in what were considered significant concerns worthy of *cabildo* attention and efficient leadership activities, made this an obvious and practical solution. The ideological and legal aspects of *resguardo* administration were, however, still firmly tied to the extended *resguardo* as one single entity, to be represented by the *cabildo* council as a whole.

The practical work of keeping up with resettlement community concerns, from *mingas* to delayed delivery of house building materials, fell to the person elected to the *cabildo* council. On the basis of the actual responsibilities he held, Alcides denominated himself governor of the resettlement community. The principal governor, i.e. the governor of the extended *resguardo* of San José, had given him what he described as complete authorisation to deal with everything to do with the resettlement – without consulting the Tierradentro members of the council. This sort of role would have been unthinkable as well as irrelevant in a traditional *resguardo* context. What was different and completely new about the extended *resguardo*, including its two physically separated and unconnected locations at considerable travel distance to each other, invited new thinking and creative solutions to daily leadership practice – of which the responsibilities accorded the *cabildo* position in the resettlement of San José was one.

The agreements Alcides underlined had come about through negotiation and discussion between the Tierradentro and resettlement members on the *cabildo* council, and they focused on travel. The Tierradentro members of the *cabildo* council committed to visiting the resettlement, and the

resettlement representative committed to visiting Tierradentro, during their year in office. The visits referred to in José Manuel's comments above were made by a previous *cabildo* council and in the initial stages of extended *resguardo* discussions. Alcides talked about agreements for travel and visits established as practice here, as something members of every *cabildo* council every year would do as a matter of course. He did, however, describe this proposed system of exchange visits between the two parts of the *cabildo* council with some trepidation. He was well aware of these visits as crucial if the extended *resguardo* were to gain currency over time and become the established taken for granted the resettlement community wanted it to be. While the sense in separating the daily tasks of administration according to place was obvious, the project of presenting and practicing the extended *resguardo* as one unit was a more challenging concept. The visits, with their required investment of time, effort and money, held considerable symbolic significance. Actual travel and visiting was consistently regarded as practical proof of commitment to the common project of the extended *resguardo*. Travel validated the relationship with this concrete other as significant.

The Tierradentro members of the extended *resguardo* continued electing their *cabildo* council according to established practice, and as all but one member of the council resided in Tierradentro, the council could continue its work much the way it had before the disaster. Travel in the resettlement had come to be seen as constitutive and essential, a given as well as a virtue, and particularly so in the context of community leadership.[165] People in the resettlement regarded their attitude as a direct consequence of their resettlement experience and described it by contrasting it with the way they had regarded this whilst living in Tierradentro. From a Tierradentro perspective, travel, and particularly *cabildo* travel, had been more of a tiresome disturbance, taking attention away from the internal *resguardo* matters the *cabildo* was charged with managing, and people in the resettlement referred to this thinking still being prevalent among those who had stayed on there. From this perspective, the travel required by extended *resguardo* practice represented change. The visits, requiring an investment of effort, money and time, made the extended *resguardo* real and immediate for the Tierradentro *cabildo* members.

Travel was only one of many adaptations made by the resettlement members of the extended *resguardo*. The resettlement community now elected one person to do the work formerly taken care of by a *cabildo* council numbering five to ten members. Their inclusion as members of the

---

[165] See Chapter 6 for a discussion of resettlement leadership understood in terms of travel practice.

extended *resguardo* of San José entitled this person to a position on the extended *resguardo* council, but it did not affect internal matters of community organisation. Carlos did the work of governor in the resettlement community in 1995, before official *resguardo* sanction was established. When José Manuel held the responsibility during 1996, and Alcides in 1997, they were both formally members of the San José *cabildo* council. Within the resettlement community, all three saw to the considerable task of keeping the construction of community, and the colonising of place on track.

The resettlement community worked insistently towards, and managed to secure, the official and formalised inclusion of their representative on the San José *cabildo* council. They secured inclusion, but not the right to one specific position on the council. José Manuel held the vice governorship of San José in 1996, while Alcides was given the lesser position of commissary on the council. This was not considered indicative of a change in status for the resettlement community. The positions on the council were traditionally distributed according to the age and prior experience of the elected members.[166] This was established and accepted practice, and in a Tierradentro setting indicated the different roles of members in the running of the resgaurdo administration. In the resettlement, the work and responsibility of the elected resettlement representative was not affected by whatever position this person was holding in the *cabildo* council. José Manuel described above the accomplishment of gaining *cabildo* representation, without in any way referring to his own position on this council. The crucial and significant matter he underlined was the community's right to inclusion. Alcides, in describing his work as community representative, referred to himself as governor, not commissary. Both did the same work in the resettlement community, held the same position of formal authority, and as José Manuel commented with regard to the naming of Carlos above: 'In the way it was managed internally it was respected; we could work co-ordinately.' The significance of *cabildo* representation was gaining formalised sanction for this already existing respect.

The legal and ideological significance of *resguardo* membership was tied to the extended *resguardo* as a whole. This was to a large degree an implicit resource, and one admission to the formalised structure of *resguardo* membership and administration made available to the resettlement community. It was significant and sought after by the resettling community as a

---

[166] José Manuel had extensive leadership experience and had held the position of governor on the *cabildo* council of San José before the disaster. Alcides was younger, had no prior experience on the *cabildo* council, and was elected to the council in 1997 mainly on the basis of his education and work as a health promoter in the resettlement community.

tool in positioning and navigating resettlement successfully. The post on the *cabildo* council provided the resettlement community with their desired foothold within. As accepted *resguardo* members, disputes over rights in *resguardo* land would stay just that, internal disputes over rights in *resguardo* land. Continued official inclusion in the *resguardo* structure affirmed the resettling community's position as an indigenous community with roots in Tierradentro. This was immediately useful in the community's dealings with various outside entities.[167] As an ideological resource, *resguardo* membership, as the emblem of indigenous identity, tradition and belonging, was crucial to the continued construction of place and community in resettlement. This instant recognition and positioning as official Indians also provided the basic premises for dealings with the Colombian state and possible access to the monetary resources destined for indigenous communities.[168] Holding a post on the *cabildo* council of San José, being included as members of the extended *resguardo*, provided the resettlement community with effective tools in their work to establish San José de Guayabal in the post disaster landscape of Cauca.[169]

What emerged here was a clear impression of how the traditional *resguardo* structure was reworked and adapted to serve the needs of a fragmented post disaster reality. As the former *resguardo* community was compartmentalised and differentiated, *cabildo* council positions were accordingly tied into several, not one, interpretative contexts. Spatial belonging and community anchorage was constructed separately in the two localities now encompassed by the extended *resguardo*, the resettlement and the Tierradentro area. What the extended *resguardo*, with its extended *resguardo* council, provided in this situation was an opportunity to maintain ties and membership in a structure encompassing both.[170] The legal framework of the extended *resguardo* community was attempted realised as practicable reality through travel patterns and

---

[167] For discussion and empirical examples of forms this usefulness might take, see the discussion in Chapter 8 of how the Tóez community use their indigenous status as a resource when navigating the resettlement landscape.

[168] The distribution of the 'transferencias', funds the indigenous *resguardos* were expecting to receive from the central government, was accorded much attention in the discussions surrounding the practicalities of the extended *resguardo*. See Avirama and Márquez (1994:91) and Rappaport and Gow (1997) for the background to, and Gow and Rappaport (2002) for the continuation of, this discussion.

[169] This focus on the symbolic elements involved in the construction of the resettlement community would tie in well with Cohen's (1985) emphasis on the symbolic and cultural as crucial to community defence.

[170] An interesting aside here is the tension between locations and relations as basis for anthropological inquiry (e.g. Olwig and Hastrup 1997). While the resettlement community and Tierradentro emerge as established physical locations to be practiced, settled and travelled between, the extended *resguardo* of San José might be described as existing primarily in terms of relations. Two significant locations are imagined as one unit with basis in the shared past and territorial roots of its members. The structure is travelled, but, more significantly, the structure is constantly relevant to everyday discourse and imagination (Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, b; Clifford 1997; Long 1992a, b, c; de Certeau 1984; Tilley 1994).

*cabildo* structure, social relations as well as social imagination – the last particularly evident in the way the resettlement community aimed to position themselves (Amit 2002).

The hard and consistent work of making the extended *resguardo* practicable reality was realised in the effort to contain and structure shifting interpretations of insideness and outsideness, significance and position and to make the result emerge as coherent. When the resettlement community chose the name San José de Guayabal, they were situating themselves within this extended *resguardo* framework. More than anything they were, however, underlining their desire for and intent to tie their community firmly to this framework.

The extended *resguardo* model in itself did not solve the problems of practical community life or membership rights after the disaster. What it did was provide a framework within which affected communities and *resguardos* could go about constructing practicable reality in the post disaster landscape. The process, the adaptations and efforts made, were very much and by all concerned regarded as a work in progress. The significance and importance accorded this work in progress was unmistakable, particularly in San José de Guayaval. The extended *resguardo* as practicable reality provided people in the resettlement community with an avenue to officially frame and formalise the two overriding concerns of resettlement life, here as expressed by José Manuel: 'As I told you already: we are never going to leave, much less let go of the identity of who we are' (interview with José Manuel Campo in San José, July 27<sup>th</sup> 1996). Land, in the resettlement and in Tierradentro, and community belonging, as in legal, ideological and practical membership, were all tied into and here attempted expressed through the extended *resguardo*.

# Chapter 8 – Relevant others in resettlement

Immediately after the disaster of Páez, the surviving members of the community of Tóez were quartered in a school building in Inzá. Their *resguardo* had been completely wiped out by the flooding. Staying in Tierradentro was not an option for them.[171] The community had to find a different solution for the future, and discussion ran high. Jorge Inseca, one of the leaders in the community, described this first period in terms of a search for significant others. The community of Tóez went about exploring their options for resettlement and the future by sounding out possible contacts among the various visitors to the shelters in Inzá.

> [The community of Tóez] stayed close to two months, two months in Inzá, looking into what was to be done, what they were going to do with us; there were no options. (…) Well, during this two months long stretch, an opportunity opened with Manuel Santos Poto. He came to us, there, in Inzá, and as he did, I proposed that… I proposed to Don Victoriano [the then governor of the *resguardo* of Tóez] let us talk with Manuel Santos Poto, to see what possibilities exist, for the northern part of Cauca. (…) We made the suggestion to Manuel Santos Poto. Would it be possible to acquire land in the northern Cauca? Not to invade, but so that the state buys it for us; we are going to demand that the state purchases land for us. So Manuel Santos said, well, I am going to talk with the people there [indigenous communities in the North]. So Manuel Santos actually arrived and talked with the community here [in Caloto], and the community accepted. Firstly, they accepted us, saying, there is a place where temporary shelters can be built. And then, from there onwards, we will help you to conduct the arrangements for purchasing land (Interview with Jorge Inseca in Tóez, August 4th 1996).

Jorge presented the community of Tóez as actively making a conscious effort to direct their own future. The people from Tóez needed a place to resettle; they needed new land. As there seemed to be 'no options', as Jorge described it, the community went about exploring options themselves. When Manuel Santos Poto arrived in the shelters, they asked him, as a leader from the indigenous communities in the northern part of Cauca Province, commonly referred to as 'the North', what possibilities might exist for resettlement there. Manuel Santos Poto agreed to inquire on behalf of the community of Tóez. Jorge underlined the effort Manuel Santos went to. He travelled to visit with the *resguardo* communities living around Caloto, and he presented the matter to them.[172] Their reply was positive. The Nasa *resguardos* around Caloto invited the community of Tóez to the area with open arms, offering land for the immediate construction of shelters and promising help and support in acquiring land for permanent settlement in the area.

---

[171] Their situation was thus very different from the one the San José community found themselves in. The consequence of the fact that all *resguardo* members from Tóez were forced to leave Tierradentro was that when the community resettled, they could do this as a traditional *resguardo* community with the governing *cabildo* structure intact. Resettlement was a matter of re-rooting an already organised and structured community in a new place. The challenges discussed for San José in Chapter 7 were thus largely irrelevant in Tóez.

[172] Travel as practical demonstration of commitment and invested effort, and the considerable significance travel is accorded in the resettlement context, has been explored in Chapter 6.

The 'opportunity that opened' was a visit by one leader from the North to the Inzá shelters. The community explored this opportunity, a relationship was established, and as the direct result, two years later the community of Tóez was building their new houses on government-bought land outside Caloto. Resettlement was, as Jorge presented it, from the very beginning conceptualised as a networking effort by the community of Tóez. Instead of sitting and waiting for matters to be organised for them, the Tóez community was establishing contacts, evaluating their options and planning their resettlement future in terms of relevant partnerships. In this chapter, I want to explore the resettlement project of the community of Tóez in terms of these partnerships.

The community of Tóez worked consistently to identify and establish relationships with relevant others in order to direct and advance their resettlement project. In the following I am going to concentrate on two particular events from my fieldwork period. By looking at the different actors present and the ways they related in these concrete situations, I hope to shed some light on the partnerships so essential to the Tóez resettlement project, as well as the complex landscape in which they navigated these partnerships. The community of Tóez worked consistently to position and reposition themselves, explicitly as well as implicitly, in this resettlement landscape. Their aim throughout was to direct and advance their reconstruction project, constructing the resettlement of Tóez outside Caloto as conceptual representation and as physical reality.

The first significant 'other' identified and established by the community of Tóez after the disaster of Páez was, as described above by Jorge, the Nasa communities in the North. The first part of this chapter will focus on this relationship as it was highlighted at the commemorative march of the El Nilo massacre. The Nilo massacre was one of the milestones for the indigenous communities in this area in their ongoing struggle to win rights in land. While the community of Tóez was visibly present and participating in the march, the way they went about doing so was directed towards implicating them only up to a certain point. Their careful and well considered participation will be my point of departure in exploring the ways the resettling community of Tóez sought to position themselves as one Nasa community among others, part of a group but still with a particular status, in the North.

While the Nilo march was indicative of the way the community of Tóez sought to position themselves with regard to the tradition for indigenous activism in the northern Cauca region, my second case, the Cultural Fair organised in the community, served to highlight another crucial resettlement partnership. The initiative for this event was taken by the group of mainly mestizo, university-educated teachers, who had worked at the regional boarding school in Tóez before the disaster and had decided to accompany the community to Caloto. Through this alliance between the indigenous community and the teachers, the community of Tóez worked to get a secondary school in their resettlement village constructed, staffed, and approved by the government. The Cultural Fair was a week long celebration of this partnership between community and teachers, where the school and the new curriculum was presented to community and outside visitors. By focusing on the discourse underlying the school and the Cultural Fair, as well as the contents of the Fair agenda, I want to explore the effort made in Tóez to direct the future by shaping education to fit their image of resettlement life as a mediation between indigenousness and modernity, where the two were conceived as aspects of each other instead of counterparts.

**The massacre and march of the Nilo**

On the 16th of December, 1991, twenty Nasa Indians were killed at El Nilo, about six kilometres outside the town of Caloto. The issue at stake was conflict over rights in land between the indigenous communities in the northern Cauca and big land owners of the region.[173] The community occupying the Nilo land had been gathered for a communal assembly when the assassins hit. Old people, women and children were among the dead (Avirama and Márques 1994:90). The Nilo massacre came to be one of the legendary sacrifices of the indigenous effort to repossess land in Cauca.

Five years later, on December 16th 1996, a march was held to commemorate the Nilo massacre. The purpose of the march was to transfer the remains of the deceased from the Caloto cemetery to a specially designed resting place at El Nilo. The march was thus a funerary procession. It was also a protest march. It was organised by the *resguardo* communities from the area around Caloto. They were the ones to have been directly affected by the massacre. The government still

---

[173] The 'Valle de Cauca' is the department to the north of Cauca, but in terms of agricultural regions, 'Valle de Cauca' refers to the flat, fertile land well suited for industrial agriculture, stretching into and encompassing the northern part of the Cauca department. The main antagonists of the land conflict in the Northern Cauca – the North – were thus commonly described as indigenous communities in the North and big Valle de Cauca land owners.

had not complied with promises made to the survivors. Those participating in the march used this opportunity to make their grief and frustration public, and to underline their continued firm stand on the issue at stake during the occupation of the Nilo as well as at the commemorative march: The fight for indigenous rights in land in the North.

People gathered outside the Caloto cemetery around nine in the morning to attend the removal of the caskets. Most of those present came from Nasa *resguardos* in the North, Tóez among them. Representatives from the indigenous organisations were also in attendance, along with several Catholic priests.[174] As the procession was organised, a big banner was brought around to form the front. It was wide enough to take up more than half the road, and only the heads and shoes of those carrying it showed. On it was written the names of those killed in the Nilo massacre. In the centre was a painting depicting two people – one dead, with flowers growing from the body, and one kneeling alongside, crying. Behind this banner came the caskets with flowers on top, high up on the shoulders of those carrying them so they could be seen above the banner. After the caskets everyone else followed, and as the front group started moving, the gathering stretched out into a long procession for the six kilometre walk to El Nilo.

The walk from the cemetery in Caloto to the specially designed resting place at El Nilo took almost three hours. After leaving the faded colonial gentility of Caloto, the procession proceeded to pass industrial farms producing pineapple and sugarcane on a large scale, clusters of houses belonging to mestizo and afrocolombian peasants surrounded by their gardens and fields, the occasional tree, and the resettlement of Tóez. The way different people and types of land holdings succeeded each other along the route was typical of the North. The indigenous *resguardos* in this region did not share borders the way they do in Tierradentro, but sat like *resguardo* islands interspaced with peasant and industrial farm holdings. Around noon, the procession arrived at the site of the former land occupation and massacre, the Nilo.

The front section of the procession, with the main banner and the caskets, focused directly on the aspects of loss, mourning and the coming reburial. The political dimension of the Nilo march was verbalised on the many placards and banners carried behind the caskets. The discursive context the various banner messages presented was that of the indigenous movement, the

---

[174] See Chapter 2 for introducing notes on these various indigenous organisations, their history and further references to the development and work of the indigenous movement in Cauca and Colombia. The AICN, the local section of CRIC in the North, had been and were still fronting the land repossession work of the area (see also e.g. Avirama and Marques 1994; Findi 1992).

struggle to repossess land, and specifically this repossession effort as experienced by the indigenous communities of the North region over the preceding thirty years. The history of land invasion, occupation, confrontations with land owners, and killings – as exemplified in the Nilo massacre – was the backdrop and the focus of the march, reflected in the different messages.[175] The placard carried by members of the *resguardo* of Huellas was characteristic, reading "Your deaths cause us pain, but we continue fighting, following your example. *Resguardo* Huellas".[176] The Huellas *resguardo* chose in this setting to draw attention to the struggle, the sacrifices made for the all important cause, and the solidarity demonstrated by the survivors as they continue the fight for which their comrades had died. The Huellas *resguardo* saw no need to use placard space to specify what they are fighting for. The cause was, in this context, considered self evident.

The discourse of indigenous politics reflected on the march banners was one distinctive feature at the Nilo commemoration. Another distinctive feature was the consistent use of names. The placard brought by the *resguardo* of Huellas included the name of the *resguardo* in a prominent position. People from the *resguardo* of Jambalo brought a placard where the full top half was given over to presenting not only the name of the *resguardo*, but the organisation in one specific *vereda* of the *resguardo* which brought this specific message to the march.[177] Being present at the march carried as much of a political message as what was actually written on the placards. Announcing this presence in writing for all to see proved a further level of commitment. The *resguardos* and organisations present were pledging themselves publicly to the cause. In a situation where masked assassins killed to order without revealing themselves or their employers, the significance of marching in person while carrying signed protests and political slogans became all the more dramatic. The indigenous communities and organisations at the Nilo march demonstrated their contempt for anonymous killings by going to the opposite extreme. They announced their presence and opinions in writing and marched through the area of conflict carrying these messages for all to see.

For the people who had suffered loss at the Nilo massacre, and who were now organising the commemorative march, the issues of indigenousness and land struggle were inseparable. It was

---

[175] This history of social unrest and violence in the region was one reason why CNK and CRIC both strongly advised against Nasa communities resettling in this area after the disaster of Páez (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Gow and Rappaport 2002:52).

[176] My translation. "Tu muerte nos duele pero seguimos luchando, siguiendo tu ejemplo. *Resguardo* Huellas."

[177] The text read "The Juvente movement, *resguardo* of Jambaló, vereda Valles (…), present at the fifth anniversary of the assassinated comrades (…)" My translation. "El movimiento juvente, *resguardo* Jambaló, vereda Valles (…), presente en el quinto aniversario de los compañeros asesinados (…)."

on the basis of their claim to ethnic identity and roots in land the indigenous communities of the North occupied land to gain repossession for the *resguardos*. Land rights were regarded as the source, as well as the aim, of Indianness and, thus by extension, of the indigenous movement. The CRIC motto, 'unity, land and culture', reflected this thinking, and in the North it was taken literally. Accompanying the caskets from Caloto to the Nilo was for the Nasa communities in the North a matter of demonstrating continued commitment to the cause – indigenous land repossession – by publicly claiming indigenousness and protesting injustice. The seriousness of the issue at hand was in no doubt. This march was organised in commemoration of a very real and very recent massacre.

Once at the Nilo, the coffins were lowered, a megaphone was brought out, and people arranged themselves with their banners and placards in a circle around the caskets. A group of musicians present opened the proceedings. The appeals followed. The governor of the *resguardo* community most directly affected by the massacre was the first to talk. Then, representatives from other Nasa *resguardos* in the North followed. All those taking their turn with the megaphone conveyed their messages within the discourse of indigenous activism and land repossession of the area. The megaphone was eventually handed over to the two priests present, and the mass could start.

**The community of Tóez at the Nilo march**

When I got into Caloto on the morning of the day of the march, I found the people from Tóez gathered on the bridge outside the cemetery. Quite a few members of the community had made the effort to attend the Nilo march. While we waited for the caskets to be brought forward, the chief topic of conversation was, predictably, the coming march. One person after another made sure to tell me how good it was that so many people from Tóez were present and how important it was to them, both as individuals and as representatives for the *resguardo* community, to be part of the march. The attention the Tóez contingent paid to the fact of their own presence at the Nilo march made it obvious that this was not something to be taken for granted.

The community of Tóez arrived at the Nilo march prepared, bringing not only a placard but also a big banner, both painted specifically for this occasion. Their banner was very visible from the front of the procession, showing above people, caskets and all other placards. On it was written in big, bold, easily read letters, "Tóez lives on, present," and then in smaller letters in a corner,

"victims."[178] Announcing presence as an aspect of the printed messages carried at the Nilo march has already been discussed above. The community of Tóez did, however, go further than any others with this, with this big, conspicuous banner in its entirety dedicated to presenting those carrying it. As newcomers in the region, it was all the more important for the community of Tóez to proclaim unmistakable and vivid presence in the Nilo march. The most significant message the Tóez contingent brought to the march was thus, according to the unequivocal emphasis it was given on this banner, the fact of their presence.

The community of Tóez committed strongly to visible presence at the Nilo march. They then went about quietly but carefully contextualising that presence. Their reason for not having been present at the time of the massacre was as significant to them as their reason for being present at the time of the march. The 'victims' added to the corner of their banner provided all in attendance with a concise explanation of their situation. 'Victims' was in this context understood and accepted shorthand for 'victims of the disaster of Páez'. The community of Tóez were carefully pointing out the disaster as the specific circumstance which had forced them to leave Tierradentro and look for resettlement land elsewhere.

When 'elsewhere' for the people from Tóez was the North, this had been, as Jorge described above, on the explicit invitation from the Nasa communities already living in this area. These Nasa *resguardos* had been directly involved in the resettlement project of the Tóez community from the moment they decided to provide them with a place to construct temporary shelters and support in finding land to resettle on in the region. At the time of the Nilo march, this partnership had developed into an alliance both parties found beneficial and interesting, focusing on education and cultural exchange as well as interests in land. When the community of Tóez cited their status as 'victims', the implicit reference encompassed the past success as well as the future potential of their partnership with other Nasa *resguardos* in the North.

While 'victims' provided the background reference to the community's arrival in the area, the way the announcement of presence in the main text was phrased brought attention to experiences the community saw themselves as sharing with those affected by the Nilo massacre. The Tóez community did, as everybody at the Nilo march were made aware, clearly 'live on' in spite of having been severely victimised by disaster. The parallel to the Nilo massacre and the

---

[178] My translation. "Tóez vive, presente, damnificados".

152

challenge of constructing a viable future after suffering heavy loss was an obvious association. Tóez and the *resguardos* affected by the Nilo massacre had all suffered and faced adversity. They were all marching on that day as visible proof of their commitment to not giving in, demonstrating their will as well as ability to survive.

'Tóez lives on' could also be read as a statement to the significance the community of Tóez placed in their Tierradentro past. While Tóez presented themselves at the march as a Nasa community established in the North, they also carefully underlined their continued close ties to Tierradentro. Here, they stated their intention to 'live on' as a community of Tierradentro Nasa in the North. This served to set them apart in their present local context, underlining their position as included but differently so, and pointed to their background as an incontrovertible and unproblematic basis for this construction of difference. The community of Tóez presented themselves as Nasa Indians committed to their new lives as a *resguardo* in the North, but with a different, and significantly different, background.

The placard the Tóez community brought to the Nilo march was in size and appearance much more in tune with the majority of messages in the procession. It was a piece of white cardboard with felt pen writing, and one had to be relatively close to be able to read it. While this placard also informed the reader as to who was carrying it, the main focus of the message was the Nilo massacre and its commemoration: "Community of Tóez crying out for justice in the face of the Nilo massacre; we protest the violation of the right to life."[179] The Tóez community chose to draw attention to two issues here. Their first point centred on the need for justice in the aftermath of crisis. The Nilo occupants had received death threats; the different parties to the conflict were well known, and there were survivors able to provide information. The local indigenous authorities felt certain as to who was to behind the massacre, but they felt the state did little to punish the guilty (Avirama and Márques 1994:90). When the community of Tóez 'cry out for justice', they protested the authorities' lack of action in bringing the culprits to justice, as well as their failure to comply with the promises made to the survivors immediately following the massacre of the Nilo. On the topic of the state complying with promises made in the aftermath of crisis, the parallel to the situation the Tóez community found themselves in in

---

[179] My translation: "Comunidad de Tóez, clamando justicia frente a la masacre del Nilo. Protestamos por la violación del derecho a la vida."

resettlement was obvious. In both cases, the state promised land to the survivors, and in both cases part, but not the full measure, of this promise had been fulfilled.

The second matter to which the community of Tóez drew attention was that of 'the right to life'. Protesting the killings was an obvious general theme of the Nilo march. The Tóez community joined in condemning the massacre as an appalling atrocity. They did, however, base this condemnation in generalised morality, describing the Nilo massacre in apolitical terms as a 'violation of the right to life'. The community of Tóez had ample experience with violence as a political strategy from Tierradentro. In the Tierradentro setting violence had not, however, been something solely directed by others at Indians. Indigenous guerrilla groups, non-indigenous guerrilla groups, the army and various drug networks had been involved, and their representatives in the region had been Indians and non Indians alike.[180] When the community of Tóez spoke out against violence in the general rather than in the particular at the Nilo march, they avoided commenting on the particular case of land invasion at the root of the Nilo massacre, and at the same time their phrasing gave this outcry relevance for their own experience from Tierradentro.

The community of Tóez directed their carefully phrased public outrage against violence and in support of justice. They were loudly eloquent on moral rather than political issues. They constructed their very visible presence and participation in the commemorative march of the Nilo massacre around issues they perceived as forming common ground between their own experiences and those of the Nasa communities in the North; concern for justice, suffering and indigenousness.

As the reburial mass concluding the programme of the Nilo march got under way, the Tóez contingent quietly withdrew. The yearly *cabildo* elections in the community were scheduled for that afternoon, and people had to hurry back to the resettlement if they were to be on time.

**Land and indigenousness at the Nilo march**
The Tóez community was, of course, a new arrival in the North. At the time of the Nilo massacre, the people from Tóez were still living on their *resguardo* land in Tierradentro, without plans or incentive to move elsewhere. From a Tierradentro perspective, indigenous

---

[180] For references on guerrilla activity and violence in Tierradentro, see Chapter 2.

identity was a fact of life and provided little reason for ideological contention or even attention. The struggle to repossess land in the North was viewed from the distance of a predominately Nasa region where the *resguardos* were in possession of long standing, well established and uncontested land titles. When Jorge Inseca described the main concerns of the Tóez Tierradentro *cabildo*, he focused on education, infrastructure and improved farming techniques. The significant concern had been bringing modernity to the *resguardo* community. Ethnic consciousness building or rights in land were largely ignored as having no practical relevance whatsoever. The distance between Tóez, Tierradentro and the happenings in the Caloto area were at the time perceived as considerable, in terms of geography as well as ideological and practical outlook.

By the time of the Nilo march, the community of Tóez' point of departure had changed drastically. They were now living on *resguardo* land close to the site of the Nilo massacre. Their main allies in establishing themselves here were, as Jorge described in the introduction to this chapter, the Nasa *resguardos* in the North. Their close, continual and crucial partners in resettlement were those same Indians who had been directly affected by the Nilo massacre in 1991 and who were the main organisers of the commemorative march in 1996. In the face of this, the people from Tóez, as an indigenous community making its home outside Caloto, could no longer maintain their previous distance. They thus went to great lengths to proclaim their presence at the Nilo march.[181] The other participants at the march, their new neighbours and their partners in resettlement, were proclaiming their ethnicity and commitment to the indigenous cause for the world to see. The community of Tóez were proclaiming the same, albeit with certain reservations, for the other participants to see. Being present at the Nilo march was mandatory for the Nasa communities of the North and, thus, for all who wanted to be included as such.

The quality of essentialised Nasaness accorded the Tierradentro landscape was also ascribed the Nasa communities there. Being Nasa from Tierradentro was interpreted as being in possession of a particularly authentic brand of indigenousness not achievable for Nasa Indians elsewhere. When the resgaurdo communities in the northern Cauca region invited people from Tóez to

---

[181] The crucial significance accorded physical presence has come into focus in a variety of contexts in this thesis. In Chapters 3 and 4 presence is discussed as a fundamental demonstration of commitment to land and resettlement project. In Chapter 6 and to some extend in Chapter 7, the significance of travelling to be present at meetings and arrangements is explored. Demonstrable presence is underlined as the basis for land occupation, resettlement, and in this case demonstrating commitment to the indigenous cause.

resettle in their home area, this essentialised ethnicity was a significant motivation (Rappaport and Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002). When the people from Tóez implicitly emphasised their Tierradentro background at the Nilo march they both underlined their claim to the Nasaness shared by all indigenous communities present and also carefully set themselves apart. The Tóez people were not only Nasa, but Tierradentro Nasa. Not only general background, but the ethnic essence they were seen to have access to as part of this background, was brought forth to justify their claim to the right of being included differently. Formerly ignored indigenous identity turned in resettlement into capital, to be invested in public and community relations' efforts. It was also a significant navigational tool when positioning the community in this area where Nasaness was the exception and not the order of the day. As the community of Tóez reinterpreted their indigenous identity, it was no longer perceived solely as a matter of inheritance or essence to be taken for granted. It was now also very much a resource to be actively employed within and by the community (Clifford 1997:46; Smadar and Swedenburg 1996).

Being in possession of land to make a living from and having *resguardo* titles to this land might have been a taken for granted in Tóez Tierradentro, but in resettlement this was no longer so. Gaining land and rights in land was the point and premise of resettlement. It was also the main focus of indigenous politics in the North. The people from Tóez entered the project of resettlement and their partnership with the *cabildos* in the North with clear views on what would be acceptable routes towards obtaining resettlement land. These views were significant enough that Jorge, in his description of the initial contact between the Tóez community and Manuel Santos Poto above, underlined them:

> We made the suggestion to Manuel Santos Poto. Would it be possible to acquire land in the northern Cauca? Not to invade, but so that the state buys it for us; we are going to demand that the state purchases land for us.

Possible resettlement in the North was here presented as a question of the availability of land, and the one rider significant enough to be mentioned at this point concerned land invasions. The community of Tóez expected the state to pay for their resettlement land, and they carefully underlined their disinclination to invade. Their query about possible resettlement, directed to the Nasa communities already living in this area, was directly formulated to situate them in relation to this one issue. The community of Tóez was asking whether they would be welcome to resettle in the North on their own terms, and whether the Nasa communities in this area would be interested to support them in this endeavour. As help and support was indeed promised and

delivered, the community of Tóez found themselves, two and a half years later, participating in the Nilo march. They came to the march as one of many Nasa communities living in the North, and used their banner and placard to situate themselves in their new local landscape.

The Colombian state had signed agreements and publicly proclaimed their promise to finance resettlement land. Tóez was only one of many Tierradentro communities facing the need to resettle. All communities involved were in this situation as a direct result of natural disaster. Resettlement after the disaster of Páez was not related to local discord over land rights or long term political disputes.[182] The matter here was disaster relief, and the people resettling were forced into this from necessity – as the community of Tóez were so carefully underlining on their banner during the Nilo march. Media attention, international as well as national, and NGO presence in the area were also very much part of the post disaster scene. Tóez had leaders willing and able to front the resettlement effort in the community of Tóez. Even if they had limited direct experience with the inner workings of the indigenous movement, they were in possession of considerable political experience from the *cabildo* as well as from the municipality of Tierradentro.[183] The community of Tóez felt well equipped to deal with the state authorities on the matter of resettlement land. In this situation the community of Tóez felt secure of their official sponsorship. They could insist on the complete lack of conflict between the community and all parties involved in the conflict over land in the North, underlining their resettlement project as apart, as completely different, from the ongoing struggle.

Even with their insistence on being disaster victims resettling with no relation to the complex tradition and history of land politics in the North, the very land on which the community of Tóez resettled was mired in this history. Their particular piece of the North had, in fact, played a part in the Nilo massacre and its aftermath.

> Interviewer: The first question is whether, to some degree it can be said that the purchase of this land fell within an agreement set up after the Nilo massacre?
> Jorge: No.
> Interviewer: No? I thought this was related.
> Jorge: This purchase of land has to do with the disaster, the avalanche. Here [among the Nasa communities in the North], well yes, the land is part of the expectation after the Nilo massacre.
> Interviewer: In what way?

---

[182] The CNK programme for resettling Nasa communities after the disaster of Páez makes a special point of this, underlining that land bought for resettlement should not in any way be part of or included in areas already promised to other communities under different previous agreements (Wilches-Chaux 1995b). This was one of the reasons why CNK opposed the community of Tóez when they wanted to resettle in the North.

[183] The first Nasa Indian to have been elected major of the municipality of Páez (in 1992), Ableardo Guejia, lived in and had resettled with the community of Tóez.

Jorge: In that they [the Nasa communities in the North] wanted to repossess this, all this, get hold of it. But as the big land owners did not want to negotiate with the Incora, as the Incora pays them like – (pause).[184] And we presented the alternative to the owners here, that CNK could buy for money, so this was the solution in this case (Interview with Jorge Inseca in Tóez, August 4th 1996). [185]

Jorge had not seen this matter as significant to his account of his own life and work as a leader in Tóez, and commented upon it only as the result of a direct enquiry. When the connection between the Nilo massacre and the land on which the community of Tóez had resettled was questioned, his initial reaction was a very clear negation. As the conversation moved along, it became obvious that what he was saying no to was not the link, but the idea of the Tóez community being involved in the sort of activities surrounding land repossession which were the backdrop to the Nilo massacre. Jorge underlined the status of the Tóez community as disaster victims. They were present in the North as the result of the disaster. They were now the owners of previously disputed land in this region, but they claimed this ownership on the basis of a transaction between CNK and the landowners where the land owners had entered willingly, and the land had been bought and paid for with money. These points were crucial to Jorge and the rest of the Tóez community, differentiating their situation and their claim to their land from that of other Nasa communities in the North.

This difference held great and crucial importance for the people from Tóez. For them, the significant matter here was procedure, the means employed to gain rights in land. This land was paid for and not invaded, distinguishing their approach from that of their Nasa neighbours in the North. To the Tóez community this legitimated their presence and possession. Seen from the point of view of their Nasa neighbours, this particular land had been promised to the survivors of the Nilo massacre. The end result of the Tóez resettlement project was this land being brought under Nasa control. In that sense, inviting the community of Tóez to resettle in the North could well and might well be regarded as an unqualified success of the indigenous land repossession effort in the North.

The points the community of Tóez chose to address during the Nilo march were intended to include and situate the *resguardo* in this to them new local context. When they spoke up on the significance of the state complying with promises made in the aftermath of crisis, this easily

---

[184] The Incora (Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform) did not compensate land owners with actual money, which made the land owners very unwilling to enter these exchanges.
[185] Interviewer here is Joanna Rappaport. See Chapter 1 for explanations and comments on recorded interviews quoted in this thesis.

included the agreements signed after the Nilo massacre as well as the promises of more farmland for their resettlement. Condemning violence and killing as a political strategy was relevant against the backdrop of recent guerrilla warfare in Tierradentro as well as in the context of land repossessions. Their self ascription as victims on the banner was, in spite of its specific connotations to the disaster of Páez, also a reference to shared suffering. Whether this suffering came about as the result of natural disaster or as the result of a politically motivated massacre, the experience of loss and mourning was shared. The community of Tóez had not been present in the North at the time of the Nilo massacre, and they were clear and definite in the distance they sought to create to some aspects of what defined indigenousness for their new Nasa neighbours. They participated in the march commemorating the Nilo massacre with all this in mind, but with the explicit ambition of presenting themselves as a Nasa *resguardo* community with local connections and insider, even if particular insider, status.

**The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education**

The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education was the result of a particular resettlement partnership between the Nasa community of Tóez and a group of teachers who had taught at the boarding school in Tóez, Tierradentro before the disaster. The school was run by the teachers, but in and for the resettling community. From the point of view of the community, having an institution offering secondary education in the resettlement was seen as a great advantage. It made it possible for more children in the resettlement to go to school longer for a more affordable price, and it gave the community the opportunity to have considerable say in what was being taught. It made the resettlement more attractive for long term settlement; it was an accomplishment to impress outsiders and attract more support to various other community projects, and it was considered a desirable addition to the educational opportunities in the North by offering not only education, but Ethno-education.

The teachers at the regional boarding school located in Tóez Tierradentro had, along with everyone in Tóez, been hard hit in the disaster of Páez.[186] They lost not only their homes but also their work place. Plans were being made to rebuild this educational institution elsewhere in the Tierradentro area, but some teachers chose instead to accompany the community of Tóez to resettle outside Caloto. The teachers were mainly mestizo, university educated people whose

---

[186] 'El Internado Escolar de Tóez, Tierradentro'. The school, opened in 1962, had originally been constructed as part of the state effort towards rehabilitation in areas hard hit by the violence of the 1950s. It was the only school in rural upper Tierradentro offering the Bachillerato (university entrance level examinations).

main connection to the Nasa and Tierradentro before the disaster had been as the place they had happened to be working at the time. To construct a place for themselves away from Tierradentro, they set about working in close partnership with the community of Tóez to make the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education reality.

One of the teachers who was constructing his new house in the resettlement of Tóez alongside the community was Felipe Morales. He explained the decision he and his wife, also a teacher, had come to as follows:

> Well, because I think the bonds we had were large and strong, because of what we had suffered. Because the things we endured, those in the community endured as well, living there in the village together with us. So we felt this need to continue accompanying each other here [in resettlement], and, seeing as we were able to assist each other: We, as people engaged in education; and they, as a group, a community who had, in their *cabildo*, what was now a strength. So we thought to combine our forces and continue the work here. And another thing was that here we are better off in terms of place, as this is more central, and closer to both our families. These were things making us favourably disposed, and so this was the decision. To continue, from the moment when we left [Tierradentro] and decided to come here. The community agreed with this too; they continued to support us, they accepted us, and that is how it happened (Interview with Felipe Morales in Tóez, August 5th 1996).

Felipe underlined the fellowship of shared suffering between the teachers and community as essential to the partnership between teachers and community in resettlement. Where the connection between the groups had been a purely practical one before the disaster, this occurrence forged strong bonds of common experience and laid the foundations for their close cooperation on the resettlement school project. The rest of his explanation outlined the practicalities making this partnership possible and desirable. The teachers were in possession of knowledge and experience the community saw as advantageous and wanted to keep available for their children. The teachers, on the other hand, saw Nasa community organisation and *cabildo* leadership as a resource in resettlement, providing essential makings of possible success for the resettlement school project. This approach to indigenousness as a potentially useful resource was as new in resettlement for the teachers as for the community of Tóez itself.

Felipe concluded his comments by pointing out the crucial importance of place in this context. The opportunity to relocate, from Tierradentro to Caloto, was what made committing to the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education worth the risk for these teachers. Choosing to move with the community to Caloto meant leaving secure teaching posts in an out-of-the-way corner of Cauca for temporary teaching posts in a much more central area. In Caloto, the teachers were closer to

efficient transport, to cities, and to the educational opportunities to be found only there.[187] Felipe and his wife were both also closer to their respective families. For teachers as well as community, Caloto was central and easily accessible compared to Tierradentro. When the teachers moved to Caloto, they were very aware of the fact that their hope for converting temporary teaching posts into permanent ones rested on the possible success of Tóez Centre of Ethno-education as a project of cooperation between community and educators.

Felipe's point about pooling resources to achieve something the teachers as well as the community wanted was crucial here. Their success in establishing this school could not be taken for granted. While most resettlements had a primary school, the ramifications of the Tóez project were wider. The teachers were the core of the difference. They were many; they had university education, and they had ample experience teaching at the secondary level. To justify their continued presence in Tóez Caloto, a bigger school with more children and an offer of classes up to and including university entrance levels was needed. This was what the community and the teachers combined their efforts to achieve. To manage this, they sought to present the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education as an indissoluble partnership between community, locality, these specific teachers and this particular educational project, where all elements depended absolutely on the presence of the others for the project as a whole to be successful.

The curriculum for the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education was written by the resettling teachers. Its contents were, however, the result of a series of meetings where community and teachers put their heads together. The aim was education for resettlement life, and the curriculum reflected the issues of concern to the community of Tóez in resettlement.

> So as leader, my aspiration is to have this school, and that this school should deal with matters that are our own. For example, we now want our school to work with ethno-education, and above all ecology; ecology must be given particular attention. (…)  The expectations of our education are this; to have our own school; to have a school that forms people with the will to work, will to development, with ambition, who love their home, their people. And further, we want the Indian to learn to work with computers, all this. And a school like the one we had in Tóez [Tierradentro] in terms of laboratories and so on. At this moment, this is our ambition (Interview with Jorge Inseca in Tóez, August 4th 1996).

What Jorge underlined here was the opportunity the school project opened for the people in Tóez to shape the future not only of their children, but of the community in resettlement. The melding of indigenousness, in the form of ethno-education, and modernity – conceptualised in terms of will to development and ability to work with computers – was the goal of the school project as seen from the point of view of the community. The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education

---

[187] These were also cited as main goals of resettlement when the community of Tóez justified their choice of resettlement land outside Caloto. See Chatper 2 for more on this process.

thus formulated its mission statement in terms of 'survivalist' training in resettlement indigenousness.[188]

The Tierradentro school had been a place where Indians were educated to the ways of official Colombianness, where the main goal was producing the classic 'national citizen'. The school under construction in the resettlement of Tóez was something else entirely. While the official orientation of the curriculum at the Tóez Tierradentro boarding school was 'agriculture and animal husbandry', the school in the resettlement of Tóez presented itself as a 'Centre of Ethno-education' and offered curricular focus on 'ecology and indigenous arts and crafts'.[189] The aim was no longer the 'national citizen', but the 'localised citizen'. The school sought to cultivate the particular, to produce difference rather than national equality, and defined their 'localised citizen' in terms of 'the indigenous citizen in resettlement'. The school project in Tóez was not a matter of rebuilding an institution which had existed before the disaster. This school was being resettled, not rebuilt, with all the adjustments and changes in terms of focus, management and curricular content this implied.

**The First Nasa Cultural Fair**

In April 1997 the school in Tóez, the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education, organised the First Nasa Cultural Fair. The initiative was taken by the teachers, and the fair was organised around the new curriculum they had written for the school. The introductory statement in the printed programme detailing the activities planned for the week long fair carefully presented the Who, the Where and the Why of this event:

> The First Nasa Cultural Fair. Centre of Ethno-education Tóez – Caloto.
> "We walk along the path of Páez identity"
> Objective: Disclose and promote our values, by means of exhibitions, forums, historical accounts, theatrical presentations; interactions that with reference to the P.E.I. (the institution's ethno-educational project) will contribute to social reinforcement and coexistence. April 21. to 25. 1997, Tóez – Caloto.[190]

The 'we' and the 'us' here were the school, the Centre of Ethno-education in Tóez – Caloto. The programme presented the school, and not the teachers, as host to the various activities. The fair was going to take place in and around the temporary school buildings in the resettlement village

---

[188] Gow (1997) poses fundamental questions about the planning abilities of the subaltern with reference to ethnographic material from post disaster indigenous Cauca, in particular underlining the will and abilities in this area demonstrated by the resettling community of Tóez.

[189] 'El Internado Escolar de Tóez' in Tierradentro, with 'orientación Agropecuaria', was being resettled as 'Centro Etnoeducativo Tóez – Caloto' (C.E.T.), with 'orientación Ecologica y Artesanal Indígena'.

[190] Introduction to the official printed programme of the Cultural Fair:
> Primera feria Cultural Nasa. Centro Etnoeducativo Tóez-Caloto.
> "Caminemos por el sendero de la identidad Páez"
> Objetivo: Divulgar y promover nuestros valores, mediante exposiciones, foros, relatos históricos, presentaciones teatrales, conferencias que motivados desde el P.E.I. [Proyecto Etnoeducativo Institucional] contribuyan al fortalecimiento y convivencia social. Abril 21 al 25 1997, Tóez – Caloto.

of Tóez outside Caloto. As the 'us' and the 'here' of the program was the school as a whole, the values, culture and identity to be presented, promoted, celebrated and strengthened during this fair were those of the school and the school curriculum.

The different agenda points of the Cultural Fair reflected the main areas of focus in the new curriculum. Thus, Monday was dedicated to the general presentation of the new curriculum, with special emphasis on 'the arenas of collaboration between school and community'. Tuesday was to focus on one cornerstone of this curriculum, ecology, and Wednesday on another: Indigenous arts and crafts. For the arts and crafts activities the school drew heavily on people from the community to instruct and demonstrate. Thursday's programme, announced as 'Nasa Thought and Oral Tradition', sought to present Nasaness in its essentialised form by way of mythology and *mote*.[191] A Friday dedicated to 'Games among the Nasa' rounded off the Cultural Fair.

The arts and crafts focus of the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education was particularly prominent in the curriculum children met during their first year in school. Two of the teachers had worked particularly with this plan, and in 1997 they were receiving prizes and acclaim for their work in regional and teacher forums.[192] At the Cultural Fair, these two teachers were in charge of the Wednesday programme, and the entire student body as well as a lot of people from the community were involved in the making of brooms, bags, carrying bands and other traditional crafts.[193] Expositions of work done by students and other community members were part of the programme.

The arts and crafts focus of the curriculum came about as a response to explicit, declared wishes from people in the community. The production and use of these items held a significant position in terms of demonstrating and signalling competent ethnicity in Nasa communities. Teaching, learning and practicing this kind of work was significant, both in the new curriculum and at the Cultural Fair, as clear and unequivocal indicators of the will and ability to be ethnic in resettlement. What merits attention here was the way responsibility for conveying traditional

---

[191] See Chapter 5 for a presentation and discussion of *mote*, in general and as part of the Cultural Fair in Tóez.
[192] Adela Mulcué Mulcué and Nydia María Yasnó based their educational project on the traditional socialisation of children in Nasa families (Rappaport 1997:384n).
[193] Locally identified as 'quetanderas', 'jigras' (bags made from wool and pita hemp), and 'chumbes' (thick woven straps used to carry e.g. children). The illustration on the front page of this thesis shows traditional patterns on a section of woven chumbe – with the added humorous touch of a post-disaster helicopter (only means of transportion in Tierradentro during the first period after the disaster).

knowledge and practices was transferred from the family to the educational system with resettlement. Learning how to make these things, and using them, had previously been taken for granted as part of growing up, something all children would learn at home from older family members and be expected to be proficient in as part of becoming a competent person. In the resettlement of Tóez, these practices were now instead, or in addition, made into a fundamental focus of the school curriculum.

As education and official community life was adjusted to mirror the increased interest and emphasis on self conscious indigenousness, traditional arts and crafts activities were no longer left in the implicit context of taken-for-granted everyday practices. Making them a very visible element in the school curriculum was an effective strategy to showcase them and underline their significance, not only in the practical but also the symbolic context of signalling ethnic identity. If Nasaness was to be taken seriously as a resource in the resettlement project, visible signs of traditional Nasaness were to be emphasised in official settings – such as in the school curriculum and during the Cultural Fair. The teachers and the school reflected back to the community the elements they worked to showcase in resettlement, thus presenting the school as a community project, a community advantage and a community success.[194]

The other main emphasis of the curriculum in Tóez, ecology, represented an interesting melding of traditional and modernising rationalisations. The public relations potential in presenting the community and their resettlement as an ecological and environmentally friendly project was, as already discussed in previous chapters, very obvious to people in Tóez. When they grounded this emphasis on ecology in traditional Nasa practices, and described resettlement as a revival effort, the inherently ecological Indian became a resource for Tóez in representing themselves as an authentic Nasa community. Ecology was also, as described in the discussion of agricultural practices in Chapter 3, an important factor in modernity and development. Ecology was a key concept used in releasing funds from CNK and different NGO's. Ecological practices were something to be learnt from university educated agronomists and others, and something to be taught in school. When the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education planned an elaborate recycling project to encompass the resettlement of Tóez and make it a showcase for ecological garbage disposal, they drew on outside scientific expertise and the latest research. When the project was

---

[194] This shift may also be interpreted in the context of the 'crisis of culture', described by CNK, and be seen mainly as an effort to 'recover' or even 'rescue' this in resettlement (Wilches-Chaux 1995b; Gow 1997; Gow and Rappaport 2002).

presented to the community during the Cultural Fair, it was in terms of essentialist ideology, 'Indians always take care of the environment,' and scientific practice, underlining the community of Tóez as being a place where people strove to improve their situation by making use of modern ideas and technology.[195]

While the three first days of the Cultural Fair focused on the Tóez curriculum as a project of cooperation between teachers and community, on arts and crafts and on ecology as expressions of conscious ethnicity and the effort to be modern, Thursday and Friday concentrated mainly on Nasa past and Nasa traditions. Thursday in particular, with its programme of 'Nasa Thought and Oral Tradition', was publicised as condensed Nasaness to be made available for students, community and potential visitors from the outside. This would be Ethno-education in its purest form, where the school took on the responsibility of presenting the next generation of Nasa in the community with the core essence of Nasaness. This was specified in the programme as origin myths, beliefs and legends. The selecting and structuring of the day's programme was taken care of by the teachers. Community members with particular qualifications, presented in the programme as 'grandparents and shamans', were invited to fill in predefined programme slots.[196]

The community, the teachers and the students had held centre stage in Tóez during the Cultural Fair. While there had been outsiders in and out of the resettlement village throughout the week, the group arriving on that Thursday were conspicuous in ways the others had not been. Already before the time the programme of the day was to begin the two front rows of chairs in the school shack were occupied by people who had never before been seen in Tóez, waiting with notebooks and recording equipment at the ready. Students and community members ended up sitting on piles of construction materials in the back of the room. When Don Victoriano Cruz as first speaker of the day introduced himself and his fellow 'grandparents and shamans', his comments were directed mainly to the visitors, and he concentrated on presenting himself and the others as real, authentic Indians:

> I am genuinely a hundred percent indigenous; I know my language [Nasa Yuwe], with difficulty a bit of Spanish, not much… (….) Here is the Mrs. Dominga Guaygú Inga, those are the native names and surnames, and here I present the M – the old man is called Juan Antonio Cabo Andela, also a hundred

---

[195] Thus, these Indians were making an effort to present themselves as in possession of the required ecological consciousness (Wade 1999) and at least in this particular context as suitably 'hyperreal' (Ramos 1994) in their exchanges with interested outsiders.

[196] In the programme presented as 'abuelos y medicos tradicionales'. A brief discussion of Nasa shamans (*thë walas* in Nasa Yuwe) and their role in resettlement can be found in Chapter 2.

percent indigenous (From speech made by Don Victoriano Cruz at Cultural Fair in Tóez, April 24th 1997).[197]

Don Victoriano underlined his language competence as crucial to his authentic Indianness. He presented his claim to speaking Nasa Yuwe well and Spanish badly as evidence of being a real Indian. His presentation (announced as 'Nasa cosmology and the mythological origin of Man, Earth, Sun and Water') at the Cultural Fair was held in Spanish, however, as was the entire programme of the day. If outside visitors, not to mention most of the teachers present, were to understand the presentations, they had to be held in Spanish. Vicotriano very carefully listed names, and explained, in the same way Don Leopoldo did in Chapter 3, how these names identified the people present as 'genuinely a hundred percent indigenous'. The day of Nasa Thought and Oral Tradition was very much a case of community and teachers working together to satisfy outside expectations. The expectations were precisely formulated in the printed programme prepared by the teachers and presented as specific invitations to the visiting academics filling the front rows. The visitors were then, on arrival, presented with the collectibles of real authentic Indian thought and could, at the end of the day, bring those back to the city with them.[198]

For the community members present this was not new information, but an affirmation of knowledge of which they were in possession, which others were without and which those same others very much wanted. If anything, the programme of the day underlined to all present the potential of indigenousness managed as a public relations resource. The community of Tóez sought to present themselves as a place and a community with interesting and desirable qualities to offer visitors. This was an ambition they very much shared with the teachers at the school. In the presentation of Nasa Thought and Oral Tradition at the Cultural Fair the teachers provided the programme, as a structure and as a printed invitation sent to possible relevant 'others', while the community filled in the blanks with authentic Indianness. Making this cooperation possible was an underlying agreement on the desirability and potential of what the community had to offer as well as what these others wanted. The community and the teachers combined their efforts to produce Nasaness as a coveted but achievable experience for visitors in the form real Indians, real Indian mythology and real Indian food.[199]

---

[197] Other speeches made as part of this programme included Don Leopoldo's presentation of the maize, quoted in full in Chapter 3, and the speeches about the *mote* and its place in Nasa tradition presented in Chapter 5. The *mote* lunch discussed in Chapter 5 provided the finale to that morning's programme.

[198] Which was, of course, only a variation of what I was doing a few rows further towards the back of the room.

[199] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the *mote* lunch served community and visitors in Tóez as part of this programme.

166

The use of Spanish made the day's proceedings accessible to the non community members present, thus contributing to the public relations purpose of the Cultural Fair. Language use and language competence were, in a wider perspective, one of the areas of intense discussion and community interest of the Tóez school debate. When the new curriculum for the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education had been planned, the community had underlined language as a main concern. Classes in Nasa Yuwe were thus something children in the resettlement received from their first day of school. Most adults in Tóez did understand as well as speak Nasa Yuwe, but it was hardly used in public settings. While some children understood Nasa Yuwe, they did not speak it. Spanish was their main language of play, as well as the language their parents used during community meetings. This situation had come to worry people in Tóez in resettlement. To remedy it, they bestowed the school system with the responsibility for teaching their children to speak Nasa Yuwe. The community's concern resulted in The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education offering all students classes in Nasa Yuwe every week, but not to any apparently significant degree of adjustment in the amount of Nasa Yuwe practiced in those same students' homes.[200]

Only two teachers attached to the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education were proficient in Nasa Yuwe. The rest were monolingual Spanish speakers, and did not in fact see themselves as members of the community of Tóez. While these teachers were thoroughly committed to the project of localising their workplace to Tóez, their lives remained in town, in teacher circles, in arenas where the people from Tóez ventured as visitors, if at all. The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education provided them with an opportunity to localise their work place closer to their arenas of daily life. The school as production centre for locality was a crucial aspiration for all involved in the project, but the locality these teachers worked to produce was not their own. The teachers saw their future in Tóez as depending on their ability to position themselves as middlemen, as managers and mediators of locality and indigenousness, on behalf of and in cooperation with the community of Tóez.

Just before I left the field, the teachers at the school in Tóez received government authorisation granting them permanent posts. The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education was thus officially sanctioned. Construction on the brick school buildings to replace the temporary shacks was

---

[200] This dilemma was a main concern much debated by the teachers at the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education, in particular those responsible for teaching classes in Nasa Yuwe.

under way. When the Tóez school project met with victory, part of the reason was their success in taking advantage of a significant shift in government policy. A focus on local context and multiculturalism, or the localising of education, was at that time being presented as a main goal of the Colombian educational system.[201] The Tóez Centre of Ethno-education effectively presented themselves as working at the very frontier of this development. The First Nasa Cultural Fair was planned and executed to showcase the partnership between community and teachers underlying this success.

The school project in Tóez brought the community considerable standing. The focus on Ethno-education sat extremely well with parents in other Nasa *resguardos* in the North. These parents saw sending their children to school in Tóez as a way to provide education without abandoning their children to the state run educational establishments in town. The way different groups lived interspaced with each other in the North opened a wide array of possible contacts for the community of Tóez. Afrocolombian and mestizo peasants living close to Tóez chose to send their children to the school in the resettlement. One of the main schools in the town of Caloto, locally referred as 'The Nucleo', had offered housing and additional teaching opportunities to the teachers working to get the Tóez Centre of Ethno-education up and running, supporting their project wholeheartedly. The Tóez school provided the community with recognition and respect in their new home area. It provided Tóez the opportunity to offer something back to those partners who had helped and supported them when they wanted to resettle in the northern part of Cauca.

The school also underlined Tóez as a particular success compared to other resettlements. This was just one accomplishment among various others which very clearly underlined the complexity of the Tóez resettlement project. While CNK was heavily involved in resettlement here as everywhere else, the community of Tóez saw and treated the agency as one among many, and not the one and only, interesting partner in resettlement. Their efforts and ability in establishing many and varying partnerships made it possible for them to resettle in their area of choice and establish a secondary school in the resettlement, both in direct opposition to official CNK policy. The houses as well as the village plan in Tóez were designed with help from an

---

[201] See Gros 1997 for a discussion of the relationship between the indigenous movement and the shift in national policy towards multiculturalism and diversity in the case of Colombia.

168

independent architect from Cali, and the houses were bigger here than anywhere else because the community had succeeded in securing external financing to supplement CNK allocations.

The resettlement of Tóez was produced through the nets of contacts established through these various partnerships. The community, as idea and as social reality, was practiced as one of Hastrup and Olwig's nodal points (1997:5, 12). The ambition of the people constructing this nodal point was to translate it into physical resettlement reality. When the community of Tóez participated in the commemorative march of the Nilo massacre, they were situating themselves in this new physical reality by mere presence. They were also stating their position, implicitly and explicitly, on issues of social and ideological significance in this new landscape they were working to make their own. Resettlement was a project focused on constructing community and locality. The community as well as the locality were, however, the result and the aim of wider networks of cultural, physical and social space as seen through the production of resettlement partnerships.

Resettlement in Tóez was produced through contesting the outside. The outside as defined, known and managed before the disaster of Páez was not the outside found relevant and interesting in resettlement. While the community of Tóez did not see themselves as part of the tradition of indigenous activism and land repossession so central in the North, they very much came to see themselves as part of the indigenous North. Identifying significant and relevant others in resettlement lead the community to rework also what was considered significant community inside. Public and self-conscious indigenousness became in resettlement a resource to be used to their advantage. The chief ambition of the Tóez resettlement project was to produce and present the *resguardo* community of Tóez from Tierradentro now established and thriving in the Caloto area, authentically and deeply indigenous in a very modern way.

## Chapter 9 – Del puro susto hicimos. Concluding remarks

When I sat down with Lucia Musse to record her life history, disaster and resettlement inevitably loomed large. At that time, two and a half years after the event, the disaster of Páez stood out as a defining moment in the lives of those affected, Lucia included. It provided the frame of reference for loss, resettlement and reconstruction. People regarded the experience as one inciting drastic changes in their lives. They had left Tierradentro, resettled in a mestizo area in another part of the Cauca Department, in a climate considerably warmer than what they had been used to; they lived closer to town, and they travelled regularly. People were also very aware of building the resettlement using traditional, ethnic and indigenous tools, focusing on the community as the actor in this process, on the extended *resguardo* as their form of land ownership and administration, and the *minga* as the core community institution. Resettlement was a community concern, and its aim was to construct a viable group future by colonising and redefining a new place and situating this place in the resettlement landscape. Lucia described the essence of this process, as experienced by the members of the resettling community, as 'del puro susto hicimos': 'from the scare, we constructed'.[202]

'From the scare, we constructed' drew attention to the shock and trauma of disaster. When people in the resettlements actively went about shaping their future, this was, according to Lucia, because of, as well as in spite of, having experienced this shock. Lucia ascribed the scare and fright of disaster the role of catalyst, the event which pushed people in the community to do things, and to do things in ways they had never before considered or felt able to achieve (García A. 1993, 1996; Saavedra 1996; Oliver-Smith 1996). José Manuel was pointing to exactly these changes when he described people in the community as having 'woken up' in resettlement (Chapter 6). He talked about how young people in the community had started asking questions. They were now much less shy in school. When travelling to Belalcázar with the bus, people from San José spoke Nasa Yuwe among themselves in front of outsiders, even official outsiders such as the soldiers at the check points. Members of the community practiced the world in new ways, travelling between the resettlement, towns in the area, Tierradentro and different wage labour opportunities. From the scare and shock of disaster, people saw themselves as having learnt to live less timid lives, within as well as outside the communities.

---

[202] Alternative translations of 'hicimos' would be e.g. we acted, we created, we made (in standard Spanish 'hacer' is not intransitive).

The radically new circumstances facing people after the disaster of Páez called for new responses. Not only did people in the resettlement of San José build houses, but they built houses with techniques and materials not in use before the disaster. Further, this house building effort was organised in ways irrelevant in a pre disaster setting, with predetermined groups of families sharing responsibility for a determined number of buildings. The houses themselves were organised in tight villages, the reasoning behind which pointed directly to the effects of the disaster and resettlement experience (Chapter 4). The disaster experience affected the 'what' as well as the 'how' of resettlement life. From the scare were constructed not lony new houses erected in a new pattern, but the social organisation of building and daily village life in these houses.

Even as disaster was described as something affecting individuals, motivating people to handle aspects of their new lives in new ways, Lucia placed resettlement agency as belonging firmly with 'we'. When she described resettlement in terms of 'from the scare, we constructed', the firm underlying implication was the community as acting entity. After the disaster of Páez, resettlement was constructed by and for community. When people in the resettlement built their villages, these became the materialisation of togetherness in physical space, both in the sense of colonising and transforming alien space into community inside and in the sense of symbolising in a very direct way the community as unit in resettlement. Groups constructed resettlement, and the members of these organised groups – the communities – built and lived resettlement lives in tightly knit villages.

The 'we' Lucia referred to was the significant actor in resettlement. This 'we' was the focus when land was cultivated, as people adapted to new climates and new crops, when houses were constructed and when administration was discussed. The inward construction and maintenance of community in resettlement was one significant aspect of this (Chapters 3, 4, 5). The networks built by the resettlement communities to navigate and manage the post disaster landscapes of Cauca were another (Chapters 6, 7, 8). Community members and in particular community leaders played a much more outwardly active role in resettlement, travelling between meetings and workshops in the entire region. When *cabildo* council elections were arranged, the ability to travel and handle the outside world were regarded as crucial qualities to be held by the candidates, but these were also qualities most people in the resettling communities at that time

were coming to take for granted. Travel was, in resettlement, an everyday practice most people engaged in, and it was constitutive of resettlement existence.

Furthermore, 'From the scare, we constructed' called attention to the agency aspect of resettlement as seen from the communities. Not only was the community perceived to be the active agent in this process, but the obligation to initialise significant activity ensuring the success of the resettlement venture was seen to sit squarely with those who had suffered disaster. People in the communities were quick to underline promises made and expectations held towards CNK and other entities involved in reconstruction, but they saw the responsibility for following through and making sure things promised were actually delivered to be their own. They saw themselves as actively pursuing and producing their own future within the networks of opportunities and others making up the resettlement landscape.

People in the communities conceptualised and practiced resettlement as a project depending absolutely on deliberate outward initiatives constantly taken by the community itself (Chapter 6). The *cabildo* representatives spent much of their year in office travelling on behalf of their communities in order to maintain the momentum of this process. José Manuel was in earnest when he referred to staying home as the equivalent of being left out of the process. While individuals travelled to do this work, they were elected as, and travelled as, personifications of the collective actor, the community. Their efforts were constantly evaluated in terms of how well their communities were served and represented. While the community had been a crucial institution for these people also before the disaster, it was in resettlement employed as the main tool for constructing the future.

People chose to resettle as members of communities and to underline specific aspects of community construction in resettlement. The *mingas*, the communal work parties organised by the *cabildo* on weekly a basis, were employed to colonise and transform resettlement land and to reaffirm community membership. The *minga* gave members of the community opportunities to invest and reinvest substantial activity in this 'structure of feeling' (Amit 2002; Appadurai 1996). When *minga* day was spent fencing in water sources on resettlement land, this was a concrete investment in shared property (*resguardo* land), a way to demonstrate commitment for individual community members, as well as an opportunity to shape the ideological image of the resettlement community. As part of the networking effort in resettlement, self representation and

public relations were taken in hand as relevant community concerns. Presenting the resettlement communities as ecologically aware and concerned with sustainable development was significant for people in Tóez as well as San José (Chapter 3, 8), and moreover this proved their essence as authentically indigenous to outsiders.

Another aspect of community construction encompassing both group construction within the resettlements and public image building was ethnicity and indigenousness. As a result of 'the scare' and the subsequent construction, Nasaness was made relevant in new ways and in a variety of contexts. What people constructed after the scare were resettlement communities deeply and publicly concerned with maintaining and proclaiming their Indian ethnicity, in terms of language use, traditions, community focus and administration. These were not random units settling, but Nasa communities settling on land expected to be made into extensions of already existing Tierradentro *resguardos*. Within the communities ethnicity was used actively to construct community and resettlement. In contact with new neighbours, the state, other resettlements, people who had stayed behind in Tierradentro and the variety of professional support organisations present, Nasaness was a resource to be employed to situate and promote the community in resettlement (Chapter 5, 7, 8).

'From the scare, we constructed' was Lucia's way of connecting past and future. The disaster shaped the lives of everyone living through it in undeniable ways. What people in the resettlements did with the situation in which they found themselves in was a collective concern described as construction. People worked hard and with conscious intent to shape their resettlement futures. The school in Tóez was an example of a resettlement networking effort turning into a firm partnership with a defined and deliberate goal – the establishment of a Centre of Ethno-education in the resettlement village, giving the children of the community access to education, giving the community access to shaping their children's education directly, and promoting the community as a significant contributor to neighbour relations in resettlement by providing educational possibilities new to the area (Chapter 8). The community of San José worked to establish the extended *resguardo* as a practicable administration structure for similar reasons, seeing this as their best opportunity to secure future belonging, formalised networks, and continued rights in land in both the resettlement and in their area of origin (Chapter 7). The resettling communities of San José and Tóez were shaping their future as Nasa *resguardo* communities, firmly anchored in tradition and with continuous ties to Tierradentro, but also

living and participating actively as modern and competent citizens of the world outside their community borders. They practiced resettlement reality as Indians in the world.

The two main tensions presented in the introductory chapter of this thesis, that between dwelling and travelling and that between community and locality, were firmly brought to ground and tied together in another observation made by Lucia. She described nuances of the quality of belonging after disaster and resettlement, and she presented the localising process in resettlement in terms of groundwork for travel practices:

> All in all, people here are doing well. Not in all ways, but at least in terms of health. What people want is to have their houses secured. The indigenous person, as he is, does not remain in one place only. Here [in the resettlement] we say this place, this is our land. But we were born in Tierradentro, and there is always this belief that where one leaves one's umbilical cord is where one has to spend most of one's time… At the moment, people here do not have their houses secured. So they ask someone to look after their things, and travel from one place to the other, and this is how it will continue. People find a way to make do, and will continue moving about from here to there (Interview with Lucia Musse in San José, December 25$^{th}$ 1996).

Lucia evaluated the state of resettlement as of December 1996 – all in all, people were doing well – and moved on to describe the matters she saw as most crucial at this time for 'the indigenous person', the member of the organised 'we' of resettlement community construction. 'Here' was the resettlement, and Tierradentro was denominated 'there'. The community was now established and accustomed (Chapter 3, 5) in resettlement. Considerable investment in land, houses, community and locality had gone into this over the preceding two years. There was not, however, and as Lucia underlines, had never been, any expectation or idea of people now staying put in the resettlement on a permanent basis. The whole point of investment in land and locality was, according to Lucia, the facilitation of travel. Securing their houses, in terms of having them finished, under roof and with lockable doors, was at this point the main outstanding resettlement ambition. Finished houses were crucial to resettlement because they were easier to leave behind.

As the result of resettlement, belonging was now divided for people in the resettlement of San José. Lucia referred to the burying of the umbilical cord and the deep roots this implied in Tierradentro (Chapter 4). Resettlement was a project to build life and roots elsewhere, outside Tierradentro, to construct a new 'here'. This did not imply people abandoning their Tierradentro connection. The extended *resguardo*, the preoccupation with rights in disaster damaged land, travel practices and networking efforts all spoke directly to the emphasis put in the resettlement on maintaining close and enduring ties to Tierradentro. Travel, here presented as a main aim of

house building, made it possible for people in the resettlement to include both resettlement and Tierradentro in practiced space.

The main aim of resettlement was presented in terms of anchoring the community to make it effective as nodal point (Olwig and Hastup 1997). People settled to travel and travelled to settle, constructed place to situate community and constructed community to produce locality. Dwelling and travelling were both seen and handled as fundamental constitutive practices of resettlement, each laying an essential foundation which made the other possible (Clifford 1997; de Certeau 1984). Finished houses were regarded as one significant step towards a future return to normalcy in resettlement, where the relevant landscapes and networks of others were to be practiced continuously with the resettlement village as nodal point and anchor.

Here, the community as structure of feeling was intrinsically tied to the community as practical tool and concrete reality. Resettlement depended on locations as well as relations (Olwig and Hastrup 1997), the practiced as well as the imagined. The networks of resettlement, the significant paths, places and others of resettlement practice, depended in the same way on imagination as well as practice. The imagined reality of the extended *resguardo* had thus to be converted into practicable structures to become a viable future guarantist of rights in land and administration for its members. The practiced reality of the extended *resguardo* likewise depended on its imagined structure. If practical *minga* investment in *resguardo* land was not accepted as investment in the imagined structure of the extended *resguardo* including resettlement as well as Tierradentro land, any attempt towards a workable structure of travel and administration became meaningless (Chapter 7). The group or community, and the networks; whether that of the extended *resguardo* of San José, that of indigenous communities in the North, or that of the various external actors contributing to the resettlement processes, were all crucial aspects of resettlement construction after the disaster of Páez (Hannertz 2003).

As the resettlement locality was colonised and converted into community inside, *resguardo* property, and food source for those resettling, the traditional 'el andar' of the Nasa was adapted to new circumstances (Appadurai 1996, Espinosa 1995b, 1996). When Lucia stated that 'The indigenous person, as he is, does not remain in one place only,' she was referring to 'el andar' as something the Nasa have always practiced. In resettlement, travel, perceptions of territoriality, of relevant borders of Nasa inside and outside, were revised. The resettlement was colonised and

reclassified as Nasa inside (Espinosa 1995b:298). Resettlement was not, however, only or mainly a matter of reclassifying resettlement land. With direct bearing on established practices of 'el andar', resettlement implied fundamental changes in the ways 'el andar' was conceived and practiced. Travel was in resettlement no longer seen as a primarily educational practice, as something done away from community inside to be able to bring back outside influences and ideas. Travel, in terms of the intensive practicing of external space, was instead seen as a constitutive practice of everyday resettlement life. The colonising and reclassifying of cultural inside in resettlement depended directly and fundamentally on successful, continuous and well considered travel – on behalf of the *cabildo* members chosen to represent the community as well as on behalf of the members of the community in general.

Alcides Musse described the tightly knit resettlement community in terms of 'everybody together in a small pot'. He compared the members to ants, all working diligently together towards the common goal of resettlement construction. The ants travelled and returned, but effort and investment were consistently focused on the community as a social construction to be materialised and rooted in place with resettlement. This was the image the community sought to project, and to a large degree succeeded in projecting in the meetings with new neighbours and various other outsiders. The members of the communities of San José and Tóez worked consistently and deliberately to create this internal reality as well as to make an outward presentation of it. They were very aware, however, of the crucial need for this work to be exactly that, consistent and deliberate. Community and locality were perceived as exacting and deliberate ways of living in the world, very much in Appadurai's image as ephemeral unless hard and regular work was undertaken to produce and maintain their materiality as well as their reality as a structure of feeling (1996:180-181). This work, as practiced through dwelling and travelling, is what I have sought to explore in this thesis.

## List of Terms and Places:

*cabildo* – administrative body of the *resguardo*, elected annually. The leader of the *cabildo* council is the governor. Among titles given to other members are vice governor, treasurer and commissary. Depending on the individual *resguardo*, the council will generally consist of between five and ten members.

*chicha* – traditionally beer made from maize. *Chicha* is now commonly the name given to fermented sugarcane juice.

*chiva* – lorry converted for passenger and cargo transport, with benches for passengers constructed on the back of the lorry, and room for cargo on the roof of the passenger area.

**CNK** – Corporación Nasa Kiwe – parastatal agency created to channel resources, coordinate the rebuilding and the resettlement effort after the disaster of Páez

**CRIC** – Consejo Regional Indigena del Cauca – indigenous organisation in the Cauca Province

**Disaster of Páez** – the disaster that struck on the 4th of June, 1994. An earthquake measuring 6.4 on the Richter scale triggered extensive land slides in the Tierradentro area. The rivers at the bottom of the steep, narrow valleys were blocked, causing mud floods that destroyed farmland and villages. Some 1,100 people were killed, 40,000 acres of land was destroyed, and 20% of the population in the area was displaced.

**extended *resguardo*** – model for the legal inclusion of resettlement land in already existing Tierradentro *resguardos*, developed to deal with the situation after the disaster of Páez.

**governor** – the leader of the *cabildo* council

*minga* – communal work parties. May be organised through a private initiative (the *minga* proper), or by the *cabildo* (communal work parties). *Cabildo* organised *mingas* are held every week in Nasa *resguardo* communities.

*mote* – traditional Nasa maize soup

**Nasa** – formerly called the Páez, indigenous group in south-western Colombia. Traditionally, the Nasa consider Tierradentro their main territory and place of origin.

**Nasa Kiwe** – Nasa territory or Nasa homeland, by CNK translated as 'land of the [Nasa] people'.

**Nasa Yuwe** – the language spoken by the Nasa

**Páez –** the river that overflowed and caused much of the damage in the disaster of Páez
   – the municipality covering the main part of Tierradentro, and the municipality hardest hit by the disaster
   – At times used to refer to the town of Bélalcazar, the administrative centre of the Páez municipality
   – formerly the name used for the main group of Indians in the area (now Nasa)

**Panamerican Highway** runs north/south through Colombia, passing through the cities of Cali and Popayán.

**Popayán** is the administrative centre of the Cauca Province, and the centre of coordination for the resettlement effort.

*resguardo* – Indigenous territorial unit comprised of communal, inalienable land, segregated from the market and administered by a elected council according to specific legislation. The term is commonly used to refer to a portion of territory as well as the community of people living in that territory.

**San José** is a *resguardo* in Tierradentro, a *vereda* in this *resguardo*, and a community that leaves this *vereda* to resettle in El Rosario, in the municipality of Cajibio, Cauca, to the west of the city of Popayán.

**Tierradentro** is a region of north eastern Colombia. It was the area hardest hit by the disaster of Páez, and where the Nasa resettlement communities I worked with lived before the disaster of Páez.

**Tóez** is a *resguardo* in Tierradentro that was particularly hard hit in the disaster of Páez, and the community that resettled outside the village of Caloto in the northern part of the Cauca Province.

*vereda* – a hamlet or concentrated settlement (and the area/ farmland pertaining to this centre)

# References

Amit, Vered 2002 "Reconceptualizing community" in Vered Amit (ed.) *Realizing Community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments.* Routledge, London.

---- (ed.) 2002 *Realizing Community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments.* Routledge, London.

Amit, Vered and Nigel Rapport 2002 *The Trouble with Community. Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity* Pluto Press, London

Appadurai, Arjun 1995 "The Production of Locality" in Richard Fardon (ed.) *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge* Routledge, London

---- 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural dimensions of Globalization* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis

Arce, Alberto and Norman Long 2000a "Reconfiguring modernity and development from an anthropological perspective" in Alberto Arce and Norman Long (eds) *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence* Routledge, London

---- 2000b "Consuming modernity: mutational processes of change" in Alberto Arce and Norman Long (eds) *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence* Routledge, London

---- (eds) 2000 *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence* Routledge, London

Archetti, Eduardo 1997 *Guinea pigs. Food, Symbol and Conflict of Knowledge in Ecuador* Berg, Oxford

Arcila Vélez, Graciliano 1989 [1943, 1951] *Los Indígenas Páez de Tierradentro Cauca Colombia. Descripción Etnográfica y Lingüística de estos aborígenes en el año de 1940* Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín

Avirama, Jesús and Rayda Márquez 1994 "The Indigenous Movement in Colombia" in Donna Lee Van Cott (ed.) *Indigenous peoples and democracy in Latin America* St. Martin's Press, New York

Barona B., Guido and Francisco Zuluaga (eds) 1995 *Memorias: 1ᵉʳ Seminario internacional de Etnohistoria del norte del Ecuador y sur de Colombia* Editorial Facultad de Humanidades Colección Historia y Sociedad, Cali

Baehr, Peter, Hilde Hey, Jacqueline Smith and Theresa Swinehart (eds) 1995 *Human Rights in Developing Countries, Yearbook 1995* Kluwer Law International, The Hague

Beltrán Peña, Francisco 1989 *La utopía mueve montañas. Alvaro Ulcue Chocue* Editorial Nueva América, Bogotá

Bernal Villa, Segundo E. 1953 "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro" in *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 1(1): 279-309

---- 1954a "Economía de los Páez" in *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 3: 291-309

---- 1954b "Medicina y magia entre los Páez" in *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 2(2): 219-264

---- 1955 "Bases para el estudio de la organización social de los Páez" in *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 4: 165-88

---- 1968 "El poblamiento disperso frente al cambio cultural dirigido" in *América Indígena* 28(4): 890-906

Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis and Ben Wisner 1996 *Vulnerabilidad: El entorno social, político y económico de los desastres* La Red, Bogotá

Bonilla, Víctor Daniel 1977 *Historia política de los paeces* Unpublished manuscript

Bushnell, David 1993 *The Making of Modern Colombia. A Nation in Spite of Itself* University of California Press, Berkley

Cardona, Omar Darío 1995 "El Sismo del 6 de Junio de 1994: Atención de la Emergencia y Planeamientos para la Reconstrucción" in *Desastres y Sociedad* 4(3): 77-90

Carsten, Janet and Stephen Hugh-Jones 1995 "Introduction" in Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones (eds) *About the house – Levi-Strauss and beyond* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

---- 1995 *About the house – Levi-Strauss and beyond* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Castillo Cárdenas, Gonzalo 1987: *Liberation Theology from Below: The Life and Thought of Manuel Quintín Lame*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.[203]

Castillo i Orosco, Eujenio del 1989 [1755, 1877] *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones Gramaticales y dos pláticas* Collection Linguistique Américaine, no. 2, Paris

Chaves Mendoza, Alvaro, Jorge Morales Gómez and Horacio Calle Restrepo 1995 *Los indios de Colombia* Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito

Chaves, Alvaro y Mauricio Puerta 1984: *Tierradentro* El Áncora Editores, Bogotá

Cheater, Angela (ed.) 1999 *The Anthropology of Power. Empowerment and Dispowerment in Changing Structures* Routledge, London

Clifford, James 1997 *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge

Cohen, Anthony P. 1985: *The Symbolic Construction of Community* Routledge, London

---- 2002 "Conclusion" in Vered Amit (ed.) *Realizing Community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments*. Routledge, London.

---

[203] Includes English translation of Manuel Qintín Lame 1971 [1939] "Los pensamientos del indio que se educó dentro de las selvas colombianas" as "The thoughts of the Indian Educated in the Colombian Forests". See 'Lame, Manuél Qintín' in the bibliography for original Spanish version of the manuscript.

Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – Programa de educación bilingüe n.d. *Nasa Yuwete piisan f'i'n'i: Alfabeto Nasa Yuwe* Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Popayán

---- n.d. *De camino al conocimiento. Cartilla de aprestamiento* Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca and Proyecto educación Indígena, Universidad del Cauca, Popayán

---- n.d. *Conociendo nuestro vida. Kwe's' u'hun'is Hiyuna. Cartilla No. 1* Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Popayán

---- 1988 *Kih' yuy a'tkha'w ya'papeyi'. Para que investigamos* Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Popayán

Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – Equipo de educación bilingüe 1991 *Historia de Ana Julia*. Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Popayán

Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – Programa de salud and Resguardo de Vitoncó, Tierradentro 1996 *Calendario 1997* Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Popayán

Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca – Programas de salud y educación, Equipo de salud Nasa Kiwe, Medicos tradicionales Tierradentro (1994) *Llanobuco – resguardo de Wila: Tercer encuentro medicos tradicionales Diciembre 2, 3, 4 y 5 de 1994*

Correa R., François (ed.) 1993 *Encrucijadas de Colombia Amerindia* Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Bogotá

de Certeau, Michel 1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life* University of California Press, Berkley

Dorado Zúñiga, Hugo E. 1997 *Anecdotario de la tragedia y la reconstrucción de Páez* Ministerio del interior and NASA KIWE Corporación para reconstrucción de la cuenca del río Páez y zonas aledañas, Popayán

Douglas, Mary 1984 "Standard Social Uses of Food: Introduction" in Mary Douglas (ed.) *Food in the Social Order. Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities* Russel Sage Foundation, New York

---- (ed.) 1984 *Food in the Social Order. Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities* Russel Sage Foundation, New York

Dover, Robert V. H, Katharine E. Seibold and John H. Mcdowell (eds) 1992 *Andean Cosmologies through Time. Persistence and emergence.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington

Dover, Robert V. H. and Joanne Rappaport 1996 "Introduction" in Joanne Rappaport (ed.) "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" Special issue of *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1(2).

Drennan, Robert and Carlos A. Uribe (eds) 1987 *Chiefdoms in the Americas* University Press of America, Lanham, MD

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland 2003 "Introduction" in Thomas Hylland Eriksen (ed.) *Globalisation. Studies in Anthropology* Pluto Press, London

---- (ed.) 2003 *Globalisation. Studies in Anthropology* Pluto Press, London

Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez (eds) 1992 *The Making and Unmaking of Social Movements in Latin America* Westview Press, Boulder

Espinosa, Myriam Amparo 1995a  *El andar como metáfora territorial páez* Tesis postgrado antropología, FLACSO, Quito.

---- 1995b "'Sembrando Historia': tres Narraciones Páez sobre territorio" in Guido Barona B. and Francisco Zuluaga (eds) *Memorias: 1$^{er}$ Seminario internacional de Etnohistoria del norte del Ecuador y sur de Colombia* Editorial Facultad de Humanidades Colección Historia y Sociedad, Cali

---- 1996 *Surgimiento y Andar Territorial del Quintín Lame* Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito

Fardon, Richard 1990 "Localizing Strategies: The Regionalization of Ethnographic Accounts" in Richard Fardon (ed.) *Localizing Strategies. Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing*. Scottish Academic Press Ltd, Edinburgh

---- (ed.) 1990 *Localizing Strategies. Regional Traditions of Ethnographic Writing*. Scottish Academic Press Ltd, Edinburgh

---- (ed.) 1995 *Counterworks: Managing the diversity of knowledge* Routledge, London

Findji, María Teresa and José María Rojas 1985  *Territorio, Economía y Sociedad Páez* Universidad de Valle, Cali

Findji, María Teresa 1992 "From Resistance to Social Movement: The Indigenous Authorities Movement in Colombia" in Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez (eds) *The Making and Unmaking of Social Movements in Latin America* Westview Press, Boulder

---- 1993 "Tras Las Huellas de los Paeces" in François Correa R. (ed.) *Encrucijadas de Colombia Amerindia* ICAN, Bogotá

Findji, María Teresa and Víctor Daniel Bonilla 1995 "¿El Otro, El Mismo? Tragedia, cultura y luchas de los Paeces" in *Desastres y Sociedad* 4(3): 105-118

Field, Les W. 1994 "Harvesting the Bitter Juice: Contradictions of Páez Resistance in the Changing Colombian Nation-State" in *Identities* 1(1): 89-108

---- 1996 "State, Anti-state, and Indigenous Entities: Reflections upon a Páez Resguardo and the New Colombian Constitution" in Joanne Rappaport (ed.) "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" Special issue of *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1(2): 98-119

Friede, Juan 1967 *Los Andakí 1538 – 1947. Historia de la aculturación de una tribu selvática* Fondo de cultura económica, México

---- 1976 *El indio en lucha por la tierra* Punta de Lanza, Bogotá

Gairdner, David and Eva Irene Tuft 1995 "Colombia" in Peter Baehr, Hilde Hey, Jacqueline Smith and Theresa Swinehart (eds) H*uman Rights in Developing Countries, Yearbook 1995* Kluwer Law International, The Hague

García Acosta, Virginia 1993 "Enfoques teóricos para el estudio histórico de los desastres naturales" in Andrew Maskrey (ed.) *Los Desastres no son Naturales* La Red/ ITDG, Bogotá

---- 1996 "Introducción" in Virginia García Acosta (ed.) *Historia y Desastres en América Latina* La Red/CIEASAS, Bogotá

---- (ed.) 1996 *Historia y Desastres en América Latina* La Red/CIEASAS, Bogotá

Gonzales, David n.d. *Los paeces o genocidio y luchas indígenas en Colombia* n.p. La Rueda Suelta

Gonzáles, Omar; Nelly Mercedes Prado, Beatriz Vásquez de Ruiz, Hugo Portela Guarín, Carlos Prado and Rocio Nieves 1988 "'Yo soy árbol', o la identidad cuerpo-naturaleza" *Glotta* 3(3) Instituto Meyer, Bogotá

Goodman, Jordan; Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt (eds) 1995 *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* Routledge, London

Gow, David D. 1997 "Can The Subaltern Plan? Ethnicity And Development In Cauca, Colombia" in *Urban Anthropology* 26(3-4): 243-292

Gow, David D. and Joanne Rappaport 2002 "The Indigenous Public Voice. Multiple Idioms of Modernity in Native Cauca" in Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson (eds) *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* University of Texas Press, Austin

Gray, John 2002 "Community as place-making. Ram auctions in the Scottish borderland" in Vered Amit (ed.) *Realizing Community. Concepts, social relationships and sentiments.* Routledge, London

Gros, Christian 1991 *Colombia Indígena: Identidad Cultural y Cambio Social* CEREC, Bogotá

---- 1997 "Indigenismo y etnicidad: el desafío neoliberal" in María Victoria Uribe and Eduardo Restrepo (eds) *Antropología en la Modernidad* ICAN and COLCULTURA, Bogotá

Gudeman, Stephen and Alberto Rivera 1990 *Conversations in Colombia. The domestic economy in life and text.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Guegia Hurtado, Carlos Alberto, María Marleny Cuchimba de Caceido and Hugo Efraín Dorado Zúñiga 1997 *Conozcamos Nuestro Territorio. Kwe'w' Kiwe's Hiyuka* Fondo Mixto de Cultura del Cauca, Popayán

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson 1997a "Culture, Power, Place: Ethnography at the End of an Era" in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (eds) 1997 *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology* Duke University Press, Durham

---- 1997b "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference" in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (eds) 1997 *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology* Duke University Press, Durham

---- 1997c "Discipline and practice: 'The Field' as Site, Method and Location in Anthropology" in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (eds) *Anthropological Locations. Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* University of California Press, Berkley

---- (eds) 1997 *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology* Duke University Press, Durham

---- (eds) 1997 *Anthropological Locations. Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* University of California Press, Berkley

Guzmán Gallegos, María A. 1996 *For at maniok skal drikke vårt blod. En studie av arbeid, kjønn og slektskap blant quichua-indianere i Amazonas, Ecuador.* Thesis, Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of Oslo

---- 1997 "Rom og Tilhørighet: Mellom det Lokale og det globale" in *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift* 8(3-4): 193-207

Hannertz, Ulf 2003 "Several Sites in One" in Thomas Hylland Eriksen (ed.) *Globalisation. Studies in Anthropology* Pluto Press, London

Hastrup, Kirsten 1992 "Introduction" in Kirsten Hastrup (ed.) *Other Histories* Routledge, London

---- 1992 (ed.) *Other Histories* Routledge, London

Hastrup, Kirsten and Karen Fog Olwig 1997 "Introduction" in Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

Hrisch, Eric 1995 "Landscape: Between Space and Place" in Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (eds) *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* Clarendon Press, Oxford

Hirsch, Eric and Michael O'Hanlon (eds) 1995 *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* Clarendon Press, Oxford

Hobart, Mark 1993 "Introduction: the growth of ignorance?" in Mark Hobart (ed.) *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* Routledge, London

---- 1993 (ed.) *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* Routledge, London

---- 1995 "As I lay laughing: encountering global knowledge in Bali" in Richard Fardon (ed.) *Counterworks: Managing the diversity of knowledge* Routledge, London

Howell, Signe 2003 "The house as analytic concept: A theoretical overview" in Steven Sparkes and Signe Howell (eds) *The House in South East Asia: A changing social, economic and political domain* Routledge Curzon, London

Jackson, Jean E. 1991 "Being and Becoming an Indian in the Vaupés" in Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer (eds) *Nation-states and Indians in Latin America* University of Texas Press, Austin

---- 1995 "Culture, Genuine and Spurious: The Politics of Indianness in the Vaupés, Colombia" in *American Ethnologist* 22(1): 3-27

---- 1996 "The Impact of Recent National Legislation in the Vaupés region of Colombia" in Joanne Rappaport (ed.) "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" Special issue of *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1(2)

---- 2002 "Contested Discourses of Authority in Colombian National Indigenous Politics. The 1996 Summer Takeovers." in Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson (eds) *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* University of Texas Press, Austin

Kaarhus, Randi 1988 *Organiserende prinsipper i tid og rom: Historie, språk og kultur hos Quechua-indianere* Oslo occasional papers in social anthropology (15), Oslo

Krohn-Hansen, Christian 2001 "Spor etter imperier: Mellom historie og historier." in Christian Krohn-Hansen *Det vanskelige voldsbegrepet. Politisk liv i Den dominikanske republikk og andre steder.* Pax Forlag A/S, Oslo

---- 2001 *Det vanskelige voldsbegrepet. Politisk liv i Den dominikanske republikk og andre steder*. Pax Forlag A/S, Oslo

Lame, Manuel Qintín 1971 [1939] *En defensa de mi raza* Comité pro-defensa del Indígena, Bogotá

Lavar, Smadar and Ted Swedenburg 1996 "Introduction: Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity" in Smadar Lavar and Ted Swedenburg (eds) *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* Duke University Press, Durham

---- (eds) 1996 *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* Duke University Press, Durham

Lee Van Cott, Donna (ed.) 1994 *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America* St. Martin's Press, New York

Llano Restrepo, María Clara and Marcela Campuzano Cifuentes 1994 *La chicha, una bebida fermentada a través de la historia* ICAN – Colcultura and CEREC, Bogotá

Long, Andrew 1992 "Gods, knowledge and beer. The methodological significance of situational analysis and discourse" in Norman Long and Ann Long (eds) *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* Routledge, London

Long, Norman 1989 "Conclusion: Theoretical reflections on actor, structure and interface." in Norman Long (ed.) *Encounters at the interface: A perspective on social discontinuities in rural development* Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen

---- 1989 (ed.) *Encounters at the interface: A perspective on social discontinuities in rural development* Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen

---- 1992a "Introduction" in Norman Long and Ann Long (eds) *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* Routledge, London

---- 1992b "From paradigm lost to paradigm regained? The case for an actor-oriented sociology of development" in Norman Long and Ann Long (eds) *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* Routledge, London

----1992c "Conclusion" in Norman Long and Ann Long (eds) *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* Routledge, London

---- 2000 "Exploring local/ global transformations: a view from anthropology" in Alberto Arce and Norman Long (eds) *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring discourses, counter-tendencies and violence.* Routledge, London

Long, Norman and Ann Long 1992 (eds) *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development* Routledge, London

L'orange Fürst, Elisabeth 1995 *Mat, et annet språk: Rasjonalitet, kropp og kvinnelighet* Pax forlag A/S, Oslo

Lovell, Nadia 1998 "Introduction: Belonging in need off emplacement?" in Nadia Lovell (ed.) *Locality and Belonging* Routledge, London

---- (ed.) 1998 *Locality and Belonging* Routledge, London

Malkki, Liisa H. 1990 "Context and Consciousness: Local Conditions for the Production of Historical and National Thought among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania" in Richard G. Fox (ed.) *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures* American Anthropological Association, USA

---- 1995 "Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things" in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 495-523

---- 1997a "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees" in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (eds) *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* Duke University Press, Durham

---- 1997b "Speechless emissaries: refugees, humanitarianism and de historicization" in Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

---- 1997c "News and Culture: Transitory Phenomena and the Fieldwork Tradition" in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (eds) *Anthropological Locations. Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* University of California Press, Berkley

Maskrey, Andrew (ed.) 1993 *Los Desastres no son Naturales* La Red/ ITDG, Bogotá

Miñana Blasco, Carlos 1994: "Kuvi. Música de Flautas entre los Paeces" Número especial de *Informes Antropológicos* (8) Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Bogotá

Musset, Alain 1996 "Mudarse o desaparecer. Traslado de ciudades hispanoamericanas y desastres (siglos XVI-XVIII)" in Virginia García Acosta (ed.) *Historia y Desastres en America Latina* La Red/CIEASAS, Bogotá

NASA KIWE Corproación para reconstrucción de la cuenca del rio Páez y zonas aledañas 1997 *Labrando el futuro* Corporación Nasa Kiwe, Popayán

Nates Cruz, Beatriz del Socorro 1991 *Maíz: Fuerza de vida. Implicaciones socio-culturales del maíz en una comunidad Páez* Tesis de grado, Programa de Antropología, Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad del Cauca. Popayán

Oliver-Smith, Anthony 1996 "Anthropological research on hazards and disasters" in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 303-28

Olson, Richard Stuart and Juan Pablo Sarmiento P. 1995 "El desastre de Cauca y Huila no es otro Armero" in *Desastres y Sociedad* 4(3): 65-76

Olwig, Karen Fog 1993 *Global Culture, Island Identity. Continuity and change in the Afro-Caribbean community of Nevis* Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam

---- 1997 "Cultural sites: sustaining a home in a deterritorialized world" in Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

---- 1998 "Epilogue: Contested Homes: Home-making and the Making of Anthropology" in Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (eds). *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* Berg, Oxford

Olwig, Karen Fog and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) 1997 *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

Ortiz, Sutti Reissig 1973 *Uncertainties in Peasant Farming: A Colombian Case* London School of Economics, Monographs on Social Anthropology No 15, The Athlone press inc., London

Parkin, David 1999 "Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement" in *Journal of Material Culture* 4(3): 303-320

Pearce, Jenny 1990 *Colombia Inside the Labyrinth* Latin American Bureau, London

Perafán S., Carlos Cesar 1992 *Etnohistoria* Programa Asesoria Jurídica CRIC, Popayán

---- 1995 *Sistemas Jurídicos Paez, Kogi, Wayúu y Tule* Instituto Colombiano de Antropología – Colcultura, Bogotá

Pineda Camacho, Roberto 1995 "Pueblos Indígenas de Colombia: Una aproximación a su historia, Economía y sociedad" in Proyecto ONIC, CECOIN, GhK *Tierra Profanada, Grandes proyectos en territorios indigenas de Colombia* Disloque editores, Bogotá

Portela Guarín, Hugo 1987 "Enfoques antropológicos sobre la atención primaria de salud: ¿"integración" de la medicina alopática y tradicional?" *Revista Palabra* No 3-4, Universidad del Cauca, Popayán

Portela Guarín, Hugo et al. 1993 *Región de Tierradentro. Memorias de un proceso* Editorial Universidad del Cauca, Popayán

Portela Guarín, Hugo and Herinaldy Gómez 1994 "La Cultura Medica en la Cosmovisión Paez" in *Cultura y salud en la construcción de las Americas: políticas y experiencias.* CEREC, Bogotá

Portela Guarín, Hugo 1995 "Cuerpo y cosmos en los rituales páez" in Guido Barona B. and Francisco Zuluaga (eds) *Memorias: 1er Seminario internacional de Etnohistoria del norte del Ecuador y sur de Colombia* Editorial Facultad de Humanidades Colección Historia y Sociedad, Cali

Preis, Ann-Belinda S. 1997 "Seeking place: capsized identities and contracted belonging among Sri Lankan Tamil refugees" in Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

Proyecto Enlace, Corporación Nasa Kiwe, Insituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (ICBF) n.d. *Retornos. Mensaje de Buen Viento* ComunicArte Lta., Popayán

Proyecto ONIC, CECOIN, GhK 1995 *Tierra Profanada, Grandes proyectos en territorios indigenas de Colombia* Disloque editores, Bogotá

Ramos, Alcida Rita 1991 "A Hall of Mirrors: The Rhetoric of Indigenism in Brazil" in *Critique of Anthropology* 11(2): 155-169

---- 1994 "The Hyperreal Indian" in *Critique of Anthropology* 14(2): 153-171

---- 1998 *Indigenism. Ethnic Politics in Brazil*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison

Rappaport, Joanne 1980-81 "Mesianismo y las transformaciones de símbolos mesiánicos en Tierradentro" in *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 23: 365-413

---- 1982 *Tierra Páez: la etnohistoria de la defensa territorial entre los paeces de Tierradentro, Cauca* Ph.D. dissertation. Informe Final Revisada, Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá

----1984 "Las misiones protestantes y la resistencia indígena en el sur de Colombia" in *América Indígena* XLIV(1): 111-126

---- 1985 "History, Myth, and the Dynamics of Territorial Maintenance in Tierradentro, Colombia" in *American Ethnologist* 12(1): 27-45

---- 1987a "Los cacicazgos en América: el caso páez" in Robert Drennan and Carlos A. Uribe (eds) *Chiefdoms in the Americas* University Press of America, Lanham, MD

---- 1987b "Interpretando el pasado páez" in *Revista de Antropología* 3(2): 55-82.

---- 1988a "Imágenes míticas, pensamiento histórico y textos impresos: los paeces y la palabra escrita" in *Rituales y fiestas de las Americas: memorias del 45o. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* Ediciones UniAndes, Bogotá

---- 1988b "History and everyday life in the Colombian Andes" *Man* 23(4): 718-739

---- 1992 "Reinvented Traditions. The Heraldry of Ethnic Militancy in the Colombian Andes." in Robert V. H. Dover, Katharine E. Seibold and John H. Mcdowell (eds) *Andean Cosmologies through Time. Persistence and emergence*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington

---- 1993 "Alfabetización y la voz indígena en la época colonial" in Carlos Alberto Uribe Tobón (ed.) *La construcción de las Américas* Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá

---- (ed.) 1996 "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" Special issue of *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1(2)

---- 1998 *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* Duke University press, Durham

Rappaport, Joanne and Robert V. H. Dover 1996 "The Construction of Difference by Native Legislators: Assessing the Impact of the Colombian Constitution of 1991" in Joanne Rappaport (ed.) "Ethnicity Reconfigured: Indigenous Legislators and the Colombian Constitution of 1991" Special issue of *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1(2)

Rappaport, Joanne and David D. Gow 1997 "Cambio dirigido, movimiento indígena y estereotipos del indio: el Estado colombiano y la reubicación de los nasa." in María Victoria Uribe and Eduardo Restrepo (eds) *Antropología de la modernidad y el cambio social.* Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Bogotá

Rapport, Nigel and Andrew Dawson 1998a "The Topic and the Book" in Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (eds) *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* Berg, Oxford

---- 1998b "Home and Movement: A Polemic" in Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (eds) *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* Berg, Oxford

---- (eds) 1998 *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* Berg, Oxford

Rapport, Nigel and Joanna Overing 2000 *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* Routledge, London

Roattino IMC, Ezio 1986: *Alvaro Ulcue: Nasa Pal. Sangre india para una tierra nueva* Editorial CINEP, Bogotá

Rojas Cureieux, Tulio; Rocío Nieves Oviedo and Marcos Yule Yatacue 1991 *Estudios gramaticales de la lengua Páez (Nasa Yuwe)* Lenguas aborígenes de Colombia, Descripciones 7. Colciencias – Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá

Romero, Gilberto and Andrew Maskrey 1993 "Cómo entender los desastres naturales" in Andrew Maskrey (ed.) *Los Desastres no son Naturales* La Red/ ITDG, Bogotá

Saavedra A., María del Rosario 1996 *Desastre y Riesgo: Actores Sociales en la reconstrucción de Armero y Chinchiná* Cinep, Bogotá

San José, Resguardo de 1994(?) *Diagnostico Participativo del Resguardo de San José* Uncompleted manuscript

Sevilla Casas, Elías 1976 "Lame y el Cauca indígena" in *Tierra, tradición y poder en Colombia; enfoques antropológicos.* Colcultura, Bogotá

Sevilla Casas, Elías 1986 *La pobreza de los excluidos: Economía y sobrevivencia en un resguardo indígena del Cauca – Colombia* Editorial Abya-Yala/ Ethnos, Quito

Sherratt, Andrew 1995 "Alcohol and its alternatives - Symbol and substance in pre-industrial cultures" in Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt (eds) *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* Routledge, London

Skar, Sara Lund 1994 *Lives Together - Worlds Apart: Quechua Colonization in Jungle and City* Scandinavian University Press, Oslo

Slocum, Marianna C. 1986 *Gramatica Páez* Editorial Townsend, Lomalinda

Slocum, Marianna C. and Florence L. Gerdel 1983 *Diccionario Páez-Español  Español-Páez* Editorial Townsend, Lomalinda

Sparkes, Steven 2003 "Introduction: The changing domain of the house in Southeast Asia" in Steven Sparkes and Signe Howell (eds) *The House in South East Asia: A changing social, economic and political domain* Routledge Curzon, London

Sparkes, Steven and Signe Howell (eds) 2003 *The House in South East Asia: A changing social, economic and political domain* Routledge Curzon, London

Steward, Julian H. and L. C. Faron 1959 *Native peoples of South America.*  McGraw-Hill, New York

Sørensen, Birgitte Refslund 1997 "The experience of displacement: reconstructing places and identities in Sri Lanka" in Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup (eds) *Siting Culture, the shifting anthropological object* Routledge, London

Tilley, Christopher 1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* Berg, Oxford

Urban, Greg and Joel Sherzer (eds) 1991 *Nation-states and Indians in Latin America* University of Texas Press, Austin

Uribe Tobón, Carlos Alberto (ed.) 1993 *La construcción de las Américas* Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá

Uribe, María Victoria and Eduardo Restrepo (eds) 1997 *Antropología en la Modernidad* ICAN and COLCULTURA, Bogotá

Wade, Peter 1999 "The Guardians of power. Biodiversity and multiculturality in Colombia" in Angela Cheater (ed.) *The Anthropology of Power. Empowerment and Dispowerment in Changing Structures* Routledge, London

Warren, Kay B. and Jean E. Jackson (eds) 2002 *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America* University of Texas Press, Austin

Wilches-Chaux, Gustavo 1993 "La vulnerabilidad global" in Andrew Maskrey (ed.) *Los Desastres no son Naturales*  La Red/ ITDG, Bogotá

Wilches-Chaux, Gustavo 1995a "Principios orientadores de la Corporación NASA KIWE: Tierra de la gente" in *Desastres y Sociedad* 4(3): 91-104

Wilches-Chaux, Gustavo 1995b "Particularidades de un desastre" in *Desastres y Sociedad* 4(3): 119-139